2008

THE HEROIDES IN ALFONSO X'S GENERAL ESTORIA: TRANSLATION, ADAPTATION, USE, AND INTERPRETATION OF A CLASSICAL WORK IN A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY IBERIAN HISTORY OF THE WORLD

J. Javier Puerto Benito
University of Kentucky, fompedraza@yahoo.com

Right click to open a feedback form in a new tab to let us know how this document benefits you.

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

J. Javier Puerto Benito

THE <u>HEROIDES</u> IN ALFONSO X'S <u>GENERAL ESTORIA</u>: TRANSLATION, ADAPTATION, USE, AND INTERPRETATION OF A CLASSICAL WORK IN A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY IBERIAN HISTORY OF THE WORLD

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Hispanic Studies in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Kentucky

By
J. Javier Puerto Benito

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Aníbal Biglieri, Department of Hispanic Studies

Lexington, Kentucky

2008

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

THE HEROIDES IN ALFONSO X'S GENERAL ESTORIA: TRANSLATION, ADAPTATION,
USE, AND INTERPRETATION OF A CLASSICAL WORK IN A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY
IBERIAN HISTORY OF THE WORLD

My dissertation analyzes the role of Ovid's Heroides in Alfonso X's General Estoria, a massive historical compilation in six volumes that the "Learned King" commissioned in 1272. The way in which eleven of these fictional epistles were incorporated by the Alfonsine translators sheds light on how ancient texts were perceived by medieval scholars. According to the study, King Alfonso relies on Ovid as an accurate historical source and uses the epistles of the heroines as historical documents while preserving their literary dimension.

The thesis is divided into six sections. Chapter one introduces the topic of translation in relation to history and literature and argues for the use of a culture-semiotic perspective in the study of medieval translations. Chapter two looks into the General Estoria in order to frame the generic register/s to which the Heroides and Ovid belonged in Alfonso's historic discourse. Some of these issues include literature and its historical value, and how the ancient past (in this case the times of characters in the Heroides) was used in order to investigate and interpret the concerns of the present, and form decisions about the future. Chapter three speculates on the bearing that the habitus or socio-cultural conditioning of a potential translator like Archbishop Jiménez de Rada could have had in the Alfonsine approach to translation. Chapter four analyzes the uses of and references to Ovid as a writer and his works throughout Europe in order to recreate the position both him and his works held in the socio-cultural milieu of thirteenth-century literature, history, epistolography, and rhetoric. Chapter five focuses on how the Latin text was initially adapted and segmented according to translation patterns and norms.

This observational analysis of the Heroides in the GE approaches the text from the perspective of the discipline of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). My research does not seek to propose or refute any theories but, rather, to make a contribution to DTS in the form of an observational analysis.

J. Javier Puerto

5/1/2008

THE <u>HEROIDES</u> IN ALFONSO X'S <u>GENERAL ESTORIA</u>: TRANSLATION, ADAPTATION, USE, AND INTERPRETATION OF A CLASSICAL WORK IN A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY IBERIAN HISTORY OF THE WORLD

By
J. Javier Puerto Benito

<u>Dr. Aníbal Biglieri</u>
Director of Dissertation

<u>Dr. Susan Larson</u>
Director of Graduate Studies

<u>5/1/2008</u>

RULES FOR THE USE OF DISSERTATIONS

Unpublished dissertations submitted for the Doctor s degree and deposited in the University of Kentucky Library are as a rule open for inspection, but are to be used only with due regard to the rights of the authors. Bibliographical references may be noted, but quotations or summaries of parts may be published only with the permission of the author, and with the usual scholarly acknowledgements.

Extensive copying or publication of the dissertation in whole or in part also requires the consent of the Dean of the Graduate School of the University of Kentucky.

A library that borrows this dissertation for use by its patrons is expected to secure the signature of each user.

<u>Name</u>   <u>Date</u>

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

DISSERTATION

J. Javier Puerto Benito

The Graduate School

University of Kentucky

2008

THE <u>HEROIDES</u> IN ALFONSO X'S <u>GENERAL ESTORIA</u>: TRANSLATION, ADAPTATION, USE, AND INTERPRETATION OF A CLASSICAL WORK IN A THIRTEENTH-CENTURY IBERIAN HISTORY OF THE WORLD

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Hispanic Studies in the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Kentucky

By
J. Javier Puerto Benito

Lexington, Kentucky

Director: Dr. Aníbal Biglieri, Department of Hispanic Studies

Lexington, Kentucky

2008

Familia

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FILES

The following versions of the <u>General Estoria</u> (<u>GE</u>) and <u>Estoria de España</u> (<u>EE</u>)(Alfonso's comprehensive history of the Iberian Penisula) are quoted by default; any other editions or versions of the text will be noted accordingly: <u>EE</u> I: San Lorenzo del Escorial: Monasterio, Y.I.2 (BETA Manid 1006) copied 1272 ca. a quo - 1284 ad quem; <u>EE</u> II: San Lorenzo del Escorial: Monasterio, X.I.4(BETA Manid 1007) middle of the fourteenth century; <u>GE</u> I: Madrid: Nacional, 816 (BETA Manid 1055): copied in 1272?; <u>GE</u> II: BNM 10237 (BETA Manid 1067) copied 1300 - 1400; <u>GE</u> IV: Roma: Vaticana Urb. Lat. 5: 1280; <u>GE</u> Vr: Escorial: Monasterio R.I. 10 (BETA Manid 1081): copied 1400 - 1500; <u>GE</u> V: San Lorenzo del Escorial: Monasterio, I.I.2 (BETA Manid 1076) copied 1200 - 1300; <u>GE</u> VI: Toledo: Biblioteca Capitular, 43-20 (BETA Manid 1082): copied 1300 - 1400. Quotes from other manuscripts or versions are cited accordingly. The folio number and side are noted after the title, part, and version (when necessary) in the cases of the <u>GE</u> and the <u>EE</u>.

The <u>Heroides</u> (<u>Her.</u>) are quoted as found in J. R. Ashton's doctoral thesis "Ovid's <u>Heroides</u> as Translated by Alphonso the Wise: An Experiment in Source Study." I have contrasted Ashton's text with B. Brancaforte's corrections in <u>Las Metamorfosis y las Heroidas de Ovidio en la General estoria de Alfonso el Sabio</u> as well as with any other sources that may have discussed any particular passages subject to modification. Ashton's recension of the <u>Her.</u> was made from the following manuscripts: <u>Her.</u> IIV, X, and XIV: BNM 10237 (BETA Manid 1067:), copied 1300 - 1400; <u>Her.</u> II, V, VI, IX, and XII: San Lorenzo del Escorial: Monasterio, O.I.11 (BETA Manid 1064), copied 1300 - 1400; <u>Her.</u> I and VIII: San Lorenzo del Escorial: Monasterio, Y.I.8 (BETA Manid 1074) copied 1400 - 1500.

I have cited in their original language and then translated all primary sources (when available) in order to facilitate digital research and cross-referencing. Unless noted, all translations are mine. I have translated into English all of the critical sources in order to facilitate cross-referencing among scholars from different linguistic, critical, and theoretical backgrounds. I have, on certain occasions, incorporated as footnotes some sources that could as well be part of the main body of the text. I have done so when I deemed it necessary to maintain focus on the issue at hand and adequately annotate my research. I have quoted passages from the <u>GE</u> at length since many scholars do not have access to its original contents by means of English translation; I hope that they will be able to use my work as a source for future European and trans-cultural interdisciplinary studies.

I have quoted authors by their name in that language in which they wrote or, under which they are found most commonly in WorldCat. I have listed alternate names when necessary in order to facilitate cross-searching and referencing. In such cases, the name can be found in the list of works cited according to the version cited in the body of the text.

CHAPTER 1: HISTORY, TRANSLATION AND LITERATURE: WHAT CAN LITERARY TRANSLATIONS TELL US ABOUT THE PAST?

1.1 INTRODUCTION: TRANSLATIONS, LITERATURE, AND OVID

> There has never been a better time to study translations. From being a marginal activity outside linguistics proper, at the edges of literary study, neglected by anthropologists, ethnographers and philosophers, translation is now being reconsidered, and its fundamental importance in intercultural transfer processes is becoming more apparent. (S. Bassnett, "The Meek" 22-23)

When meaning is transposed from one language to another, those linguistic elements that carry a heavier load of culture-specific significance create a conflict on the side of the translator. This linguistic struggle arises in the shape of a number of approaches or strategies from which the translators are forced to choose those which they consider the most appropriate, accurate, or effective for the purpose of their task. These choices often correspond to a combination of factors such as the ones mentioned above and, when studied in detail, they often render a valuable ideological portrait of the cultural background of a time and its people as perceived by the translators. They, then, might be concerned with the canonicity of the source text and decide to use different strategies when translating such as compiling a thoroughly annotated, rather literal translation or, alternatively, a similarly canonical, highly poetical rendition.

The approach and strategies to be deployed in any particular translation depend on several factors, including the cultural value of the source text, its political/ideological potential in the target language/culture, the cultural/social/political background of the audience, the perceived syntactic or sociolinguistic obstacles to be confronted in the target language. As Myrdene Anderson explains:

> Translation problematizes the commensurability of languages as distinct systems of codes – systems involving lexicons with ambiguous or misleading or absent correspondences from one language to another, and involving grammatical features which sometimes lack even those provisional handholds provided by lexicons. Over and beyond lexicon and grammar, or below and beneath them – that is, more fundamentally – lurk matters of content and context, semantics and pragmatics, in a word, culture. Translators of texts grapple with situated meaning by taking into account the habits of the culture-saturated authors, characters, settings, and histories touching the texts. (181)

In order to make even more difficult the task of interpreting or reenacting these strategies through a comparison of the source and target texts, the translator can further hinder the work of the exegete by adding individual circumstances, such

as the need to please an audience and to obtain economic gain or social prestige.

1.1.1 Ovid and His Translators/Translations

In the specific case of Ovid's Her., there are a wide variety of translation approaches and strategies employed in several languages across a number of centuries. H. Andreadis, for example, has studied the differences in several of these translations of epistle XV in the Her. (Sappho's letter to Phaon) in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England and has arrived at the conclusion that translators developed three cultural archetypes of Sappho, according to which they elaborated differing translation strategies. According to Andreadis' findings, the female Greek poet

> was portrayed as a mythologized figure who acts the suicidal abandoned woman in the Ovidian tale of Sappho and Phaon; she was used as the first example of female poetic excellence, most often with a disclaimer of any sexuality. . . and she was presented as an early exemplar of "unnatural" or monstrous sexuality. (106)

One example from Andreadis' comparison of authors is enough to understand the implications that translation studies have in the analysis of cultural or ideological discourse in a particular cultural group or society as perceived by literary translators. In this case, the translations compared are those of George Turberville (1567) (GT) and Wye Saltonstall (1636) (WT), both of which were published without any introductory remarks or annotations. The verses translated are Her. XV 15-21:

> **(O)** Nec me Pyrrhiades Methymniadesve puellae, / nec me Lesbiadum cetera turba iuvant. / Vilis Anactorie, vilis mihi candida Cydro,[1] / non oculis grata est Atthis ut ante meis / atque aliae centumquas non sine crimine amavi. / Improbe, multarum quod fuit, unus habes![2]

> Neither the Pyrrhan nor the Methymnean girls, nor a single one of the many women of Lesbos, hold my attention anymore. Anactorie means nothing to me and so does sweet Cydno; Atthis is no longer pleasing to my eyes nor are a hundred other women whom I loved not without scandal. You improbous man! To you alone belongs that which was possessed by many.

> **(GT)** Pyrino is forgot, / ne Dryads doe delite / My fancie: Lesbian Lasses

---

1 Alternatively Cygno, Cinno or Cydon (Dörrie 315).

2 According to critics such as G. P. Goold "hic" line 19 should read "quas hic sine crimine amavi" ([women] whom I have loved without scandal") (182). As W. M. Calder III points out, both readings can be found in several manuscripts, so the choice should be based on interpretation and context (143). In the recently published The Sappho Companion (2001) M. Reynolds adopts "hic sine crimine" and translates as "that I loved without crime" (77-78). On the other hand, P. Janni regards the choice of "hic" over "non" as "without merit" in chapter 6 ("Ancient Greece Was a Gay Paradise") of his book on false myths about ancient Greece and Rome Miti e falsi miti (214).

eke / are now forgotten quite. / Not Amython I force, / nor Cyndo passing fine: / Nor atthis, as she did of yore, / allures these eyes of mine. / Ne yet a hundreth mo / whom (shame ylayd aside) / I fancide erste: thou all that love / from to thee hast wride. (G. Turberville, qtd. in Andreadis 108)

(WS) I hate Amythone, and Cyndus white, / And Atthis is not pleasant in my sight. / And many others that were lov'd of me, / but now I have plac'd all my love on thee. (W. Saltonstall, qtd. in Andreadis 108-09)

Whereas the former reference by Turberville reproduces most of the original content, Saltonstall's latter passage summarizes Sappho's erotic "history" into a brief reference to three of her lovers without hinting or stating that they were actually female. Moreover, as Andreadis points out, "underlined here as well is the connection between Sappho's excessive and futile passion for Phaon and the acute diminishing of her artistic powers" (109). Saltonstall's translation diminishes the poetic stature of Sappho as well as the erotic tones of the language she uses.

These differences in the source and target texts evince the translator's choice to either obviate or disregard information provided in the Latin original. Andreadis concludes that this and other examples of Sapphic literature in the English language show that "in the sixteenth century female homoerotic behavior was treated often misogynistically, but also with relative matter-of-factness and as a curiosity," unlike in the seventeenth century when it became "related to medical treatises, erotica, and literary works by unconventional women" (118).

Many studies like Andreadis' have been published with regard to Ovid and his presence in English literature such as Ovid Renewed (edited by C. Martindale), The Gods Made Flesh by L. Barkan, Poetry and Metamorphosis by C. Thomlinson, Chaucer's Ovidian Arts of Love, Shakespeare and Ovid by J. Bate, Milton and Ovid by R. DuRocher or, more recently, The Metamorphosis of Ovid: From Chaucer to Ted Hughes by S. A. Brown. These studies, like their French, Italian, and German counterparts focus either on one particular author or literary period, or on one "national" literature. My study aims at evaluating how future contributions to the field of literary reception and translation studies would benefit from a scope that is not limited to these recently-imposed boundaries.

My dissertation seeks to transcend generic, national, and canonical boundaries in order to present the influence of Ovid in the Iberian Peninsula as an instance taking place in a much broader cultural polysystem. I consider that the large majority of the literary works produced in Europe in the thirteenth century are still Pan-European and are part of a cultural tapestry that, at least for the following century or so, would remain, essentially, the sole reference in the high culture of Europe.

1.1.2 Descriptive Translation Studies: An Approach to Translation

Research like Andreadis' on comparative translation provides us with valuable insight into the creation of moral, cultural, literary, religious, political, and educational values associated with the process of translation. The uniqueness of translation relies, precisely, on its special textual condition which is given by the semiotic restrictions that the source text carries within itself. These restrictions must

be negotiated by the translator in order to "successfully" re-create them in the target language.

My research looks into Alfonso X's translation and adaptation of Ovid's <u>Her.</u> into his <u>GE</u> for the same purposes that researchers such as Andreadis have pursued these texts in past translation studies.[3] However, my thesis seeks to implement current descriptive translation studies (DTS) methodology in order to test the viability of such approaches in the field of Alfonsine studies. I believe that, given the scope and width of the Alfonsine corpus of translations, DTS can provide an excellent field of work for the analysis of the cultural and social spheres in the many processes involved in the act of translation, in particular with reference to the emerging branch of DTS concerned with culture planning and translation.[4]

As Toury himself explains, when it comes to the research carried out in the last decades of the twentieth century in the field of translation analysis and description

> what is missing is not isolated attempts reflecting excellent intuitions and supplying fine insights (which many existing studies certainly do), but a systematic branch proceeding from clear assumptions and armed with a methodology and research techniques made as explicit as possible and justified within translation studies itself. Only a branch of this kind can ensure that the finding of individual studies will be intersubjetively testable and comparable, and the studies themselves replicable. (<u>Beyond</u> 3)

In following Toury's DTS approach to the activity of translation (rather than the texts involved in translation) I have adopted his three-phase methodology for the description and characterization of Alfonso's translation understood not only as text but as a complex cultural product, one of whose dynamic elements is the actual text:

> 1) Situate the text within the target culture system as a conscious choice and determine its value, significance, acceptability and position within the larger systems of culture, literary tradition, socio-economic situation, etc.

> 2) Compare the source and target texts looking for textual patterns (norms) that may have been prompted by the existence of relatively stable 'translation norms' operating in the habitus of the translator.

> 3) Infer implications for decision-making in additional translations.

---

3 For the purposes of this dissertation, the translation of the <u>Her.</u> into Old Castilian is considered the product of a/several translator/s and/or compilers. Although Alfonso X will be referred to as the author of the translation, there is no doubt that it was not him who actually translated any of the Latin materials included in the <u>GE</u>. It has not been established yet to what extent did he participate in the corrections made to the translations that may have been presented to him. I will address the issue of Alfonso's editorial role in his historiographic enterprise in chapter 5 of this thesis.

4 E. Gentzler's remains an insightful and valuable introductory survey to the evolution of DTS (105-43).

(<u>Beyond</u> 36-9)

The first phase of this method is an expansion of the boundaries of the text beyond its linguistic imprint in the form of a traditional text. In order to have access to the meaning of a translation we cannot rely exclusively on the printed text as the final product of the translation process; on the other hand, DTS regards the text as the trail or imprint of a larger product. Since DTS research in translation looks at this larger, socio-cultural bound text as the object of its research, its focus is not the text itself but how the text was negotiated and produced and how can we gain access to those processes involved in the production of cultural items in one particular language, culture, and literary tradition.

The second phase of this methodology is a logical consequence of the assumptions made in phase 1 that the text contains traces of sociocultural constraints according to which the translator would have negotiated the whole translation process in a particular way. Toury has defined these notions of how particular instances in the translation process should be approached as norms which "determine the (type and extent of) equivalence manifested in actual translation" (<u>Beyond</u> 61). It is important to make a distinction between these abstract norms and those from which they are inferred, which are defined as "options that translators in a given socio-historical context select on a regular basis" (M. Baker, <u>Routledge</u> 167). Based on the latter norms, we could reconstruct some of the characteristics of the translation norms that may have been considered by the translator at the time the translation was made.

DTS is mainly concerned with the decision-making process involved in all stages of translation as opposed to the textual utterance (the written text) or the cultural product (the text as a whole). The textual utterance is, therefore, a source of evidence that must be interpreted within the many dimensions that characterize the larger cultural product in order to propose norms that would have prevailed in the translation. The hard evidence upon which this method is based comes from the close examination of texts (<u>Beyond</u> 55) as well as any explicit statement (<u>Beyond</u> 65) that the translator or any other person involved in the translation process may have left behind in the form of introductions, personal comments or remarks, or other explicit comments on their involvement in the translation process.

Given this methodological structure, Toury classifies norms as **initial**, **preliminary**, and **operational** depending on how they are inferred and the roles they play within the polysystem/s in which translations are articulated. The '**initial norm**' in a translation is the one that establishes whether translators will focus on the source or the target semiotic polysystems when looking for norms according to which they will negotiate their translation decisions. In the case of the choice of the <u>Her.</u>, the identification of a specific initial norm could help reveal this or any other translations in the <u>GE</u> as what Sherry Simon has termed "a mode of engagement with literature necessarily involved in a politics of transmission, in perpetuating or contesting the values which sustain our literary culture" (viii). Toury poses the notions of **adequacy** and **acceptability** as preliminary categories within this normative realm. A translation will show adequacy with respect to the original in as far as it retains norms operative in the source polysystem, whereas it will show acceptability within the target polysystem in as far as it adheres to its norms.

Preliminary norms are responsible for the articulation of a specific (however

broad, dynamic or comprehensive) translation policy or approach. They comprehend limitations regarding what text types, sources, authors, genres, languages, or dialects are the object of the translation. These norms are determined by the adaptability that the polysystem of the target language shows towards those constitutive elements identified in the source tex. Thus, for example, the inclusion or exclusion of certain characters, episodes, or moral connotations in the translation indicates that the translators were aware of their existence, regardless of how they reacted towards those segments of meaning.

Finally, **operational norms** are those that take place during the process involved in the interpretation and creation of meaning across the different semiotic systems that interact in the process of translation. Toury divides these into **matricial** and **textual-linguistic** norms. **Matricial norms** condition how the written text is presented to the audience in the target language and in what condition that presentation is made with regard to the one found in the source text as well as its position within the source polysystem. Matricial norms can be reconstructed based on patterns of omission, changes in meaning due to re-arrangements, or any other alteration or transformation of the form of the written text as found in the source material available to the translators. **Textual-linguistic** norms concern the formation of foci of meaning in the target textual material as an approach to successfully recreate the cultural product in the target text as concrete textual material.

Norms are, therefore, the abstract entities that embody that which is normal or adequate within a community that is bound by cultural affinity (including some of those very same norms). In the case of translation, these norms represent patterns of communicative behavior that were shared by a group of intellectuals who, under the patronage of Fernando III first and then Alfonso X, participated in a vast historiographic project. These translations were inextricably linked to the representation of the past as a means for an uneducated audience to interpret and navigate the present and prepare for the future. In my thesis I use the translation of Ovid's Her. as an example of how these norms regulated the behavior of the Alfonsine translators as well as the expectations (both their own and those of their audience) regarding this behavior and its end result: a cultural product in the form of an autonomous text in Old Castilian incorporated to the GE.

1.1.3 Purpose and Methodology: Focusing on the 'How' of Translation

Given this theoretical framework of DTS, I have proceeded as follows in my dissertation. In this chapter, I introduce the theoretical tenets of DTS and explain how all texts (including translations) should be considered, first and foremost, within the social, literary, cultural, and moral systems of a target culture. Since my focus is a translation produced in thirteenth-century Iberia (a rather remote cultural and ideological setting), I have deemed it necessary to review and study the historic discourse in that time as represented in the GE (chapter 2). I have done so in order to establish how the main characteristics of the discourse of the past in general, and history in particular influenced Alfonso's decision to look for historical material in Ovid at large and in eleven of his Her. in particular.

In chapter 3 of my thesis I have tackled the issue of the use and interpretation of Ovid and Ovidian narratives in the eleventh throught the thirteenth centuries throughout European literature. In this part of my study I have looked into

vernacular and Latin lyrical poetry from the Late Middle Ages, as well as the <u>Romans antiques courtois</u>, historical romances, and other historical accounts for references, mentions, translations, and adaptations of Ovid and Ovidian material. The purpose of this survey has been to better comprehend the depth and scope of understanding that Medieval writers and their audiences had of Ovid, his works, and the stories and characters that populated the literary world of thirteenth-century Europe. Furthermore, I have looked into historian, translator, master of theology, politician, statesman, and military leader Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada as a prototype of a translator whose socio-cultural background could be useful in considering the agency of the translator in the different processes involved in the negotiation of meaning across languages, cultures, and literary periods in thirteenth-century Iberia.

In chapter 4 I have used all the information gathered in chapters 2 and 3 in order to analyze the eleven epistles translated in the <u>GE</u> against the cultural and literary background that emerged from my analysis of historicity in the <u>GE</u> (chapter 1) and Ovid in the thirteenth century (chapter 2). As I hope to argue in the following pages of this introduction, the road that leads to a satisfactory, culture-oriented translational analysis is a long and winding one. As it is the case with any research involving translation, both the source text and the target text soon prove to be a secondary concern when analyzing the context and relation between the two languages involved in the process.

It is my hope that this careful demarcation of the scope and purpose of all the research involved in this dissertation will adopt as premises for my attempted research "claims which would hardly have stood a test of verification" (Toury, "Conducting" 57):

> Quite often, the 'knowledge' translation scholars claim to already have, and regard as fit to be used as a point of departure for research or theorization, amounts to little more than a blend - often an unbalanced, grossly biased one – of mostly imported assumptions from other fields of knowledge and generally of a nature simpler than translation. Those assumptions are assigned axiomatic status reflecting a tendency to ignore the complexities of reality, both historical and contemporary, and are seasoned with more than a pinch of wishful thinking. They are presented as if they actually existed rather than comprising mere desiderata, things one would simply have loved to see come into being. ("Conducting" 57)

The appeal of translation studies could well be defined, Ovid allowing, as a fanciful chimera, a sphinx-like question, or, more accurately in my case, sirens' songs of alluring beauty deliberately capable of enticing all our senses when, out of our will like Odysseus, we choose to sail through the narrow strait that separates textual analysis and translation theory. I hope that the following outline of the theoretical framework I have adopted in the dissertation will prove to be a suitable guide to those willing to navigate the perilous waters of culture-oriented translation theory while keeping at bay the rocky shores of source-oriented, structuralist conventions and practices often applied to medieval text production.

1.2 WHAT IS IN A TEXT? THE UNESCAPABLE CULTURAL AND SOCIAL DIMENSIONS OF THE TEXT IN THE FIELD OF TRANSLATION STUDIES

Any translation process requires the comprehension of a text in its source language as well as an ability to produce a surrogate version of it in the target language. These two acts inherent in interpretation utilize problem-solving and decision-making skills that provide valuable insight into the discursive parameters and organizational prerogatives operative in the translator's mind and the intellectual world within whose discourse configuration it operates. In the following chapter I will introduce my methodology of research which I have based, precisely, on the necessity to address these two premises of the translational process: 1) the translator's condition as a social being and 2) the cultural world within and against which any text (especially a translation) defines itself.

Catford's insightful description of the process of translation as "the replacement of textual material in one language (SL) by equivalent material in another language (TL)" (20), allows us to appreciate the overall simplicity of this rather daunting process we all agree on calling translation. The problem with my own definition of translation (see previous paragraph), as well as Catford's, is precisely the complex net of categories, relations, and systems that lie behind the rather misleading expressions "dimensions" and "textual material". Gideon Toury, a major influence in my theoretical approach to Alfonso X's translation of Ovid's Her., has commented on the problems with the concept/s to which "translation" refers. He speaks of his early experiences and scholarly "coming of age" in the field of translation studies as a long struggle to try to pin down and systematize concepts similar to those of "dimension" and "textual categories" until he came to the realization that

> in the very attempt to define translation, there was an untenable pretence of fixing once and for all the boundaries of a category which is characterized precisely by its variability: difference across cultures, variation within a culture and change over time. Not only was the field of study thus offered considerably shrunk, in comparison with what cultures had been and were still willing to accept as translational, but research limited to such pre-defined boundaries could not help but breed a circular kind of reasoning: to the extent that the definition is taken seriously, whatever is tackled – selected for study because it is known to fall within its domain – is bound to reaffirm it; and if, for one reason or another, it is then found to be at odds with the initial definition, it will have to be banished from the corpus. ("Enhancing" 12-13)

In this chapter I will briefly introduce some of the difficulties that translation scholars such as Toury and me must face before undertaking the task of systematically analyzing a translation. As Toury explains, while translation studies seem to be a discipline focused on the analysis of a target text in comparison to a source text, the truth is that this discipline reaches as far out as the text does. As Y. M. Lotman puts it

a text can be defined by the type of memory it needs for it to be understood. By reconstructing the type of 'common memory' which a text and its consumers share, we shall discover the 'readership image' hidden in the text. A text, therefore, contains in embryo a system of all links in the communicative chain, and just as we can derive the authorial position from it, so we can reconstruct its ideal reader. (Universe 64)

The aim of my thesis is to identify some of those links in the form of translational utterances that can be found in that textual embryo that is Alfonso's X translation of Ovid's Her. in his GE.

1.2.1 Let There Be Culture: The "Cultural Turn," the Text, and Its Circumstance

Toury's anecdotal account of his coming to terms with the inherently complex, diverse, and dynamic character of translations exemplifies the major shift that the discipline of translation studies underwent in the last decades of the twentieth century. This rapid evolution has been termed "cultural turn" in reference to the context or circumstance in which translation takes place.[5] The premise behind this new direction in the field of translation studies, as I will explain in this chapter, is that any decontextualized model for the analysis of translation which does not account for its socio-cultural environment cannot account for all that which a translation involves.

Current culture-oriented approaches to translation are the result of the transition that took place in the second half of the twentieth century from source-oriented to target-oriented models of text analyses. Even-Zohar's Papers in Historical Poetics (1978) and Gideon Toury's In Search of a Theory of Translation (1980) and Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond (1995) can well be considered the seminal works in this still-evolving approach to translation studies. The major premise behind this renewed interest in translation as a leading force in inducing, shaping, affecting, conditioning, or even forcing cultural change in the target culture was the exhaustion of a viable method of translation that would fulfill the expectations of a source-oriented model.

Harald Kittel has recently recapitulated and exposed the conceptual problems that have led to the gradual abandonment of source-text oriented translation studies. Kittel summarizes the flaws of the premise that a good or proper translation ought to

5 Bassnett and Lefevere coined the term "cultural turn" in their introduction to Translation, History, and Culture. For a general discussion of the "Cultural Turn" see Bassnet ("Translation" 123-139). S. Simon discusses gender and the "cultural turn" in Gender in Translation (134-166). Loffredo & Perteghella explore the relationship between translation and creative writing in Translation and Creativity (see introduction in 1-17 for a general discussion of the "cultural turn" in translation studies). T. D'haen criticized Bassnett and Lefevere's approach in his review of their book Translation, History and Culture on the grounds that they claimed "an extremely wide field for translation studies" while hardly containing "anything new for the reader even minimally acquainted with the more recent developments in the field" (115).

be the equivalent of that text it aims at reproducing in its meaning, form, structure, and effect in the target language as follows:

> It is subjective because it invariably reduces the meaning (etc.) of a literary text to the translation critic's personal conception of it; this is tantamount to arbitrarily judging a translator's interpretation (his cognitive efforts being mainly production oriented) by the critic's own interpretation including its implicit critical objectives;

> It is ahistorical because as a rule the postulate of equivalent (or adequate) translation fails to take into account the cognitive aims and conditions prevailing in different places and cultural epochs, and it ignores the fact that the fundamental notions of translating literature well and correctly have changed in the course of history. In any case, there are numerous areas of equivalence, as in denotative meaning, sound, and grammatical structure, none being more dubious than the notion of equivalence of effect.

> It is frequently unsystematic in a double sense: first, source-oriented approaches do not sufficiently take seriously the differences between the language systems concerned, the respective literary conventions and the distinct intellectual and material characteristics of the cultures involved; secondly, only too often do they rely on somewhat incidental, isolated analyses. (5-6)

Such incomplete models approach translation as, first and foremost, an activity in which the source text must be adequately and thoroughly defined and understood. As I will explain, the text, or at least what was thought to be the text, has increasingly become less relevant in the search for the meaning and purpose of translation studies dealing with literary productions such as Alfonso X's translation of the Her. in thirteenth-century Iberia.

1.2.2 So Culture It Is, or Is It Not? From the Source Text, to the Target Text, and Back to Translation

Spanish philosopher José Ortega y Gasset (1883-1955) famously defined the individual in 1914 by saying "Yo soy yo y mi circunstancia" ("I am myself and my circumstance"; 65). The cultural turn in translation studies was a natural consequence of the realization that, just like an individual, a text (and especially a translation) cannot be understood as an isolated self-reliant, self-developed entity: a text is indeed a text itself and its circumstance.

What is then the circumstance of a text? How does it differ and relate to it? Can the text and its circumstance be studied as separate entities? As the term "cultural turn" implies, the circumstance in translation studies was rapidly associated with the idea of culture and how it affects and conditions the creation, development, and exchange of meaning. This approach to translation is now commonly referred to as "a cultural-semiotic perspective" on translation and it is based on the premise that socio-semiotic phenomena such as culture, language, and literature are sign-governed human patterns of communication that ought to be studied and understood as systems and not as identifiable static entities (however

complex) (Even-Zohar, "Polysystem" 1). Within this approach, G. Toury defines the process of translation as a complex polysystem of semiotic relations:

> Translating is an act (or a process) which is performed (or occurs) over and across systemic borders. In the widest of its possible senses it is a series of operations, or procedures, whereby one semiotic entity, which is a constituent (element) of a certain cultural (sub)system, is transformed into another semiotic entity, which forms at least a potential element of another cultural (sub)system, providing that some informational core is retained 'invariant under transformation', and on its basis a relationship known as 'equivalence' is established between the resultant and initial entities.[6] (Sebeok 1112-13)

As we can observe in this definition, the traditional foci of pre-contemporary models for translation studies (the semiotic entities known as source and target text) are here just two elements of a much more complex system. Moreover, the use of the term "semiotic entity" to refer to these texts reveals the true nature of the text as much more than a mere linguistic utterance within a relatively restricted linguistic code.

But how does that semiotic entity known as "text" relate to what Toury calls "cultural subsystem"? Are these independent entities or are they mutually binding? Ortega's former student and collaborator, the philosopher and literary critic Julián Marías (1914-2005) expanded on his master's notion of circumstance when he characterized it as "all that which comprehends the exterior and interior worlds, all that which is exterior to the subject –not just his body--; therefore, all that which I am not, all that which I find around me (I), circum me" (Circunstancia II, 157). This idea implies that "the self is inseparable from the circumstance and has no meaning aside from it; but, conversely, the circumstance only exists around a self" (Meditations 174). As we can see, Ortega's perspective on the individual as made up of the self and the inner and outer world around him/her bears a strong resemblance to Toury's concept of the text as a semiotic entity that can only be understood within a cultural system. As A. Klungervik Greenall explains, language in terms of Bakhtinian Dialogism, language does not reflect but rather negotiate meaning:

> Language, from the perspective of dialogism, is not seen as a fixed code. Language, in dialogism, is seen as the living result of social, dialogic negotiative interaction going on in a cultural context. And if we can say that this negotiative intereaction, or discourse, actually consitutes its own cultural context, then we also have the basis for saying that language, as the result of this negotiative interaction, is

---

6 Toury uses three terms to specifically address three different aspects of translation as a process and a system: 'translating,' 'translatability,' and 'translation.' He defines translating as "a series of operations whereby one semiotic entity is transformed into, and replaced by, another entity, pertaining to another [sub-]code or semiotic system"; and translatability as "the initial interchangeability of two semiotic entities, pertaining to two different systems, under certain postulated equivalent conditions" (Sebeok 1112).

infused with culture. Furthermore, however, if we can also say that language is not only a result of negotiative interaction, but also the main instrument of such interaction, then we actually have the basis for an even stronger statement, namely that language is culture. (69)

Toury's phrasing of his definition of translation, unlike Ortega's definition of the individual, is not only a philosophical reflection, but an elaborate hypothesis on the nature of translation. Regardless of the complexities involved in each one of the terms introduced by Toury in this definition, the essential characteristic of a cultural-semiotic perspective on translation such as the one I have embraced in this dissertation remains simple: it is the relations established among the texts, the translators, the readers, their cultures, their languages, and their social backgrounds on which we should focus. As Even-Zohar explains

the positivistic collection of data, taken bona fide on empiricist grounds and analyzed on the basis of their material substance, has been replaced by a functional approach based on the analysis of relations. Viewing them as systems, i.e., as networks of relations that can be hypothesized for a certain set of assumed observables ("occurrences" / "phenomena"), made it possible to hypothesize how the various socio-semiotic aggregates operate. ("Polysystem" 1)

Whereas in the case of individuals the circumstance translates into country, family, gender, religion, disposition, status, and many other "circumstantial" factors, the text also operates within a political, ideological, and cultural framework from which it derives its meaning and within which it also establishes its identity as a unique discursive instance. My thesis aims at gaining insight into the world of ideas through which the contents of the Her. had to travel in order to arrive to their new cultural, political, ideological habitat in thirteenth-century Iberia.

1.2.3 Polysystems theory: A New Approach for a New Focus in Translation Studies

So far I have introduced the transaction and production of meaning across socio-semiotic phenomena such as languages, cultures, and literatures as the new focus of contemporary theories in translation studies. Nevertheless, this "cultural turn" that the discipline has taken in recent decades could not have been introduced if the static, formalist approach to the text as an isolated entity had prevailed.

As theorists started to focus on the translation process and started to flesh out each one of the relations and phenomena that needed to occur in order for translation to take place, they realized that a new approach was needed. The discipline had switched its focus away from the source text and was now paying attention to a multitude of complex semiotic phenomena with intricate relations. The more of these phenomena that were identified as taking place in the act of translation, the more researchers began to realize that a static approach to each one of them would not be able to produce an adequate theoretical framework for the discipline of translation studies as it was now understood.

The answer to this theoretical deficiency could only come as a new approach that would be able to account for and make sense of the complexities involved in the

negotiation of meaning across socio-semiotic phenomena. The cultural turn had taken translation studies beyond the short-sightedness of text-based preconceptions and yet the same structuralistic approach that had been developed to account for a static system of meaning (the text) was taken over to the fields of the newcomers to translation studies: the social, aesthetic, and associative-connotative elements that are at work in the codifications and decodifications that every translational process involves. Thus the concept of polysystem was developed as an unstable yet coordinated set of dynamic and heterogeneous systems that can range from literary traditions to a single textual instance.

Although polysystems theory has proven to be a prolific development in the field of translation studies, the one insight with which I am mainly concerned for the purpose of this dissertation is that of the procedures involved in the activity of translation itself.

As I have argued in the previous sections of this chapter, the focus of translation studies cannot be the source text and its apparent differences or equivalencies when contrasted to the target text. Such an approach does not take into account the non-linguistic forces that condition the creation of a particular target text. Once we accept these forces, constraints, considerations, or influences as part of the translation process, it becomes necessary to analyze as an essential part of the translation process the polysystem into which the new text is being grafted. This necessity arises from the fact that the text not only brings meaning to the literary, cultural, and linguistic target semiotic systems, but it is also conditioned by those very same systems from which and against which it must acquire meaning of its own. As Even-Zohar explains

> since translational procedures produce certain products in a Target system, and since these are hypothesized to be involved with transfer processes (and procedures) in general, there is no reason to confine translational relations only to actualized texts. Competenced texts, that is models, are clearly a major factor in translation as they are in the system at large. By failing to realize this, translation theories (like most theories of literature in general) have been prevented from observing--just to take one instance--the intricate process whereby a particular text is translated in accordance with those target system models domesticated by model appropriation, and carried out by procedures of translational nature. So far, only actual text translations have been admitted as a legitimate source for theoretical induction, while the whole intricate problem of system interference, through which items of repertoire (including, naturally, models) are transplanted from one system to another, has been ignored. From the point of view of polysystem theory, or the general transfer theory called for, it does not make sense to regard penetration of a system A into a system B as 'influence,' while regarding the reformulation of texts belonging to the same system A by system *B* as 'translation.' (Polysystem Studies 75)

Even-Zohar's systemic approach has transformed translation studies into a

field of cultural research that is not concerned as much with the traditional, reductionist view of language as an isolated semiotic system but rather is focused on inter-culture research.

1.2.4 Current Trends in Translation Studies: Where Are We Now?

The nature of the systems (or polysytems) that regulate the translational practices, strategies, and approaches involved in any translation process has prompted scholars to study how translations acquire meaning in the target semiotic systems into which they have been grafted. The semiotic structure of these adaptations has been studied as represented by instances of socio-cultural change, ideological manipulation, or implied and explicit censorship within the context of polysystems theory.

The current interest in these complex semiotic processes cannot be considered as a revolution in the field of translation studies from the point of view of its theoretical foundation. J. B. Casagrande (a precursor of cultural translation studies) had already anticipated much of this new trend when he declared in rather simple words that "one does not translate languages, one translates cultures" (338). This premise is altogether too prevalent to be obviated when the source language is so distant culturally as it was the case with Casagrande's research of Comanche[7] or, in our case, Alfonso X's interpretation of an elegiac set of literary epistles supposedly written by Greek and Roman women.

There are obvious caveats to this approach when we look into a translation as distant culturally, socially, and chronologically as Alfonso X's <u>Her.</u> Moreover, the dimension seems to grow even bigger if we add the gap that separated a thirteenth-century Iberian translator from a Roman poet like Ovid. Theo Hermans explains:

> In looking at the field of translation in a distant culture – distant in time, place or ideology – researchers project the concept of translation prevalent in their own time, place, and language onto the new domain, and start from there. . . . Our present-day cultural categories have no exact counterpart in, say, tenth-century European societies, or among the Nambikwara of the Amazon region. If we nevertheless wish to study cultural products which function in those communities in a manner comparable in one way or another with what we here and now call, for example, 'literature', or 'art', we have no other option except to explore the possibility that something resembling our own categories, however minimally defined, exists in those communities, and subsequently to proceed from this assumption of commensurability to map and gloss the various practices in the other

---

7 The differing cultural configurations of Native American languages such as Comanche were largely responsible for the development of often independent linguistic and cultural approaches to translation. In her introduction to R. H. Lowie's renowned <u>The Crow Indians</u>, Phenocia Bauerle (a Crow Indian herself) explains how Lowie misunderstood some of the Crow's rituals largely due to his lack of acquaintance with the cultural background of the Crow and she goes on to remark that "as we translate languages we translate cultures" (vi).

culture, together with their metalanguages, and together with related practices in the immediate vicinity. (46)

Moreover, as M. Baker has argued, it is important to bear in mind that, in spite of the strong pull of the "cultural" turn, it is neither desirable nor plausible to entirely replace linguistics with cultural studies when studying how translations come into being. She argues that linguistic and cultural studies should complement one another since

> linguistics provides a set of tools which allow us to study language: the raw material of any kind of translation, including even sign interpreting. No theorizing about translation, and certainly no training for translator, can proceed on the basis of dismissing this essential component of translation. . . After all, if translation studies is, . . . interdisciplinary by nature, then there is no need to set various disciplines in opposition to each other nor to resist the integration of insights achieved through the application of various tools of research, whatever their origin. (16-18)

My study of Alfonso's translation of Ovid's <u>Her.</u> will, precisely, look at these epistles in a way that acknowledges the mutual influence that is established between a text and the culture in which it was produced, translated, and read while looking at the "raw material" into which those processes were encoded: the actual text of the letters contained in the <u>GE</u>.

Moreover, given the unavoidable presence and agency of the translator in a system whose components must be continually assessed and evaluated (original meaning, original context, original intentionality, necessary meaning, necessary intentionality, and necessary context) my dissertation will also look into those instances in which the translators could have left a trace of this cultural or social entity in the text. These, as I shall explain in the following sections of this chapter, appear in the text in the shape of norms, tendencies, methodologies and other forms of negotiation of meaning in different interrelated semiotics systems such as culture and language. By focusing on these norms, I intend to study and theorize on the characteristics of the historical contingency of the translation of the <u>Her.</u> as well as on the currency of certain discourses and cultural values at the time when the translation was planned and executed.

1.3 MEDIEVAL CULTURAL TRAFFIC: TRANSLATIONS AS THE AGENTS OF CULTURAL CHANGE

So far I have discussed the relations that are established between a text and the cultural backgrounds in which it was produced and in which it will be read, but there is a third element in this system without which the whole process of translation cannot be understood: the individual. As Rakefet Sela-Sheffy reminds us, researching culture as an essential dimension of translation theory inevitably leads to "approaching the practice of translation as a social activity, which, like any other human activity, is organized and regulated through social forces" ("How to" 1-2).

G. Böhme has recently reminded us that, whereas modern scientific knowledge is understood as an independent entity devoid of moral or ethic value, in the Middle Ages, and up until Galileo, it was only those individuals of a fit character and superior moral qualities who were regarded as capable of gaining access to the highest, most complex spheres of knowledge (386). Böhme's argument is essential if we want to understand the role and predisposition of those men responsible for translating ancient Latin works such as the Her. in thirteenth-century Europe. A second consideration that has to be made in this respect is that modern conception of the original text as innately superior to any possible translation was not nearly as prevalent in the medieval world as it is in our modern and post-modern eras.

An approach like the one I have adopted in my dissertation values the role of the translators and their cultural and ideological background, as well as their conscious interaction with it (habitus) over textual analysis as a quasi-independent research tool. This approach emphasizes the influence of the translator's habitus on the translation and considers textual variations from one language to another as a priori traceable textual evidence of a certain habitus. Interpreting the translation becomes, in this way, an act of reconstruction that goes beyond an analysis based on preconceived, anachronic, or, in general terms, easily accepted semiotic variations and looks at the text as the end product of an intricate process.

Such a norms-based approach seeks to identify instances (at all levels and stages of the translation process) in which the translators would have chosen one particular translation when many others could have been available. The second stage in this process involves analyzing the mode of translation in order to recreate the forces that could have prompted or conditioned particular choices in the translation process. These choices include all the ways in which a translator can conclude the negotiation of the translation process by adapting a semiotic segment from the source cultural product (as found in a written text) and confining it to another written text inscribed in the linguistic system of the target polysystem. All the patterns observed at any of the many stages involved in this process will then be analyzed in order to reveal the existence of norms in the shape of regularities of behavior as well as sets of expectations, preferred options, and the anticipation of such expectations (cf. Hermans, "Translation" 52).

1.3.1 Norms and the Hypothetical Translator

As we saw in the previous section of this introduction, Even-Zohar's approach to translation as a complex phenomenon made up of and taking place across similarly complex semiotic systems such as language, literature, and culture resulted in the

adoption of polysystems theory. In the case of translation studies, the focus of research turned to the culture models that operated behind the production of concrete cultural objects in the shape of literary translations. These cultural models seemed to be the "common denominator" that would allow individuals belonging to a certain culture to understand and negotiate the dynamics of that particular culture. As Lianeri has explained, the field of translation proved to be an ideal setting to put into practice Even-Zohar's theory on the nature and mutability of culture:

> Described in Even-Zohar's terms, a 'polysystem' is inherently multidimensional. It is able to accommodate taxonomies established in the realm of literature (the division between high and low literature), translation (the division between translation and non translation), and other modes of cultural production, as well as the realm of social relations (the division between dominant and dominated social groups). The need to account for the relations between these two realms, to describe translation not as a phenomenon existing in isolation, but as an integral part of a sociocultural totality, leads polysystem model to the supposition of norms and laws of translation production. (Lianeri 2001)

The impetus of Even-Zohar's seminal work on polysytems theory prompted scholars such as Toury to explore the contexts of literary production in both the source and target language. This approach is based on the premise that translators must be able to operate within both polysystems and successfully negotiate the text from one to the other across many semiotic systems.

Given the complex nature of all of these systems (culture, literary tradition, and, of course, language) and their instability in terms of formalist classifications, Toury saw fit to approach translation studies as, above any other consideration, descriptive analysis of an undetermined character and with variable methodologies (thus the term Descriptive Translation Studies or DTS). As Toury explains in "What Lies beyond Descriptive Translation Studies?" this term reflects his conception of translation not as an empirical phenomenon that can be isolated and studied systematically.[8] For Toury all translations are a matter of opinion and must therefore be approached in relation to ideology. Any act of translation (however meticulous, dedicated, or diaphanous) involves the implementation of certain norms which operate within a larger ideological framework.

Toury shares in the theory of sociologists such as Davis, namely that sociability is an essential human faculty which "is assumed to be activated whenever a number of persons come into contact and start exploring their situation with a view to living together" ("Handful" 14). According to this theory, social conventions are the product of the human drive to use sociability in order to "create agreements about actions" which in due time will result in "the appearance of stability and regularity because we agree that certain actions are acceptable in appropriate circumstances, and others are not" (Davis 97).

---

8 Toury acknowledges that there are empirical phenomena that are involved in the process of translation ("What Lies" 1.2)

The observable product or outcome of this process is what Toury calls "behavioral routines," which are nothing but patterns of choice within a set of social conventions. Although all these negotiations, agreements, routines, and conventions are a necessary outcome of the human drive to exercise sociability, Toury is cautious when it comes to arguing in favor of our ability as researchers to trace back across the complex net of negotiations, agreements, routines, and conventions that take place in a process of adaptation to social regulations such as translation. Toury is careful to point out that, although the attainment of social order will necessarily be negotiated by the creation and exchange of conventions, "they are not specific and binding enough to serve as guidelines for (and/or mechanisms for the assessment of) instances of behavior and their products" (15).

Toury regards norms as regularities of behavior within the strategic decisions made by translators in the process of producing a target text that adequately reproduced the meaning contained in the original. The premises that norms must exist and that they can be identified in almost any translation are the basis of any study which, like mine, seeks to reveal recurrent patterns in the translation process. Such an approach assumes that translation is, above any other consideration, a practice that relies heavily on sociocultural practice. In order to define sociocultural practice and its relation to translation studies, Gideon relies on the work of anthropologist J. Davis ("Social Creativity").

Norms are initially defined as a process located somewhere between 'competence' and 'performance'. In this system, competence is understood as the possible translations that the theorist can conceive based on textual, social, and cultural information pertinent to a particular translation. On the other hand, performance stands for all those options that are adopted in a translation process whereas norms would be the concrete subset of options that translators adopt as part of a recurring pattern in one or more of the different semiotic process that any translation involves. Theo Hermans provides the following explanation of the dual meaning of translation norm both as a measurable phenomenon found in the text and as the inferred rule that, according to the logic of the text, must have originated or at least provoked such instance of a translation norm:

> [Translation norm] refers to both a regularity in behavior, i. e. a recurring pattern, and to the underlying mechanisms which accounts for this regularity. The mechanism is a psychological and social entity. It mediates between the individual and the collective, between the individual's intentions, choices and actions, and collectively held beliefs, values and preferences.[9] (Translation 80)

Norms have been defined at a discourse level by M. Baker as "a product of a tradition of translating in specific ways which can only be observed and elaborated through the analysis of a representative body of translated texts in a given language or culture" ("Text" 240). Given that these norms depend on the socio-historical

---

9 Toury goes into detail to explain that norms are not only exclusive to the process of translation but that they also operate at different levels and on different ways within the same translation (Descriptive 58).

context in which they are adopted, my thesis will attempt to frame the use and representation of Ovid and the Her. within the translation in two specific socio-cultural polysytems.

The first of these (chapter 2) is the historiographic enterprise of Alfonso X in the context of the development of vernacular cultural production. The second one (chapter 3) discusses Ovid, and the Her., in the context of European historiographic and romance narrative. The aim of these two analyses is to account for what Toury has termed the two most important and unique (and at the same time problematic) "features inherent in the notion of norm": their socio-cultural specificity and their basic instability (Descriptive 62).

1.3.2 Norms, Conventions and Translations: What to Translate

Another of the achievements of polysystems theory has been to focus attention not only on the translation process but also on the corpus of translations that is operative in many literary systems. Whereas the analysis of how translation takes place in the GE is the focus of my research with respect to Ovid's Her., the circumstances in which translation take place also play an important role in determining the cultural value of the text chosen for translation. The two main questions involved in acknowledging the existence of norms in translation is the choice of one text among many others both from the point of view of its "inherent" cultural interest and value and, also, of its "potential" effect in the semiotic systems into which it will be transplanted. Theo Hermans explains:

> Norms govern the mode of import of cultural products—for example, of the translation of literary texts—to a considerable extent, at virtually every stage and every level, whenever choices between alternative courses of action need to be made (to import or not to import? to translate or to 'rewrite' in some other way? how to translate?). Of course, norms also govern the mode of export, if a culture, or a section of it, actively exports texts or other cultural goods. But whether a product will be imported by the intended receptor system, or imported in the way envisaged by the donor, depends partly on factors pertaining to the receptor system itself and partly on the nature of the relations between the two systems in question. ("Norms" 28)

In this context, Toury classifies norms as preliminary and operational, the latter being subdivided again into textual-linguistic and matricial norms (Descriptive 57). In the case of translation, preliminary norms are those that determine the choice of text as the object of a planned translation; in our case these would be the eleven Her. that were included in the GE as part of Alfonso's vision for a comprehensive history of the world.[10] The resolution of the question of what other texts would have

---

10 The first issue with establishing these preliminary norms is the nature of this choice. Were these eleven epistles chosen as opposed to all the others that were discarded? Since the GE was never completed beyond part III (parts IV, V, and VI were only partially or minimally completed) it seems apparently difficult to establish this fact. However, since the epistles were incorporated to the GE according to

been available to Alfonso and what sort of norm or norms were involved in this decision will occupy the first part of my study. In chapter 1 will review the contents of the <u>GE</u> as well as the historic discourse deployed by the translators in order to identify what Toury has termed "regularities of behavior" ("Handful" 16).

Toury's research is closely related to Even-Zohar's implementation of the polysystem model. A set of specific norms, which Toury has termed "translation policy" must be in place before a text can be deemed fit or useful or beneficial according to that very same policy. Translation norms then act as agents of change within the literary system prompting an otherwise impossible exchange between alien polysystems:

> It is clear that the very principles of selecting the works to be translated are determined by the situation governing the (home) polysystem: the texts are chosen according to their compatibility with the new approaches and the supposedly innovatory role they may assume within the target language. (Even-Zohar, <u>Polysystem</u> 47)

The existence of norm is a logic consequence of the observable fact that some authors, some texts, some parts of a certain work, or some meanings are chosen for the purpose of being transposed from one language to another. If we consider all the meanings that are being negotiated in a translation from the point of view of polysystems theory, it becomes clear that these negotiations in the many semiotic systems involved in translation do not begin or end with the text (the text being understood as identifiable and transposable units of meaning isolated from all other communication systems involved in the production of texts).

Given the rather wide spectrum of identifiable patterns of translation that can be considered norms under Toury's definition, critics such as Theo Hermans have recently developed additional categories that complement and further restrict the sphere of influence of norms. For the purpose of my study, I will specifically use Herman's notion of convention in order to draw a distinction between long-established and accepted norms and less socio-culturally restricted patterns of communication dependant on shared preferences, or regularities of a commonly acknowledged non-prescriptive character. Hermans elaborates on the difference by explaining that

> Over time, conventions may fall victim to their own success. If a convention has served its purpose of solving a recurrent coordination problem sufficiently well for long enough, the expectation, on all sides, that a certain course of action will be adopted in a certain type of situation may grow beyond a mere preference, i.e. beyond a preferential and probabilistic expectation, and acquire a binding character. At that point we can begin to speak of norms. Norms, then, can be understood as stronger, more prescriptive versions of social conventions. Whereas conventions are a matter of precedent and shared expectation, norms have a directive character. Like

---

chronologic and thematic premises, it is very unlikely that any of the letters would have been left out waiting to be added to one of these incomplete parts. The references to Hero and Leander's epistles, however, indicate that their letter could have well been discarded as inconsequential to Alfonso's historic narrative.

conventions, norms derive their legitimacy from shared knowledge, a pattern of mutual expectation and acceptance, and the fact that, on the individual level, they are largely internalized. This is what allows us to speak of norms as both psychological and social entities. There are many social, moral and artistic norms and conventions that we constantly observe while hardly being aware of them. ("Norms" 30)

Translations cannot, indeed, be approached as unidirectional textual utterances. The assumed linguistic information encoded in the text (the text understood here as a pseudo-stable construct) is not autonomous since the other systems also influence the production of meaning within those textual utterances. Translation is negotiated, produced, and consumed across the borders of all those semiotic systems it transcends and influences (language, culture, or habitus) and it must therefore be understood as capable of carrying, inducing, restraining, or promoting cultural change

To study translation in a national context is to become aware of the multiplicity of intersecting functions and discourses in which it participates. If translation is taking on increased importance today as a way to conceptualize processes of cultural transmission, it is because we recognize that it participates in many different ways in the generation of new forms of knowledge, new textual forms, and new relationships to language. ("Language" 160)

My focus in this dissertation will be the translators' choices when translating semiotic segments composed of a specific grammatical, cultural, social, or ideological structure into Old Castilian. Furthermore, once norms have been inferred from a series of repetitive patterns of translation I will attempt to establish how one choice could have been adopted from the many available to the translator. At the same time, this type of approach could also reveal valuable information about the ideological configuration of the translators at work during the editorial process involved in every translation. It is my purpose, therefore, to inquire how the translators approached their task and what ideas they could have had of their own role in this process of socio-cultural transaction as well as their expectations of their audience as reflected in their behavior in the face of existing norms.

The reason why it has been necessary to carry out this investigative work regarding, on the one hand, the GE as a historical work, and, on the other, Ovid and the Her. as a source of knowledge in the thirteenth century is two-fold. On the one hand, I had to establish what it meant to write historical narrative in Iberia at the end of the thirteenth century and, on the other, what it meant to choose the Her. (and Ovid at large) as a historical source. Once I have framed the socio-cultural background of this hypothetical translator in order to better understand his habitus, I will be able to implement the second step in my analysis: the identification of "norms" in the eleven epistles translated in the Alfonsine historiographic opus.

1.3.3 Who Translates? The Five Assumptions about Translation and the Translator's Visibility

So far I have discussed the usefulness of a norm-based approach when

researching the ideological and socio-cultural factors of which all translations participate both in the source and the target language. There are, however, relevant implications in the implementation of a norm-based study like mine among which the most important is the role of the translator as an individual whose agency is the last (save editorial censorship) filter that a cultural product must pass before being consigned to the written text. As K. Bassnett reminds us

> a writer does not just write in a vacuum: he or she is the product of a particular culture, of a particular moment in time, and birthplace as well as the stylistic, idiosyncratic features of the individual. Moreover, the material conditions in which the text is produced, sold, marketed and read also have a crucial role to play. (Constructing 136)

Bassnett's comments on the complex role of the translator in any process that translations must undergo highlight how important the study of the translator's socio-cultural condition has become in recent translation studies. As I explained in the previous paragraph of this section, norms can be identified by contrasting semantic segments represented in the source text as a representation of the cultural product consigned to it within the source polysystem. Nevertheless, since the ultimate agent responsible for the cultural product and its text in the target language is the translator, it becomes apparent that

> norms are not directly observable, and there may be a gulf separating statements about norms from norm-governed behavior. Tracing actual decisions and regularities does not tell us why the decisions were made and what induced the regularities. Moreover, cultural systems are extremely complex and perpetually changing entities, embedded in other social systems, each with a history of its own. Translation is necessarily anchored in several of these systems at once. We can therefore expect to find a variety of competing, conflicting and overlapping norms and models which pertain to a whole array of other social domains. (Hermans, "Norms" 39)

In the case of polysystems theory, the hybridism of the cultural product subject to translation has become an issue of the utmost importance. The recently acknowledged transformational capacity of translation within the target literary polysystems onto which it is grafted has brought the role of the translator to the forefront of translation studies. Susan Bassnett notes in her survey of that role throughout the history of literature and culture in the West:

> We have come full circle, back to a recognition of the power invested in the translator to change texts and so change the world. We may not burn translators at the stake (though the attacks on Salman Rushdie's translators show that the translator was certainly not seen as an invisible filter) but we are compelled now to recognize the role they play in reshaping texts, a role that is far from innocent, and is very visible indeed. ("Meek" 23)

The translator's visibility, since introduced into contemporary translation studies by L. Venuti in the collection of essays on the subject Rethinking Translation:

Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology, has become a major point of contention in the field of translation studies. Venuti initially used the term to refer to contemporary Anglo-American culture and its total disregard for the role of the translator in any translation that could be read fluently implying that such translations were sacrificing some of the original contents in their editorial process in order to please their intended audience (as opposed to challenge them with the original text).

In the case of Alfonso X's translation of the Her., several questions ought to be raised with regard to the visibility of the translator/s in this context: What kind of translator is represented in the text? How does he negotiate his role with the source text/language and the target text/language? How does he negotiate his role in the translation with regard to the intended audience?

> Translation involves a network of active social agents, who may be individuals or groups, each with certain preconceptions and interests. The translative operation is a matter of transactions between parties that have an interest in these transactions taking place. For those involved in the transfer, the various modalities and procedures that go with it presuppose choices, alternatives, decisions, strategies, aims and goals. Norms play a crucial role in these processes. (Hermans, "Norms" 26)

Theo Hermans' practical application of a norms-based approach to a seventeenth-century Flemish translation of Boethius by Buck raises, precisely, the question of norms and their relation to the role of the translator in their negotiation. Hermans concludes the introduction to the method followed in his paper on Buck's Boethius by stating that

> I like to think that the teleological aspect of translator behavior comes into its own as translators consciously or unconsciously negotiate their way through and around existing norm complexes with a view to securing some form of benefit, whether personal or collective, material or symbolic. ("Translation" 52)

This process, as far as translation is concerned, can be defined as developing according to a series of assumptions which, for the purpose of this dissertation, I have clearly defined in accordance with the mode of text analysis put forward by B. Hatim and I. Mason in The Translator as Communicator. Hatim and Mason propose five assumptions which must inevitably be part of any textual activity involving the transaction of meaning.

The first of these five assumptions is colloquially called "bottom-up" (17) reading and it prescribes that any reader, writer, or translator must, in order to acquire meaning from a given text, decode it based on the information that the text itself offers.[11] In the case of the Old Castilian translation of the Her., this process

---

11 Assumption 1: "Text users (writers, readers, translators, etc.) engage in a form of negotiation which moves in a text-to-context direction, as a point of departure for the way a text is composed in accordance with certain communicative requirements" (16).

would take place in two instances: first when the translator would read the Latin original and would learn, for example, that Penelope awaited Ulysses for a long time based on his knowledge of the Latin language and his ability to interpret the meaning of the part of the epistle attributed to Penelope. Secondly, when members of the intended audience would read the vernacular rendering of the Latin original, they would likewise use their ability to understand Castilian to decode the part of the translation in which Penelope is said to have awaited for Ulysses.

The second assumption involves the same process as the first one, yet it refers to the opposite direction in which meaning is applied to the text from the reader's mind. In the case mentioned above, this assumption is exemplified by the simultaneous process that is taking place while the reader learns about Ulysses' and Penelope's situation both in Latin and in Old Castilian. This is the most revealing of all the processes that take place in a translation like ours since the Old Castilian translation produced by the translator can help us reveal the habitus that governed the interpretation and re-codification of the text.[12] As Hatim and Mason explain, this is a semiotic process that "includes all those factors which enable text users to identify a given text element or sequence of elements in terms of their knowledge of one or more previously encountered texts or text elements" (18).

The third assumption defines the relationship established between the "top-down" and "bottom-up" modes of interpretation.[13] This relationship is termed as "cross-fertilization" (18) and it can be considered the most complex in the semiotic analysis of a text. The producer of the text, in this case the translators producing a text in the TL, will be aware of issues related to intentionality, this is, how their intended audience will perceive and decode the text they have generated. It is at this stage that the translators must decide how the translation (which they might have already produced in his mind) will be interpreted and how that new text, that new meaning relates to the original meaning found in the ST.

In the case of the GE, the sociocultural gap between the audience and the compilers was not only reiterated by the translators and editors but was actually one of the ideological principles behind the composition of Alfonso's historical works. As Hatim and Mason argue, on this dimension of the translation process, "the text producer consistently seeks not only to indicate the relevant socio-cultural values which the text is intended to represent, but also, and perhaps more significantly, to define the socio-textual focus of the text as a whole" (20).

Assumption 4 establishes that translators will have to approach the creation

---

12 Assumption 2: "Simultaneously with bottom-up analysis, text users take contextual factors into consideration and assess them in terms of the way they impinge 'top-down' upon actual texts as these unfold in real time" (17).

13 Assumption 3:

Values yielded by top-down analysis tend to cross-fertilize with features identified in bottom-up analysis. Together, these regulate the way texts come to do what they are intended to do. As part of this process, intertextuality is a semiotic parameter exploited by text users, which draws on the socio-cultural significance a given occurrence might carry, as well as on recognizable socio-textual practices (texts, discourses and genres). (18-19)

of meaning in a target language based on the text (assumption 1) and their understanding of it (assumption 2).[14] Moreover, it also refers to the reproduction of these two elements in the target language while taking into account the intended audience perception of the TL text in contrast to the SL text's original meaning (assumption 3). Where assumption 4 becomes different is in that it takes in the question of the situationality of the translation. By situationality it is here meant the register membership that the target text is intended to occupy in the target language: more or less formal, more or less canonic, dogmatic, religious, historic, fictional, or fantastic for example.

In the case of literary or historical texts like the GE and the Her., the most important part of this assumption is the situationality in the spectra of fictionality, verisimilitude, and historicity. Traces of socio-cultural and socio-textual practices in the acquisition of meaning from the Latin original as well as in its production in the Old Castilian translation could provide valuable insight into the translators' "interferences" in the form of intentions, beliefs, and presuppositions that determined the negotiation of meaning along this complex process. The question seems to be, therefore, in the case of the Her.: How did the translators or compilers negotiate the situationality of the Her. in the historical narrative of the GE?

Assumption 5 establishes that register membership ought to be established by several parameters such as subject matter, genre, doctrinal value, level of formality, or level of sacredness. The proof that such categories must exist is that we refer to them when we want to establish to what extent a particular text, sentence, or word participates in a particular register, within a particular context, and for particular reasons.[15]

By looking at the translation of the Her. in the GE from the point of view of these five assumptions I intend to help identify from the point of view of the visibility of the translator what socio-cultural value coordinates could have been at play when the translator undertook these translations. The distance that the translator could have travelled while negotiating these processes will establish how much did they know about the ancient world and how much they wanted their audience to know. Moreover, this gap could also help determine how members of the intellectual elites viewed historical education as part of an induced cultural policy. Moreover, this analysis will also help define what could have been the perception of the translators with regard to the two cultural, social, and literary traditions that they were negotiating as they translated the Her. This question deals with the perception that translators had of themselves and of Iberian vernacular culture as opposed to the

---

14 Assumption 4: "Text producers' intentions, beliefs, presuppositions and inferences are brought to bear on the analysis and perception of a given unit of meaning. Meaning is here understood to cover areas of both socio-cultural and socio-textual practice" (20).

15 Assumption 5: "Register membership is defined in terms of a number of parameters which constrain the communicative transaction. These include field (or subject matter), tenor (or level of formality), and mode (or the distinction between spoken and written). It is by recognition of such factors that registers are defined" (20).

glorious past of those cultures Alfonso sought to imitate. This inquiry should help us measure the distance between both traditions, between the present and the past, as seen by the translators. Although my research does not allow for a post-colonial approach when it comes to the significance of that distance, it is still relevant to find out if the Roman-Latin and Iberian-Old Castilian cultures and literatures occupied "radically different positions in the grid of cultural power" as Tymoczko has argued is the case with most trans-cultural translations (26).

As I will explain in chapter 2, Rada's unique position as 1) an eminent historian who influenced both Alfonso X and his father Fernando III; 2) a man of letters with an education and literary background surpassed by only a handful of men in the Iberian Peninsula; 3) a major political player in every issue that affected the politics of his time, and 4) a key player in the European political scene provides a unique opportunity to better understand the role that literary translations played in Alfonso X's thirteenth-century literary and historiographic revival. In the context of the questions of the translator's invisibility, I will make tentative connections between Rada as a model translator and the negotiation of the translator's visibility as evidenced by the analysis of these five assumptions in the eleven epistles translated in the GE.

1.3.4 Domestication vs. Foreignization

Given an analysis of the role of the translator as outlined in the previous section, the concepts of domestication and foreignization are an interesting point of contention when it comes to determining how notions and conventions influence the decisions made by translators and how translators can reshape the ways those constraints are presented in the text in order to promote a cultural shift in the host polysystem.

Among the possibilities that DTS offers, (all of which will be put into practice in the fifth and final chapter of this thesis) the domestic/foreign dichotomy has been perhaps the one that has been deployed most successfully in translation analysis and will therefore be the one I will use in my research. Contemporary scholars in the field of translation studies have analyzed the nature and character of domestic translation which they essentially define as any translation in which the source text is assimilated to the cultural and linguistic values of the target language (L. Venuti, Translator's 18-22; D. Robinson, Translation 116-17; A. Chesterman, Memes 28).

A good example of a domesticating translation, as E. Salines explains in Alchemy and Amalgam, is Baudelaire's translation of De Quincey's poetry which reveals the translator's attempt "to make the text his." As E. Salines' research shows, Baudelaire deploys domesticating strategies which constitute an explicit rejection of the French poet's confessed disregard for De Quincey's "essentiellement digressif" or "affreusement conversationniste et disgressionist" style while trying to restructure his "sinueuse" thought (191). Here is a passage that Salines finds representative of Baudelaire's deliberate attempt to transform De Quincey's text (in this case Un Mangeur d'opium, a translation of Confessions of an English Opium Eater) "to fit his own poetic preoccupations" (193):

> [A]nd more than once it has happened to me, on a summer-night, when
> I have been at an open window, in a room from which I could overlook

the sea at a mile below me, and could command a view of the great town of L-, at about the same distance, that I have sat, from sun-set to sun-rise, motionless, and without wishing to move.

Plus d'une fois, it lui est arrivé de passer toute une belle nuit d'été assis près d'une fenêtre, sans bouger, sans même désirer de changer de place, depuis le coucher jusqu'au lever du soleil, remplissant ses yeux de la vaste perspective de la mer et d'une grande cité, et son esprit, des longues et délicieuses méditations suggérées par ce spectacle. (193)

A well-known and well-documented case of linguistic domestication is that of the regularization of the many Basque linguistic entities into the standardized <u>Batua</u> (Basque for 'unified').[16] Although Batua (commonly referred to as Euskara) Basque relies on the most common variety of Basque (that of the Northeastern province of Gipúzcoa/Gipuzkoa known as Euskera), it has been standardized to such an extent that for the second half of the twentieth century, thousands of words were systematically coined by members of the Eukaltzaindia (Royal Academy of the Basque Language).[17]

This remarkable example of successful language planning took advantage of Basque's abundant use of suffixes in order to promote the use of words that aimed at re-constructing terms that had never actually existed in the original language/s such as '<u>epailari</u>' (from '<u>epai</u>' meaning 'sentence' and '<u>–lari</u>' meaning 'performer,' 'maker,' 'doer') instead of the newly-"foreign", "Spanish"-sounding '<u>juez</u>.'[18]

Foreignization, on the other hand, seeks to retain, adapt, or graft traces of the

16 The so-called Basque dialects vary from one another to the point that communication can be as difficult between a speaker from the Western Spanish province of Bizcaya/Bizkaia and the Eastern French area of Zuberoa as it would be between a speaker of Central Spanish and another who spoke Portuguese. There are in fact translations from one variant to another, such as F. P. Añibarro's (1748-1830) adaptation of the Labourdin <u>Gero</u> (1643) by Pedro Agerre into the Biscayan dialect.

17 The father of contemporary Basque nationalism, Sabino Arana Goiri (1865-1903), inaugurated this philological trend when he included in his foundational writings numerous pseudo-philological neologisms. Although Basques called their language Euskara, Arana changed the spelling to <u>euzkera</u> according to his (false) theory that it was related to <u>eguzki</u> or <u>euzki</u>, the word for 'sun'. He also coined/invented terms which are nowadays used by all Basque institutions such as <u>eusko</u> (that which is Basque) and Euskadi (the co-official name of the Basque Autonomous Community of Spain) (Hualde & Urbina 3).

18 It should be noted that this process of linguistic planning is in direct relation to what Joseba Zulaika has defined as "The Basque Holiday from History." According to Zulaika, a close examination of the way most Basques relate to their history reveals an "overbearing presence of historicities that shun temporal process in favor of archetypes, repetitive formations, or the innocence of timeless constructions of identity" which results in their granting "singular relevance to prehistoric, aesthetic or foundational temporalities that become incomparable in their exceptional status" (139).

original text and build them upon the target language (See also Venuti, Robinson and Chesterman) with the ultimate purpose of trying to transport the intended reader back to the culture of the original text.

More recently, Venuti has redefined foreignization and has come up with the term "minoritizing translation" in order to account for a translation model whose goal will be "never to erect a new standard or to establish a new canon, but rather to promote cultural innovation as well as the understanding of cultural difference" (Scandals 11). Venuti has been the main critic of domesticating translations which he defines as "an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values (20) and considers it an equivalent of conformation of "dominant cultural values" (Translator's 291).

Venuti's criticism can be regarded as accurate in those instances in which the target language domesticates the source text as part of a larger cultural or political enterprise (a colonial or imperial one in most cases). Nevertheless, as Muñoz Martín has argued, a foreignizing translation implies by definition an attempt to transmit meaning and values from a position of textual and cultural authority with respect to the audience whom one seeks to "educate" (Lingüística).

As Palopski and Oittinen have noted "the word "foreignizing" in itself might be misleading, at least in the context of translating: every time we translate we necessarily domesticate, one way or the other" (386). They prove their theory by analyzing the domestic and the foreign in several Finnish translations of Macbeth and Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, in which the purposes and dimensions of domestication are exposed in order to conclude that "domestication does not necessarily conform to dominant cultural values" but actually can bring about "the cultural difference of a minor language" as advocated by Venuti (387).

Palopski and Oittinen point out how Macbeth's first Finnish translation, Ruunulinna, (1834) contains a number of essentially domesticating traits such as the use of Finnish names instead of the original ones, the action takes part in Eastern Karelia (Finland) and not Russia, and the three sisters are Finnish mythological creatures (378). The fact that Finnish was still a minority language used essentially for religious and administrative purposes at the time translations like Macbeth's were carried out clashes with Venuti's argument that domestication is, in essence, a predatory approach used by powerful cultures/languages in search for control of their minority counterparts.

In the cases of Baudelaire and the revival of Basque, these are, respectively, rhetorical and linguistic considerations, and the main application of these theories has been to evaluate the impact that certain translation movements have had on native cultures throughout history, specifically in the instances of colonial or empire-building enterprises. In this context, Venuti has deprecated domesticated translations on the basis that they "conform to dominant cultural values" (291) as opposed to a foreignizing approach which "challenges the dominant aesthetics" (309) and "signal the linguistic and cultural differences of the foreign text" (Translator's 311). Venuti does indeed regard domestication as "an ethnocentric reduction of the foreign text to target-language cultural values" (20) and has openly argued for a foreignizing approach which he has termed "resistancy" "not only merely because it avoids fluency, but because it challenges the target-language culture even as it enacts

its own ethnocentric violence on the foreign text" (24). In the words of R. Copeland:

> Primary translations . . . operate according to the terms of exegesis: they give prominence to an exegetical motive by claiming to serve and supplement a textual authority, but they actually work to challenge and appropriate that textual authority. Secondary translations, on the other hand, give precedence to rhetorical motives, defining themselves as independent productive acts: characteristically they suppress any sign of exegetical service to a specific source, even though they produce themselves through such exegetical techniques. (Rhetoric 177).

The relevance of establishing whether Alfonso's Old Castilian translations of Latin texts feature any noticeable traces of domestication or foreignization is even more important if we take into account that the predominance of the latter is often associated with a Medieval culture of translation whereas the former would signal the transition towards the post-medieval, vernacular centered new model of translation (Burke 26).

1.3.5 Cultural Transition in Medieval / Early Modern Translation

P. Burke has argued that there was, indeed, a major transformation that took place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the field of translation. According to him, medieval translation was "dominated by 'word-for-word'" translation in spite of the ubiquitous glosses and additions to the original text which were concerned, mainly, with cultural or doctrinal matters far removed from linguistic issues (26).

In the case of widely separated languages, historical periods, and intellectual and discursive traditions, such as those of Alfonso X's thirteenth-century Renaissance and Ovid's Golden Age of Latin literature, the analysis of these acts of interpretation proves to be a valuable approach to the historical, cultural, and ideological minds of the literary and political elite of thirteenth-century Iberia.

From the point of view of cultural contact and interference, Alfonso X's court and compilatory works such as the GE provide us with a unique opportunity to study the evolution of ideas within the framework of translation studies. This specificity becomes evident if we adopt R. Sela-Sheffy's scale of intercultural exchange in which three procedures/phases of interference are contemplated:

> (a) "Import of goods as tangible objects, tools or materials" which in the case of the Alfonsine scriptorium would include the acquisition of texts of foreign origin such as the Almagest, the Heroides in Latin and the edition of native texts that were not readily available.

> (b) "Translation ("translation borrowings", or calques)" ("Interference" 3). Translation and compilation projects based on sources originally written in languages such as Latin, Arabic, or Persian such as the Calila and Dimna, the General Estoria, or the Lapidario (Book of the Stones).

> (c) "A large scale reproduction, that is, implementation of extraneous models of cultural production and consumption. Don Juan Manuel's abridged version of the GE (Cronica Abreviada) or any other historical

work based on an Alfonsine translation or compilation which used a work in Old Castilian as its ultimate source.

Unlike the cases of Arabic, Hebrew, or Old-French translations that were carried out in the Castilian court in the thirteenth century, the translation of a Latin work such as the Her. exemplifies the importation of a cultural item whose source culture (Imperial Rome) and, to a large extent, whose source language (Silver Age poetic language) lacked a contemporary political or ethnic entity. This is not at all a concern exclusive to medieval translations. For example, Lorna Hardwick, an Ancient Greek scholar, when discussing intercultural translation (especially diachronic translation) explains that translation is a highly complex process which "involves translating or transplanting into the receiving culture the cultural framework within which an ancient text is embedded" (Translating 22). Hardwick's argument is that translations of texts belonging to distant civilizations should behave as cultural recreations capable of transporting the reader to the socio-cultural environment in which they were produced.

My thesis will look at the question of cultural importation by means of planned translation precisely in order to reveal patterns in the translation norms found in the Her. that could point towards specific characteristics, trends, and methods in the way cultural importation was understood by the medieval compilers and translators in charge of the GE.

1.3.6 Interference: The Target Culture Becomes Subordinate

R. Sela-Sheffy describes a culture's receptive attitude as "the willingness of specific agencies in a culture to adopt what is viewed as an external repertoire," which means that "at a certain point, extraneous repertoire becomes valuable for a certain social group, which "thinks of itself" as "lacking", or rather, "in need" of it" (Interference 7). In the case of Alfonso X's scriptorium, the king's purposes could not be more in line with this description. This is particularly the case when it comes to ancient poets (Latin and Greek authors) whose works he believes carry general truths that are necessary to develop the minds of his subjects and the prosperity of his kingdoms. Alfonso explains:

> Andados ueynte nueue años del regnado deste Rey dario. fueron tenidos por Nobles poetas. dos sabios de que llamaron al uno pindaro. & al otro Simonides. & es poeta sabio que sabe assacar & enffeñir. razon de nueuo & componer la apuesta mientre. & fazer ende libro. & dexar la en escripto.

> Twenty years into the reign of Darius, two wise men called Simonides and Pindar were regarded as dignified poetae. And a poeta is a wise man who knows how to infer the truth and then is able to conceal it by arranging it in the most suitable manner and with it he makes a book and sets it into writing. (GE IV, 155v)[19]

---

19 The meaning and translation of 'razon' are complex matters. The Diccionario de la prosa castellana del Rey Alfonso X provides six entries for it: "1 Words or sentences by which discourse is expressed; 2 Argument or demonstration that is provided in

In the case of Alfonso's cultural project, only a few hands controlled such a vast influx of foreign cultural goods into the native culture (especially one that is in an overt construction process such as Alfonso X's Hispania) thus allowing for an even greater degree of supervision from those in power. In the end, as Sela-Sheffy points out, this strategy, while innovative, also provides a unique opportunity to monopolize "the well established domestic repertoire" ("Interference" 8) and influence the course that a culture is to follow.

It should be noted, however, that in the case of Old Castilian Alfonso's project was unique in the sense that the repertoire was, to a large extent, his to make. In this sense, Bassnett and Lefevere's insightful comment that "translation provides researchers with one of the most obvious, comprehensive, and easy to study 'laboratory situations' for the study of cultural interaction" (6) becomes a suitable premise when studying the relevance of the Her. as a component that must have fit in a particular way in Alfonso's cultural plan.

This monopolization becomes even more evident if we take into account the inextricable roles that they played as translators, sponsors, producers, and enforcers of the leading historical, cultural, and political ideologies of their time. As Toury explains:

> Once any intervention with a cultural repertoire is regarded as a possible act of planning, translation emerges as a candidate par excellence for (re)viewing in these terms. Most important of all, translation activities and their products not only can, but very often do cause changes in current states of affairs, often beyond the mere accumulation of individual texts (which is at best marginal, in terms of cultural change) and up to the level of repertoires itself. Many of the changes brought about by means of translation are clearly not involuntary either. As is well known, the act of translation is purposeful in its very nature, a teleological activity where "success" or "failure" are key notions; "success" and "failure" in terms of the requirements of the recipient culture, that is, which is precisely where

---

support of an idea; 3 Motivation or cause; 4 Appropriate order and method of something; 5 Account, narrative, story; 6 That which is appropriate" (1518-19). The meaning is just as obscure in Middle English. Consider the following verses in this Middle English biographical poem of Saint Katherine. The saint is giving a speech to emperor Maxentius in which she explains to him how it is the intellect and reason that lead all wise men to convert to Christianity:

> Mid oþer reisouns of clergie: þat maide preouede also / Þat here godes noþing nere: þat hi aourede hem to. / Þemperour stod and ne couþe: answerie in none wise / Him wondrede of hire fairhede: and of hire queyntise.

> With other learned arguments that maid also proved that the gods to which they prayed were nothing. The emperor stood and could not answer in any way for he was in awe of her beauty and her wisdom. ("Seinte" 534, v. 31-34)

planning activities may be said to have actually taken place. ("Culture" 405)

As much as this heightened control gave the leading intellectuals control over the translation process, the talents of these intellects made them excellent candidates for the tasks they gave themselves. Their understanding and interpretation of the "world" into which the text was produced in its original language as well as the parameters imposed by his reflection on his own cultural and social background and that of his intended audience can thus offer the researcher what Bassnett and Lefevere have termed "a synchronic snapshot of many features of a given culture at a given time" (Constructing 6).[20]

---

20 I disagree with Bassnett's view that what she terms "cultural capital" (the rough equivalent of canonical works)

> are texts the bourgeoisie hastened to read from the seventeenth century onwards because the aristocracy had been reading them, indeed claiming them as its (sic) own, and because the bourgeoisie did not want to be cut off from the company of the aristocracy, because that company would eventually provide access to the aristocracy's power, often also in exchange for the money of the bourgeoisie. (7)

I similarly disagree with her definition of what she terms "The Jerome Model" of translation (2-3).

CHAPTER 2: A KING'S HISTORY OF THE WORLD AND OVID'S HEROINES MEET IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY IBERIA

2.1 ALFONSO'S <u>GENERAL ESTORIA</u> AND OVID'S <u>HEROIDES</u> IN THE ALFONSINE SCRIPTORIUM

כְּבֹד אֱלֹהִים, הַסְתֵּר דָּבָר; וּכְבֹד מְלָכִים, חֲקֹר דָּבָר. (Prov. 25:2, <u>WLC</u>)

Gloria Dei est celare verbum, et gloria regum investigare sermonem. (<u>Nova Vulgata</u>, Prov. 25:2)

Gloria de Dios es celar el verbo, e gloria de los reyes buscar e escodriñar la razón. (<u>GE</u> III, P. IV, p. 263)

The honour of God [is] to hide a thing, and the honour of kings to search out a matter. (<u>YLT</u>, Prov. 25:2)

2.1.1 The <u>General Estoria</u> and the Alfonsine Corpus

Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned King[21], (1221-1284)[22] has been regarded, throughout the history of Spanish literature, as the most important figure in the development of the Castilian vernacular[23] that led to its predominant position over

---

21 In R. Burns' opinion, Alfonso was "the most remarkable king in the history of the West" (<u>Stupor</u> 375), hence the surname of "Emperor of Culture" with which he refers to the Castilian king in his monograph: <u>Emperor of Culture. Alfonso X of Castile and his Thirteenth Century Renaissance</u>. According to O'Callaghan, Alfonso "stands as a scholar and patron of scholars unrivaled by any of his fellow monarchs" (<u>Cantigas</u> 1). The Jesuit Juan de Mariana (1535-1624) passed a judgment on Alfonso's reign in 1599 that would resonate for centuries when he accused the king of being more apt for the search of wisdom than for the government of his people to the extent that "dum coelum considerat obervatque astra, terram amisit " ("while he gazed at the skies and observed the stars he missed on what was happening to his kingdom"; XIII, 20).

22 Alfonso was proclaimed King of Castile in 1252. Ballesteros' thoroughly documented biography of Alfonso is still considered the most comprehensive to this day. O'Callaghan's <u>The Learned King</u> and <u>A Poetic Biography</u> provide a more concise approximation to Alfonso's time, life, ideas, and works.

23 Alfonso's personal endorsement of the vernacular as an official language must also be considered with regard to a widespread movement towards vernacularization in the rest of Europe. T. Hunt, thus, has noted that "in the thirteenth century, both French and English make notable advances as languages of record" (I, 16). S. Coxon argues for a similar case in the use of Middle High German which "by the mid-thirteenth century, and at the start of the <u>Weltchronik</u> for King Conrad . . . is regarded as a suitable vehicle for the most ambitious and exalted of historiographical enterprises" (93). It should be note that linguistic vernacularization was accompanied by a revival of Latin literature in the High Middle Ages. Thus, in the case of Germany, E. Kantorowicz points out that the thirteenth century was the most "Roman"

all the other Iberian proto-romance languages derived from Vulgar Latin in the thirteenth century (Menéndez Pelayo, Varia III, 210-15; Alarcos Llorach 11; R. J. Penny 20).[24] His treatises on astronomy[25] and law[26] as well as his laudatory and lyrical

(römischste) in its cultural history (I, 75).

24 Castilian is referred to as 'the Spanish language' since it is the language to which most Iberians have contributed throughout history. All other languages spoken in Spain are obviously as Spanish as modern Castilian. This process bears a resemblance to the emergence of a supra-regional literary language in late twelfth-century Germany where the prominence and prestige of the Hohenstaufen court gave rise to the mittelhochdeutsche Dichtersprache, a specific variety of standard Middle High German. Another Hohenstaufen, Frederick II (Alfonso's mother's cousin) presided over a similar process of vernacularization in the Italian peninsula where Sicilian became the prominent Italo-romance language before Tuscan was adopted as such. It should be remembered that Fernando III, Alfonso's father, married Beatriz of Swabia, and it was precisely both of them who introduced and supervised the use of the Iberian vernacular against the latinizing trend of the influential Archbishop of Toledo Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada. The other Iberian kingdoms soon followed Castile's policy of vernacularization. More links will be established between Alfonso and the Hohenstaufen Dynasty throughout this dissertation even though, as A. Classen has noted it, "deplorably, the relationship between Germany and Spain during the Middle Ages remains, more or less, a terra incognita" (155). Thus, for example, it is interesting to note that Guido delle Colonne's Historia destructionis Troiae (a Latin translation of Benoît de Saint-Maure's Roman de Troie) was produced at the court of Emperor Frederick II Hohenstaufen (1197-1250) precisely at a time when the emperor was the nominal king of Jerusalem and was preparing to recapture it from Al-Kamil Muhammad al-Malik . Guido, like Alfonso, incorporated Berosus the Chaldean's syncretistic genealogies in order to produce an uninterrupted line of monarchs that spanned from King David's ancestry to the Hohenstaufens themselves (Tanner 56-7). Frederick II was as fond of, and maybe even more, astrologers as Alfonso and thus in his chronicle, Rolandino Patavino remarks how the king's astrologer and confidant, Master Theodore, gave the king the wrong advice regarding his departure towards Lombardy on account of the confusion created by cloudy weather in his reading of the stars (IV, 12).

25 In his History of Mathematical Astronomy, M. C. Lipton characterizes the Alfonsine astronomical enterprise in the following words:

> [A]s far as the history of astronomy is concerned, one of the most significant events of the Middle Ages took place in thirteenth-century Spain. The Christian King Alfonso X (the Wise) . . . established and presided over a group of predominantly Christian and Jewish astronomers charged with translating a number of astronomical texts into the Castilian language. . . . The most important output from this enterprise was the set of astronomical tables that were produced. . . . The tables circulated in many forms (in Latin translation), the most popular of which was the version composed by John of Saxony in 1327, and they formed the basis of practically all astronomical calculations

poetry have earned him a distinguished position among men of literature in the history of Spain making him the most prominent figure in the Spanish letters and science in the thirteenth century (Díez-Echarry & Roca Franquesa 223).

King Alfonso's voluminous GE (1270-?) has been described by J. A. de los Ríos as a "truly Herculean task" given the "arduous and insurmountable difficulties posed by the absurdities and lack of contrasted sources found in thirteenth-century chronology" (III, 592).[27] The GE is, indeed, a vast compendium of world history made up of a series of smaller chapters from diverse sources dealing with kingdoms, peoples, and legends of both Biblical and "pagan" origin. Alfonso elaborates further by writing[28]

---

until the mid sixteenth century. (111)

26 Alfonso X introduced Roman law into Spain for the first time in a consistent manner with his Siete Partidas, a compilation of "the usages and ancient customs of Spain—the Roman laws—various decisions of the canon law—the writings of the fathers and quotations from various sages and philosophers" which "considering the period in which it was written . . . is regarded not only by Spanish writers, but by those of other nations as one of the most remarkable legal productions that has ever been written" (Rockwell i, 12).

27 Some scholars have often overlooked and misinterpreted the scope and real character of the GE. In the book for which he was awarded the prestigious Spanish History National Award (Premio Nacional de Historia de España) in 2004, J. Valdeón Baruque inaccurately refers to the GE as a work which

> did not go beyond the time of the Virgin Mary's parents and which was based, primordially, on the Bible and the [sic] texts of mythological character from the Greco-Roman world. Moreover, the legendary elements found in the GE abound, something which takes away from those of an authentic historical character. On a different note, it should be stated that the GE deals with very limited aspects of the history of humankind. (180)

28 I agree with Inés Fernández-Ordóñez in her judgment that the GE and the EE shared sources and texts and therefore it is impossible to use one of the two works to date the other one (Estorias 95). Since books that could only be used for the compilation of the GE were borrowed from the Monastery of Nájera in 1270 I have decided to adopt this year as the initial compilation date. Gómez Redondo argues convincingly that around 1284 the work on the GE was brought to a halt when it only had reached the generation before the birth of Christ. Materials that had already been gathered for the unpublished parts were used in other historical compilations (689-90). H. Salvador Martínez has argued that Alfonso's following paraphrase of Ovid's Met. VI, 574-75 (Grande doloris / ingenium est miserisque uenit sollertia rebus") in GE II 193r shows that this part of the compilation had been worked on while Alfonso was seriously ill in the late 1270's:

> Mas dize Ouidio que grant es el engeño & la sabeduria del qui el dolor a. Et que el arteria & la sabeduria estonces uiene a ombre; quando se uee en la mesquindat. Onde dize Otrossi Otro sabio que en la

Despues que oue fecho ayuntar muchos escriptos & muchas estorias delos fechos antiguos, escogi dellos los mas uerdaderos & los meiores que y sope & fiz ende fazer este libro & mande y poner todos los fechos señalados tan bien delas estorias dela biblia como delas otras grandes cosas que acahesçieron por el mundo desde que fue començado fastal nuestro tiempo.

Once numerous writings and accounts dealing with the historical facts of antiquity had been gathered at my request, I chose among them the ones I regarded as the most veritable and most valuable and thus ordered that this book be written and that in it be put all the important facts and the historical accounts in the Bible as well as the other great things that happened all over the world since it was created to our time.[29] (GE I, 1r)[30]

---

mesquindat es sabio ell ombre; & que el qui se duele de alguña cosa esse suele seer mas artero como que aprende.

Moreover, Ovid says that the wisdom and the intelligence of those who are in pain are even greater since wisdom and cunning come to those who find themselves in a wretched state. Ovid also says that it is in wretchedness that man is wise and that he who has a certain ailing tends to develop a greater sense of cunning.

29 As it will be appreciated throughout this dissertation, Alfonso's take on history is not without precedent. In 573 Gregory of Tours bitterly complained in the preface to Historia Francorum that:

Decedente, atque immo potius pereunte ab urbibus Gallicanis liberalium cultura litterarum, . . . nec reperiri posset quisquam peritus in arte dialectica grammaticus, qui haec aut stylo prosaico, aut metrico depingeret versu. Ingemiscebant saepius plerique, dicentes: Vae diebus nostris, quia periit studium litterarum a nobis, nec reperitur in populis, qui gesta praesentia promulgare possit in paginis. Ista etenim atque his similia jugiter intuens dici, pro commemoratione praeteritorum, ut notitiam attingerent venientium, etsi inculto affatu, nequivi tamen obtegere vel certamina flagitiosorum, vel vitam recte viventium. Et praesertim his illicitus stimulis, quod a nostris fari plerumque miratus sum, quia philosophantem rhetorem intelligunt pauci, loquentem rusticum multi; libuit etiam animo, ut pro supputatione annorum ab ipso mundi principio libri primi poneretur initium: cujus capitula deorsum subjeci.

At a time when literary culture is in full decay (if not already dead) in the cities of Gaul, . . . no scholar versed in dialectics and capable of writing prose or verse accounts of contemporary events could be found. Many people continuously complained about this saying: "These are such pitiful times we live in! The study of literature has died among us and no-one is capable anymore of setting down in a book the events

As Alfonso implies in this passage, his conception of history is traditionally Western in the sense that he believes that a rational and objective investigation of the past recorded in historical accounts will lead to a recovery of a truthful and unequivocal enactment of past events in yet another text, in this case the GE.[31] In this sense, a recently discovered manuscript (BP II-3039) commented by P. Sánchez-Prieto Borja containing an alternate edition of Part V of the GE provides a clear example of this comprehensive conception of historiography. In this epilogue, the compiler states that no less than "all" of the history of Judeo-Christianity as well as (curiously) "almost all" of the history of the Gentiles (and other things?) has been compiled in Alfonso X's magnum opus:

> Aqui se acaban las estorias e las razones de los fechos que acaecieron en las cinco de las seis edades del mundo. E es de saber que son en este traslado todas las (cosas tachado) estorias del primero testamento, e otrosi todas las estorias de los fechos de los gentiles que pudieron ser fallados, e de otras cosas. E pusiemosle por ende nombre la General estoria, porque fabla en ella de todas las estorias e de todos los fechos

---

> that now occur." Having heard these and similar complaints oftentimes I could not stand that the altercations of the wicked and the lives of the righteous would go unrecorded when I wished to keep alive the memories of those who came before us so that the future generations will take good notice of their actions. I was even more encouraged by those remarks often made by our people that complex and learned authors are comprehended by few whereas straightforward and unembellished speech is understood by many. (PL 71, 159)

30 All quotations include the book number and the folio number and side both in the GE and the EE. The omission of the manuscript notation indicates that the text is being quoted from the printed edition as opposed to the electronic edition of alternate or fragmentary manuscripts.

31 Antonio Solalinde's edition of the "First Part" was published in 1930. The first volume of the "Second Part" was published in 1957 and the second volume in 1961 by his pupils Kasten and Oelschläger, after Solalinde's death. Sánchez-Prieto and Horcajada published in 1991 the fourth volume in a series that will eventually make available all of the "Third Part". M. C. Fernández López published a critical edition of The Book of Isaiah featured in the "Third Part" in microfiche format in 1998. J. Pérez Navarro has published an edition of The Book of Ecclesiastes as it was incorporated on to the "Fourth Part" of the GE in 1997. Sánchez-Prieto also edited in 2001 volumes I (Genesis) and II (Exodus, Levitic, Numbers, and Deuteronomy) of a brand new edition of the "First Part." According to Sánchez-Prieto (General I, xxxvi) Inés Fernández-Ordóñez is currently preparing a two-volume edition of the "Fourth Part." T. González and Pilar Saquero have edited La estoria novelada de Alejandro Magno (The novelated story of Alexander the Great) and B. Brancaforte has compiled all the translations and adaptations of the Her. and the Met. in all of the GE manuscripts known up until 1990.

de Dios e de todas las de los gentiles generalmente, como dixiemos.

Here come to an end the <u>estorias</u> and the <u>fechos</u> that took place throughout the five out of six ages of the world. Let it be known that in this translation are contained all (<u>things</u> has been scratched out) the <u>estorias</u> from the Old Testament, as well as all the <u>estorias</u> of the <u>fechos</u> of the Gentiles that could be found, as well as those [accounts] of other things. And we named this [translation] the <u>General [comprehensive] history</u>, because in it are recounted all the <u>estorias</u> and <u>fechos</u> pertaining to God as well as those of the gentiles in general terms, as we said. ("Nuevo" 17)

This interpretation of "History" as yet another linguistic system, just like human language or literature, has been dismissed in our Post-Saussurean world of literary theory in which language, as Protagoras of Abdera (c. 480-410 BC) would have put it, has increasingly become "the measure of all things" (Sextus Empiricus, I, 59-61).[32] One of the impacts that deconstruction has had on the disciplines of contemporary literary criticism, translation history, and history by and large has been the launch of the quest for the contradictory meanings that are hidden within the intricacies of the historical and literary text according to the postulates that Jacques Derrida discussed in his seminal works <u>Of Grammatology</u>, <u>Writing and Difference</u> and <u>Dissemination</u>.

The examination of the text from the point of view of its "modes of production" has become –ever since Poststructuralism evolved into the standard theoretical approach to literature and history– the focus of many Western literary critics and historians. This has been even more so in cases like that of Alfonso and his historiographic works, given the relevance they have had in the development of what poststructuralist critics would call a metatextual history of Spain and the rest of the world.

As P. F. Bandia has remarked with regard to the last quarter of the twentieth century, "postmodern theories have greatly influenced contemporary developments in translation studies, calling attention to erstwhile neglected research paradigms such as power relations and ideology, sociology and transculturality, gender and postcoloniality" (47). In the case of Alfonso X, since the last decade of the twentieth century, an ever-increasing interest in the multifaceted historical character of his works has ensued.[33] His privileged position as the head[34] of the expansionist,[35] and,

---

32 The physician and philosopher Sextus Empiricus (II c. AD) cites Protagoras as saying "πάντων χρημάτων μέτρον ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, τῶν μὲν ὄντων ὡς ἔστιν, τῶν δὲ οὐκ ὄντων ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν." R. G. Bury translates as "Of all things the measure is man, of existing things that they exist and of non-existing things that they exist not."

33 The trend has only recently started to change. As early as 1861 (and up until the last decade of the twentieth century) the following words by the Spanish scholar Amador de los Ríos with regard to the <u>GE</u> were a faithful representation of the lack of attention received by the <u>GE</u> which, still to this day, has not been published in its entirety:

So great, so enlightening is the knowledge that shines in the <u>Grande et</u>

according to some, imperialist,[36] kingdom of Castile in the thirteenth century

General Estoria of Alfonso X who, ahead of the scientific conceptions of his times, seemed to, not foretell, but rather predict that which would eventually become in our modern times 'philosophical history.' It is indeed painful that such grandiose monument should lay asleep in the libraries covered by the dust of oblivion, unknown to our wise men. (III, 561)

C. Smith declared in 1970 that Menéndez Pidal's "publication of the Primera Crónica General (EE) in 1906 and his work on the chronicle MSS of the royal library (1898 etc.) were the beginning of modern chronicle scholarship which unites literary and historiographical studies" (12). Almost half a century went by before De los Ríos' comments became obsolete.

34 According to F. C. Cesareo "Alfonso X saw his position as king, and the institution kingship, as being at the heart of the kingdom" and further formulated this conception in his legal writings (especially so in Las Siete Partidas) where he highlights "the centrality of the monarch" and the idea of "pactual monarchy" in which the king and his vassals are bound by "mutual fealty, not by unilateral obedience" (127). O'Callaghan also emphasizes Alfonso's innovative concept of the institution of monarchy as proto-secular: "Alfonso X saw himself as having received his power from God, to whom he was responsible, but there was no authority on earth, neither that of the pope nor of the emperor, that was over him in temporal affairs" (Alfonso 81). T. F. Ruiz describes Castilian kings of this time as not dependent "on anointment and coronation" since "their power was not mediated by the Church or its representatives" but "rather marked by symbols, rituals, and ceremonials of distinctive secular and martial flavor" (135). J. M. Nieto Soria stands on the other side of the argument. He sees Castilian monarchy in the High Middle Ages as a construct of "political religiosity" characterized by "the religious-theological content of its all-inclusive representation, the biblical foundations of this representation and, finally, by the development of a quasi-religious (and very particular) devotion towards the monarchic institution" (99).

35 Castilian expansionist plans included the conquest of Northern Africa as early as the 1220s under Alfonso's father, Fernando III. In 1260 the North-African port of Salé was attacked and held for a brief period of time. In 1291 the kings of Castile and Aragon agreed that all Western territories to be conquered in Africa would remain under Castilian dominance whereas Aragon would control the area where the country of Tunisia now is. See J. F. O'Callaghan's Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain (209-216) for a contextualized explanation of these expansionist plans. Castilian kings had also envisaged the annexation of the kingdom of Navarre as early as Alfonso VII (reigned 1126-1157).

36 According to O'Callaghan the Castilian-Leonese kings would regard themselves as "imperator totius Hispaniae" in order to enforce "traditional Leonese aspirations to hegemony throughout the peninsula" (History 202) as well as to avoid the supremacy of the papacy over matters such as the celebration of the liturgy according to the Mozarabic rite (205) or the laxity in the enforcement of the repressive measures

combined with his unparalleled scholarly enterprises provides a never-ending source of historical and literary material for analysis and criticism. Alfonso X's historical writings are indeed paradigmatic of what Alun Munslow has termed "the connection between the will to truth and . . . the will to power" in his study on the influence that deconstruction in general and Michel Foucault in particular respectively have had on the field of history (128).

Diego Catalán's De Alfonso X al conde Barcelos, La "Estoria de España" de Alfonso X, and De la silva textual al taller historiográfico alfonsí or Cárdenas' "Alfonso's Scriptorium and Chancery: Role of the Prologue in Bonding the Translatio Studii to the Translatio Potestatis" abound in the recurrent question of how meaning is enacted and how the "text" in question has been produced, in this case, from a politically and administratively centralist point of view (reivindication of the Hispanic Gothic Kingdom with its "head" in Toledo, enactment of a general code of law and so forth) as well as a multi-cultural,[37] proto-humanistic project (promotion of

---

against the Jews adopted in the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils (284). Under Alfonso VII's rule the idea of a Pan-Hispanic empire "briefly acquired a juridical existence" but was brought to naught when Aragon and Catalonia united and Portugal seceded from León (215).

37 Américo Castro credited him with the creation of the idea of Spain in the Middle Ages whose foundation would have been the peaceful coexistence (convivencia) among different kingdoms and religions. Castro argues that Alfonso "based his doctrine of tolerance and respect on the Quran without thinking of this appropriation as an offense towards the Christian Church of which he was a devout member" (España 213, 1st ed.). Sánchez Albornoz set out to refute Castro's book (originally published in 1948) in España: Un enigma histórico (1956). Gómez-Martínez' Américo Castro y el origen de los españoles: historia de una polémica introduces and explains one of the most renowned historical and philological questions in Spanish history. Sánchez Albornoz' alleged anti-Muslim and anti-Semitic stand has not been helped by opinions such as the following address to Southern Spaniards (Andalusians):

> Do not forget that you do not descend from the Muslims who inhabited our land but from the Christians who took it back for Western civilization. We can now document the fact that Fernando III and Alfonso X expelled all the Moors from the Guadalquivir valley. There is proof that Cordoba and Seville were emptied of their Moorish citizens, the latter actually remaining silent and deserted for three days before it was repopulated with Christians from the north just like the rest of the country. (Andalucía 40)

More recent views on the issue of tolerance argue that Alfonso and his father Fernando respected, appreciated, and protected religious minorities (especially among the political, economic, and intellectual elites) from hostile noblemen, legislators and clergymen whose interests were not as pragmatic as Alfonso's with regard to the administration of his kingdom (cf. H. Salvador Martínez, Convivencia 125-133). This attitude transpires especially in some pragmatic legal documents such a 1254 letter to the Archbishop of Seville requesting that several mosques that had

the vernacular languages, translation of classical works, funding of libraries, cultural projects and artists...).[38] As Fernández-Ordóñez has indicated, the aim of works like those of Catalán is twofold: on the one hand they attempt to establish the criteria under which the texts produced by Alfonso and his collaborators were written, among them the GE, and, on the other hand to determine to what extent they are the outcome of the implied discourses operating at the time Alfonso was king ("Novedades" 283).

P. Martínez' overall judgment of the Alfonsine historiographic enterprise is precisely based on the works of poststructuralist thinkers such as M. Foucault and historians such as G. Spiegel. According to Martínez, neither Alfonso X nor his self-proclaimed successor and follower, his grandson Alfonso XI, "appear to be especially interested in telling us the truth but rather in making us believe that they are doing so" ("Dos Reyes" 209).

2.1.2 Historical Discourse in the General Estoria and in Alfonso's Translation of the Heroides

This study of Ovid's Her.[39] or Epistulae Heroidum[40] as translated by Alfonso X

---

been appropriated by the Church after the conquest of the city be donated to the King "para morada de los físicos que vinieron de allende, y para tenerlos más cerca, e que en ellas fagan la su enseñanza a lo que les hemos mandado que nos lo enseñen por el su gran saber, ca por eso los hemos ende traido" ("so that the doctors that came from far away can be closer to us and so that they can teach us what we instructed them to teach us because of their great knowledge which is, precisely, why we brought them here"; Vargas 427, n. N).

38 The main proponent of the humanistic-philological theory is Francisco Rico who argues that the translators, editors, and compilers involved in the development of the EE and the GE were also faced with the task of "espaladinar" (to explain, make understandable, provide historical or epistemological context...) for all the sources cited (167-188). For a detailed study of Alfonso's role as a philanthropist and a humanist see H. S. Martínez 75-92.

39 The dating of the Her. is problematic. The first scholar to doubt the authenticity of 16-21 (as well as any epistles not mentioned in Am. 2.18 f. which are I, II, IV, VI, X, XI, and XII) was Karl Lachmann (ii, 56). 1-15 have ever since been acclaimed almost universally as genuine even though the debate seems to have no ending in sight. Vessey, for example, considers Her. IX ("Deianira to Hercules") "certainly metrically suspicious" and concludes that "there is evidence to allow considerable doubt to be thrown on Ovid's claim to authorship" (360). Similarly, Knox regards Her. XII ("Medea to Jason") "a compilation by a later hand" (Medea 222) which "might well belong to the period immediately following Ovid's death" (223). On the other hand, like many contemporary scholars, H. Isbell believes the first fifteen letters were published between Am.'s first and second editions whereas the six double-letters would date from the time of the Fast. (xv). L. C. Purser, who co-published posthumously Palmer's final edition of the Her. in 1898, deviates from Palmer's conviction that 16-21 "were not written by Ovid; that they were all, except 16. 39-142, 21. 13 ad fin., written by the same author; [and] that that author lived in the early

in the thirteenth century shares the approach and methodology of contemporary Alfonsine scholars who, like Catalán, Fernández-Ordóñez, and more recently, Fraker, focus on how the texts contained in the GE were compiled in order to offer a certain historical view.

It is worth presenting, at this point, two brief passages that summarize what Alfonsine critics universally acclaim as the methodology of Alfonso's works. The first is from Alfonso's GE and the second from La crónica abreviada (The Abridged Chronicle) (1319-1325) by his own nephew the Duke of Peñafiel Don Juan Manuel (1282-1348). Alfonso writes at around 1280:

> El Rey faze un libro non por quel el escriua con sus manos mas por que compone las razones del & las emienda et yegua & enderesça & muestra la manera de como se deuen fazer. &' desi escriue las qui el manda pero dezimos por esta razón que el Rey faze el libro. Otrossi quando dezimos "el Rey faze un palacio o alguna obra" non es dicho por quelo el fiziesse con sus manos mas por quel mando fazer & dio las cosas que fueron mester pora ello.

> Kings put together books not by writing them down with their own hands but rather by providing their master ideas (razones) and by correcting, arranging, and straightening them out as well as by showing others how to furnish pertinent arguments. Thus those master ideas which they instruct to be written down are recorded and this is why we say that kings write books. Likewise when we say 'The

---

silver age, about the epoch of Persius or Petronius" (436). According to Purser, 16-21 "formed a separate volume, Epistles (Second Series), written some years after the others, when Ovid was not so punctilious with regard to his metre as he was in his earlier works" (xxxii). Critics such as H. Fränkel (48), H. Jacobson (ix), and W. S. Anderson (68) claim also that 16-21 were composed at a later date by Ovid. E. J. Kenney still holds as true the hypothesis advanced by, among others, De Vries (1-3) in 1888 that epistles 16-21 may be "a draft which at the time of Ovid's exile still lacked his final revision and which was never published in his lifetime" (25).

40 Ovid refers to the Her. as "Epistula" in Ars am. 3.345 even though he is only referring to 1-14 and actually not all of them (See note above). The Her. were referred to as such for the first time by Priscian (Institutiones 10.54). Since the double letters (16-21) contain epistles written by male heroes and 15 (Sappho to Phaon) was not written by a heroine but a female poet the title 'Her.' could be contested as not being fit to describe all of the epistles. A. Palmer suggests the exact title of 1-15 was Heroidum Epistulae but was shortened to Her. "for purposes of reference" (x). 16-21 would have born the title of Epistulae but, after being joined with 1-15 the whole work became Heroidum Epistulae according to Palmer's hypothesis. For the purpose of clarity I will use Her. as the generic title by which I will refer to all of the 21 epistles I consider as being written by Ovid. In the Middle Ages 1-14 and 16-21 were often found together as one manuscript. Epistle 15, however, was transmitted separate, whereas epistle 16 (Paris to Helen) and 21 (Cydippe to Acontius) were missing verses 39 to 144 and ended at verse 14 respectively.

king made a palace or some other work' we do not mean he made it with his own hands but rather at his command and by means of the things he provided for the completion of the project. (GE I, 216r)

Juan Manuel writes some four decades later in the prologue to his own abridged version of Alfonso's EE:

> Por que los grandes fechos que pasaron, señalada mente lo que pertenesce a la estoria de España fuesen sabidos e non cayesen en olvido fizo ayuntar los que fallo que cunplian para los contar. E tan conplida mente e tan bien los pone en el prologo que el fizo de la dicha crónica donde le sopo que ninguno non podria y mas de decir nin aun tanto nin tan bien commo el. E esto por muchas razones. Lo uno por el muy grant entendimiento que dios le dio. Lo al por el grant talante que auie de fazer nobles cosas e aprouechosas. Lo al que auia en su corte muchos maestros de las ciencias e de los saberes a los quales el fazia mucho bien e por leuar adelante el saber e por noblescer sus Regnos. Ca fallamos que en todas las ciencias fizo muchos libros e todos muy buenos e lo al por que auia muy grant espacio para estudiar en las materias de que queria conponer algunos libros. Ca morava en algunos logares vn año e dos e mas e avn segunt dizen los que viuian a la Su merced que fablauan con el los que querian e quando el queria e ansi auia espacio de estudiar en lo que el queria fazer para si mismo e avn para ver e esterminar las cosas de los saberes que el mandaua ordenar a los maestros e a los sabios que traya para esto en su corte. . . . Entre muchas cosas nobles que fizo ordeno muy conplida mente la cronica d'España. e puso lo todo conplido e por muy apuestas Razones e en las menos palabras que se podia poner en tal manera que todo omne que la lea puede entender en esta obra e en las crónicas que el conpuso e mando conponer que avian muy grant entendimiento e avia muy grant talante de acrescentar el saber.

> So that the great deeds that took place (particularly those pertaining to the history of Hispania) would be remembered and not forgotten he instructed that all those which he deemed worth telling be compiled. And he arranged them according to his good understanding so thoroughly and so properly in his prologue that there is no one who could add anything to them nor say as much or as well-put as he did. This is so for several reasons: first because of the great mind with which God endowed him; second because of the great desire he possessed for doing noble and productive things; third because in his court he had many science masters and wise men whom he nurtured so that knowledge could be advanced and that his own kingdoms became more righteous (he compiled many scientific books all of which were of great authority); and four because he had a great space allotted to the research of those subjects about which he wanted to write a book. Sometimes he would remain in the same location for one, two, or even more years and, according to those who lived under his patronage,

anybody could depart with him any time they wished to do so. This way he had a space in which he could both carry out research and do studying of his own, as well as check on and benefit from the research being carried out on those subjects which he had instructed the masters and wise men he had brought to his court to research and synthesize. . . . Among many other noble things, Alfonso instructed that the authoritative chronological history of Hispania be put together. And he gathered all the <u>razones</u> and assembled them systematically and in a convenient manner according to their pertinence and in as few words as possible[41] so that all men who may read both the work as a whole and in its individual episodes will understand that [those men of letters] had a great mind and he [King Alfonso] was very keen on advancing knowledge. (<u>Crónica abreviada</u> 38)

After studying Alfonso's historical works for over fifty years, Catalán has characterized the <u>GE</u>, and more specifically the <u>EE</u> as "the Alfonsine plan for a doctrinal amendment or his realm so that it could be returned to its previous [pre-Islamic, pan-Visigothic] state (17-18)" based on laws derived from "the study of nature and history" since, according to Alfonso "only wisdom can allow people to act according to reason, respecting the natural rights of their lords and the inherent natural order" (<u>Creación</u> 18). Fraker's rhetorical analysis of some Roman passages (in this case in the <u>EE</u>) yielded the following results in this respect:

Generally speaking, then, the <u>EE</u>'s presentations are often elaborate, but are neither decorative nor evocative; they do not address the affects and imaginations of their audience. . . . Rhetorical or not, there is much that is new and distinctively Alfonsine in both works, both with respect to structure and design and to subject matter. In parts of the Roman section of the <u>EE</u>, for example, there are stretches of narrative that are coherent, strong, logical and thematically weighty way beyond the plain sense of their sources. . . . Second, high style,

41 It is interesting to note how both Alfonso and Juan Manuel regarded a laconic writing style not as being only more accurate but also less accessible to the inexperienced reader:

Et los sabios fablaron mucho en la natura delos tossicos pero con tod esso pusieron lo en las menos palauras que pudieron. por que los sabios lo entendiessen & los otros no. Et dixieron assi que el tossico no mata tanto por complixion de frio nin de calentura que en el aya si non por fuerça de mala uertud de que el es mucho abondado.

Wise men wrote much about the nature of toxic substances but they did so in as few words as possible so that only they would understand it. And they wrote that these substances kill not because they have it in their nature to produce heat or cold but rather because of their many pernicious properties [with which they affect other substances or bodies]. (<u>Lapidario</u> 24r)

with all its works and pomp, is not completely absent from the <u>EE</u>; it is, to be sure, unevenly distributed, and it could be said that the rhetorical devices that appear in the text are applied is some places in a perfectly routine way, but in others with fine effect. (<u>Rhetoric</u> 86)

Other trends of Alfonsine criticism like that of Steiger ("Alfonso X"), Fraker ("Alfonso X"), and more recently Funes ("Alfonso el Sabio"), Gómez Redondo (<u>Historia</u>) as well as Martin in "La historia alfonsí" and "El modelo historiográfico alfonsí" establish a causal relation between Alfonso X's quest for the imperial crown and his expansionist policy in the Iberian Peninsula and his historiographic works. According to these scholars, there is enough evidence to substantiate claims such as those made by Funes in "La crónica como hecho ideológico: el caso de la <u>Estoria de España</u> de Alfonso X." According to Funes, the manipulation of historical facts in the <u>EE</u> is exemplified by the alterations introduced in the texts that were translated and incorporated to this "textual" history of Spain. The stories of Julius Cesar's consulship or the foundation of Seville by Hercules reveal certain intentions in the historiographic enterprise of the monarch which would be dependent on certain political interests (85).[42]

In recent years, Georges Martin, as head of the French SIREM (Interdisciplinary Research Seminar on Medieval Spain) has become the champion of the "hegemonic" thesis. According to Martin, both Fernando III and Alfonso X's cultural programs, and more specifically their efforts in the field of translation, were geared towards "the creation of a doctrinal and propagandistic tradition whose ultimate aim would be the strengthening of the legitimacy and prestige of the Castilian ruling elite." The channels through which this claim to absolute power could be realized were "the ownership, development, and spreading of knowledge by a "wise" and even "master" king able to spread his teachings within the court as well as from it" ("Intelectuales" 4).

Martin's characterization of Alfonso X's (as well as Lucas de Tuy's, Jiménez de Rada's, Fernando III's, and Sancho IV's) historiographic enterprise as propagandistic didactics ("Determinaciones") will also be a focus of my thesis. I will look carefully into the translation of the 11 <u>Her.</u> found in the <u>GE</u> and the <u>EE</u> in order to search for isolated instances (however subtle) of translation techniques or norms resembling those expected from translators who have often been portrayed as fully aware of "how useful it was for the monarchy's proper governance of the kingdom to not only

---

42 González-Casanovas has summarized all these arguments in a thesis according to which "the object of the Alfonsine national history is Hispania restored and renewed" and the subject of his historiography "is the King-Emperor reconfirmed and re-empowered." The clash between Alfonso's vision and Iberian reality would then have arisen when "Alfonso's immediate receptors in Castile, Iberia, and Europe (rebellious nobles, a usurper son, and rivals abroad) did not allow him to write this text into the real history of Spain." On the other hand, "his successors on the throne and at the royal <u>scriptoria</u> show that they were sympathetic readers of that text" (165). Critics such as S. H. Allen see Alfonso X's comprehensive legal reform as a necessary measure at a time when "throughout the country districts of Castile the rule of the nobles was despotic and the condition of the common people that of serfs" (430).

be in possession of all historic knowledge but also to be able to influence the historic culture of the elites" (21-22).

The ideological character of Alfonso's historical works can only be understood when juxtaposed to similar enterprises in North-western France, Ireland or Iceland and, as I will explain in chapter 2, it shares with all these historical traditions a renewed interest in matters ancient and, specifically, in the <u>Her.</u> as a historical source used to complement information obtained from the major historical works at this time: <u>Pharsalia</u>, <u>Thebaid</u>, or Dares[43] and Dictys' accounts of the Trojan War.[44]

The case that resembles Castile's most closely is that of the <u>romans antiques</u> in western France at the time of Henry II Plantagenet, King of England. Critics such as Blumenfeld-Kosinski have identified Henry's claim to his continental territories with an historiographic project embracing, among other works, the <u>R. de E</u>. and <u>R. de Tr</u>. which, according to her, "fit rather well into a legitimizing scheme of the new Angevin dynasty." This comes from the notion that "one celebrates a founding myth and an advantageous marriage (in 1152 Henry married Eleanor of Aquitaine with her vast territories)" and "the other functions as a kind of prelude to the <u>Roman de Brut</u> (and thus "British" history) by providing a detailed account of the Trojan War and its aftermath" (17). The fact remains that both the Norman and Castilian crowns were rapidly expanding their territories in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries while, at the same time, these historical works started to become more common and systematic. It is the purpose of this work to find out if, as it is the case with the <u>R. d Th</u>., the translation and adaptation of the <u>Her.</u> in the <u>GE</u> "uses the ancient past as a safe fictional environment in which to investigate and celebrate the concerns and possibilities of the present" (Battles 59).

In A <u>Crooked Line,</u> G. Eley reminds us that "for political purposes, history is constantly in play" and, in terms that are certainly applicable to European historiography in the thirteenth century as well as in our time

> how exactly the past gets remembered (and forgotten), how it gets worked into arresting images and coherent stories, how it gets ordered into reliable explanations, how it gets pulled and pummeled into reasons for acting, how it gets celebrated and disavowed, suppressed and imagined—all have tremendous consequences for how the future might be shaped. (ix)

In spite of Funes' warning regarding the liberal application of the theory of causality, he concludes that Alfonso's work unequivocally reproduces Alfonso's as

---

43 L. F. D'Arcier has studied the English/Welsh family of Dares' <u>DET</u> whose earliest manuscripts are contemporary with the <u>GE</u>. According to his conclusions, "we find in the elaboration of this insular "edition" [of the <u>DET</u>] a testimony of great relevance that bears witness to the interest of the insular clerks of the end of the thirteenth and beginning of the fourteenth century with regard to the questions of ancient history" (30).

44 Spurious as they are to modern readers, Dares' <u>DET</u> and <u>Dictys' EBT</u> were considered first-hand accounts of the War of Troy by medieval historians. Their works were juxtaposed to the "fictitious" and "poetic" Virgil and Homer.

well as Rada's innovative unifying ideology as opposed to less "hierarchy-bound" approaches like that of J. A. Maravall for whom first Rada's and then Alfonso's historiographic projects "reflected a deeply-rooted reality of which not many people were aware at that time as a consequence of the deteriorated state of their literary world" (34). This interpretation of the EE considers Alfonso's widening of the scope of history so that not only kings and saints but "the people" would be protagonist as his main contribution to Iberian historiography.

Analyses like Funes' intend to explore what American literary critic Jonathan Culler has called the "operations which produce social and cultural objects, the devices which create a world charged with meaning" (260), and, to a certain extent, that is what I intend to do by analyzing the translation and adaptation of Ovid's Her. in Alfonso's GE. In order to achieve this goal, I have put into practice a method of literary/historical explanation which Ged Martin has redefined in Past Futures: The Impossible Necessity of History as an acceptance of the impossibility of historical explanation combined with G. Toury's theories of descriptive translation studies, Sela-Sheffy's adaptation of Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and norm to the practice of translation, and Even-Zohar's polysystems theory.

Martin argues (in close relation to G. Toury's approach to translation as a complex sequence of processes operating at different levels), that historians should focus on examining the decisions that people make at key historical times. The relation between the historian and the translator is undeniable since current criticism in both translation studies and history continues to develop historical arguments by means of traditional narrativistic methods such as simplification or reification (73-75). According to Martin, "the real task of historians is to locate that moment in time and to account for the range of options available. In short, this is to ask 'why when?' and 'why what?' thus leaving aside the impossible and "more perplexing exercise" of asking ourselves 'why?'" (85).

This approach bears a strong resemblance to G. Toury's approach to translation studies according to which the text operates within the target culture system as a conscious choice with a specific set of values given its position within the larger systems of culture, literary tradition, socio-economic situation, to which it now belongs (Beyond? 36-39). Martin's and Toury's method of historical research is especially useful in the case of Alfonso's literary production since the analysis of decisions made by individuals in a position of power like Alfonso or by a small collective of translators and scholars like those under the direction of the Castilian king is favored by Martin's interpretative approach.

As I have shown earlier, tracing back the evolution of historical thought to the ideas that influenced it and eventually shaped its course can provide us with an insightful account of the histories of social and cultural history. Once again, I follow Eley in my discussion of this issue when he reflects on the nature of historical thinking by arguing that "all of the ways in which the past gets fashioned into histories, consciously and unconsciously, remain crucial for how the present can be grasped. For political purposes, history is constantly in play" (ix).

G. Martin's premise that historical events can only be understood when properly contextualized, together with Eley's analysis of politics and ideology and their inextricable role in the process of "writing" history are fundamental theoretical

concepts in my study of Alfonso's translation of the Her. They both can decisively contribute to providing reasonable answers to the question upon which, in the words of P. F. Bandia, the discipline of translation history rests: "What is the role of the historian in recreating the past?" (50).

Indeed, the case of Alfonso's medieval translation of Ovid's Her. provides us with an example of a translation of a Classical work in the context of what both G. Martin and G. Eley "the history of humanity is expressed in interconnected bodies of writing and experiences, and includes the longstanding role of peoples and products from outside Europe in shaping our intellectual heritage" (Bandia 52).

The compilation of the GE by Alfonso will thus not be studied from the point of view of the reasons behind its composition but rather according to the range of options among Alfonso's sources; in the words of Martin this approach "lies rather in our inability to penetrate the reasons why Rational Course A was perceived by the person taking that decision to be more persuasive than Rational Course B, C, and so on" (106). The amplification and contextualization of the historical worlds that were available to the Alfonsine translators (the focus of chapter 3 of this thesis) will thus serve as a stepping stone between general statements like "the medieval ideological universe is uniform" (Funes, "Alfonso" 85), and the actual choices made by the translators and scholars who compiled the GE with regard to Ovid's Her.

The analysis of Alfonso's sources (again, chapter 3) will be complemented with the textual analysis of the translation and adaptation of the Her. (chapter 4) used in the GE so that they will reveal valuable data with regard to, not only Alfonso's conception of the literary works of ancient and contemporary authors but also the vast array of interests and concerns (literary, social, cultural, and political) that are reflected in his interpretation of the original Latin epistles. It is my hope that by approaching Alfonso's selection of the Her. as a source for the GE at a basic level as suggested by G. Martin my research will shed new light onto the configuration/s of the historical landscape of thirteenth-century men with a strong influence in the intellectual and political attitudes of their time.

2.1.3 Translating the Past: Medieval Recreation and Adaptation of a Classical Latin Work

Alfonso's pioneering translation of a work written more than one thousand years before his reign without significant precedents will allow me to put into practice L. Venuti's valuable premise regarding the act of translation. The Italian critic has recently reminded us that

> translating can never simply be communication between equals because it is fundamentally ethnocentric. Most literary projects are initiated in the domestic culture, where the foreign text is selected to satisfy different tastes from those that motivated its composition and reception in its native culture. And the very function of translation is assimilation, the inscription of a foreign text with domestic intelligibilities and interests. (11)

In the case of Alfonso's decision to articulate a world history, there is no doubt that, as the above-mentioned passage explains, the Bible ("the undisputed and supreme authority in any historiographic enterprise" Lacroix 59), together with

other chronographic works based on Hebraic history such as those of Josephus, Peter Comestor, and Paulus Orosius are, as he himself points out throughout the <u>GE</u>, the main source for Alfonso's compilation. Yet, several chronologies, annals, historical accounts, ballads, commentaries and both lyrical and epic works are incorporated into the Biblical structure in order to provide a history of all those events not treated within the Old and New Testaments. Alfonso himself, when discussing Moses' youth in the first part of the <u>Book of Exodus</u>, states that "Nos, entod este libro, la estoria dela Biblia auemos por aruol aque acordamos de nos tornar toda uia como lain cada que acabamos las razones delos gentiles que contamos en medio" ("Throughout this book, we regard the history contained in the Bible as the tree that we shall inevitably turn to [as though it were a straight line] from which we ought not deviate once we have adequately dealt with the gentile stories inserted in it [<u>The Bible</u>]"; I, 131r).

   Among these sources, Ovid (43 BC – AD 18) stands out as the most significant contributor regarding historical events preceding the development of history as a discipline in the classical world, as A. Solalinde pointed out in the introduction to his edition of <u>GE</u> I (xiv). The <u>Metamorphoses</u> (<u>Met.</u>) (c. AD 8) are, first and foremost, cited as an encyclopaedia of the myths of the ancients which, through Arnulf of Orléans and John of Garland are interpreted according to historical guidelines. It should be noted that to medieval Ovidian mythographers, Ovid is not only a teller of these myths but also, just like Alfonso and his collaborators, a compiler of them. As an anonymous eleventh-century commentator of Ovid writes "Utilitatem nobis confert Ovidius quia cum fabule in aliis libris tangebantur, ignorabantur, donec iste Ovidius enodavit et enucleavit" ("Ovid['s works] are useful to us because we did not understand the stories mentioned in other books until Ovid made them clear and explained them in detail"; Ghisalberti 17).

   In the <u>GE</u> Ovid is also often quoted as a source for geographical or demographical data "Et segunt fallamos en Ovid mayor en el quarto libro çerca la fin; en affrica al pie del monte Athlas contral mar Occeano yaze una tierra muy fuerte et muy aspera lena de peñas" ("And, according to Ovid's book IV in the <u>Metamorphoses</u> near the end: in Africa, at the foot of the Mountain Atlas next to the Ocean lies a hard and rough land which is full of rocks"; I 203v),[45] and also as a secondary source for

---

45 These Ovidian references abound in twelfth and thirteenth century chronicles and letters. When commenting on the festival of Santa Clara around the year 1284 Salimbene de Parma reflects on how man's palate has grown more "sophisticated" with the passing of time:

> In festo sancte Clare comedi primo raviolos sine crusta de pasta. Et hoc ideo dico, ad demonstrandum, quantum subtiliata est humana gulositas circa comestibilium rerum appetitum respectu primitivorum hominum, qui contenti erant cibis a natura cratis. De quibus dicit Ovidius in primo <u>Methamorfoseos</u> libro: "Contentique cibis nullo cogente creatis /Arboreos fetus montanaque fraga legebant, / Cornua et in duris herentia mora rubetis.

> In the festivity of Saint Claire (August 12) I ate for the first time ravioli without a wrapping [naked ravioli]. I say this in order to prove how much more refined has human desire become with regard to food in

chronological data:

> Dize ouidio en el su libro mayor –que a nombre <u>Methamorphosis</u> que quier dezir tanto como mudamiento por que en aquel libro fabla Ouidio delos mudamientos que se fazien en las cosas segund la creencia de sos gentiles et se fazen algunos delos naturales aun agora– que delas seys edades que dixiemos del tiempo quela primera tal era como oro.

> Ovid says in his 'maior' book called <u>Metamorphoses</u> (which means "change" as Ovid uses this work to talk about the changes that things undergo according to the Gentiles some of which--the natural ones-- still are going on) that the first age among the six of which time is comprised was just like gold.[46] (I 90r)

Ovid is also quoted in the <u>GE</u> as a moral or philosophical authority regardless of whether or not one of his works is being translated in that particular chapter. Thus in <u>GE</u> IV, 17r, when talking about Nebuchadnezzar and his "good sense" Alfonso says that he "fazie como omen de buen sentido & sesudo segund esta palabra que dize ouidio en <u>el libro de los amores</u> que non es meior uertud nin meior seso en guardar lo ganado que en ganar lo non ganado" ("was a man of good sense and very intelligent and thus he acted according to what Ovid says in <u>The Art of Love</u> which is that it is not loftier or more intelligent to keep that which is already one's own than it is to obtain that which does not yet possess.")[47]

Ovid's major epic work, "after the Bible the most popular medieval storybook" (J. B. Allen, "Eleven" 281) is not, however, given so much attention when compared to Alfonso's almost complete adaptation of the elegiac poems <u>Her.</u> (c. 5 BC). Ten of the original twenty-one epistles that Ovid wrote (I, II, IV, V, VI, VIII, IX, X, XII, and XIV) are present in the <u>GE</u>, sometimes in their entirety, sometimes partially just for the purpose of providing historic data to back up a particular story or event.[48]

> comparison with the first generations of men for whom the food produced by nature was enough. In this respect Ovid says in <u>Met</u>. I: "Content with food that had not been cultivated, they gathered fruit from the trees, and wild strawberries, and Cornelian cherries, and blackberries sticking on harsh brambles. [103-105]" (547).

46 In her survey of Ovid's presence in the scientific literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, S. Viarre argues that "the use of Ovid as a scientific source is a consequence of the <u>Metamorphoses</u> not being understood as a poetic description of science but rather of the object of science, this is, reality" (160).

47 Cf. <u>Ars am</u>. II.1, 13-14. James I, King of Aragon, opened the <u>cortes</u> in Saragossa in 1264 with a sermon-style speech which he based around the exact same theme ("Non minor est virtus quam querere parta tueri") in order to persuade the members of the cortes of the need to establish new taxes so that he could finance his military campaign in the southeast of the Iberian peninsula.(<u>Llibre dels Feits</u> 388). Unfortunately, the Aragonese king did not ascribe the maxim to Ovid but the Bible (!).

48 Epistle VII ("Dido to Aeneas") is fully translated in Alfonso's <u>Estoria de España</u> (<u>EE</u>).

The <u>Her.</u> have been described in varying lights by a vast array of critics, commentators and translators. B. W. Boyd in her recent study of the <u>Amores</u> (<u>Ovid's Literary Loves: Influence and innovation in the Amores</u>) discusses how <u>Amores</u> can be appealing to a contemporary audience willing to go beyond its metaliterary parodic dimension (which she downplays) and explore the elegiac world that Ovid rewrites and expands from its narrow margins. In the case of the <u>Her.</u>, Boyd argues that they "are to be counted among Ovid's early extended experiments with narrative and narrators" (2) as it is the case, for example, with the metageneric dialog established in the letters between a collection of elegiac epistles and their many references to the tragic and epic characters, motifs, and narrative structure without which the work cannot be fully understood (15).

A consequence of this multidialogic structure has been analyzed by V. Cristóbal in his 1994 Spanish edition of the <u>Her.</u> where he insists that "the affinity in the situations, motifs and the concatenation of the discourse is notorious as it is, on certain occasions, the transmission of the literary argument/s from one to the other" (30). G. Showerman, the editor and translator of the Loeb Classical Edition of the <u>Her.</u>, had a somewhat less laudatory opinion of Ovid's epistles which he defined as "not a work of the highest order of genius" (8), a judgment shared by C. Pérez Bustamante for whom "Ovid was not yet capable of fully developing the fantastic and sentimental themes offered by his sources" at the time he wrote the <u>Her.</u> even though they still "contain some amusing and ingenious passages" (259).

Another editor-translator of the <u>Her.</u>, H. Jacobson, has, however, vindicated Ovid's epistles as "a mirror of the relative or a symbolic reflection of reality, due to a large degree to projections or extensions of individual minds" which contributes to the reader's perception of all the events narrated and perspectives presented as "a multi-faceted thing depending on who sees, experiences, and recounts it" (349). This variety and complexity of literary features in Ovid's works, including the <u>Her.</u>, found, as I will explain, a wide audience in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries making C. J. Saunders' remark that "Ovid, though a classical writer, enshrines a very medieval ideal of writing" (31) true both in the general literary milieu of Europe and in Alfonso's specific case.

2.1.4 Choosing the <u>Heroides</u>: Ovid's Currency in Thirteenth-Century Europe

Alfonso's choice of these letters by ancient "dueñas" is not without precedent in the classical world and the early medieval period. In the <u>Aeneid</u> (ca. 20 BC) (VI, 440 ff.), Virgil populates the underworld with a series of groups of spirits among which is that of both men and women who were consumed by <u>durus amor</u> ("unrelenting love") (VI, 441). These unfortunate lovers who now inhabit the <u>Lugentes campi</u> ("The Mournful Fields") are Procris, Eriphyle, Pasiphae, Laodamia, Evadne, Caeneus and, finally, Dido herself. A contemporary of Virgil, Hyginus (ca. 64 BC-AD 17), also wrote a

---

I assume that Ovid wrote all twenty-one epistles including the dubious "Sappho to Phaon." Dörrie (4) and more recently Greene (17, n. 16) doubt this epistle could not have been written by Ovid as Knox has suggested (78-85). Bessone (239) doubts that the poetic excellence displayed by the author of this epistle be other than that of Ovid. Isbell argues convincingly for Ovid's authorship even though he concedes that the letter might not have been included in the earliest editions of the work (xvi).

brief catalogue of women who committed suicide (Fabulae 243) in which he includes Hecuba, Ino, Anticlia, Stheneboea, Evadne, Aethra, Deianira, Laodmamia, Hippodamia, Neaera, Alcestis, Iliona, Themisto, Erigone, Phaedra, Phyllis, Canace, Biblis, Calypso, Dido, Iocasta, Antigona, Pelopia, Thysbe, and Semiramis.[49]

Whereas it is dubious that any of these two ancient catalogues were taken into consideration by the Alfonsine translators in charge of the Old Castilian version of the Her., the case of Saint Jerome (ca. 347-420) poses a more complex challenge. Jerome is explicitly mentioned and commented on by the protagonists of Geoffrey Chaucer's Canterbury Tales "The Wife of Bath" and "Franklin's Tale".[50] Saint Jerome's Adversus Iovinianus, is a prime example of a Christian historian who made use of classical sources as though they were historical facts. In his argument against Jovinian, Jerome sets out to demonstrate how chaste Christians are closer to God than those who marry or engage in sexual activity. In order to further his point, Jerome provides a list (citing a now-lost work by Theophrastus (370-285 BC)) of virgins that comprises nymphs, heroines, and semi-historical characters such as Atalanta and Harpalyce who refused to lose their virginity even when faced with death. Next follows a list of chaste, reputed widows who refused to marry again including Rhodogune, Penelope, and Laodamia; several notorious wives including Clytemnestra and Eriphyle; and another brief list of eminent virtuous women including Cleobulina and Timoclea of Thebes, (I, 41-49). As I will explain in chapter 3, these references abound in medieval narrative and lyrical poetry and, although they could come from several sources, my findings point out to the Her. as the exclusive source of information for these heroines other than Dares and Dictys or Ovid himself in the Met.

The historical reasoning that lies beneath Alfonso's choice of the Her. as a reliable source for his history of the world is related to the cultural norms within the context of thirteenth-century historiography. The currently accepted criticisms of Alfonso as a moraliser of Ovid are errroneous since the Her. featured in the GE do not correspond to a particular set of moral standards as critics such as Lida have suggested ("Notas II" 123-25) while acknowledging that, to a large extent, the dramatism and lyricism found in the original Latin text transpire in what Fraker has recently termed the "drama and eloquence" (Rhetoric 89) of the Old Castilian

---

49 Warrior Women (Tractatus de mulieribus claris in bello or Γυναῖκες ἐν πολεμικοῖς συνεταὶ καὶ ἀνδρεῖαι) can also be considered a precedent to Ovid's Her. although little is known about this anonymous treatise. It is a brief list of 14 seemingly historical women which "may have been compiled for curiosity's sake, as part of a rhetorical exercise or argument, to point to historical precedent to powerful Hellenistic queens, to buttress a philosophical position on women's capabilities, or simply by a learned woman" (D. Ghera 61). The warrior women are Semiramis, Zarinaea, Nitocris the Egyptian, Nitocris the Babylonian, Argeia, Theiosso, Atossa, Rhodogyne, Lyde, Pheretime, Thargelia, Tomyris, Artemisa, and Onomaris.

50 W. S. Smith argues that the Wife of Bath "triumphantly defends a literalist interpretation of the Bible against the mischief of its male glossators" (245) whereas "Dorigen's examples affirm marriage and the true heroism and nobility of women who remained true to their husbands" (267).

translation. Similarly, I will try to dispute the opinion that the Her., as translated by Alfonso, are filled with more passion and pain than Ovid's original epistles as Tudorica-Impey has suggested (285), and are anachronistic since their protagonists "are medieval women in love who, thanks to the treatment of the Alfonsine School, are preparing themselves for their future re-incarnation in the sentimental Spanish novel" (Garrido 196).[51]

My analysis, notwithstanding the importance of the subject of love in the Alfonsine corpus as well as in almost every other expression of European vernacular literature, will lean towards a more comprehensive view of the relation of love and literature similar to those proposed by J. G. Haahr and R. Glendinning respectively. The latter has proposed the existence of a symbiotic relation between the treatment received by venereal themes in rhetorical manuals and the literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ("Eros" 892).

According to Glendinning's hypothesis, the decades surrounding 1200 witnessed an increasing preoccupation among rhetoricians such as Matthew of Vendôme, Gervaise of Melkley (both of whom adapted the Pyramus and Thysbe story in relation with treatises of rhetorical theory) or writers who were also trained as rhetoricians such as Gottfried von Strassburg. According to Haahr, this preoccupation with the themes of love (ἔρως and ἀγάπη) in the later case of Troylus and Criseyde (ca. 1385) shows that "for Chaucer, as for other classical and medieval amorists, the subject of love served to raise crucial issues of literary and cultural authentication. Medieval poets . . . turned to the subject of love to affirm the legitimacy—sometimes even the supremacy—of private feeling and its discourses" (55-56).

In Haahr's opinion, this rhetorical and narrative strategy allowed such authors to express "their political and moral insurgency," and therefore the inclusion of the Her., as well as other amatory texts from Ovid, in the GE must also be analyzed as conflicting with the almost unanimous opinion that both the EE and the GE, as well as the rest of the Alfonsine corpus, inherently contained a discourse of strict royal hierarchy and obedience of societal laws. Thus, Ovid's Her., could be also interpreted as "a palinodal response to Ovid's arguably antifeminist Ars Amatoria" (Percival 174) which in their essence are amatory letters filled with those strategies capable of subverting political and moral institutions. This option must also be considered as an element of possible recusatio within the context of a vast historical,

---

51 Since Alfonso's knowledge of Latin is, according to the methodology followed in my literary and historical research, irrelevant to the purpose of this dissertation I have overlooked the issue of Alfonso's alleged competence in the Latin language. In the most recent biography of the Castilian king, H. Salvador Martínez categorically states that "Alfonso's capability to understand Latin is beyond reasonable doubt" (83). Martínez argues that Alfonso's sources (both direct and secondary) are so profuse and so meticulously translated that it would be almost impossible for somebody to supervise a work like the GE without knowing how to read Latin. Since most of the accessus and glosses mentioned by Martínez as evidence of Alfonso's knowledge of Latin pertain to Ovidian materials, I will briefly comment on the issue in chapter 3.

social and cultural discourse as directed by King Alfonso.

Together with Alfonso's choice of the Her., this dissertation will analyse each one of the letters translated in the GE in order to reveal any evidence that may provide information regarding the conception of cultural and historical ideas through the act of translation. Since I will argue that the Her. are taken as historical documents I will analyze how this assumption impacted the translation and induced the interpretation of foreign cultural and historical content in the Latin originals. At the same time, the translation and adaptation of these foreign elements into the target language and its cultural environment reveals novel aspects of how the Alfonsine translators viewed their role as transmitters of knowledge and the cultural and historical preconceptions to which they adapted the cultural and historical information included in the Her. they regarded as foreign to their audience. The translation process will thus be analyzed from the point of view of the scale L. Venuti has represented as having domestication and foreignization as its poles:

Every step in the translation process – from the selection of foreign texts to the implementation of translation strategies to the editing, reviewing, and reading of translations – is mediated by the diverse cultural values that circulate in the target language, always in some hierarchical order. The translator, who works with varying degrees of calculation, under continuous self-monitoring and often with active consultation of cultural rules and resources (from dictionaries and grammars to other texts, [glosses, accessus... in this case] translation strategies, and translations, both canonical and marginal), may submit to or resist dominant values in the target language, with either course of action susceptible to ongoing redirection.

Submission assumes an ideology of assimilation at work in the translation process, locating the same in a cultural other, pursuing a cultural narcissism that is imperialistic abroad and conservative, even reactionary, in maintaining canons at home. Resistance assumes an ideology of autonomy, locating the alien in a cultural other, pursuing cultural diversity, foregrounding the linguistic and cultural differences of the source-language text and transforming the hierarchy of cultural values in the target language. (Invisibility 308-9)

2.2 THE ALFONSINE LITERARY PROJECT

> To reflect upon history is also, inextricably, to reflect upon power. (G. Debord, 134)

2.2.1 Imperial Ideology in the Alfonsine Court and Scriptorium

According to critics such as Rico (123-41), and Catalán (Estoria 13-18), the main characteristics of the Alfonsine literary project are the two interests that all scientific, legal, narrative, and historic writings share: to promote 1) a civil hierarchy structured around the king and 2) culture and learning as a means of social and moral advancement among his subjects. The way in which this literary project was carried out has been similarly characterized by critics such as Dyer as one that shows "decisiveness and ambition" in the "legal and political aspirations" (141) of the Learned King whose "emplotment of history was as decisive a social and political stratagem as any legal or political move of his career" (144).

Early statements such as those by Rico and Catalán regarding the influence of Alfonso's literary works in his vision of an ideal society have evolved into more deterministic conjectures such as the one proposed by J. V. Tolan in Saracens, a book that analyzes how the Christian European intelligentsia articulated an attack on Islam by distorting the history, traditions, and religions of the Muslim world around them. According to Tolan,

> Alfonso created a comprehensive and powerful ideology, weaving together various earlier arguments: the restoration of the Gothic monarchy in Spain; the affirmation of Roman imperial power; the reconversion of mosques into churches; the protection and succor of Christian subjects of Muslim rule, particularly in Spain; the appropriation and nationalization of the culture of the Muslim other. (193)

This vision of knowledge and literary agency as one and the same enactment of a king's power fails to recognise the disparity of the fields of knowledge cultivated by Alfonso X and is based on what Ged Martin has called the "reification" argument. To say that Alfonso's GE is part of a stratagem to promote his vision of the state would imply that all of his literary and non-literary works were conceived with a clear intention hidden to everyone but contemporary literary critics. In this sense, a clear distinction has to be made in relation to Alfonso X and his patronage of culture as divided into two areas: the disciplines that are "above" the king (those which deal with the stars, spheres, planets, and the elements), and, on the other hand, legal and historical matters which are not only fields of interest but also monarchic responsibilities that should be fulfilled. In both cases, the writings that were produced under the auspices of Alfonso X are filled with references to civil order and the advancement of knowledge as the two policies that will bring about the social development of Alfonso's kingdoms. The Libro de las leyes (1256?-1264?) (Book of Laws) and the Lapidario (1250?-1279?) (Book of the Stones) offer clear examples of

these two premises:

> Por que las voluntades & los entendimientos de los omnes son departidos en muchas maneras; por ende los fechos & las obras dellos no acuerdan en uno e desto nascen grandes contiendas & muchos otros males por las tierras. Por que conviene a los Reyes que an a tener & aguardar sus pueblos en paz & en iusticia que fagan leyes & posturas & fueros por que el desacuerdo que han los omnes naturalmientre entressi se acuerde por fuerça de derecho.

> Since the minds and opinions of men are distinct, their works and acts are similarly disparate and this difference often leads to altercation and many other evils in the land. This is why kings ought to keep their people in a state of peace and justice by means of laws, decrees, and bills of rights which will assist them when, among themselves, contrasting wills and reasons should emerge. (Leyes, 1r)

Dyer's argument that Alfonso's historiographic works are conceived as part of a larger plan to justify his vision of the Castilian state is anachronous, as statements like this prove. It is not "bold" for a king to make such Machiavellian moves, but actually normal and widely accepted given the socio-cultural background in which Alfonso lived, as H. Salvador Martínez has recently argued:

> Alfonso X . . . was neither an anti-Semite (a term which by no means reflects the reality of Medieval antijudaism) nor a Moorphobe as he has been characterized by some; likewise he was not an anticlerical just because he sent certain dissident bishop into exile, or a fratricide and a murderer because he ordered the execution of his brother Fadrique, don Simón Ruiz de los Cameros, and his close friend, the almojarife mayor, don Çag de la Meleha. Alfonso was, if anything, an authoritarian king but not a despot. His kingdom was one in which the rule was that of law and not of terror. Indeed one could argue that his reign was crucial in the development of a viable model (and a living example) of tolerant coexistence among the Muslim and Jewish religious minorities and the dominant Christian social class. (Convivencia 18)

In "Alfonso's Scriptorium and Chancery: Role of the Prologue in Bonding the Translatio Studii to the Translatio Potestatis," Cárdenas explores this connection between Alfonso's literary enterprises and his monarchic duties and proposes that "rather than two chambers, what actually may have existed was a dual chamber or possibly, and more simply, a single chamber" (90). Cárdenas' study focuses on the possible audience that some of Alfonso's works (Cantigas, Lapidario, Libro del saber, Açedrez, Iudizios de las estrellas, and Libro de las cruzes) may have had, and concludes that Alfonso's works "argue for a very practical motivation for his cultural endeavors, a bonding of translatio studii with the translatio potestatis."[52] In spite of

---

52 The first historiographic works developed in France during the thirteenth century have been the object of a similar analysis. Given the fact that Alfonso's translation of

Cárdenas' final remark that all this evidence "combines to argue in favor of considering Alfonso's chancery and scriptorium ideologically, if not physically, one" (108), his and other studies on Alfonso's scriptorium have often relegated the analysis of the sources available to the Alfonsine scholars.

Abstract concepts such as the ones employed by Cárdenas may both obfuscate and illuminate the literary and historical dimensions of Alfonso's "scriptorium" since they imply that both Alfonso and his translators had a wide variety of ideologies from which to choose. This study aims at implementing a strategy that looks into the literary world of Alfonso "seeking less to 'explain' the past in the mechanical terms of cause-and-effect, but aiming rather to locate events in relation to one another within the sweep of time" (Ged Martin 75) so that the literary world of Alfonso X can be defined according to the choices made by the compilers of the GE when translating and adapting, in this case, Ovid's Her.

Together with Martin's historical approach, this thesis applies I. Even-Zohar's principle that "through the foreign works, features (both principles and elements) are introduced into the home literature which did not exist there before" (193). According to Even-Zohar's, since translations are usually introduced into the literary polysystem of a language by leading literary agents at times when the target literature is expanding its array of literary models, the importance of these translations cannot be considered peripheral but actually central in the evolution and characterization of the borrowing literary polysystem. In the words of Even-Zohar, these incorporations onto the home literature include but are not limited to "new models of reality to replace the old and established ones that are no longer effective . . . a new (poetic) language, or compositional patterns and techniques" (193). Accordingly, he concludes that

> it is clear that the very principles of selecting the works to be translated are determined by the situation governing the (home) polysystem: the texts are chosen according to their compatibility with the new approaches and the supposedly innovatory role they may assume within the target literature. (193)

A prevalent characterization of Alfonso's cultural enterprise has focused (too narrowly in my opinion) on one of these "innovatory roles" as being part of his quest for the crown of the Holy Roman Empire.[53] J. Weiss has argued along these lines when

---

the Her. has been linked to a French translation in the Histoire ancienne jusqu'à Cesar (Calef 192) any coincidences in the methods and sources used in these French works will be analyzed. J. Beer has attributed a similar expansionist agenda to the compilers of the French biography of Caesar Li Fet des Romains. According to her, the amalgamation of the Belgians, Pitevins and Celts as into "François" was intended to provide for "historical justification for Capetian expansionism" by King Philip Augustus (82) who sought to unite under his rules territories that court historians associated with the Roman province of Gaul.

53 There is no denying that Alfonso saw himself as qualified to become emperor and strove to achieve a prominent position before all the other candidates. Thus, in 1271, as a consequence of the official betrothal of an anonymous illegitimate daughter of

he states that "since his [Alfonso's] patronage also bolstered his claim to become Holy Roman Emperor, his cultural nationalism implicitly anticipated Antonio de Nebrija's view that language should be the 'companion to empire'" (500).[54] D. Catalán has warned Alfonsine scholars of the need to comprehend the working principles that lie behind the EE and the GE "in order to find out how the main narrations (estorias) that make up the history of Spain came into being." This research should come before "the interpretation of the material and ideological cause that is responsible for these changes in structure and content" as well as, and more even so, "the attempts to explain these changes according to historical and social situations whose synchronicity with the textual innovations tends to be assumed too expediently" ("Monarquía" 94).

In this sense, R. Sela-Sheffy's discussion of the complexities behind Even-Zohar's categories of innovative and conservative translation is in direct relation with the historical analysis of Alfonso's works. As Sela-Sheffy points out

> the status of translations as either conservative or innovative agency in a certain social space is determined by many factors, from general political and market forces to the internal dynamics of the specific field of translation, its institutions and established repertoire, demography and personal competitions between individual agents. ("How to" 6)

My research is precisely aimed at contributing to D. Catalán's call for more extensive research from the point of view of, in the words of Martin and Even-Zohar, the choice of the Her. as a reliable historical source and their role within the GE and Iberian literature in general as a translation, an historical document, and a piece of foreign literature.

Alfonso makes it clear that he intends to 'espaladinar' (explain) to the 'ladinos' (uninformed) in all of his texts:

> El Rey don Alfonso . . . en qui dyos puso seso & entendimiento & saber sobre todos los principes de su tyempo leyendo por diuersos libros de sabios por alumbramyento que ouo de la gracia de dyos de quien uienen todos los bienes, siempre se esforço de alumbrar & de abiuar los saberes que eran perdidos.

> King Alfonso . . . in whom God put more good sense, understanding, and knowledge than in any other contemporary great rulers, by reading many books written by wise men under the enlightenment of

---

Alfonso to the king of the Mongols, the former agreed to attack the possessions of Alfonso's opponent King Ottokar II of Bohemia (Comes 32).

54 L. S. Mayer has recently put into question the validity of political theories based on the concept of nation when understanding group identity in the Middle Ages. She has proposed the term "coalitional identity" to define the complex relationships that developed among members of specific social, cultural, and ethnic groups while regarding the use of "nationalism" in a medieval context as an "imposition" of contemporary critics (70-71).

God's grace (from whom comes all that is good) always strove to bring to light and rescue the arts and sciences that had been lost. (<u>Cruzes</u> 2r)

As such excerpts as this imply, the king is responsible for the well-being of his people and one of his tasks consists in illustrating to them and to the rest of the world that which is good and truthful, be it the movements of the planets, the properties of the stones, the history of the world, or the best laws that a society could conceive. It must be noted as well that Alfonso emphasizes his ability and that of all sages and wise men to bring knowledge to light, or to rescue from oblivion the learning that others had already discovered and put into writing. The following excerpt, a continuation of the previous one, illustrates this point:

> Este nostro señor sobredicho que tantos & diuersos dichos de sabios uiera, leyendo que dos cosas en el mundo que mientre son escondidas non prestan nada (Et es la una seso encerrado que non se amostra et la otra thesoro escondido en tierra), El, semeiando a Salamon en buscar & espaladinar los saberes, doliendo se de la perdida & la mengua que auian los ladinos en las sciencias de las significationes sobredichas, fallo el <u>libro de las cruzes</u> que fizieron los sabios antiguos.

> The aforementioned lord of ours, who read and heard so many different sayings from other wise men, after reading that there are two things in the world which while hidden are useless (one is knowledge that is not shown and the other a treasure that is buried) he did as King Solomon had done before him: Seeing that his people were being left behind with regard to the sciences and the knowledge afore mentioned, he searched for knowledge and explained it to all in their own language and in an appropriate manner wherever he found it and that is why Alfonso eventually found the <u>Book of the Crosses</u> which had been compiled by the ancient sages. (<u>Cruzes</u> 2r)[55]

This royal figure goes beyond his role as a privileged ruler; he aims at

---

55 A similar idea is found in the prologue to <u>Diu Crône</u> (<u>The Crown</u>) (ca. 1220): An Arthurian romance by the Austrian Heinrich von dem Türlin that tells the story of the Knights of the Round Table (analyzed in detail in 2.4.9):

> Ein wise man gesprochen hât, / daz diu rede missestât, / diu âne witze geschiht; / Ouch vrumet der sin lützel iht, / den ein man in ime treit; / swer gedenket und niht reit, / daz ist sô schadebaere, / sam er ein tôre waere. / Waz mac gevrumen sin kunst / Âne rede und âne gunst? / verborgen schatz und wistuom / diu sint ze nutze cleine vrum; / rede mit wîstuom vrumt. (1-13)

> A wise man once said that speech without wisdom is worthless and wisdom unrevealed is also of little value, that he who thinks of something and keeps it to himself, accomplishes no more than a fool does. What good is his knowledge if he says nothing and wins no one's favor? Hidden treasure and hidden learning are useless, but speech with understanding is worthwhile. (J. W. Thomas 3)

watching over his people in order to protect and enlighten them as well as serve them as a leader. The implications of this process of elevation onto a higher realm of knowledge have had a great impact on the history of the civilizations that Alfonso admired so much. Thus, for example, this specific type of "political" euhemerism was put into use by Alexander's successors when they required worship from citizens accustomed to having a transcendent figure (<u>soter</u>) as the head of the state.

The secular view of power of rulers such as the Ptolemies, in the words of critics such as Charlesworth, called for a "deification of Alexander and his successors" which was nothing else but a "political measure" enacted in order to conform to the cosmology of these peoples (14). A close analysis of the characters and relations that Ovid developed in the <u>Her.</u> reveals evidence of a conscience of the impact that the aristocracy and the monarchs have on history as a consequence of their personal character. The following excerpt introduces a discussion on Daphne and Io and how it is possible that they were regarded as daughters of river gods:

> Et fallamos que departen que por poder et saber que auien algunos dellos en las cosas & en las naturas dellas. mas quelos otros omnes. llamaron los gentiles sos dioses aaquellos. quelo merescieron desta guisa. E qual quier Rey o dios que ellos dixieron que era Rio. gelo dizien por razon de friura dessa tierra o el regnaua. & dela castidad delas yentes della. E dizien gelo otrossi por seer el Rey. o aquel dios muy poderoso. de las riberas & delas tierras uezinas daquel Rio. Et por que el agua es fria de natura. departe Maestre iohan entre los otros departimientos desto. que el agua es madre dela friura. & la friura madre dela blancura & dela castidad. E diz que por quelas donzellas uirgines fastal tiempo de casar. suelen seer de fria natura & casta. mas que enel tiempo de despues. llamaron a algunas dellas essos auctores. delos gentiles. fijas daquellos dioses & Reyes. E ellos non fablaron en sos dichos si non de grandes omnes. quier fuesse de malas costumbres quier de buenas. aquellas dueñas o donzellas en quien ellos quisieron poner sos exiemplos encubiertos.

> And we find that they discuss how it was because some of these Gentiles had more power over and knowledge about things and their nature that they were called by the others gods which they deserved to be called. And any King or god which they said was a River they called him so because of the coldness of the land over which he ruled and of the chastity of the people who lived in it. And they also call him that since he was a mighty King or god among whose territories were those riverbanks and the lands adjacent to that river.

> And Master John of Garland explains, while discussing these interpretations, why water is naturally cold. And he says that water is the mother of coldness and coldness the mother of whiteness and chastity. And he explains how, since virgin ladies tend to be of a colder and more chaste nature before they get married than after they do, as time went by, some of those ladies began to be called by the Gentiles daughters of those gods and Kings. And in their writings they do not

talk about anyone but great men (be them of good or bad morals) [including] those ladies and maidens in which they put their covert examples.

Alfonso indicates on several occasions that Ovid is both a relevant political figure and an extraordinary man of letters: "Ouidio que fue uaron tan sabio & uno delos tribunos de Roma que era grand principado et que dixo tantas buenas palabras & de grand saber" ("Ovid who was a great wise man and of Rome's tribunes which was one of the most important offices and who said so many intelligent and accurate things"; GE I, 256v). As Ghisalberti explains in his essay "Medieval Biographies of Ovid," this transposition of Ovid's social status as an equites into the more medieval concept of 'knight' is explained by a trend among late medieval historians " to turn what were really judicial and civil offices into literary or military ones" (30). This is exactly what Alfonso does in his GE when he states that "Ouidio . . . fue uno de los mas presciados tribunos de Roma. Et era tribuno assi como lo auemos departido en otros logares del que auie traynta caualeros & era cabdiello & señor dellos" ("Ovid... was one of the best tribunes in Roman and he was a tribune because, as we explained earlier, he had thirty knights under his command and was the leader of all of them"; GE II, 38r).[56]

This concurrence of noble or extraordinary qualities in men of letters can also be appreciated in the introduction to Virgil's biography in GE VI where we find that the Roman poet is cited among the "pagan prophets" who possessed the intuition of God but lacked the light of faith.[57] Once again, this phenomenon is not exclusive to Alfonso's writings: a contemporary of the Learned King like Gervase of Tilbury ascribed miracles to the magic of Virgil in Naples in 1191 (Otia III, 12, 13, 15).[58] These

---

56 In Trist. II.I.89-91 Ovid reproaches Augustus for his exile and points out that he had until then been among the emperor's favorites as his appointment as equites equo publico proves. In spite of not being a military order per se, this was actually an honorary title that implied public recognition and military service as a knight. J. B. McCall actually remarks that

> since equites equis suis served with equites equo publico, it appears all eligible men – those belonging to the equestrian voting centuries and those possessing the equestrian census – formed one undifferentiated pool of cavalry recruits. The Romans, apparently, made no military distinction between cavalry troopers with state horses and troopers serving on their own horses. (3)

57 Bishop Lucas de Tuy describes Virgil in Chronicon Mundi I, 91 as: "Virgilius nascitur Mantua, qui multa Rome et Neapoli humana sapiencia gloriose fere incredibilia fecit; cuius etiam carmina de Christo manifestissimo prophetare uidentur" ("Virgil was born in Mantua. He wrote many wonderful things with human wisdom about the cities of Rome and Naples. His works are considered to prophesize the coming of Christ").

58 This book was written in 1211 and is largely based on Peter Comestor's HS even though the author does not acknowledge his source at any time. Ovid is quoted more than any other ancient author in the OT yet there is not a single mention of the Her.

instances on which the historian worked as a writer who composed the historical past as though it were a text will help re-interpret the Her. translated in the GE as concrete examples of the relation that was established in the thirteenth century between the Her. as historical documents and the extent to which they had been incorporated into the literary world through Ovid as a poet.

The Alfonsine literary project, therefore, cannot be explained exclusively through the political or social configuration of a given ideology as Funes and Cárdenas have proposed. The existence of relevant historical figures in antiquity as interpreted by Alfonso in order to endow them with an extraordinary capability to promote civilization by means of literary works, scientific discoveries, the establishment of a system of law, and military competence must also be taken into account when analyzing the GE. These parameters provide further evidence to support how certain modes of historical interpretation were favored by Alfonso's scholars.

2.2.2 The Advancement of Knowledge and Progress: Translatio Studii et Imperii

Curiously enough, the historical compilation that stands out as sharing the most historical premises with the GE is one that Alfonso does not mention by name: Isidore of Seville's Etymologiae. Even though Alfonso borrows geographical data originally written by Isidore, as T. González Rolán has shown, these references must have been taken from another work among the many based on books XIV and XV of the Etymologiae (227-8). Isidore's historical writings not only are divided into six periods just like Alfonso's GE but also attempt to describe in detail the kingdoms of Egypt and Assyria as well as those of Greece and Rome. Similarly, the Etymologiae (based mainly on Lactantius' comments of Varro and Ennius) reconstruct mythological families and dynasties and group them in way that resembles Alfonso's structure in the GE and the EE.

The most striking coincidence between Isidore's work and Alfonso's GE is, however, the treatment of the gods and heroes whom Isidore regarded as "homines olim" whom "pagani deos asserunt" (VIII, xi). The story of Phoebus' name as told in GE II, 152r-153v provides a prime example of this euhemeristic approach:

> Que assi como uos auemos ya departido ante desto en la estoria de Josue; que los gentiles como non auien creencia eran estonces creedores de que quier. Et al que ueyen mas sabio de algun saber o mas poderoso de alguna cosa que alos otros: que acogien todos a llamar le dios daquel saber o daquella otra cosa dont fuesse poderoso & auenturado en ello. Et aun esto leuantauan mayor mientre el pueblo menor que los mayores que sabien mas. Et por ende Phebo aquel philosopho de quien dixiemos que sabie todas las naturas del sol quel dixieron sos pueblos gentiles que el mismo era el sol & sobresta razon lamaron lo el dios del sol. Et es de saber que aquel Phebo es aquel a quien llaman las razones desta estoria el sol. & uino por estas razones que aqui son dichas. Et por que sabia el por su sciencia todas las cosas como philosopho & acabado en todas las cosas & sopo muy bien otrossi por el saber quanto Venus & Mars fazien & era Phebo derechero como el sol. Ca si cataredes el sol de cuemo faze ueredes que sienpre es

derecho por que poro quier que el entra siempre entra derecho; quier por puerta quier por finiestra quier por forado o poro quier que entre segunt que el so oio esta enel so cerco so el firmamiento. Et por ende Phebo en razon del sol seyendo derecho & catando derecho sopo & descrubio la aquella poridat.

As we already explained in the story of Joshua, the gentiles, since they did not have a creed, would believe in anything. And as soon as they noticed somebody whose knowledge or power exceeded those of the rest of men they would start calling him a god of this or that other thing in which he excelled. This behavior was typical among common people more even so that among the nobles and educated who knew better than that. And thus Phoebus (that philosopher whom we said knew so much of everything that had to do with the sun that the gentile peoples claimed that he was the sun himself) was called the god of the sun because of this reason. And it should be known that this Phoebus is the one who is called the sun in this story and he came because of the reasons we explain now. And because of his wisdom he knew of all things as a philosopher and was acquainted with all subjects, and knew very well what Venus and Mars were up to and he was "straight" like the sun. Because if you watch the sun you will see how its light always remains straight be it through a door, or a regular window, or an oculus, or anything else since its eye is in its orbit above the firmament and therefore Phoebus, since sunlight is straight and is perceived as straight discovered and understood that property of the sun.

The main reason why Alfonso seems to ignore Isidore's work ought to also be taken into account when referring to Alfonso's perception and selection of the sources available to him, among them the <u>Her.</u> As J. D. Cooke explains in "Euhemerism: A Mediaeval Interpretation of Classical Paganism," Vincent of Beauvais, unlike Alfonso, had relied directly on Isidore's commentaries on the transformations of humans into gods as in the case of Aesculapius (405-9). In spite of not mentioning the <u>GE</u>, Cooke notes that those historians who, like Alfonso, made use of Peter Comestor as a source had already abandoned, for the most part, Isidore's <u>Etymologiae</u> as a direct historical source.

Ever since the appearance of Euhemerus of Messene's romance Ἱερά ἀναγραφή (<u>Sacred Scripture</u>) in the third century BC, interpretations such as those made by Isidore, adapted by Peter Comestor, and used by Alfonso, have been used to re-interpret the power of the individual as a historical force that is incarnated in the form of a divinity, a prophet, a poet, a priest, a man of letters, and a political or military ruler.[59] The writer of the introduction to the <u>Libro de las cruces,</u> (mentioned

---

59 According to Cooke, euhemerism accounted for two different explanations of how men had become the object of worship in ancient times: "(1) that mankind had been deceived by poets and myth-makers who had fabricated the stories of their deification and potency; or (2) that the so-called gods had come to possess or exert

above) believed that the history of Western literature (no matter how artificial the concepts of history, the West, and literature may be) has often been built upon the figures of individuals like Alfonso, whose contributions to progress and development have earned them respect and venerability throughout centuries. Whether or not we believe, as Carlyle does, that "the history of the World is the Biography of Great Men," the truth is that in the cultural worlds of Ovid and Alfonso X, the hero is both the measure of his times and the product of the society that saw him rise to prominence.

Ovid's deification of Julius Caesar in <u>Met</u>. XV, 745-82 and Alfonso's ascription of several "marvels" of Spain to the mythical Espán in <u>GE</u> II, 224r or, as it will be discussed later, Hermes' achievements in the fields of physics and astrology, bear witness to the extent to which the figure of the "hero" attracted to and around itself a series of events, phenomena, legends, and stories as a result of the need to relate "noble" men to "noble achievements" that took place when and where they lived. This dependence on noble men to construct his world history makes Alfonso prone to link two important achievements or landmarks in history when such a coincidence would hardly occur.[60] Episodes like the sight of the <u>sidus Iulium</u> as narrated in the <u>Met.</u> also contributed to the fame of pagan poets like Ovid, in this case through the re-interpretation of this comet as the star that the Magi followed all the way from their Eastern kingdoms as the Biblical story tells us.[61]

Alfonso's role as a "learned king" as it is defined by his translators should be regarded as a concurrence in one single figure of a poet, a man of letters, a legislator and a commander in chief, a phenomenon to which literary interpretations as those mentioned with regard to Ovid's and Virgil's life had contributed during centuries of historical re-interpretation through the most diverse literary texts. Similarly, in the <u>GE</u>, Ovid is seen as a poet, a man of letters (<u>clérigo</u>), and even a powerful knight as mentioned earlier.[62] As critics such as A. M. Montero have remarked, in the <u>GE</u>, "history . . . is made up of the exploits of great men both in the Bible and in the classical stories of Antiquity" such as Hercules, Perseus, Jacob, and Moses who stand out as astrologers and social, legal, religious, and scientific leaders (1).[63]

---

actual power (a) through the intervention of demons and satanic influence, or (b) through the identity or alignment of the pagan gods with the planets" (396).

60 Sometimes, however, the coincidence is real as in <u>EE</u> I, 61v where Cicero's death and Ovid's birth are said to have taken place the same year (43 BC).

61 This comet was seen in 44 BC. For a detailed account of the historical reality of Caesar's comet as well as the different interpretations it aroused in Roman times see Ramsey & Lewis, especially 135-47.

62 In chapter XXI of the second <u>Partida</u> Alfonso regulates the duties and the privileges of knights. According to G. Martin, Alfonso's strict restrictions on who was eligible for knighthood and the imposition of duties and responsibilities by the monarchy without the intervention of the church were among the grievances claimed by some of those noble families that rebelled against Alfonso X in 1282 ("Control").

63 Montero assumes that "needless to say Alfonso stands as the pinnacle in this

F. Rico and A. J. Cárdenas have analyzed the appropriation of the myths of several mythical heroes from Ancient Greece by the compilers of the GE. Thus, according to Rico, Alfonso's historiographic enterprise "was not a mere archeological curiosity but an enriching experience full of personal echoes" (119), which, in the case of Jupiter, he used in order to establish links of "consanguinity" and "intellectual affinity" (115). The most direct reference to this relation is the account of how the Holy-Roman emperor Frederic I Hohenstaufen (Alfonso's great-grandfather) is a descendant of Jupiter just like Alexander the Great and "all the Trojan, Grecian, and Roman kings and emperors were" (113).

A similar case is that of Cecrops I, the legendary Athenian ruler and law-giver, who, according to the GE, was the first king to have knights at his service is compared to Alfonso X and his knighting of two hundred noblemen in Seville (118). A final example of this emphasis on Alfonso's royal lineage builds on the legend that Rada had put into writing in his De Rebus Hispaniae according to which Hercules' partner, Hispan, had been confided with the rule of Spain by the Greek hero.[64] The GE not only attributes to Hispan the building of the Aqueduct of Segovia but also inserts a comment on how Alfonso had himself ordered its restoration so that water could again be brought to the city (119-20).

As Rico points out, it is highly significant that the stories of Hispan and Cecrops are the only two instances in GE I and II where Alfonso's name is mentioned (other than the introduction). The extent to which this is to be understood as an act of historical appropriation has been disputed by W. L. Jonxis-Henkemans' study on the treatment of Alexander the Great, specifically in GE IV ("Last days") as well as in all of the GE ("Alexander"). According to her, the presumption that "Alfonso wants again to express his imperial rights" in GE IV runs against "the fact that in his story of Alexander whom he calls one of his ancestors in GE I and whose life story is one of the greatest tales of world literature, nowhere is there found any allusion to such a descent, nor any exposition of Alfonso's thoughts on kingship" ("Last days" 165).

A. J. Cárdenas has noted in his analysis of the two versions of the myth of

---

tradition of knowledge and power, and as the implicit modern hero of the mind" (13), a statement that, as I will argue, is explicitly stated in several of the prologues to Alfonso's works and therefore cannot be judged as an example of "cultural defiance" (14) or intellectual arrogance by the Castilian king.

64 Gervase of Tilbury's Otia Imperialia (ca. 1215) bears witness to the verisimilitude and currency of this story even before Alfonso's time:

> Hispania: Narbonensi prouincie iungitur Yspania, ab Yspano rege dicta, prius Yberia ab Ybero flumine, postea Esperia ab Espero rege, uel potius ab Espero stella, de qua Virgilius: "Redit Esperus, ite capelle." ["Ite domum saturae, venit Hesperus, ite capellae" Eclogues X, 77]

> Hispania: Spain is located next to the province of Narbonne and is named after King Hispanus. It used to be called first Iberia after the river Ebro, and then Hesperia after King Hesperus or, maybe, after Hesperus, the evening star, of which Virgil says: "Go back home now that the Evening Star has come out, my full-fed goats, go home now." (II. 10)

Hercules found in the <u>EE</u> and the <u>GE</u> that the former seems to date from the 1250's whereas the latter would have been composed after 1270 as shown by the "intrusiveness" of the narrator and a "more self-conscious" narration, both characteristic of an evolved diegetic awareness (19). The contrastive method here proposed by Cárdenas can be applied to the <u>Her.</u> (especially with respect to Dido and Hercules) in order to establish whether all of the epistles underwent the same editorial procedure/s before being incorporated to the <u>GE</u>. Cárdenas' study of the Perseus myth as found in the <u>GE</u> and the <u>Libro del saber de astrologia</u> deploys a contrastive method in order to advance the theory that during the compilation of "these two highly discrete and different treatments of largely the same myth . . . neither Alfonso's historians nor his scientists . . . shared information with one another" ("Perseus" 16).

Cárdenas goes on to link Alfonso's role as the Virgin Mary's troubadour in the <u>Cantigas de Santa Maria</u> and Perseus' account of how he killed the Medusa as a "skilled raconteur" in Ovid's version of the myth (19) whereas the less detailed description of the constellation of Perseus in his astrological treatises would have been "replaced" by a positive characterization of the compilator-narrator-interpreter of the myth as a "philosopho" in whose tradition Alfonso must now be counted. With regard to their similar characterization, Cárdenas has argued that Alfonso and Hercules are presented as "wise men" (<u>sabios</u>) in order to establish a link between their civilizing enterprises ("Hercules" 10—11).

In the case of Perseus, the <u>GE</u> states that he was not only a warrior but a righteous king and a wise scholar to the extent that the etymology of his name is explained as being 'per-theos' because he knew as much and was as virtuous as the gods ("Perseus" 21).[65] These representations of Alfonso and Ovid as "heroes" share many characteristics with those of the characters in the <u>Her.</u> whether we agree or not with Cárdenas' thesis that "Alfonso is not only saying 'I am like Jupiter, I am like Hercules,' but also 'I am like Perseus'" in the <u>GE</u> ("Perseus" 23). An explanation of this coincidence calls for the analysis of the conception of the individual as a "hero" in the <u>Her.</u> if Alfonso's standards when choosing his sources are to be understood.

Alfonso sees in Ovid a hero who, at the same time, had fulfilled his role as such in the fields of philosophy and literature by writing, among other works, the <u>Her.</u> In the process of translating and writing these letters, Ovid would have also searched for the most accurate and reliable sources, some of them being part of the epistles themselves, some other interpretations or elaborations on the meaning and context in which they were produced. Rico already focused on one of the "heroes" with whom Alfonso identifies in the <u>GE</u> (Jupiter) yet, in order to understand the <u>GE</u> and

---

65 This is Cárdenas' translation of the etymological explanation:

> Perseus also is equivalent to "a man full of virtue and wisdom." And for what we Latins term "God" the Greeks say 'theos.' And we discovered that some say that Perseus means the same as 'pertheo,' which is equivalent to 'God,' because every man who is full of virtue and wisdom resembles God, because from Him it comes; and each one, the more he has of this, so much more he resembles God and that much more approaches His nature. (21)

how it managed its sources, it is necessary to acknowledge Ovid's inclusion in Alfonso's canon as another sage to be ranked among the wisest and most able men in history: Jupiter, Hermes, Solomon, Abraham, Orpheus, etc. All these men are crucial to understanding the evolution of knowledge and civilization and Alfonso's history is, to a large extent, a recreation of these men's roles in history and that is why even Ovid is referred to as one of the three "great prophets" of the gentiles in GE V.

2.2.3 The Western Historiographic Tradition and the General Estoria

A final aspect of the Her. that will be discussed in this dissertation with regard to their historiographic value is one that has often been obscured by the analysis of the translatio imperii and studii (the transition of political and cultural hegemony from one people or country to another throughout history): the contrast between pagan and Christian sources, or the compilation methods used when gathering and uniting different stories in the GE. I am referring to the cohabitation of vernacular and Latin culture in the literary background and production of twelfth and thirteenth-century men of letters. A. Punzi has recently emphasized the need to address this symbiotic relation in an article in which she surveys the spread of Troy-related historical and poetic works in thirteenth century Europe. According to Punzi,

> in this century . . . a Latin and a vulgar culture coexisted both at the level of production and consumption; even though both cultures seem to us to have been segregated, the truth is that they both were the manifestations of a single process aimed at creating an exemplary literature deeply rooted in the most illustrious classical tradition but not exempt from a strong influence from vernacular Romanesque literature. (70)

Previous assessments of the structure, relevance and ideology of the historical works of Alfonso X have not established a relation between the great amount of encyclopedic work that had already been carried out by Alfonso in the scientific and legal fields and the position of the GE and the EE in the literary production of the Learned King. In this sense, Alfonso can be counted among those historians from the second half of the thirteenth century of whom B. Guenée has said that they "were aware that, while revisiting a more or less forgotten passage from an old work, as compilers, they were, somehow, renewing it and renovating it, giving it a new life" ("L'historien" 126).

The GE is, at the same time, the last and the most daring of Alfonso's cultural undertakings and thus should be considered as a final revision of all his preceding works. In this sense, an analysis of the Her. as they were incorporated to the GE (both in themselves and as opposed to those letters that were disregarded) and the textual circumstances under which they were accepted as valid pieces of historical writing will shed light on the question of authority and its degrees in the sources of the GE. In this sense, R. Hexter's observation that "medieval readers lacked a feel for the literary depth behind any of Ovid's works" (217) will be set against Alfonso's translation in order to reveal how much of the original text was successfully conveyed in the target language and to what extent the translators failed to convey or translate accurately the meaning found in the original Ovidian work.

Earlier in this study, the inquiry of the Alfonsine literary project was initiated

by introducing Alfonso, Ovid, and the heroes they talk about in their stories as individuals whose role in the development of civilization was crucial. These hero-like qualities prove that authority in the <u>GE</u> rests on the merits of an individual, in this case Ovid, who was intellectually capable of discerning the <u>razones</u> (such as categorical ideas or truthful principles) of the world around him. [66] Even though the ability to command armies and to be a capable ruler are usually associated with this intellectual prominence, there are instances such as those of Ovid or Hermes in which a man's intellect is the only authority and measure of his achievements as an historian, a philosopher, or a physician.

Ovid's capability to produce <u>razones</u> after <u>razones</u> in which he either reveals a great amount of knowledge in its literal sense or concealed through allegory proves that he was a capable historian in spite of the incongruence in the pragmatic context of the <u>Her.</u> As will be discussed in the following part of this introduction, these contradictions are reconciled by explaining them as allegorical literary devices or by making them <u>additamenta</u> to the original letters.

---

66 As I pointed out earlier in the introduction, '<u>razon</u>' is a complex word in Alfonso's prose. <u>Alfonso's Castilian Prose Dictionary</u> (<u>Diccionario de la prosa castellana del Rey Alfonso X</u>) has six entries for the word '<u>razon</u>:' "1) Words or sentences by which discourse is expressed; 2) Argument or demonstration that is provided as supporting evidence for something; 3) motivation or cause 4) order and structure in something; 5) account, detailed list, score; 6) that which is proper or natural in something" (1518-9).

2.3 THE "SCHOOL OF TRANSLATORS": AN ABSTRACT PROCESS RATHER THAN AN INSTITUTION

> It is high time that we stop speaking of the so-called Toledo School of Translators. Never was there such a school in Toledo, neither in the twelfth century with Bishop Raymond nor in the thirteenth century with King Alfonso X the Wise. However, this school has proved to be one of the most lasting myths in the history of contemporary culture, present everywhere, from the Encyclopaedia Britannica to thousands of pages on the Internet. (Bastin 31)

2.3.1 Royal Support for Cultural Enterprises in the Time of Alfonso X

King Alfonso X inherited from his father Fernando III (1198-1252) not only a vast cultural enterprise,[67] but a legal program aimed at centralizing and unifying the diverse kingdoms and judicial systems that were scattered across the Iberian Peninsula[68]. He was also an heir to his grandfather Alfonso VIII's (1155-1214) scholarly enterprise that brought about the creation of the first, though short-lived, studium generale in the city of Palencia (later to be relocated to Salamanca) and to his influential collaborator and advisor Don Rodrigo Archbishop of Toledo (1130-1187) and Chancellor of Castile whose role as a patron of culture and a man of letters was first idealized by Menéndez Pelayo in La historia de los heterodoxos españoles.

There can be no doubt that, as Márquez-Villanueva has suggested, Toledo was a place where many scholars from all over Europe came to conduct their research and have access to books and materials that they could not find anywhere else in the Western Christian world in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Tholetana 30). The location/s, structure, and organization of the Toledo "School of translators" which Renan made famous in his L'avenir de la science (1890) after the findings of Amable Jourdain in Recherches critiques... (1819) (where he coined the now famous term collège de traducteurs) (112) is still to this date a topic that will require significant research before we can get a clear picture of how these translations came into

---

67 According to Fernández-Ordóñez

> a remarkable historiographic surge took place during the period of transition between Fernando III's and Alfonso X's reigns whose extent we have not fully grasped yet. This proliferation of apparently "official" Fernandine histories may have something to do with a certain dislocation of the political power since . . . the monarchy models that they put forward are not identical at all. ("Fernandina" 115)

68 The fueros were regional law-codes given to individual towns by Iberian kings in order to provide the newly conquered territories with their own legal system. R. Wright has concluded that the earliest translations of these Latin fueros into proto-romance "are more likely to have been after rather than before 1230" ("Dating" 15). As Wright himself points out this would imply that Alfonso and his group of collaborators in the development of the standardized Fuero Real (1256) had a decisive role in completing the transition from Latin into proto-romance (16).

being.[69] Toledo's was not a school in the sense of an institutionalized centre organized to instruct people but rather a group of scholars who shared similar interests and worked together under the protection of patrons such as Raimundo of Toledo (Roth 59; Foz, Traducteur 105, 172). A. Pym has questioned several of the tenets of the aura behind the school such as its originality, its exclusivity, its international renown, its relative cosmopolitanism, and its lofty goals on the basis that, in spite of Toledo's importance, there were other centers of culture at least as important as the Castilian city both in Europe and the rest of the world ("Libro"451-2).

In the introduction to Lapidario, the compilers tell the story of how Alfonso had come to know a Jew in Toledo who owned a very rare book that had been translated from Chaldean (Syriac) into Arabic. After the original owner of the book had died, nobody was versed on how to use it since it was written in an obscure language. A Jew from Toledo kept the book hidden until Alfonso learned that he had it and requested it from the Jew, who gave it to the king so that Alfonso could give it to one of "his" Jews:

> Et desque libro [uno traducido del caldeo por un árabe] tovo [Alfonso X] en su poder fizo lo leer a otro su Judio que era su fisico & dizien le Yhuda mosca el menorque era mucho entendudo en la arte de astronomia & sabie & entendie bien el aravigo & el latin[70] . . . mando gelo trasladar de aravigo en lenguaie castellano por que los omnes lo entendiessen meior & se sopiessen del mas aprovechar. Et ayudol en este trasladamiento Garci Perez un su clerigo que era otrossi mucho entendudo en este saber de astronomia.

> And since he [Alfonso X] had got hold of this book [a rare one

---

69 C. Foz has classified the translators active during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries under Castilian patronage as belonging to two groups: one made up of men of letters with a high rank in the church and the other made up of Jewish scholars who knew more languages and were in closer contact with Arabic culture ("Practique" 37). Foz' classification of thirteenth-century active translators in Castile is made according to origin. She classifies translators as Spanish and foreign (mainly Italian) and attributes this distinction to the Imperial character of the Italians who came to the Iberian Peninsula as collaborators with the now prominent Jewish scholars whom Alfonso X had raised in their status (39-40). Research on thirteenth century Iberian translators still continues to improve our understanding of this complex process. In a recent article, A. Pym has argued for a connection between the import of the technology for manufacturing paper into Spain in the thirteenth century and Alfonso's cultural revival in an analogous process to that which occurred in Baghdad in the ninth century (57).

70 Judá was Alfonso's personal physician and confidante. It is believed that he was his main astrological advisor. As N. Siraisi has explained, in the Middle Ages the practice of medicine required, at least, a basic training in astrology with the aim of better understanding the evolution of disease and the properties of the remedies used to alleviate it in the context of the influence of the spheres and the planets (67-69).

translated from Syriac into Arabic] he gave it to one of his Jews called Yhuda Mosca the Young who was well versed in astronomy and knew Latin and Arabic well . . . he ordered him to translate it from Arabic into Castilian so that men would understand it better and could benefit from its reading. And Garci Perez helped him translate it, him being a cleric who knew much about astronomy. (1v)

2.3.2 The Translation Process: Collaborative Efforts and Diverse Sources

The episode of the "Chaldean" book reveals the importance of the collaboration between scholars from different backgrounds (the Jewish physician and the Christian cleric) as well as the key role that Alfonso played as researcher, patron, and coordinator of the "School of translators."[71] The fact that Alfonso, as the king, was the link between scholars who otherwise would not have come into contact adds to the "heroic" role mentioned earlier. The individual that is above the rest in intellect is capable and responsible for the discovery of the secrets of nature through his good <u>entendimiento</u> (understanding, intellect).

Regarding the importance and relevance of the Jewish translators that collaborated with King Alfonso X, there is no doubt that their fluency in both Arabic and Hebrew, together with their disdain for Latin (the language of Rome in which the Pope promoted their persecution), made them the ideal translators for a king who sought to compile all the knowledge that was available to him as Millás has explained in "El literalismo de los traductores de la corte de Alfonso el Sabio" (155-87).

Alfonso X's scientific translators, just like those who worked under the auspices of his father and his grandfather, worked in pairs. The first translator would read the Hebrew or Arabic original and then would put it into Old Castilian and then a second translator would, before Alfonso rendered this practice obsolete, translate the Old Castilian version into Latin.[72] J. Levi has calculated that "approximately fifteen scholar-scribes, Jews and Christians, Spaniards and Italians alike, are named as having been involved in the creation of the works referred to as the Alfonsine

---

71 As. M. Comes points out, "Alfonso was well known by the Arabic historical sources of the time and this is something that is not true of his predecessors" (47).

72 By Old Castilian it is meant the language that Francisco Abad calls "la de la herencia alfonsí" as opposed to "primitive Spanish" which would refer to the language used between the Mozarabic songs (h. 1042) and the linguistic age of Alfonso X (h. 1250) (519-28). Contrary to popular opinion, Castilian was not the language of modern Castilla-León and Castilla la Mancha but rather one of the dialects that the Northern conquerors brought with them from the lands of Vasconia, Navarre and Asturias. According to Menéndez Pidal, the language of the Mozarabs had certain characteristics that made it different from this type of Castilian. That Mozarabic language or languages would have been a continuation of the one that was used throughout the Visigothic kingdom of Hispania. That Visigothic language would not be as close to contemporary Spanish as to Galician, Leonese, Aragonese and Catalan (<u>Español</u> 15). More recently, Wright has also insisted on referring to pre-thirteenth-century Iberian dialects as romance and not according to regional dialectal variations ("Assertion" 231).

corpus" (3) of whom we scarcely know anything but their names.

The prologue to the astrological/astronomical treatise <u>Judizios de las estrellas</u> features a eulogy of the king as well as a reference to the whole translation process that summarizes and explains the concept of "School of translators" in terms of a personal design of the monarch:

> Laores & gracias rendamos a dios padre verdadero omnipotent quie en este nuestro tiempo nos deño dar señor en tierra coñocedor de derechuria & de todo bien, amador de verdat, escodrinador de sciencias, requiridor de doctrinas & de enseñamientos qui ama & allega assi los sabios & los ques entremeten de saberes & les faze algo & mercet, porque cada uno dellos se trabaia espaladinar los saberes denque es introducto & tornar los en lengua castellana.

> We pray and thank true and almighty God who in our time gave us a lord to rule us on Earth who knows about the law and all that is good, who loves truth, who is learned in all scientific disciplines, who is always looking for righteous doctrines and teachings everywhere, who loves and brings close to him the wise and those who are learned and takes them under his wing so that each one of them explains with clarity those disciplines of knowledge in which he is versed and translates them into Castilian. (1r)

It should be noted, however, that almost all of these scholars are mentioned in scientific treatises and, therefore, the conclusions to which Levi and others have arrived regarding the method followed by the Alfonsine translators may not be applied to works of a historical nature such as the <u>GE</u> and the <u>EE</u>. In <u>De la silva textual al taller historiográfico alfonsí</u>, Catalán argues that the historians who worked under Alfonso's orders formed different groups that researched a specific period of time. According to Catalán the <u>GE</u> and the <u>EE</u> were written at the same time so that the sources and materials used in one could be also added to the other if need be (463).

A study of the eleven epistles translated as part of the <u>GE</u> should reveal to what extent the adaptation process from Latin to Old Castilian differs or resembles the general characteristics found in the Alfonsine prose. These characteristics have been extracted from analyses based mainly on scientific works as opposed to historical or fictional prose. An example of how the scientific scholars who worked for Alfonso in his astronomical treaties might have influenced the style and philological standards of the historiographic workshop of the Learned King is the use of Aristotle, not as a direct source, but as an intellectual reference.

The very first sentence "[n]atural cosa es de cobdiziar los omnes saber los fechos que acahescen en todos los tiempos" ("It is only natural that men strive to know the things that happened at a particular time in history"; 1v) clearly resembles Aristotle's opening statement in <u>Metaphysics</u> I, 98a, 21: "πάντες ἄνθροποι τοῦ εἰδέναι ὀρέγονται φύσει" ("all men by nature desire to know"). Aristotle is similarly paraphrased in the <u>GE</u> when Alfonso explains the parts into which anything that is thought of or created by man can be divided.[73] He notes that "muchos delos maestros

---

73 Most of Aristotle's works were, obviously, not known by Alfonso. Thus in <u>Poetics</u>

quando quieren leer sus libros en las escuelas demandauan en los comienços dellos unos tantas cosas e otros mas, los unos v cosas et los otros vi e ay otros que aun mas" ("many masters, when reading books to their students, introduce them by indicating some as many as four (causes) whereas others required five and still others six or even more"; GE I, 210v).

In conclusion, Alfonso's succinct description of the accessus ad auctores, among other rhetorical procedures to describe and explain a text, is presented as an alternative to Aristotle's standard procedure of the four causes even though it is not referred to explicitly.[74]

2.3.3 Non-Scientific Translations in the Alfonsine Corpus: The Heroides and the Sentimental Theory

Tudorica-Impey in "Ovid, Alfonso X, and Juan Rodríguez del Padrón" arrives at the conclusion that "in his translation, Alfonso constantly deviated from and added to the meaning of the Her., not so much because of any inherent linguistic difficulties as for the erotic ideology which, in many respects, was considered unacceptable for a thirteenth-century Christian reader" (284).

According to Tudorica-Impey, the Alfonsine translators modified certain passages in order to conceal "the eroticism that Ovid expressed so open in his epistles" and that also would be why certain epistles such as IV ("Phaedra Hippolyto") and XII ("Medea Iasoni") were "promptly disposed of" (284). The truth is that both of the epistles mentioned by Tudorica-Impey are indeed translated and adapted in the second book of the GE so the arguments that "the lustful Phaedra and the revengeful Medea constitute in Alfonso's eyes repugnant feminine types" or that Alfonso X "viewed Ovid's text as ethically exemplary, as reflecting in the sublunary sphere the timeless values of the beyond" (J. F. Burke 135-6) are in open contradiction with the faithful translations found in GE II, K, 337v and GE II, N, 247v.

Moreover, the epistles that are actually missing in the GE seem to have been omitted due to historiographic reasons: Epistle III ("Briseis Achilli") contains no relevant historical data and contradicts Alfonso's main sources for the Trojan War

---

1459a-b, the Greek philosopher describes history as chaotic in itself and lacking a dramatic form which is just the contrary of what Alfonso believed. Domínguez García and García Ballester have established that Castilian Franciscan intellectuals in the thirteenth century were imbued in the Aristotelism of the time and contributed to the spread of natural philosophy in the Iberian peninsula through their contacts with Moslem intellectuals in southern Spain (specifically through Alfonso X's former confessor and tutor, the Franciscan Pedro Gallego), the translations carried out in Toledo, their continuous travels and the contacts they established with scholars all over Europe, and their use of Aristotelian authors such as Gilbert of Aquila and Bartholomew the Englishman (41-2). J. Muñoz Sendino argues that by 1280 almost all of Aristotle's works were readily available in Toledo either in Latin, Greek or Arabic although he does not include the Poetics among them. (47-56)

74 An accessus was divided into six parts: vita autoris (biography of the author), titulus operis (title of the book and its explanation), materia (subject matter), intentio (purpose), utilitas (usefulness and application of the work), and cui parti philosophiae subponatur (philosophical classification of the work).

("Dayris" and "Dytis") as he explains in <u>GE</u> II, n, 287v and 288r.[75] Nevertheless, Alfonso quotes Ovid as his source in this episode and explains how Achilles' reason for not fighting side by side with Agamemnon was his love for Briseis as well as for Polixena; Epistle XI ("Canace Macareo") is irrelevant since the line of Aeolus is scarcely mentioned in the <u>GE</u>. Epistle XIII ("Laodamia Protesilao") and epistle XV ("Sappho Phaoni") would be equally irrelevant since none of these characters are mentioned in the <u>GE</u>,[76] Epistle XVI ("Paris Helenae") and epistle XVII ("Helena Paridi")[77] are both explicitly referred to as historical documents in <u>GE</u> II, N, 263v even

---

75 Briseis is described in <u>GE</u> II, N, 273v: "Buseis (sic) era fermosa, e non muy grande de cuerpo, e blanca, e los cabellos ruuios e llanos, e las sobreçejas juntadas, e de alegre cara, e los ojos hermosos, e muy bien fecha de cuerpo, e simple de coraçon, e vergonzosa e piadosa" ("Briseis was beautiful, her body of average size, white, her hair blonde and straight, her eyebrows joint, her face merry, her eyes beautiful, with a very nice body, and a candid heart, and timid and pious"). Briseis is thus described in <u>R. de Tr</u>. 5275-88, and <u>Ilias Latina</u> IV, 156-62, probably after Dares' <u>DET</u> 13.

76 As I have already pointed out, XV was missing in all manuscripts of the <u>Her.</u> known in Alfonso's time.

77 This is the reference in <u>GE IIN</u> (unedited):

> Paris e Deyfebo et Eneas e Polidamas fueron se con su caualleria endereçada mientre para Greçia e arribaron a la ysla de Çytero. Et alli estando, segunt cuentan las estorias, enbio Paris de su cabo su epistola a fazerle (Helena) saber com era el alli venido por la su razon commo gelo auia enbiado dezir. Et enbiole otrossi ella la suya de respuesta asi commo dize Ouidio en el libro que a nonbre el <u>Libro de las Dueñas</u>. Mas en aquellas epistolas cuenta que Paris ante desta venida auie ya venido a Greçia por amor daquella reyna Elena et que y morara ya con el rey Menelao et por alli fueron enamorados el della e ella del en sus visitas. Et pusieron en uno sus amores; et commo se tornasse el para Troya e se guisase e viniese por ella et ella que se yrie con el. Et avn mas dizen que el rey Menalao que reçibiera bien a Paris et que le fazie algo. Et Menalao quie dos tierras et que dexo a Paris por adelantado en la vna e por poderoso de toda la tierra. Et dexolo otrossi a la reyna Elena su muger en encomienda. Et mientra el fue veer el otro reyno dizen que tomo Paris a Elena robada et que se vino con ella para Troya. Et agora dexamos aqui estas razones de las epistolas et tornaremos a contar como fizo Paris desque llego a la ribera.
>
> Paris, Deiphobus, Eneas, and Polydamas hasted with their cavalry towards Greece and they arrived in the Island of Cythera. And while they were there, as the estorias tell, Paris sent an epistle to Helena to let her know how he was there as he had told her he would be. And she replied with a letter of her own as Ovid indicates in the <u>Libro de las Dueñas</u>. But in those epistles she claims that Paris had already been in Greece before because of his love for that queen Helen and since she lived there with King Menelaus they had fallen in love with each other

though they are not reproduced, Epistle XVIII ("Leander Heroni") and epistle XIX ("Hero Leandro") are similarly summarized in <u>GE</u> V, R, 151v after Ovid's <u>Her.</u>, and Epistles XX ("Acontius Cydippae") and XXI ("Cydippe Acontio") are not mentioned since their protagonists do not appear in the <u>GE</u>.[78]

This textual evidence calls for a reassessment of the adaptation of the <u>Her.</u> that were translated by Alfonso as well as an analysis of the implications that the omitted letters have in the reliability of Ovid as a historical source in the <u>GE</u>. Since Alfonso's translation predates by more than a century those by the Catalan Guillem Nicolau (ca. 1389) and the Gallician Juan Rodríguez del Padrón (ca. 1440), it will also be useful to contrast how these adaptations varied in their scope and compliance with contemporary medieval poetics. The theory of the sentimental factor according to which "the love epistles were inserted . . . because they were seen to be appealing pieces of love narrative" (Tudorica-Impey 294) has been taken into consideration not so much because it can be inferred from the <u>GE</u> but because it is appealing as "a truly innovative decision since it provides the sentimental female voice with a linguistic space of its own" (Garrido 385).

As I will try to demonstrate, both the faithful translation of the <u>Her.</u> contained in the <u>GE</u>, as well as the omission of other letters with a much more appealing "voz sentimental femenina" such as that of Briseis to Achilles (which, paradoxically, is paraphrased in <u>GE</u> leaving out all its sentimental elements) or those of Cydippe and Accontius, proves that the theory of the sentimental factor has been imposed on Alfonso and the <u>GE</u> in the quest for a definitive source to the Spanish sentimental novel (cf. Garrido 385).[79]

The sentimental theory can be contested by pointing out that an analysis and comparison of the manuscripts of the <u>Her.</u> belonging to the thirteenth century that have been studied and edited by H. S. Sedlmayer ("Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ovidstudien im Mittelalter" and <u>Prolegomena critica ad Her. Ovidianas</u>), G. Przychocki (<u>Accessus Ovidiani</u>), and R. Hexter (<u>Ovid and Medieval Schooling</u>) shows that almost none of the commentaries that precede each of the epistles in some of these manuscripts were copied or sought by Alfonso in order to incorporate them to

---

during those visits. And they put in one of those letters their sentiments of love and how he had returned to Troy and had afterwards come back so that she could come with him. And moreover, they say that King Menelaus welcomed Paris and showed to him his good will by making him lord of one of the two lands over which he was lord. And he also left his wife Queen Helen in his care. And while Menelaus was away taking care of his other kingdom, they say that Paris stole Helen and came back to Troy with her. And now we leave these <u>razones</u> of the epistles and we return to the account of the story of Paris after his arrival to the shores of Troy. (Ashton vii)

78 I have looked for references to these characters in the <u>GE</u> (particularly <u>GE</u> II) with regard to their relation to Dianna but to no avail.

79 As I will discuss later, Juan Rodríguez del Padrón's <u>Bursario</u> is responsible for this misunderstanding since his use of Alfonso's <u>GE</u> cannot be understood as a mere copy but rather a source that was transformed in the eyes of a much different audience.

his GE translations. On the other hand, Nicolau's translation, in spite of maintaining the authenticity of the letters, incorporates some moral guidance in the form of introductory glosses as the following example shows in the case of Canace's letter to Macareus:

> 11. [De Cànaçe a Machareu]
>
> Machareu fo fill de Eolus, rey dels vents, e Cànaçe filla, que vingueren a açò que jagueren ensepms; e Cànaçe, prenys, parí un fill, lo qual, pus que ho sabé, manà que fos donat a cans e a lops e ésser devorat. A la filla sua tramès una spasa per un seu familiar, per la qual se ouçiés, axí com féu. Entenció és de l'octor de rependre hòmens e fembres de amor no leguda, per Cànaçe e Machareu, qui eren germans e·s mesclaren carnalment.
>
> Macareus was the son of Aeolus, the king of the winds, and Canace his daughter who lay together; and Canace, pregnant, had a baby whom, as soon as he found out, he ordered to be fed to the dogs and wolves so that they would devour him. He sent his daughter a sword through a relative with which she killed herself. The intention of the auctor is to reprimand men and women of illicit love by means of the story of Canace and Macareus who were siblings and had intercourse. (Garrido i Vals, 51)

In the case of Rodríguez' translations, they incorporate a large critical apparatus that serves both as a moral disclaimer and a general historical introduction. As a matter of fact, some of these manuscripts even indicate what the general and specific purposes of both the heroine in question and Ovid were when writing the Her. (Ghisalberti 11). These data were widely available to Alfonso and yet are not featured in the GE. Moreover, the Her. are not the only Ovidian work to lack such introductory commentary or additional moral guidance.

In her analysis of Alfonso's account of the myth of Orpheus in GE II (chapters 220 through 225) P. Berrio concludes that Alfonso "did not develop the moral meaning of a myth that provided him with an excellent opportunity to do so and [as a consequence] it would not be until Juan de Mena's Comentario a la Coronación that we would encounter the first thorough allegorization of this myth in Castilian" (18). A further example of this lack of elaboration in the shape of indoctrination is the sheer contrast between Alfonso's predecessors" and contemporaries' misogynist and misogamist stance. Since such commentaries and glosses were key in the development of such misogynistic literature as the French lais or the medieval Book of Wikked Wyves that were so familiar to Chaucer and Boccaccio, it is important to establish that by the time of its inception the GE lacks such derogatory commentaries towards women.

If we compare the description of Phoebus' Leucothea whom Alfonso calls "muy preciada" ("highly-regarded"; GE II, 154v) that follows the description of Phoebus quoted earlier (p. 38) to the one found in Walter Map's "Dissuasio Valerii ad Rufinum" (ca. 1180) the Alfonsine treatment of historical feminine figures becomes

undeniably benign:[80]

> Phebus, qui sapeintie radiis tocius orbis primiciavit ambitum, ut merito solis nomine solus illustraretur, infatuatus est amore Leucotoes, sibi ad ignominiam, illi ad interitum, et ecliptica diu vicissitudine varius factus est, frequenter sui egenus luminis, quo totus universaliter egebat mundus. Amice, ne lumen quod in te est tenebre fiat, Leucotoen fugito.

> Phoebus, who with the rays of his wisdom laid out the circuit of the whole world, so that he alone deserved to be illuminated with the name "sun," was infatuated with love for Leuocothoë, to his own shame and to her destruction, and for a long time was made changeable, by the reversal associated with an eclipse, often in need of his own light, which the whole world in common needed. Friend, that the light which is in you not become darkness, flee Leucothoë. (R. Hanna, 129)[81]

---

80 There are plenty of instances in which medieval authors reacted against widespread mysoginy. Albertanus of Brescia, for example, contains the following remark from Prudentia to her partner Melibeus in the <u>Liber consolationis et consilii</u> (<u>The Book of Consolation and Council</u>) (1246) in which she reprimands her husband for his generalizations regarding bad behavior in women: "Non deberes ita generaliter despicere mulieres ac earum imprudentiam reprobare, nam qui omnes despicit, omnibus displicet" ("You should neither despise women so carelessly nor disapprove of their lack of prudence since that to whom everything seems displeasing, he himself is displeasing to everyone else"; 14) in the context of his defense of women against false accusations.

81 As a matter of fact, wise women are portrayed as being as wise as their great male counterparts. Even though their wisdom is often associated with some sort of magic power, it should not be forgotten that men like Moses are also said to have had such powers:

> Agora porque desta mezcla que auemos con tado que el sol fizo a Venus & a Mars contra Vulcano. uino el achaque por que Venus deessa & poderosa delos amores dar & toller. Ca fallaredes que todas estas grandes duennas de los gentiles de quien uos aqui fablamos: fueron ueneficas & magas. & dizen en el latin veneficas por fechizeras & magas por sabidoras; de encantamentos & encantadores peno de amor venus al sol por esta razon como dueña sabia fechizera & encantadora.

> It was because of the scheme we just told you about that the sun [Phoebus] turned Venus and Mars against Vulcan. All the trouble started because Venus was goddess and controller of love and she could give it and make it disappear at will. You will learn how all these gentile ladies of whom we talk about here were beneficent and wise. And in Latin '<u>veneficas</u>' means 'spell-casters' and '<u>magas</u>' means 'wise'; Venus punished the sun with her spells because of this as the wise and

As M. S. Brownlee has remarked, this absence of moralizing introductions and misogynistic commentaries as well as the "positivistic" character of Alfonso's chronicle set his translation apart from Juan Rodríguez's fifteenth-century rewriting of the Her. (Bursario). Alfonso's translations as found in the GE must then be reassessed in the light of new research. For instance, Brownlee, far from ascribing to Alfonso the beginning of the novela sentimental, finds in his translations "an impersonal, second-person plural reporting of "authoritative" history which is rendered even more official by the inclusion of embedded portions of selected heroids" (10). A further implication of this reassessment involves the distinction between what M. C. E. Shaner has called the "second intentio" (the intention of the actual writer of the letter) as opposed to the "first intentio" (29-30) which would be that of Ovid and which, as I have stated, is absent from the GE.[82]

---

spell-caster lady she was.

82 Shaner further elaborates by saying

the prefaces to and commentaries on Ovid's Heroides in the Middle Ages function as hermeneutic devices, often acting as intertexts to the primary text, and also guiding reader response in appropriate social and spiritual directions. These materials are not merely didactic; they occasionally have something approaching their own aesthetic, demonstrating careful choices of both language and content. For the modern student of the Middle Ages, close reading of the commentaries can provide fertile ground for exploration in search of the medieval understanding and manipulation of text. (31)

> Dura enim est conditio historiographorum; quia, si vera dicantur, homines provocantur; si falsa scripturis commendatur, Deus, qui veridicos ab adulatoribus sequestrat, non acceptat.
> The circumstances of historians are indeed harsh: if they tell the truth, they anger men whereas God, who discriminates between the truthful and the sycophants, does not accept them if they should write down false things. (Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora V, 469-70)

2.4.1 World Chronicles: Encyclopedic Knowledge in the Realm of History

The amount of information which the GE was going to comprise would have exceeded any other historical work available in Europe in the thirteenth century, both in scholarship and in historical magnitude. In spite of being ignored by such prominent scholars as B. Smalley and J. Westfall Thompson in their respective histories of historical medieval writings, and more recently by scholars studying the development of encyclopedic research such as C. Meier and M. W. Twomey, Alfonso's GE was the largest historical compendium available in a vernacular language when it was compiled. Western European annalists such as Matthew Paris (1200-1259), in spite of the detail with which he narrates the events that are contemporary to him in his Chronica Majora, are no rival to Alfonso's GE.[83] This is even more significant if we take into account that Matthew, like many other contemporary chroniclers, relied on the work of Roger of Wendover (?-1236) (Flores Historiarum) up to the year 1235 of his chronicle.[84]

However, one important aspect of Matthew's writings that is of special interest with respect to the use of Ovid's Her. in the GE is a high regard for letters as a source of reliable historical information. Matthew not only uses letters from kings such as Henry III, Richard Earl of Cornwall, Alfonso X, and even Popes Innocent III and IV, and Urban IV among others, he actually reproduces most of them in the form of the Additamenta that can be found in most editions of the Chronica Majora.

Only Vincent of Beauvais' (1190-1264) scholarship can be compared to that of the Alfonsine translators and historians in the thirteenth century. C. Domínguez has recently contributed to Alfonsine scholarship by demonstrating that Beauvais' Speculum Maius (1270) was in the possession of the Spanish king before 1274.

Domínguez makes use of Dorothy Donald's findings in "Suetonius in the Primera Crónica General through the Speculum Historiale" in order to prove that Beauvais' quotes of Suetonius' works were promptly used as a source by Alfonso in spite of the Roman historian not being mentioned in the chapters previous to the acquisition of the Speculum Maius. Alfonso's embracing of Beauvais' work in such a brief period of time since its publication indicates that the king took for granted the authority and accuracy of a particular historian in spite of his works not having stood

---

83 Cf. Historians of the Middle Ages by Smalley and A History of Historical Writing by Thompson.

84 As a matter of fact, Matthew refers to Alfonso in several occasions with regard to his claim to the imperial crown and the help he offered to Henry III in Gascony.

the test of time (based not so much on his character but on the quality and accuracy of the sources quoted in his work and the resources put into its research.) At the same time, the introduction of a new source in the EE that had not previously been used shows both a disregard for historical cohesiveness in the sources used and also confidence in the fact that the new source will not contradict previously used sources.[85]

The twelfth century was a very prolific time as far as the production of world chronicles is concerned. Alfonso's contemporary history writers were indebted to their predecessors in many aspects but some of them that mark the distance between the more primitive extended chronicles of the twelfth century and the "historicized" accounts of the thirteenth century. According to Thompson and Holm

> the thirteenth century was both the culmination of medieval history and culture, and the threshold of modern history. It was at once medieval and modern in spirit and in practice in what it preserved of the past and in what it projected into the future. (1: 267)

All these changes were reflected in the way historiographers made the transition from the regional to the universal and from the contemporary to past and future times. By the end of the twelfth century, most universal histories were still evolving into the long and comprehensive compendia of the thirteenth century and thus still preserved some of their primitive traits. The main difference between a chronology and a history at that time was the way in which the account of the past was provided. Alfonso's description of history in GE II, chapter 438 which, as he indicates, is taken from Statius' (c. AD 45-96) Achilleis, is a more general definition of these two different approaches to the historical narration:

> Al vn comienço llaman natural de natura, e al otro dixeron comienço de maestria o del arte . . . . El comienço de natura . . . es començar el estoriador a contar la estoria de la razon donde se leuanta el fecho e donde viene el primero comienço de la cosa de que fabla en ella. E del otro comienço, del arte e de la maestria, diz que es quando omne dexa la razon donde nasçe aquello por que ovo a acaesçer aquel fecho de que el a de fablar, e todo lo al que yaze alli fasta donde el toma la razon de lo suyo; e comiença luego en la su razon en aquello que viene luego ante de lo suyo mas de çerca.

> One way to begin to tell the story of something they call 'natural' (from nature) and the other they call 'of mastery' or 'artistic' . . . . In the natural style . . . the historian tells the story of the razones behind the event as far back as the very beginning and circumstances of those razones. In the artistic style the writer leaves out the razones that propitiated the occurrence of the event he is interested in as well as all the information that precedes those events. The artistic historian

---

85 I. Nanu and M. V. Pedraz have similarly found coincidences in Vincent's Ars medicine and Alfonso's Segunda Partida in which the monarch discusses how infants should be reared by their parents ("Aproximación").

begins to tell the story by indicating only the immediately preceding events to the events he is interested in.[86] (GE II, N, 230v)

Alfonso's predecessors, such as Sigebert of Gembloux (c. 1030 - 1112), Hugh of Flavigny (c. 1065-c. 1111), Hugh of Fleury (d. >1118) or Ekkehard of Aura (c. 1050 - d. >1125), Rudolf von Ems (c. 1200-1254) or even Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (c. 1170 - 1247), made timid attempts to go beyond the particular histories with which they were concerned. These chronicles, be they of the church, a country, a king or an ethnic group, were limited by the prevailing idea that history was to be divided into six ages, the fifth of which was the one they lived and, inevitably, would lead to Doomsday and the sixth and final age. All these accounts of the early history of humankind are usually lists of the descendents of Biblical or Classical illustrious men and women from whom the person (usually a king) or group of people dealt with in that particular historical compilation (Goths, Franks, Britons…). Alfonso's GE goes beyond this localism only to the extent that his own account is, to a large extent, a compilation of all these Arabic, Jewish, Roman, Greek, Gothic, and Trojan histories.

The new paradigm in Alfonso's GE does not seem to be either the interpretation of the creation and meaning of the world as has been often commented. For example, Bishop Otto of Fresing (c. 1111-1158) (a man of letters with governmental responsibilities like Alfonso) in Chronicon seu rerum ab initio mundi ad sua usque tempora (1146) follows a more skeptical and strict historiographical method when selecting his sources unlike the historians mentioned earlier. However, he is so instilled with Saint Augustine's vision of history in De civitate dei (413-426) that he actually referred to his own chronicle as De duabus civitatibus. Otto denounces the cruelty of the times in which he lived and ascribes it to the coming of the seventh age in which the Anti-Christ will herald the end of the world. Alfonso

---

86 Alfonso's considerations regarding the methodological approach to the narration of historical events are still current among historians. In the introduction to his military and strategic account of the Peloponnesian War published in 2004, Nigel Bagnall comments

> This book . . . is presented . . . by examining the different campaigns sequentially, each in its entirety, rather than giving an across-the-board chronological account. There are advantages and disadvantages to both methods, but I have again chosen the former because I consider that any difficulty in interrelating events occurring at the same time in the different theatres of war is far outweighed by the ability to follow through the developments of each separate campaign in an unbroken sequence. I have tried to reduce the disadvantage of this approach by mentioning the more important events taking place in other theatres, whenever this appeared to be helpful. (1)

Within the context of contemporary audiovisual culture, a remarkably similar approach is described at the beginning of The Tudors , an historical drama television series based upon the early reign of Henry VIII: "You think you know a story, but you only know how it ends; to get to the heart of the story, you have to go back to the beginning"

differs from Otto of Freising and his predecessors, therefore, in his absolute disregard for the end of the world and the eschatological sense of history[87] which, according to many medieval scholars such as R. Morse, were key in shaping the rhetorical dimension of history in the Middle Ages: "Historical examples formed part of the thesaurus of rhetorical exercises in the largest sense. The past was the central subject, the one most worth writing about if one was to take a secular theme – or even if one was to use a secular theme to demonstrate God's hand in history" (86-7).

2.4.2 Research of the Past in the Alfonsine Scriptorium

Alfonso delves into the past not looking for signs that will show him the meaning and final purpose of creation. His main concern is to discover and bring to light the "reasons" that govern nature which are hidden in the meaning of historical events and in the "reasons" and the achievements of the "noble" men and women of the past. In his analysis of the differences between medieval and Renaissance historiography, S. Bagge draws on P. Burke's thesis that political historiography was an invention of the Renaissance (as expounded in his influential study The Renaissance Sense of the Past.)

Bagge explains how Burke's work initiated a historiographic trend that has established as its tenants three crucial differences between history as it was written in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance: 1) Renaissance historians look to men's actions (and not to God) for the ulterior cause behind historical change, 2) in the Renaissance historical events are interpreted according to their relevance in the evolution of civil entities such as the city or the state and not as God's plan for creation, and 3) Renaissance historians selected small "historical units" and turned them into a coherent narrative as opposed to medieval historians who would lack the perspective required to move beyond individual historical episodes (1336).

As it will be shown in this introductory chapter, Alfonso's GE enters in direct contradiction with Burke's theory since 1) God and Doomsday are absent from the structure governing historical development, 2) individual actions, while sometimes interpreted under a moral and ethical light, are consistently connected to the evolution of the city, state, nation or ethnic/religious group affected by them (as our study of the Her. will show) and, 3) Alfonso's GE not only groups and categorizes historical episodes according to a particular historical argument but actually establishes "proto-hypertextual" connections among them by referring the reader to future or previous episodes in history that are relevant and could have influenced the historical event being discussed.

A. García Avilés' research on Alfonso's Liber Razielis has produced evidence that sheds light on the compilatory methods followed by the Alfonsine translators and compilers, in this case, with regard to the astro-magical works edited under Alfonso's patronage. All of these treatises share the premises that 1) the planets exert an influence over the Earth and the people inhabiting it, and 2) angels are responsible for interceding between the planets and those seeking their favorable

---

87 Alfonso's use of the Castilian vernacular (a dialect of the Ibero-Romance mentioned above), evidently, a major difference yet this part of the dissertation focuses on difference with regard to the contents and conception of the works of these historians.

influence (23-6).

The compilation known to Alfonso as <u>The books of Razielis</u> would consist of seven angeologic treatises compiled by King Solomon which, according to tradition, Raziel would have given to Noah (28). According to García Avilés, Alfonso would have added even more treatises to those compiled by King Solomon in spite of having been lost to us, together with the Razielis' originals in order to "compile an encyclopedia of astral magic containing the most meticulous treatises describing the rites of angel invocation" (36-7).

The adaptation of Ovid's <u>Her.</u> has raised similar concerns among scholars like P. Calef who has tried to elucidate whether a French translation of the <u>Her.</u> was used as a source in the Castilian translation. While acknowledging the borrowing from Nájera of a Latin original containing the <u>Her.,</u> Calef has argued for the use of an Old French translation by Alfonso's scribes in certain passages where the meaning of the original could have been too obscure for the Castilian translators (192). Calef's hypothesis would require that the French translation (on which the version contained in redaction 5 of the <u>Histoire ancienne jusqu'à Cesar</u> was based) would predate the <u>EE</u> and <u>GE</u>'s redaction (1270) and might have been conceived as an independent translation or as part of a now lost historical work on the Trojan War (194).

A comprehensive comparison of the translation contained in the <u>HAC</u> and the Alfonsine version of those epistles found in both works (I, II, IV, V, VIII, and X) and the glosses compiled by R. Hexter will help to establish whether Calef's findings (largely based on her analysis of epistle VI) agree with her conclusion that the French translation was known and used by the Alfonsine translators. The recent edition of F. Ceffi's ca. 1325 translation from the French will help in this investigation by providing specific cases of known direct translation which could resemble that of the Alfonsine translation.

The use of a French translation would not only be significant for our understanding of how sources were handled by the Alfonsine translators. It coul also help us corroborate B. Dutton's theory that in the early years of the University of Palencia the use of the vernacular in the second wave of translations (produced in Castile after the 1220-1250 impasse) was influenced by the emergence of the vernacular as a literary language in France (73).

Similarly, if we accept Pym's premise that Alfonso had commissioned "a specific group of at least four or five Italian clerks to carry out Latin and French translations, working from completed Castilian versions" ("Price" 460) the possibility also exists that the <u>Her.</u> could have been translated by more experienced scholars from the Italian or French schools or rhetoric and grammar (such as Chartres or Orléans) in a process similar to that followed by translators of Arabic and Hebrew texts in twelfth-century century Iberia, that is, the original translator producing a romance version of the source text while a second scholar would then adapt it to Latin. In this case, the process could have been from one vernacular language (Old French?) to Castilian especially if we take into account that Alfonso was producing at this time also versions in French and Latin of his own Castilian translations.

2.4.3 Sources and Source Treatment in the <u>General Estoria</u>[88]

     Alfonso's choice of the <u>Her.</u> is marked by a distinct interest in the hidden secrets of history, the relevance of the figure of the "hero" as sage, and the reliability of Ovid as a historical source given his very same condition of man of letters and poet together with all his other qualities as an exceptional man. The thoroughness of Alfonso's literary scope in his astrological compilations and his emphasis on researching all possible sources of information, as well as the constant references to wise men such as Solomon or Noah and their role as advancers of civilization will be used to propose that Ovid's <u>Her.</u> were valuable to Alfonso as a rich historical document worth revealing to the public because of its contents and not because of its "sentimental value."

     Alfonso's sources (including the <u>Her.</u>) will be approached taking into consideration the evolution that historiography was undergoing during the second half of the thirteenth century in Europe from a historian's approach to that of a compilator. As B. Guenée has remarked

> at the end of the twelfth century, at a moment when university scholars start to distinguish between the author who composed his own work and the compilator who makes his the words of others, the historian, wanting to be as close to his sources as possible, quite naturally acknowledges not the author but the compiler . . . . So much did thirteenth century historians <u>compilare</u>, so much did they talk about <u>compilatio</u>, and so often they called themselves <u>compilatores</u> that they prove themselves worthy heirs of their twelfth century predecessors. They display a new character that sets history apart from the literary genre in which Sallust or Livy had engaged and increasingly acquires, just like theology or law, the gravitas and solidity of a science. (134-5)

     Daniel Eisenberg's article "The <u>General Estoria</u>: Sources and Source Treatment" together with Lida's "La <u>General Estoria</u>: notas literarias y filológicas I & II" are the most thorough studies of Alfonso's sources in the <u>GE</u> that have been published at this point. In his survey of Alfonso's sources, Eisenberg explains how the <u>GE</u> is much more conscious than the <u>EE</u> when it comes to citing the source for a particular event or historical narration and also illustrates how a source could not only be indirectly cited but also quoted second or third-hand as it is the case, for example, with Origenes' and Bede's comments on the Bible which are taken from the <u>Glossa Ordinaria</u> and not directly from the source (212).

     There is little to add to Eisenberg's study as far as Saint Jerome's (c. 320-420) Latin translation of Eusebius of Caesarea's (c. 260-340) Κρόνικοι κάνονες (<u>Chronici canones</u>) (c. 375) which he describes as the "spine" of the <u>GE</u> (214).[89] There are,

---

88 This title has deliberately named after Daniel Eisenberg's homonymous dissertation.

89 I respectfully disagree with A. Echeverría's view that "the spine of the <u>General Estoria</u> was formed by Jiménez de Rada's work, combined afterwards with Lucas de Tuy's <u>Chronicon mundi</u>" ("Eschatology" 141).

however, other considerations regarding the use and interpretation of Alfonso's sources that need to be made before an argument can be constructed regarding the auctoritas of Ovid and his epistles in the GE.

Critics agree that Alfonso's use of Ovid in the GE proves that in his work "history and fiction are combined in the Alfonsine works to the extent that the medieval reader is hardly able to distinguish between the historical and the fictitious" (Garrido 396). This trend of thought has remained persistent in the criticism of Alfonso's use and adaptation of his sources as is the case with Arnald Steiger's "Tradición y fuentes islámicas en la obra de Alfonso el Sabio."[90] After reviewing Alfonso's use and adaptation of Abû al-Bakrî's (1040-1094) Kitab al-Masâlik Wal-Mamâlik and Ibrâhîm ibn Waṣîf Shâ's (d. 1119 or 1200) Jawâhir al-buḥuûr wa-waqâʾiʿ al-umûr wa-ʿajâʾib al-duhûr fî akhbâr al-diyâr al-Miṣrîyah (The Fountain of Marvels), Steiger concludes that, in spite of the unavailability of the source texts, it can be established that the stories about Egypt, the pyramids and the pharaohs made histories like Ibn Waṣîf's very appealing to the Alfonsine Arab translators given their preferences for colorful historical accounts (105).[91] In his opinion, these Islamic sources provide the GE with "the seed of the tales, dreams, and magical world of Islam that grew rapidly in the already prolific and fertile literary field with which Alfonso contributed to literary expression in the Castilian language" (105).[92]

Peter Comestor's (?-1178) Historia Scholastica (HS) and Flavius Josephus' (37-100) Ἱστοριῶν τῆς Ἰουδαικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας (in its Latin translation, Antiquitates Judaicae) provided Alfonso with a precedent for a narration of the history of the world based on diverse materials such as those found in the Arabic history and geography books. These two historical works deal with the history of the Jews and also of Christian religion yet they incorporate historical data that is not contained in the Bible which is, precisely, what makes them historical works as opposed to doctrinal books.

The focus on the historical character of the Bible not only allows for doctrinal impunity but also helps reinforce the scientific character of the Bible in times like the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when scientific pursuits were taking over the philosophical sciences. The absolute lack of references to peoples other than the Jews in these historical works posed a serious problem to the Alfonsine compilers since their aim was to put in writing "all the important facts and the historical account in the Bible as well as the other great things that happened all over the world since it was created until our time" (GE I, 1v).

---

90 Some of the Islamic sources in the GE have not yet been identified and studied as it is the case with Al- Tâlqânî Sâhib ibn Abbâd (936-995) called 'Aven Abet' in the GE who also was renowned by his abilities as a ruler and his patronage of men of letters and scientists.

91 Both Eisenberg and Solalinde mistakenly situate 'Alguasif' in the seventh century when he died around 1200. Steiger shows that he is referring to the right "Alguasif" when notes that the Islamic historian was "almost Alfonso's contemporary" (202). Fernández-Ordóñez identifies correctly both authors (Estorias 173).

92 Steiger exemplifies this preference for the magic by quoting the story of "Drimiden el sabio" 'Drimiden the Wise' in GE IV, 20 and ss.

It must be noted, however, that Peter Comestor like his contemporary Stephen Langton emphasized biblical study from the point of view of historical research as it had been developed in the abbey of Saint-Victor by Hugh, Richard, and Andrew of Saint-Victor. Studying the ancient Latin authors was thus important since, like the apocrypha, they contain information which could be used for complementing Biblical accounts. Thus, in his commentary on the Book of Genesis Peter does not hesitate to attribute to Zoroaster the invention of magic and the inscription of the seven arts on four columns (ch. 34), and to Minerva the development of weaving (ch. 76), in a book (the HS) which was officially sanctioned by the Vatican in the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

One of Comestor's most important sources was the Iberian Paulus Orosius (c. 385-420), the first Christian author who tried to write a historical account of the gentiles that would date back to the times in which Jewish religious leaders and figures such as Adam and Moses lived. In his Historia adversus paganos (417-418) (profusely quoted in the GE either directly or indirectly) Paulus Orosius is not only, as Menéndez Pidal has established, "the most thoroughly used author by the compilers of the Roman history section in the Primera Crónica General" (Primera 1, xxxv) but also the most influential Roman historian in the GE together with Flavius Josephus.

However, it is precisely the accounts that Josephus regards as "tanta malorum saeculi circumnstancia" ("a great amount of shameful events"; I, 12, 1) not worth mentioning and "fabulis" ("tales"; I, 12, 7) in which, according to him, nobody is interested, that Alfonso accommodates in his GE through Ovid's Met. and Her.[93] Orosius' derogatory mention of Palaefatus (I, 12, 7) as a rationalizer of myths indeed resembles Alfonso's euhemeristic approach to certain razones such as those of Perseus, Medea, and Orpheus through the interpretations of John of Garland (c. 1195-c. 1272) and Arnulf of Orléans among other auctores yet the gap between both perceptions of the validity of such euhemeristic interpretations seems too wide.

Alfonso's use of the Her. as historical documents stands out as a deviation from Orosius' concept of history in two ways: first, it denies the evilness of the times the Greeks and the Romans lived in as opposed to Christian times and secondly, it contemplates classical Roman and Greek myths not as mere tales that have been made up by pagan minds but rather as interpretations of historical facts that were adapted to the ideology and religious background of other peoples. In spite of these apparent contradictions, many non-historical issues and concerns were coalescing in twelfth and thirteenth century Europe in order to give rise to a new type of historiography that would indeed embrace a fusion between Jewish biblical history and pagan myth. M. Tanner has referred to this transition from skepticism of anything pagan to full embracement of anything ancient (pagan or not) that could justify a historical link between Jewish history and European monarchy (and thus history) as a "quantum leap in genealogical pretensions" for which the rediscovery of Berosisus' Babyloniaca (ca. 290 BC) is responsible (87).[94] According to her

---

93 At this point, Orosius cites the myths surrounding Perseus, Cadmus, Pandion and Oedipus as being worthless and tasteless tales.

94 Berosus was a Babylonian priest of Bel who was commissioned by Antiochus I to write a history of Babylon. P. Schnabel's Berossos und die babylonische-hellentistiche

in twelfth-century references to Berosus's ancient history, knowledge of the past is amplified to reveal that at the origins of civilization, the priest-kings of the Old Testament and of Roman mythology were not only alike in functions but of a single identity. (87)

In the case of Alfonso X, this appropriation can be clearly identified by Noah's alleged son, Tubal, the founding of Spain[95] as well as by the positive description of Berosus both as a source for Josephus and in himself with regard to Jewish history.[96]

The addition of the contents of the <u>Her.</u> as history in the <u>GE</u> is linked to this assimilating trend in historiography, which not only looks for additional historical sources, but also to compile and adopt them in a cohesive way through complex adaptations and newly discovered links. Alfonso's adaptation of the <u>Her.</u> differs from other vernacular translations such as the ones carried out in Northern Italy as a result of the historical reliability of the facts that are narrated in them but also to the testimonial value of the letters as documents that were actually written by their protagonists. There are, at least, three other historical sources in the <u>GE</u> that share this testimonial value: The <u>Ephemeris belli trojani</u> (<u>EBT</u>) by Dictys of Crete, <u>De excidio</u>

<u>Literatur</u> (Berlin: Teubner, 1923) and M. Burstein's <u>The Baylonaica of Berossus</u> (Malibu: Udena, 1978) provide an insight on the Berossus tradition but do not address the issue of its adoption in vernacular medieval historiography.

95 According to <u>GE</u> I, 23v

> Sem el mayor hermano fijo de Noe con los sus linnages ouieron a Asia que es la meatat del mundo. Cam & los suyos ouieron a Affrica. & poblaron la que es la quarta parte del mundo. & la meior quarta. Pues Tubal como dixiemos & los sos liñages que del uinien passando de Asia do es aquella tierra de Babilonna passaron a Europa. & uinieronse derechamientre a poblar España. Et assi como llegaron assentaronse en los montes Pireneos.

> Sem, Noah's oldest son, moved together with his family to Asia which occupies one half of the world. Cam and his people moved to Africa and inhabited that quarter which is the largest. Then, as we said, Tubal, who was moving from the Asian part of the world with his family came from Babylon to Europe and ended up in Spain. And as soon as they arrived they settled in the Pyrenees.

96 According to <u>GE</u> I, 37v

> E Iosepho aun por aforçar sus razones. aduze sobrellas estas prueuas delos arauigos que escriuen del arauigo las estorias en aquella tierra o morauan Thare & abraham & sus conpañas. & cuenta assi. Que beroso el Caldeo que fue omne sabio.

> And Josephus, in order to add more strength to his arguments, provides these sources from the Arabs who wrote in Arabic the history of that land where Terah and Abraham and their people lived. And he says as follows: that Berosus the Chaldean who was a wise man.

trojae (DET) by Dares of Phrygia, and Sibyllae.[97] The legend of the purchase of the books of the Sibyls by Tarquinus Superbus as narrated by Lactantius in Institutiones divinae I, vi as well as the well-documented tradition of consultation of these books during crucial times in Roman history is taken as historical truth by Alfonso and thus, for example, in GE IV, 274r we find St. John Chrisostomus, Isiah, Geoffrey of Viterbum, St. Isidore and the 'Sibila' all equally referred to as reliable historic sources.

Some of the early Christian authors actually interpreted some of the prophecies made by the sibyl as bearing testimony to the intrinsic faith in Christ of the Roman people and religion and identified several passages in which the Nativity and the Second Coming were announced.[98] The appreciation of the Sibyls as a complement to the Old Testament prophecies is still strong in the thirteenth century from which time date the famous requiem masses "Dies irae, dies illa, / Solvet saeculum in favilla: / Teste David cum Sibylla" ("Day of wrath, that day will dissolve they day in ash, with David being a witness along with the Sibyl"; Holdenried 56). In the case of Dictys, it should be noted that his authority as a first-hand source of the Trojan War was due especially to the absence of many of the fantastic episodes and characters that Homer's Odyssey and Illiad contained.

Whether Alfonso chose Dictys as a source for the GE due to this absence of magic and divine intervention or he just accepted the source as valid like most of his contemporaries (as, for example, Guido delle Colonne in Historia destructionis troiae) is not as relevant to our case as is Alfonso's special interest in historical sources that are both first-hand and also hidden or unavailable to previous historians is. This preference is exemplified in the account of Hermes in GE II, N, 337 and ff. According to chapter 120 of the second part of the GE, the first Hermes[99] (who is the same person as Enoch) was a very learned man whose vast knowledge of "todos los saberes e de todas las grandes obras, e de los fechos dellas" ("all sciences and all great works of science and all the facts pertaining to them"; GE II, I, 396v) he put into writing. Next Thoth "fallo de los libros del algunos e algunos quadernos de los sus escritos" ("found some of his books [books Hermes owned] and some of the books he had written himself"). This is, once again, a direct reference to the process of writing that

---

97 As A. Holdenried has pointed out, in his study of the manuscripts and interpretation of the Sibylla Tiburtina between 1050 and 1500, "the insertion of complete copies of the Tiburtina by the twelfth-century German writer Godfrey of Viterbo and the thirteenth-century English chronicler Matthew Paris into their historical works is a further indication of the considerable interest in this text in the medieval period" (xvii).

98 As A. Holdenried points out

> the popularity of the Sibyls in the Christian community was such that many early Christians regarded sibylline prophecy as having a status akin to that of the Old Testament prophets. In his Divinae Institutiones, Lactantius, for example, makes more references to the Sibyl than to all the Old Testament prophets combined. (56)

99 There were three sages whose names were Hermes according to Alfonso.

seems to guide the GE. It is the hidden and the testimonial that the GE aims at revealing.

History does not seem to pose any problems when it comes to its authenticity as the numerous episodes in which several historical accounts (i. e. Achilles' reasons not to fight the Trojans) or several chronologies (i. e. the never-ending references to the differences between the Septuagint and Saint Jerome's Vulgata) are reconciled. The compilers of the GE trust that most historians are not lying when they write down what they think is true, while they also believe in the continuity and perdurability of scientific and historical knowledge. The only impediment to this straight line of knowledge is the transmission of the text. The text for Alfonso is not only a seso, or reasoning, but more importantly, a written account, a material representation that, in a particularly magical way, not only contains the information it refers to, but is also able to conjure it up.

Garrido was the first critic to tackle this very revealing aspect of Alfonso's adaptation of the Her. She notes how Alfonso acknowledges that the part of the epistle that precedes the final cry is the actual document sent by Deyanira whereas the rest was found by Ovid and then added to the original letter. After commenting on Alfonso's introductory comments to Deyanira's epistle to Hercules, she highlights the following excerpt taken from GE II, II, 46a: "Mas Ouidio maguer que lo fallo arredrado lo uno de lo otro, ayuntolo todo por que uio que conuinie. E pusolo todo en uno en aquella epistola, uno pos otro" ("But Ovid, having found these two parts of the story in different sources, decided to put them together one after the other since he thought it convenient"). Regarding this aspect of Deyanira's epistle, Garrido concludes that the letter is a historical document to which Deyanira's reaction was attached by Ovid after taking it from a different source (394).

As it has been the norm with Alfonso's use of the Her. and Ovid, this conclusion is valid yet incomplete since it poses several questions. Primarily, if this were true, we would have to admit that all the epistles left out in the GE were not historical documents. There are, at least, two other references to characters who wrote the letters featured in the Her. As already mentioned, in GE II, N, 263v, Paris prepares to go visit Helen and before he leaves, he writes to her so that she will know he is coming: "e apartose e fizo su carta la mejor dotada que el pudo de sus amores muy grandes, e commo la queria yr veer e adozir la a Troya" ("and he retired to his chambers and wrote the best letter he could describing his great love and passion and how he wanted to go see her and then take her with him back to Troy").

Similarly, in chapters 352 and 353 of the second part of the GE II (according to Brancaforte these chapters were not taken from Ovid), we are told that Theseus was approached by Ariadne and her sister Phaedra by means of a letter after having seen him. Theseus replied to this letter asking them to help him kill the Minotaur and promising them that he would marry one of them in Athens if they returned alive. The two sisters agreed to Theseus' proposal and thus sent him a letter instructing him how he would defeat the Minotaur.

Ovid's epistle is not introduced immediately after this episode but twelve chapters after the story of Dedalus and Icarus is narrated. This indicates that Ovid was seen as a compiler who actually had a variety of letters at his disposal when he composed his Her. In GE V, as it was also noted earlier, Leander and Hero are referred

to when the islands they were supposedly from appear in Lucan's <u>Pharsalia</u>: "Et destas dize lucano que fueron el cauallero leandro & la dueña ero & era leandro de aujdos & ero de sextos. Et destos fizo oujdio sus cartas enel libro delas dueñas que enbiaron el vno al otro" ("Lucan says about these islands that Leander and Hero were from them: Leander from Abydos and Hero from Sestos and Ovid reproduced their letters, which they sent each other, in the <u>Heroides</u>; <u>GE</u> V, R, 151v").

2.5 OVID'S <u>HEROIDES</u>: THE ROLE OF AN OVIDIAN WORK IN A WORLD HISTORY

> Translation is the most intimate act of reading. Unless the translator has earned the right to become the intimate rader, she cannot surrender to the text, cannot respond to the special call of the text. (G. C. Spivak, "The Politics of Translation," 372)

This analysis of the <u>Her.</u> is based on this conception of the <u>GE</u> as a compendium of historical knowledge that bears the imprint of the work of the translators of scientific treatises of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. By this it is meant that Ovid's <u>Her.</u> are not only perceived as historical and magical accounts whose aim is to entertain the reader and spice up the narration, as has been previously concluded by many critics. According to the findings of the present study, the references to non-Biblical characters and historical times are just as subordinated as the Biblical ones to a very detailed conception of the world and the way in which its elements interact among one another.

2.5.1 Magic, Fiction, and History

The euhemeristic factor in the adaptation of the <u>Her.</u> is not to be understood as a mere rationalization of Greek and Roman myths by which gods are transformed into powerful kings (as it has been pointed out by many critics, among them Rico). It should not be forgotten, that Ovid regards certain events considered by the <u>auctores</u> as real, thus imposing his own conceptions of the world on the sources he selects. The following example has been taken from the <u>GE</u> and follows the account of the story of Lycaon and Callisto as told in <u>Met.</u> I:

> Daquellos mudamientos que dixiemos de parrasis de uirgen en non uirgen o non casta empreñada & de preñada en paridora de fijo como quiere que uerdadera mientre sean mudamientos estos & lo digan assi los sabios el ffreyre & maestre Iohan ell ingles que esponen los dichos de Ouidio. Pero dezimos que non son mudamientos estos que otro esponimiento ayan mester njn otra allegoria ca estoria & uerdadera es & cosa natural & que uemos que contesce cada dia en las yentes por las mugieres.

> Regarding Parrhasis' [Callistos'] transformations from virgin to non-virgin (or unchastely pregnant), and from pregnant to mother to a child, since they are real transformations (as John of Garland and Arnulf of Orléans explain) there is no need for us to explain them to you since they are true and natural as we can see them every day happening to many women.[100] (<u>GE</u> I 272v)

The nature of magic in the Alfonsine works has been researched by Márquez-

---

100 Callistos is only referred to as Parrhasis by Ovid (<u>Met.</u> II, 460). The use of the femenine adjective derived from the Greek region of Parrhasia by the compilers shows to what extent they had researched commentaries on Ovid and how interested they were in transmitting their knowledge of the Roman author to their audience.

Villanueva (<u>Concepto</u>) and García Avilés among many other scholars. García Avilés attempts to classify Alfonso's magical-astronomical treatises following Albertus Magnus' <u>Speculum astronomiae</u>, yet he fails to notice that Alfonso himself provides such classification in chapter 128 of the first part of the <u>GE</u> II. There he states that magic is a discipline of the art of <u>estremonia</u>, or astrology, which can be divided into '<u>imagenes</u>', or 'images', '<u>confusiones</u>', or 'fusions', and '<u>suertes</u>', or 'charms'. Thus, the power of certain stones would derive from their resemblance to the elements and planets of which they are made; herbs would contain active elements that would alter the state and therefore properties of the bodies (human bodies included) they were applied to, and the words used in spells would also have the power to invoke the properties of the forces and elements to which they refer.

After having explained how magic is a discipline that requires a vast knowledge of nature, Alfonso cannot wait to exemplify each one of these magical arts by ascribing them to a particular sage: Diana handles images, Circe mixes herbs, and Medea uses spells. If we take into account that Ovid's description of these three characters was the most comprehensive in Antiquity, we realise how important and reliable a source Ovid was for Alfonso given his expertise in the field of astrology, which, it should not be forgotten, was just another science in the thirteenth century.[101]

It should also be noted at this point that more than kings, in the eyes of Alfonso, these historical figures were sages whose ability to understand the workings of nature allowed them to rule over their citizens on their own or by controlling them.

There are other aspects that together with magic can be traced as a decisive factor in Alfonso's preference for Ovid and his <u>Her.</u> as a historical source. In spite of being relegated to the fifth volume of the <u>GE</u> (due to chronological restrictions), Lucan's <u>Pharsalia</u> is certainly a source of inspiration for Alfonso's narrative style. It is often forgotten that, as Traube points out, the <u>Pharsalia</u> rivalled the <u>Aeneid</u> as the favorite epic throughtout the Middle Ages (<u>Vorlesungen</u> II 154.) Crossland has linked Lucan's popularity among Medieval historians, "second perhaps in degree to that of Virgil" (32), to his "picturesque and romantic method of relating historical facts" (35) which is due not only to the poetical form of his narration but also to a more personal approach to history as represented by his numerous references to Pompey's wife and her letters to her husband while she was hiding in Lesbos.

Cornelia's character shows influences of Ovid and Virgil ass Richard Bruère has demonstrated in "Lucan's Cornelia." Furthermore, he emphasizes the contacts Crossland's evaluation of Lucan's style in similar terms to those used by Tudorica-Impey when she talks about Ovid's use of the <u>Her.</u> in the <u>GE</u>: "The love epistles were inserted, I believe, in the text of Alfonso's estorias not only because in this way they were able to illuminate another aspect of historical truth, but also because they were seen to be appealing pieces of love narrative" (<u>Alfonso</u> 294).

---

101 Even St. Thomas Aquinas conceded that the spheres and the planets conditioned and influenced the physical world although not the human soul or will thus condemning divination. Aquinas firmly believed in the power of certain types of magic as a consequence of this relation (<u>Summa</u> II. 2. 95. 5).

Márquez-Villanueva, in more general terms, argues that Alfonso knew that the attention of an audience made up of non-experts could be gained more easily and effectively by incorporating these romantic elements which could have alienated those scholars who were acquainted with Latin historiography (Concepto 136). Pompey's representation as a tragic hero is also linked to his preoccupation with the human factor, especially when faced with a much more powerful enemy as was the case with Roland, Gillaume or, in the case of Iberian epic, Bernardo del Carpio. Most of the Her. translated in the GE focus on this tragic sense of life, not from the point of view of the hero, but actually from the point of view of the heroine (Cornelia) who is transformed into such by the pains and ordeals she has to endure as a consequence of the absence of a beloved husband or lover. Once again, in the case of the Pharsalia, Marcia's, Julia's, and Cornelia's pains are equally expounded by Lucan and Alfonso just in the same way Deyanira's or Penelope's are.

The last common trait in Ovid's and Lucan's narrative that was adopted by Alfonso is the taste for exotic, mystic, and mysterious animals and phenomena such as witches (VI), or statues that sweat (I v556), which goes back to the concept of magic as a secret science that is waiting to be discovered. An example of this subjacent interest for the occult and the conflation of science and astrology/astronomy is the Old French Les Prophéties de Merlin (between 1272 and 1279) a contemporary of Alfonso's GE. The book narrates the recent history of the Italian Peninsula and the Crusades as a series of clamitous events prophetised by, among other sources, Merlin in Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia regum Britanniae (1135). This heterodoxical concoction of Arthurian romance, medieval prophecy and crusade stories has puzzled scholars who have not yet been able to make sense of the apparent incongruence of an Arthurian romance with a historical background (H. Nicholson 339-40).

Whereas the GE lacks what P. Ménard has termed, in the case of Les Prophéties de Merlin, a "taste for the macabre, a desire to predict destruction and extermination" (443), the epistle of Medea to Jason contains a characterization of the supernatural that is worth mentioning. In his survey of Medea's treatment in the literature of the Iberian peninsula during the thirteenth century, A. Biglieri has studied Medea's "special" characterization in the GE (both through the Met. and the Her.) as supernatural. As Biglieri points out, Medea is not only a magician capable of rejuvenating ailing Aeson but actually travels on a chariot pulled by dragons (166-67). She is also introduced as a divinity in close relation with Circe and Hecate (170) who is a devout follower of the deities of Hades (Hecate, Pluto, and Proserpina) (173).

An analysis of the characterization of Medea as portrayed in Alfonso's translation of Ovid's Her. will therefore help establish the theory advanced by A. Biglieri according to whom "the superior capacity of women above men in the realm of the magic is highlighted in the GE" (171).

It is therefore important to establish the relevance of the male and female hero figures in the Her. and the historical discourse in which they are articulated in order to find out what the perception of the translators could have been with regard to their intended readers. In the emerging historical discourse that had spread throughout Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, these Roman and Greek heroes had become the object of interest of romance and history writers especially in

the figures of Theban, Roman, Arthurian, Greek and Trojan legendary figures in the French court. As J. M. A. Beer has pointed out in the case of Julius Caesar, the thirteenth-century Old French compilation <u>Li Fet des Romans</u> developed a series of literary methods by which they could realize the aim of introducing and exploiting "an established heoric-figure" which was unknown to "a receptive but 'illiterate' French public" (77).

An analysis of the ways in which the original Latin text was adapted by the Alfonsine translators will thus help to better understand what was the degree of educational and cultural background of Alfonso's intended audience and whether these adaptations were made for ideological, educational, cultural or other reasons departing from merely literary or historical considerations. A prime example of the implications in considering the <u>Her.</u> historical letters that were originally composed by actual noble women is the analysis of the characterization of these women as well as their shared female traits. A brief mention to Phyllis' deception at the hands of his beloved Demophoon will suffice here as an illustration of the gender discourse that is embedded in the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u> and in the rest of the <u>GE</u>.

Alfonso does not introduce the story of Phyllis by means of a moral preface, this being, as I have already pointed out, an important point of departure from the glossed Latin texts and the vernacular translations with which he must have been acquainted. Alternatively he briefly explains how Semele, the daughter of Cadmus and Harmonia, after having become pregnant with Zeus' child, was befriended by Hera. The godess planted the seed of doubt in Semele's mind so that she would ask Zeus to reveal himself as a god so that she would be sure that her child was, in fact, the son of a god. Even though Zeus pleaded with her that she would not request this of him, he eventually acceded and Semele died like all those mortals who before her had beheld a god in all their glory. This is Alfonso's conclusion to his recounting of the myth:

> Desta guisa que auemos dicho conseio Juno a Semele. Ca puede aprender qui quisiere de cuemo se deue guardar de conseio de enemigo a enemigo.en como Juno maguer que era de tan alta sangre & Reyna que non cato lealtat en dar conseio con grant uoluntad de matar su enemigo. Et crouo Semele a Juno & cuemo era Semele Niña et de poca edat & non sabie aun delos males del mundo. Ca por seer guisado & bien las jnfantes fijas de los Reyes & de las Reynas cuemo era Semele menos deuen saber de las rebueltas & delos males del mundo: que las otras dueñas nin las otras mugieres & mas simples deuen seer. Et mas sin engaño deuen otrossi seer los ombres contra ellas que non contra otras mugieres assi cuemo cuenta Ouidio en la epistola que Philles señora de Rodope enuio a Demophoon fijo de Theseo Rey de Athenas que non es nobleza nin grant sotilez enartar el uaron ala donzella quelo cree.

> And thus Juno advised Semele. Here those who may, can learn how one should not take advice from an enemy. Since Juno, in spite of being of noble stock and a queen, was not bothered by the wrongdoing involved in giving advice to Semele with the sole intention of killing her enemy.

Semele believed Juno and since she was a girl and young and she was not aware of the evils of the world (something which is right, by the way, since the daughters of kings and queens such as Semele should be less aware of political discord and the evils of the world than all the other ladies and women and should be more naïve than them and men should be even less deceitful towards them than towards any other woman.) That is what Ovid says in the epistle that Phyllis (Queen of Rhodope) sent to Demophoon (son of Theseus and king of Athens): that it is not a noble achievement nor a lofty skill for a man to deceive a woman who believes his lies. (GE II, 115v)

Demophoon's lies are here used as an example of why women should not trust men and why men should not deceive women who, like Phyllis, are noble and thus naturally inclined to being gullible. My dissertation will look into how on this and many other instances the Her., as well as any other part of this world history involving women as protagonists, seems to have been intended as a speculum princeps for women in the fashion of Giles of Rome's[102] (1247 – 1316) De regimine principium[103] or Alfonso's own Libro de los doze sabios (Book of the twelve sages) (ca. 1237).[104]

A piece of evidence that strongly supports this thesis is the GE's translation of the Pyramus and Thysbe story in Met. IV. The translator of this Ovidian tale (probably the same as the one who translated the Her.) addresses its protagonists as "mancebiello" and "mancebiella" ("young man" and "young woman") implying their lack of maturity whereas in the Her. (also known as El libro de las dueñas) the protagonists are invariably referred to as "dueña" ("adult noble woman") thus emphasizing both their noble origin as well as their supposedly mature status. Furthermore, the specific reference to Pyramus and Thysbe as victims of their infatuation allows the authors to express their concern with this type of irresponsible behavior and point out the terrible consequences it can bring:

Departe Maestre Johan que por aquello que el moral cria primera mientre las moras blancas. & despues quando la trae a maduras que se tornan prietas. que esto que aun oy lo faze. aquel frutero en so fruto.

---

102 Also knows as Aegidius Romanus or Egidio Colonna.

103 I haven't been able to find evidence of Alfonso's use of Giles as a source. On the other hand, his nephew Juan Manuel recommends reading De regimine principium in his Libro enfenido to all those who wish to know what differences exist between good kings and tyrants (159).

104 This treatise (also known as Tractado de la nobleza y lealtad and Libro de la nobleza y lealtad) was commissioned by Fernando III. The book purports to have been written by twelve of the wisest men that the king could find in the realm and provided young Alfonso with explicit advice on how to administer justice equitatively, rule the kingdom in an effective manner or conduct himself properly in all circumstances (I). Shortly after Fernando's death, a short epilogue was added by Alfonso X in remembrance of his father. He assembled the ten surviving wise men and called on another two and asked each one of them to provide him with a sentence that would be inscribed on his father's golden statue (XLVI).

mas que se entiende por y. Por la blancura la uida: Por el color negro la muert. Et por Piramo et por Tisbe la mancebia. & ell amor delos entendedores. por que los entendedores de tal amor se fallan muchas uezes mal de so entender. ca uinieron ya ende grandes males al mundo & muchos. Pusieron los Griegos & Ouidio & los otros autores gentiles. romanos que ouieron dellos esta razon. enxienplo deste fecho en Piramo & en Thisbe. en razon de castigo pora los otros que lo oyessen. Et por aquello que dize Ouidio que las moras primero blancas que se tornaron despues negras. Departe Maestre Johan ell Jngles que se entiende. por la blancura la mancebia & los mancebos & aun qual quier otro de qual quier edat que sea en tal amor entiende.

Master John of Garland explains that the mulberry produces white berries which then turn dark when they are ripe, which is a thing that this brush still does nowadays. Yet he explains that whiteness stands for 'life' and black for 'death'. And by Pyramus and Thysbe youth and the love of those who read this story so that those who read it can learn and understand that because of misunderstanding that type of love many and great evils have come to the world. And all those Greek <u>auctores</u>, and Ovid, and all other Roman <u>auctores</u> who also had those feelings set forth the example of Pyramus and Thysbe in order to explain this <u>razon</u> so that it would serve as a warning for all those who may hear it. And by that which Ovid says about the berries being first white and then turning black, Master John the Englishman explains that it should be understood the whiteness of youth and the young ones and even any other person of any age who experiences that type of love. (<u>GE</u> II, 150v)

This and many other characterizations of the protagonists of the <u>Her.</u> reveal the gender discourse embedded in the <u>GE</u> and how it evinces traces of a strong influence of the works on hermeneutics carried out by members of the mendicant orders working at the French and Italian universities. There are plenty of instances when the translators emphasized that the women behind the <u>Her.</u> were not only actual historical figures but also females whose characters seem to have been recreated through contemporary gender discourse in the same way the Latin text was adapted and translated into the language and literary background of Old Castilian and its speakers. The following remarks on the story of Achateon show how history, education, and morals were all essential parts of this new interpretation of history in accordance with Biblical exegesis:

Et deste auenjmiento de Acteon: diz ouidio que si algun bien lo quisiere catar. que fallara que fue auenimiento de su desauentura: por que se ell assi perdio & non pecado que el quisiesse fazer sabiendo lo. Et pero desse auenimiento de Acteon fizieron essos auctores gentiles sus trobas por latines que dexaron en escripto. Mas otrossi sabet que maguer que aquellos sos autores & sabios con sabor del dezir en que se treuien: leuaron las razones estas & otras muchas que uos diremos aqui. fasta que las troxieron a razonar dunos mudamientos dunas cosas en otras.

que pero que lo fizieron toda uia. por encrobir por y los fechos que en las razones querien dezir. et quisieron dar por y mas afincados emxiemplos & castigos delas cosas desguissadas & dañosas. Et son estas razones todas de Reyes & de fijos & Nietos de Reyes. et fablan de costumbres & de emendar las malas & las dañosas & tornar las en bueñas. Et por ende nos por non dexar en la estoria las otras muchas & bueñas razones que uienen y & son estorias. & non las perder por los mudamientos que los autores aduzen y. que semeian cuemo fabliellas pero que lo non sean: contar uos emos las razones todas cuemo las contaron los gentiles & las dexaron en sos libros. & segund que las retraen los nuestros sabios que contescieron. & desi departir nos hemos daquellos mudamientos en que guisa fueron & que quieren dar a entender & los pros & los enseñamientos que y uienen assi como lo departen los nuestros sabios otrossi.

And his own dogs eat his flesh and drank his blood. And Ovid said about Achteon's fate for all those who wish to understand the story properly that his [tragic] end was a consequence of his misfortune and not of a sin which he had committed knowingly. About the fate of Achteon those Gentile auctores wrote many verses in Latin which they set into writing. However, you must know that those were auctores and wise men with a special liking for the art which they cultivated: They came up with these razones (and many others which we will here explain) and put them forth in the guise of mutations of some things into others. And this they did to obscure the deeds through which they wanted to explain their razones. And they wanted to provide appropriate examples and punishments for the things that are bad in nature and harmful. And all these razones pertain to Monarchs and to Sons and Grandchildren of Monarchs. And they talk about customs and about how to make amends when it comes to the bad and harmful ones and turn them into good ones. And therefore, since we didn't want to leave in the estorias the many and good reasons that come with them and are estorias [as well], and so that they would not be lost because of these mutations that the auctores put forth and which look like tales but which are not, we shall tell you all the razones like the Gentiles told them and left them written in their books and according to how our wise men retell and explain how they took place. And therefore we must discuss those mutations, and how they were, and what they mean, and the lessons that they carry as they are discussed by our wise men. And we shall discuss those mutations, and how they happened, and what they mean, and the teachings and morals that they contain as explained by our own wise men. Therefore, we must tell you in order all the razones of Achteon's fate and his mutation and after that we shall discuss them.

Alfonso explains how he relies on "our own auctores" in order to explain what the ancient poets meant by their stories. As I have explained, this exegetic method is

consistently applied throughout the GE. It consists of source gathering and contrast, arrangement of all the sources in one coherent estoria, and explanation of the elements and the underlying razones.

2.5.2 Ovid's Heroides: The Estranged Source

In a preliminary study to a not-yet-published new edition of Vincent of Beauvais' Speculum maius, B. L. Ullman surveys the sources that were available to Beauvais at the time when he initiated the compilation of his monumental medieval encyclopedia. According to him, the proportion in which Ovid and Virgil are quoted in Speculum maius is sixteen to one, something he attributes to Beauvais' use of contemporary florilegia in which the proportion was of around twelve to one (322). In spite of Traube's famous—and recently revisited—theory that characterizes the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as an aetas ovidiana (113) or Haskins' similar characterization of the period as "age of Ovid" (107), there are plenty of studies that furnish evidence for a vast Ovidian influence during a period which, as H. Buttenwieser (50) and E. K. Rand (112) have pointed out, not only covers the twelfth but also the thirteenth centuries.[105]

M. H. Marshall, in her analysis of thirteenth-century culture based on Matthew Paris' works, states that, in spite of not being acquainted with the works of Virgil, Matthew still "did not value them as highly as he did those of the more worldly Ovid" (466) whom he cited on numerous instances. According to Marshall, the English historian was acquainted not only with the Amores and the Ars Am. but also with the E. ex Pont., the Fas., the Met., the Rem. Am. and the Tris. Even though it is difficult to establish whether Matthew quoted his Ovid from the original or from a florilegium, in the case of the Her., he seems to have read at least some of them since he summarizes the first ten lines of "Phyllis Demophoonti" in Chronica Majora V, 305 (467).

B. Munk Olsen, one of the most important contemporary classicists, has put Traube's aetas ovidiana theory to the test by researching how many Ovidian manuscripts from the twelfth century can be accounted for in all the catalogues available to him as of 1994.[106] Munk Olsen concluded that, in spite of being a widely quoted and imitated author, Ovid's 157 manuscripts[107] dated between the ninth and the thirteenth centuries rank lower than Virgil's 421, Horace's 777 and even Lucan's 167 copies of his Pharsalia (68).[108] Olsen speculates on the possibility that Ovid's

---

105 P. Renucci regards Traube's term as not applicable to all fields of literary creation (114, n147). L. J. Paetow advocated the use of "Medieval Renaissance" instead of "Twelfth-century Renaissance" since "most of the movements which began in the eleventh and twelfth centuries did not culminate until the thirteenth century" (501, n2).

106 Munk Olsen takes into account both extant manuscripts as well as those which have been destroyed or have disappeared but whose existence can be established through catalogue references.

107 The list includes Met., Fast., Pont., Tr., Her., Rem. Am., Ars Am., Am., Nux, Ibis, Halieutica, Med., and Somnium.

108 This is the detailed list compiled by Munk Olsen: Virgil: Bucolics 114, Georgics

admirers and imitators would be more likely to be found among aristocrats and popular poets who would have access to their own books or public libraries of which no trace has been left (88).

There is one particular source in the GE whose use by the Alfonsine translators bears a resemblance to the translations of Ovid's Her. (and Met.) yet it is not in any of the Classical works cited in the previous section of this introduction. At around the time when Alfonso became king, Bishop Eudes of Châteauroux was appointed chancellor of the University of Paris so that he could inspect rabbinic books and inform Pope Innocent IV on the issue; his conclusions were that the books of the Talmud "were full of errors . . . and these books turn the Jews away not only from an understanding of the spirit, but even of the letter, and incline them to fables and lies" (Grayzel 45).

The growing interest in rabbinic texts during the thirteenth century closely resembles the process of interpretation of texts such as those of Ovid by John of Garland or Arnulf of Orléans in their accessus to Met. written in the twelfth century in which they carefully explained that Ovid's "changes" were meant to be understood as naturalis, moralis, magica, and spiritualis (Coulson 27). Already in the previous century, Peter the Venerable (1092-1156) in his Adversus judeorum inveteratam duritiem had insisted on the gullibility of the Jews and their lack of rational thinking due to their inability to comprehend "neither metaphor, nor allegory, nor any of the customary modes of figurative speech, through which all these things [the teachings in the Old and New Testaments] may rightfully be interpreted as applying to God" (152).

The use of the different Greek translations of the Bible through the glosses of the Glossa ordinaria (c. 830) and the Glossa interlinearis (c. 1100) that were available to the Alfonsine compilers is, in spite of having been deemed irrelevant by Solalinde (GE I, i), essential if one wants to understand the need of the Alfonsine translators to establish what is literal and what is allegorical in Ovid. Whether one agrees with Solalinde's statement that "the aides of the king always worked with a Latin or Arabic version of the Greek texts they quote" (xii) and Eisenberg's opinion that "he [Alfonso] shows no knowledge of Hebrew" the truth is that the versions of the Septuagint, Aquila, Theodotion and Symmachus are referred to and contrasted in several occasions as in GE I, 76r when Rebecca's pregnancy is discussed as found in Hosea 12:3:[109]

> Los setenta trasladadores dizen que trabaiuan [Jacob y Esaú] o que se dauan a coçes. Aquila que se quebrantauan uno a otro. Simaco departe que andauan adesuso por somo del uientre dela madre ala semeiança dela naue que anda en las ondas dela mar quando non trae ella su peso

---

127, Aeneid 180; Horace: Ars Poetica 143, Satires 143, Odes 138, Epistles 136, Epodes 118, Secular Songs 99; Lucan: Pharsalia 167; Juvenal: Satires 110; Terence: Comedies 106; Statius: Thebaid 93. Persius: Satires 74. (72f)

109 Even though there are no explicit references to problems of textual interpretations in the texts written in Hebrew, many of the translators who worked for Alfonso were of Jewish origin and their acquaintance with the textual tradition of the Old Testament cannot be disregarded.

derecho. Ca diz que se mouien estos niños mezcladamientre uno con otro areuezes por ueer qual dellos podrie salir antes del uientre de la madre pora nascer primero.

The Seventy translators say that they [Jacob and Esau] pushed and kicked each other; Aquila that they attacked each other; Symmachus that they were constantly moving in their mother's womb just like a ship whose cargo has not been appropriately distributed totters in the high waves of the sea. He says that these children fought to be first to get out of the womb of their mother so that they would be born in first place.[110]

The Origenist approach to the Scripture that Alfonso applied to his translation of the biblical material comprised in the GE is in direct relation to the euhemeristic interpretation of the Her. and the Met., thus making the Classical material open to interpretation as the meaning in the original is obscure. Since, according to Origen, there are, in the eyes of the inexperienced reader, imperfections such as repetitions, antilogies, or contradictions in the Bible, and given that no errors or contradictions can be admitted in Scripture, it follows that room must be made for allegory and spiritual meaning beyond literal interpretation at the hands of those whose experience in Biblical interpretation has made them expert exegetes:

Ὥσπερ δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν βοτανῶν ἑκάστη μὲν ἔχει δύναμιν εἴτε εἰς τὴν ὑγίειαν τῶν σωμάτων εἴτε εἰς ὅτι δήποτε, οὐ πάντων δέ ἐστιν ἐπίστασθαι εἰς ὃ ἑκάστη τῶν βοτανῶν ἐστὶ χρήσιμος, ἀλλ᾽ εἴ τινες ἐπιστήμην εἰλή φασιν, οὗτοι οἱ περὶ τὰς βοτάνας διατρίβοντες ἵνα εἴδωσι καὶ πότε παραλαμβανομένη καὶ ποῦ τῶν σωμάτων ἐπιτι θεμένη καὶ τίνα τρόπον σκευαζομένη ὀνίνησι τὸν χρώμενον· οὕτως οἰονεὶ βοτανικός τις πνευματικός ἐστιν ὁ ἅγιος, ἀναλεγόμενος ἀπὸ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων ἕκαστον ἰῶτα καὶ ἕκαστον τὸ τυχὸν στοιχεῖον, καὶ εὑρίσκων τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ γράμματος, καὶ εἰς ὅτι ἐστὶ χρήσιμον, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲν παρέλκει τῶν γεγραμμένων. (Philocalia X, ii)

As every herb has its own virtue whether for the healing of the body, or some other purpose, and it is not given to everybody to know the use of every herb, but certain persons have acquired the knowledge by the systematic study of botany, so that they may understand when a particular herb is to be used, and to what part it is to be applied, and how it is to be prepared, if it is to do the patient good; just so it is in things spiritual; the saint is a sort of spiritual herbalist, who culls from the sacred Scriptures every jot and every common letter, discovers the value of what is written and its use, and finds that there is nothing in the Scriptures superfluous. (G. Lewis 52)

An example of this approach can be found in GE I, 181v when Alfonso reproduces Exodus, 20:5 and translates into Old Castilian before he adds the following

110 This passage remains controversial. See P. R. Ackroyd's "Hosea and Jacob" (Vetus Testamentum 13:3 (1963): 245-59) for a discussion of the references to Jacob in Hosea.

commentary:

> Deste çielo fabla mucho Origenes en la glosa sobreste logar diziendo ende como entre marido & muger (por que tal es la semeiança entre xpisto & la fiel alma et xpisto & la eglesia como la del marido & la muger que se tienen lealtad). & dize Maestre Pedro [Coméstor] que celo tanto quiere dezir como enuidia o como amor mas que eneste logar por amor es dicho & señalada mientre por ell amor que es entre marido & mugier o que deue seer por que el marido non consiente que otro varon llegue a ella por ell amor que con ella a.

> Origen talks much about this zeal in the correspondent gloss and explains how husband and wife resemble Christ and the soul of the faithful, and Christ and the Church in their mutual loyalty. Master Peter [Comestor] explains that 'zeal' stands both for envy and love but it means love in this case since it is love that should exist between a husband and a wife for it is out of the love he has for her that a man does not allow other men to come close to his wife.

When discussing the relations between friars as preachers and friars as commentators J. B. Allen has highlighted that the work in both areas deployed similar literary methods:

> The preachers and the arts commentators reached the same end, though they developed in different ways. The preachers, whose method of interpretation was exegesis, began to apply their method to stories of increasingly dubious authenticity. The commentators, by elaborating literal glosses in an increasingly Christian way, became eventually so Christian that they ceased to be literal. (Critic 88)

As the resemblance between the introduction to John of Garland's and Arnulf of Orléans' glosses to Ovid and those made to the biblical material reveals, an analysis of the use, adaptation, and translation of the Her. in the GE must take into account the continuous assessment of the meaning and interpretation of the Biblical sources on which the GE relies for its historical cohesiveness.

2.5.3 Parallel Uses of Ovid and the Heroides in the General Estoria

Alfonso's use of Ovid must be properly framed in the cultural context in which the GE developed. There are not only more precedents than it is often acknowledged of the GE's use of the Her. and other Ovidian works as historical sources but actual instances of contemporary uses of Ovid as a historical source within, not only a poetical, epistolary or romance literary context but actual historical value. As a prime example of the many texts I will be quoting in my dissertation, I will adduce here one thirteenth-century French translation of the Bible in octosyllable verse by Jehan de Malkaraume.[111] In his 1978 edition of the text J. R. Smeets identified, among

---

111 The translation, like Alfonso's GE, was never completed and ends at I Sam 17. One of its parts is a faithful translation of The Vulgate whereas the other one is a rather free adaptation.

the biblical episodes, passages from the Met., some of which are just a few verses long (I, 46) but also four major translations/adaptations of Ovid's pagan material in a Judeo-Christian context. Thus King Potiphar's wife's (2705-2897) plaint is a translation of Medea's monologue in Met. VII, 9-89. Similarly, the prosopopoeia (10489-10592) in which envy is described on account of King Saul's jealousy of David is a translation of Ovid's depiction of envy whom Minerva had conjured up against Aglauros after having disobeyed the goddess (Met. II, 760-813)[112].

The story of Pyramus and Thysbe (7726-7942) is included in its entirety as told in Met. IV, 55-166. The description of the Mesopotamian fountain where Rebecca is found by Abraham's servant corresponds to Ovid's depiction of Narcissus' fountain in Met. III, 407-12. M. Thom has added to this list the description of Susanna's bath (7419-7432) which corresponds to Diana's in Met. III, 155-62 as well as a few minor references such as the one to the nature of art in 7419-22 and four corresponding to Met. II, 235-7 (565-7).[113]

Malkaraume also makes use of Benoît de Sainte Maure's R. de Tr. which he fully incorporates into the text after Moses' death.[114] The use of the romance language (versified in this case), the combination of biblical and pagan history, the use of a six-age partition of time, the didactism intended and expressed by the author, the use of extensive sources of historical material such as Peter Comestor's HS, and the use of Ovidian material (as well as apocryphal biblical material) both through direct references as well as through secondary sources such as the R. de Tr. are all common features in Alfonso's GE and Malkaraume's Bible and, as I will show, occur in different degrees, in several medieval historical compilations contemporary with Alfonso's.[115]

---

112 Aglauros, Cecrops' daughter, angered Minerva when she opened a chest containing a baby she had been instructed to keep shut. When Hermes fell in love with Herse (Aglauros' sister) Minerva called on Envy to take hold of Aglauros and thus she tried to prevent the god from visiting her sister. Hermes turned her into a statue in punishment for her arrogance. Both the tragic story of Aglauros and the depiction of Envy have been revisited numerous times by different authors in almost every literary period in Western culture. An almost contemporary of Alfonso, Dante Alighieri places Aglauros in the second terrace of Purgatory (along with other flagrant envious) in his Divina Commedia (1308-1321) "Io sono Aglauro che divenni sasso" ("I am Aglauros who became stone"; 14.139).

113 "Est specus in medio (natura factus, an arte, / Ambiguum; magis arte tamen)" ("There is a cave within the middle of that grove and whether it was formed by art or nature is not clear.")

114 Smeets cites another instance of a vernacular translation of the Bible in which the story of Troy is inserted after Moses' death. The thirteenth-century manuscript (ms. 1260 Inguimbertine Library, Carpentras), however, has not been edited and published yet ("Ovide" 30).

115 C. Sneddon has hypothesized over the intended audience for this Bible as being "at least potentially, any devout person who could afford to buy a manuscript" but doubts that the project can be explained exclusively as "a stationer's venture" (138).

I would like to bring to an end this introductory chapter to the study of Ovid's Her. in Alfonso X's GE by quoting and commenting upon a rather long but meaningful passage in the Libro de las leyes in which Alfonso discusses, among many other issues concerning the right procedures when saying mass, a particular one dealing with the interpretation of Scripture and its dangers:

> *Cuemo los preigadores deuen catar que omenes son aquellos a quien preigan & la manera de las palabras.*
>
> Parar deben mientres los que quieren preygar que omnes son aquellos a qui preigan si son sabidores o otros omnes que no entiendan tanto. Ca si buenos omnes son & entendudos pueden les preygar de las mayores cosas & de las mas fuertes de la ley & de las escripturas. E si fuessen otros que no ouiessen tan grand entendimiento deuen les dezir pocas palabras & llanas de que se puedan aprouechar . . . E por esto dixo sant paulo entre los sabios deuemos fablar las cosas que son del saber & a los otros deuemos dar leche & no fuerte maniar. E el preigador deue aun catar la manera de las palabras de que preiga ca en esta razon fablo sant gregorio a los prelados & dixo que se deuen mucho guardar que no digan en sus sermones palabras desaguisadas e aun mas deuen a fazer que aquellas que fueren derechas & buenas que las no digan muchas uegadas ni desordenadamientre començando una razon & passando se a otra. Ca las palabras pierden a las uezes su fuerça quando los que las oyen entienden que no son dichas con recabdo otrossi el que preigare non deue fazer entender la gramatiga al pueblo cuemo en manera de mostra gela ni deue otrosi contar quando sermonare ninguna de las fabliellas que ha en los libros dela gramatiga que fizieron los gentiles ni otras cosas semeiantes destas en que alaba la su ley dellos ca no es guisado que en los sermones que fizieren alaben su creencia ni de las otras gentes con la de nuestro señor ihesu xpristo. E estas cosas vedo la eglesia por que algunos tiempos fueron en que las fazien & uinie ende daño.

> *How preachers should know to whom they preach and what kind of language it is appropriate to use in each occasion.*
>
> Preachers should know to whom they are preaching. If they are preaching to the wise and good they should talk to them about higher things or the most transcendent ideas or about Scripture whereas if they talk to people who do not have such an intellect they should talk to them using not many words and making sure they are easy to understand so that they can benefit from them. This is why Saint Paul said that among the wise we should talk about wise things whereas, to the rest, we should feed them milk and not solid food.[116] The preacher

---

Since Sneddon himself acknowledges the difficulties involved in understanding the motives behind this compilation and translation, I have not listed as one of the points in common with the GE an explicit pedagogical objective.

116 "Lac vobis potum dedi non escam nondum enim poteratis sed ne nunc quidem

should be careful about the words he uses when preaching since, as Saint Gregory[117] told to his prelates, they should be mindful that they do not use inadequate words in their sermons but those which are appropriate and good. Similarly, they should not repeat the same thing over and over again or jump from one idea to another without any order or restraint. Everyone knows that words lose their original power when those who are listening to them think that they are being said carelessly. This is why those who preach should not try to explain the original Latin to the commoners so as to show it to them nor should they, when preaching, tell them any of the tales that are found in the Latin books that were written by gentiles nor any other stories that laud their own traditions and beliefs because it is not appropriate that they should extol their own personal beliefs or those of other peoples at the same time they are preaching the word of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Church banned these things because sometimes people would do them and they would bring bad consequences. (Leyes, 32r)

This excerpt reflects Alfonso's vision of the preacher, if not as a prophet, as an interpreter of the word of God whose words must be accurate. It was also mentioned earlier that magic can be produced through the use of the right words at the right time in Alfonso's world and here that idea is echoed in the power and effect of the words that the preacher uses.

Alfonso is trying to feed his ladinos (uneducated subjects and curious nobles) milk just like Saint Paul advises in his First Epistle to the Corinthians in the GE. The translation and adaptation of Ovid's Her. shows the methods Alfonso followed when applying the translatio process to this and all his other sources including Scripture. Fraker's remarks on the similar roles that the translator and the commentator played in the historical works of Alfonso X explain how both of them had to be, if not closely-related, "one and the same" (Scope 21). The preacher, just like the glossator, the translator, or the corrector must take a text and adapt it into terms capable of conveying all the meaning contained in the original just like "the poetry, the art, the complexity, and the erudition are all in the text, but it is the grammarian's calling to be prosaic and plain and to reduce the poem to terms the student can understand" (21).

In order to better understand this process it is necessary to evaluate how and to what extent were the Her. translated and Ovid incorporated to the historical and textual world of Alfonso's GE; how Alfonso's previous literary and scientific

_____

potestis adhuc enim estis carnales" (Vulgate, I Cor. 3:2); "with milk I fed you, and not with meat, for ye were not yet able, but not even yet are ye now able" (YLT).

117 Pope Gregory I or Gregory the Great (ca. 540-604) is meant here. In her study on The Thought of Gregory the Great, G. R. Evans notes how "Gregory requires the preacher to make most careful preparations when he is to speak, because he is his people's leader and must not lead them astray by talk which is out of place (inordinate: another aspect of his concern for order) (Letter 1.24, CCSL, p. 27.178)" (81). See 75-86 for a contextualized discussion of the role of the preacher in Christian society according to Gregory.

achievements affected and made possible the choice of the <u>Her.</u> as a reliable historical source; how this choice fits within Alfonso's historical compilation as opposed to his contemporaries' neglect of Ovid's <u>Her.</u> in theirs; how this "scientific" approach to history as opposed to an eschatological one propitiated the inclusion of the <u>Her.</u> in the <u>GE</u>; how and to what extent were Ovid's epistles regarded as historical documents by Alfonso and how can the use, adaptation, and translation of the <u>Her.</u> help understand the meaning and relevance of Alfonso's historical, scientific, and literary sources in the <u>GE</u>.; and how the role of women in society understood by Alfonso as expressed in this translation. I seek, thus, to make a very specific contribution in the form of a detailed analysis of the <u>Her.</u> in the <u>GE</u> to the resolution of a problem/question that is always present in the minds of medieval historians and literary critics: how did Medieval audiences approached and viewed the past?

The French medievalist A. Pauphilet recalls at the end of his analysis of the twelfth-century Anglo-Norman adaptation of Virgil's <u>Aeneid</u>, the <u>R. d'En.</u> this question For Pauphilet, "the first and foremost, and even sole, problem of the Middle Ages" consists in "assessing that which has been admitted and that which has been rejected or transformed" in a text so as to be able to tell what concept of the Ancient times' literature and history our medieval predecessors had "since century after century and generation after generation, from Sidonius Apollinaris to Guillaume Budé the Middle Ages are defined by the level of comprehension of the ancients attained at a particular time and by a particular generation" (106). In the specific case of Ovid and his influence during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, S. Viarre has defined this question in very specific terms:

> In order to draw an accurate picture of the evolution in the use of Ovid during these two centuries [twelfth and thirteenth] of <u>aetas ouidiana</u>, it would initially be necessary to combine the study of the history of scientific literature with that of theology, grammar, the <u>roman</u> genre and contemporaneous poetry. (157)

This dissertation aims, precisely, at providing that combined study in the case of Ovid's <u>Her.</u> in order to situate the cultural environment in which Alfonso's adopted the decision to translate and adapt Ovid's <u>Her.</u> in his <u>GE</u>.

CHAPTER 3: THE MEDIEVAL TRANSLATOR AS CULTURAL INTERMEDIARY: THE CASE OF ARCHBISHOP JIMÉNEZ DE RADA

3.1 ARCHBISHOP JIMÉNEZ DE RADA: AN IBERIAN MAN OF LETTERS AND THE HEROIDES

Before I survey the use, adaptation and perception of the <u>Her</u>. in the late Middle Ages, let us draw our attention to the single most important individual in the development of historical discourse that preceded Alfonso X: the Archbishop of Toledo Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (1209-1247). The aim of this survey is to provide a literary biography of a man whose education, involvement with state matters, and active role in the evolution of Iberian historiography can be considered paradigmatic of those same men of letters responsible for the translation and adaptation of Ovid's in general and the <u>Her</u>. in particular in the <u>GE</u>.

In her study of the relations established between the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iberian translators, the Church and the monarchy, (<u>Le traducter, l'Église et le roi</u>) Clara Foz concludes that Iberian twelfth- and thirteenth-century translators derived their authority from their high position in the intellectual class of their time. As translations became more necessary and more specialized, these men of letters who worked under the supervision of their religious or political leaders (such as Alfonso X) underwent a process of "professionalization" according to which they also developed linguistic skills that made them especially apt for the task of translation (167-68).

Part of this process of professionalization involved an extensive education program for those men who would later rise to the echelons of power as we will see by means of Archbishop Jiménez de Rada's education in Europe. In the case of the French centers of learning, C. Faulhaber has revealed, for example, that ties existed between Castile and the French monarchy. In the case of the school of Chartres, he explains how many of its doctrines appear in Castilian writings throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (<u>Latin</u> 61-97) in order to try to recreate the cultural and literary background of those translators/compilers involved in the adaptation of the <u>Her</u>. to the <u>GE</u>.

In the case of Jiménez de Rada's relation to the historiographic school of Saint Victor in Paris, this connection becomes apparent through his master Peter Lombard (who succeeded Peter Comestor as head of the Faculty of Theology at the University of Paris). Similarly, the School of Orléans in which Rada also spent some years prior to his return to the Iberian Peninsula seems to also have had some influence in the Alfonsine historiographic enterprise.[118] The main evidence of this influence is the visit he paid to the monastery of Saint-Denis, whose monks were the official

---

118 A. Arizaleta has argued that Jiménez de Rada's historical works were articulated within a cultural milieu in which "politics and fiction as well as knowledge and literacy/writing walked hand in hand the latter being in the hands of men of letters in close relation with the monarch and geared towards articulating several different ways in which to develop an homogenous model of royal administration and social pact ("Lector" 183-4).

chroniclers of the French monarchs, as attested by his own testimony in <u>HDRH</u> VII, ch. 9 where he admits to seeing the tomb of Louis VII's wife Elizabeth (Alfonso VII's sister) as well as the jewel that the "emperor" had presented to the French monarch.

The role of the individual responsible for the translation process is indeed relevant not only from the point of view of his paradigmatic representation of the interests of the social, ideological, cultural, and economic groups to which he belongs, but also with regard to the extent to which he allows his individual character to transpire an implied or direct positioning with respect to those interests which he is supposed to share.

A prime example of this dual relationship between the translator as a paradigm of social, ideological, and cultural dominant ideas, and an individual with a perspective of his own on these issues is that of Geoffrey Chaucer. His characterization as a proto-humanist, as I shall argue in the following chapter, bears some resemblances to the case of the translator of the <u>Her</u>. in Alfonso X's <u>GE</u>. G. Olson, while acknowledging the influence that Chaucer's trips to Italy had on him, also suggests that the English author/translators, while staying at Paris in 1377, "would have observed a French court centered on a shrewd and intellectually engaged king who was promoting translation of both old and new material, who was increasing the cultural capital of the vernacular" (579). Olson argues that both Italian and French vernacular literatures would have appealed to Chaucer as viable vehicles to the importation of ancient knowledge as part of a project to develop the English language in the service of the English people.

The aim of this chapter is, therefore, to provide a counterbalance to a literary survey in which the works of poets, historians, thinkers, clerics, troubadours, etc. will be analyzed together with their cultural, ideological, and social circumstances as well as those of their (possible) authors. A second reason why I deem necessary to analyze the life and works of Jiménez de Rada is precisely the close resemblance that the translator/s of the <u>Her</u>. must have born to that of Rada with regard to his education, literary tastes, and involvement in court-related tasks. All of these influences could have left traces in the translation at a level that was beyond the reach of any potential corrections made by people like King Alfonso X himself, who, in spite of being acquainted with the Classical authors and works featured in the <u>GE</u>, could not have possibly supervised all Old Castilian translations based on the Latin original.

On the one hand, this literary biography of Jiménez de Rada will therefore try to compensate for the lack of an in-depth analysis of the specificity of the cultural milieu of those authors who were acquainted with the <u>Her</u>. and whose works will be referenced in this survey. On the other hand, the absolute lack of evidence with regard to the identity and origins of the translator/s of the <u>Her</u>. as featured in the <u>GE</u>.

This approach to Jiménez de Rada's role as one of the major thirteenth-century translators in Old Castilian seeks to establish how and to what extent certain translational norms could have influenced his choice of Ovid's <u>Her</u>. as a valid historical source in his works. In analyzing Rada's use of Ovid and the <u>Her</u>. and his role as "cultural intermediary" I will use the concept of "habitus" as first introduced by Pierre Bourdieu, and applied to translation studies by J.-M. Gouanvic ("Objectivation"), R. Sela-Sheffy ("Models", "Translators'" and "How to be"), M. Inghilleri ("Habitus" and "Translator"), and D. Simeoni ("Anglicizing").

3.1.1 "Habitus" and Translators: Jiménez de Rada and Alfonso X

I rely mainly on Sela-Sheffy's three main foci of analysis in his social approach to translation which, as he himself acknowledges, he has developed in accordance with the contributions by Simeoni in his seminal paper "The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus". The three issues upon which Sela-Sheffy has fleshed out a preliminary critical apparatus that can help understand the involvement of the translator in this complex process we refer to as translation are:

> (a) the relations between translation norms and the habitus of translators

> (b) the nature of "the field of translation", and the question of its autonomy

> (c) the question of the translator's "personality." ("Models" 37)

I have used Sela-Sheffy's and D. Simeoni's application of the theory of habitus to the field of DTS in my study in order to shed some light on the role of medieval translators. I have analyzed how they engaged the translation process that they negotiated between the text and the cultural polysytem against which they worked both in the source and target languages. In doing so, I have subscribed to Simeoni's argument that "the ordinary act of translating can be viewed as a secondary function of a "translating habitus" construed both as the vessel and the vehicle of whatever norms are active in the target field" ("Anglicizing" 70). Simeoni's implementation of Bourdieu's theory of "habitus" is far from conflicting with Toury's and Even-Zohar's approach to translation as a complex net of transactions between two complex polysystems of meaning (the source and target languages and their socio-cultural context). On the other hand, as he explains, when applied to DTS, viewing translation as a secondary function of a "translating habitus" can help "gently nudge the analysis away from the dynamic interplay of systems, back to the real-life behavior of the agents concerned "beginning with the translator" (70).

3.1.2 Habitus and the Hypothetical Translator

"Habitus" is perhaps Bourdieu's most important contribution to the field of social theory. He first developed a comprehensive characterization of habitus as an essential component of his theory of social practice. Habitus is a concept that comprehends an array of internalized collective norms or dispositions aimed at regulating and producing the practices (actions), perceptions and representations of individuals. This theory proves to be useful in the field of translation studies if we consider that, according to Bourdieu, habitus carries embedded information regarding the social structures in which it was acquired and also inevitably reproduces or at least leaves traces of those very same structures. In the case of Alfonso X's translation of Ovid's Her., an analysis of the translation practices from the point of view of the translator, the perception of the source Latin text, and its representation in Old Castilian should allow us to gain insight into the social (this is Bourdieu's main field of work for his theory), cultural, and ideological structures that determined the habitus of this/these particular translator/s.

Since habitus is a system used by individuals to organize their own behavior as well as to perceive and classify the behavior of others, it relies on the individual's

internalization of a set of social structures in the form of dispositions. In order for habitus to develop, Bourdieu argues that an individual must strive to acquire "cultural capital" which comprehends the accumulation of manners, credentials, knowledge and skills acquired by an individual in his/her development stages through education and upbringing (Field 29-72).

Since Bourdieu's definitions of habitus evolved over time and have been the subject of successive reinterpretations, adaptations, and renderings,[119] I will adopt a specific redefinition of the concept for the purpose of my thesis as recently proposed by Sela-Sheffy. As Sela-Sheffy explains, if we approach the practice of translation as a social activity that is regulated through specific social forces, the Bourdieusian concepts of field and habitus can become viable tools in the study of translation:

---

119 In Outline of a Theory of Practice (1977) Bourdieu introduces the concept of habitus as follows:

> The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles of the generation and structuring of practices and representations which can be objectively "regulated" and "regular" without in any way being the product of obedience to rules, objectively adapted to their goals without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary to attain them and, being all this, collectively orchestrated without being the product of the orchestrating action of a conductor. (72)

In The Logic of Practice (1990) he revisited his previous definition:

> The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively "regulated" and "regular" without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor. (53)

Bourdieu's writing style has often been termed "obscure". M. Luntley notes that

> the language of the book contains some of the worst excesses of academy-speak which continually prompt the desire, in this reader at least, to put the book down and turn to something more profitable. . . . In reading this book, one frequently has to engage a theoretical, not practical mode of reading in which one has consciously to decode not only the hinted metaphorical meanings, but also the syntax and punctuation. (448)

Being basically a practice of importing, manipulating and transforming cultural goods and models, the business of translation constitutes in itself an extremely interesting field of cultural production. It is therefore time to take on the new directions recently proposed for TS (Toury 1995; Simeone 1998; Venuti 1995; Hermans 1999) and give a better chance to the study of the peculiarities of this domain as a vital field of production in a certain socio-cultural space. This includes the way the field is organized, the profile of its agents, the distribution and availability of its repertoire, its sources of authorization, its relations with other fields of production, and more. ("Suspended" 349)

Thus, according to Sela-Sheffy's use of habitus and cultural capital, the habitus is an inertial yet versatile force, which constrains a person's tendencies and preferences but also allows for their transformations and continuous construction in accordance with the changing fields in which one plays and with one's changing positions in a specific cultural space ("How to" 4).

3.1.3 The Translator at the Mercy of Habitus

The identification of this position by means of specific instances of translation practices that can be deemed to be the consequence of a particular cultural or ideological component in the translator's habitus is precisely what my dissertation proposes in the case of Ovid's Her. as translated by Alfonso X and incorporated to his GE. According to this culture-oriented approach, the analysis and commentary of the Her. as previously undertaken by scholars such as, J. R. Ginzler ("The Role of Ovid's Metamorphoses in the General Estoria of Alfonso el Sabio"), J. R. Ashton ("Ovid's Heroides as Translated by Alphonso the Wise") or E. Brancaforte (Las Metamorfosis y Las Heroidas de Ovidio en La General Estoria de Alfonso el Sabio) do not provide enough evidence so as to determine what the actual value or meaning of any possible alterations in the translation process may reveal about the culture and ideology transmitted by the text.

What my thesis, and more specifically this third chapter, seeks is, therefore, how to determine what the translations themselves represented in the ideological world of thirteenth-century Iberia. In order to do so, I have inquired about the practice of translation, and the nature of the historiographic genre, cultural production, and of Ovid's reception by Alfonso. Moreover, I have specifically researched a range of socio-cultural elements that could help us understand what options or alternatives did the translator choose from when approaching his translation at the exclusion of others. Moreover, at a more semantic and pragmatic level, how can we determine if the addition, alteration, or omission of information in the translation is a consequence of a deliberate act by the translator or rather a practice that responds to a necessity that is removed from the translator's own decisions or interests? How can we know we are not interpreting those alterations according to a habitus or a set of cultural or ideological preconceptions that were simply not part of the habitus of the translator or his intended audience.

The solution that Sela-Sheffy proposes for this conundrum and to which I have subscribed in my research is to view the habitus of the translator as a set of socially acquired categories according to which the translator organizes and

articulates his/her mode of translation, strategies, and specific choices. As we shall see now, an effective way to identify the forces against or in favor of which the translator carries out these translational tasks is to isolate "the repertoire of prestige-endowing options" ("How to¨ 9) from which a translator has decided to ultimately pick or reject one particular option.

In Tradition, Transmission, Transformation, a collection of essays on the transmission of science and ideas, F. Jamil Ragep points out that "though it is often treated as unproblematic, transmission is not simply a value-free transfer of information. Ideas do not flow of their own accord, but need actors to cause the transmission to occur" (xv). Even though the ideas that are mainly discussed in this collection are of a scientific character, the truth remains that cross-cultural exchange of some sort takes place every time new "cultural capital" is added to the existing "cultural currency" of a specific social group.

As we have seen in the case of norms, it is regularities of behaviour in the translation patterns that a DTS analysis of a translation like mine seeks to identify. Norms are in this sense very similar to Bourdieu's concept of habitus since they are acquired during the individual's process of socialization. On the other hand habitus can eventually become apparent to the individual whereas the concept of norm implies an ideological structure that runs so deep in the cultural design of the individual that it escapes any possible conceptualization. Since, as Simeoni argues, norms are also subject to the translators' decision to implement a particular approach to a text ("Anglicizing" 70), translation studies must also take into account a considerable degree of individualtiy when studying norms and translation patterns.

Such an approach does not reduce the translator's habitus and the norms they follow to the inevitable product of the social relations under which he operates but rather frames those relations and conditions and how they influence the approach and decissions implemented by the translators when more than one option is available to them. After all, as Bourdieu said, "when faced with the challenge of studying a world to which we are linked by all sorts of specific investments, inextricably intellectual and 'temporal', our first automatic thought is to escape" by means of "resorting to the most impersonal and automatic procedures, those, at least in this perspective (which is that of 'normal science'), which are the least questionable" (Homo 6).

3.2 MEN OF LETTERS IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY: EDUCATION AT THE SERVICE OF POWER

Jiménez de Rada's vast historiographic enterprise shares many relevant aspects with the Alfonsine School of history. The main connection between Rada and the Alfonsine scriptorium is that he is the sole Iberian source for the use of Ovid's <u>Her</u>. as a reliable historical source in the <u>GE</u>. This argument will rely on Jiménez de Rada's exclusive use (among Iberian historians) of the <u>Her</u>. in almost all of his historical works as well as on other paradigmatic features of the literary career of the Archbishop of Toledo.

Like most bishops and archbishops in his lifetime, Jiménez de Rada was not only second in influence and power to the monarchs in the territories they oversaw, but was actually able to trascend political boundaries beyond the ever-changing "earthly" kingdoms. As head of the See of Toledo, Rada, for example, claimed to hold control over all the bishoprics in the Iberian Peninsula including those in Muslim territories, Castile, Portugal, Aragon, and Southern France.

An archbishop in the thirteenth century, far from being a devout follower of the Pope, was often elected by consensus between the monarchs, the nobility, and the Papacy in order to bring stability and fluidity to the relations between the realms of the sacred and the earthly. Men like Rada were more like statesmen, less like evangelists, and often were appointed from among the lay and highly-educated noble classes. A good summary of the character of these highly influential and educated men who controlled politics in the thirteenth century can be found in Saxo Grammaticus' (ca. 1150 – 1200) <u>Gesta Danorum</u>.

Saxo was a Danish medieval historian who wrote the history of the Danish people under the patronage of Archbishop Absalon (ca. 1128 – 1201) who, at the same time, is believed to have compiled himself most of the events recounted by Saxo after 1150 (E. Christiansen 60). Absalon came from a rich and influential family (he has been called "another magnate's son turned bishop" (E. Christiansen 58) with close ties to the Danish kings. He was appointed bishop of Roskiled on the same year that Valdemar I (1131-1182) was elected king (1158) and only a few years later he was granted the archbishopric of Lund (1177) after Eskil, an adherent to the ideas of Pope Gregory VII regarding Church supremacy over royal power, was sent into exile. Both Absalon and Jiménez de Rada eventually became papal legates and were granted by the Pope almost total independence in the affairs of vast territories that stretched beyond political borders such as Scandinavia and the Iberian Peninsula.

As we will see in the next section, Rada's involvement in state affairs has been the subject of much debate among scholars. He has often been portrayed as a man yearning for power and influence and, again, the parallels with bishops such as Absalon are more than evident. According to E. Christiansen, Absalon's alliance with royal power was based on his belief that

> the Church's best interest lay in supporting the king's, and in extending his power as widely as possible. This meant fighting all his wars, not merely those against the heathen, and spending most of his life in the saddle or on the gangway of his ship; tactics, reconnaissance, raiding, military discipline, coastal patrols, espionage, subversion and

terrorism were an essential part of the priest's vocation as he saw it. (58)

Rada's active involvement in the politics of his time is relevant to this study in the sense that, just like Absalon of Roskilde or his successor, Anders Sunesen (ca. 1167 – 1228), his education and literary background were essential to his role as an intellectual, diplomat, and statestman in his time. Anders, just like his uncle Absalon, was also a member of the political elite who, in his case, and his preparation for the position of archbishop included a degree in theology and philosophy from Paris, and law studies in Bologna and Oxford. Saxo Grammaticus gives us the following description of a man who, like Rada, had been prepared for a high-ranking position in politics since his early childhood:

> Te potissimum, Andrea, penes quem saluberrimus suffragiorum consensus honoris huius successionem sacrorumque summam esse voluit, materiae ducem auctoremque deposco, obtrectationis livorem, qui maxime conspicuis rebus insultat, tanti cognitoris praesidio frustraturus; cuius fertilissimum scientiae pectus ac venerabilium doctrinarum abundantia instructum veluti quoddam caelestium opum sacrarium existimandum est. Tu Galliam Italiamque cum Britannia percipiendae litterarum disciplinae colligendaeque earum copiae gratia perscrutatus post diutinam peregrinationem splendidissimum externae scholae regimen apprehendisti tantumque eius columen evasisti, ut potius magisterio ornamentum dare quam ab ipso recipere videreris. Hinc ob insignium culmen meritaque virtutum regius epistolaris effectus officium mediocritatis liminibus contentum tantis industriae operibus exornasti. (0.1.2., 1-3)

> I ask you especially, Andreas, you whom a beneficial consensus voted to become successor to his [Absalon's] rank, the head of our church, to be the guide and inspiration of my theme; I can disappoint the spleen of critics, who jeer at whatever is most remarkable, with your strong protection and advocacy; for men must consider your mind a shrine of heavenly treasures, abundant as it is in knowledge, furnished with a wealth of holy erudition. Having pursued and gathered a store of learning in France, Italy and Britain, after long travels you obtained the notable direction of a foreign school and supported it so firmly that you appear rather to have shed glory on your office than received it. From there, because of your high fame and outstanding deserts you were appointed royal secretary, a post of limited significance which you embellished with the results of your immense energy. (P. Fisher, 4)

As I have explained in the previous paragraphs, during the years of his bishopric, Absalon codesigned and codirected a policy of alliance between church and royal power which prompted a period of Danish hegemony in the Baltic area that lasted for over a century. The political presence of men like Absalon and Rada went beyond their roles as Church authorities and influential statesmen. Both lobbied the Pope for a crusade against the political enemies of those emerging states they served:

Absalon against the pagan Baltic nations and Rada against the Muslim rulers of Southern Iberia. Both of them were often found on the frontline of the armies they had helped assemble commanding the troops on such crucial battlefields such as Dysiaa (1181) and Las Navas de Tolosa (1212).

I have used the examples of archbishops Absalon and Anders in order to expose the close relationship that existed in the thirteenth century between access to higher education, intellectual authority, and both secular and political power. Given these special circumstances in the lives of Jiménez de Rada, Absalon, and Anders it is important to take into account that whoever translated/adapted the Her. as used by Alfonso X must have had a similar intellectual background to that of these men of letters[120]. Such an education would have involved a deep knowledge of ancient writers such as Ovid as we will see is the case with Rada. Moreover, the deep influence that these powerful intellectuals had in the high culture of their time through their commissions, translations, and adaptations of ancient works could well have served those very same political purposes they pressed from their bishop seats.

In the following section, I will look into the intellectual and literary circumstances that might have led to the adoption of foreign cultural tokens including Classical Latin works such as the Her. as part of the cultural lore of thirteenth-century historiograpy. I will do so in order to demonstrate that the translations featured in the GE, including Ovid's Her. carry in them clues to the extent of the influence that men such as Rada or Alfonso himself exerted on the cultural production they controlled from the top.

3.2.1 Rada: the Early Conquistador

Archbishop of Toledo, head of the Royal Chancery, tutor of princes Sancho and Felipe (Alfonso X's brothers), supervisor of the studium generale at Palencia, and, in the words of King Saint Ferdinand "hyspaniarum primati, amicissimo meo, omnibusque successoribus vestris canonice substituendis, ecclesieque beate virginis toletane" ("Religious head of the Hispanic kingdoms, my dearest friend, all other clergymen being under your command and that of your successors according to Church discipline and to that of the Holy Toletan Church of the Virgin Mary"; Fita 397). Rada can be counted among Stephen Langton, Thomas Beckett, Eudes II Rigaud or Otto Freising as one of Europe's most influential bishops during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He has been characterized by most traditional historians as "a valiant soldier, a commander of genius on the battlefield, a zealous prelate and an erudite man of letters and historian" (Lynch 92)[121].

---

120 Even Saxo Grammaticus himself imitates Classical authors such as Lucan, Ammianus, Valerius Maximus, and Ovid. F. Stok has studied a number of words, expressions, metaphors and narrative themes in Saxo's Gesta and has concluded that the Danish historian did use Ovidian models taken from the Met. to enhance the narration and the characterization of the historical protagonists in his account (86).

121 Jiménez de Rada's intellectual enterprises have been neglected in favor of studies that research his political agenda which, until recent times, was identified by his main biographers (Javier Gorosterratazu's Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Eduardo Estella's El fundador de la catedral de Toledo) as one of Spanish unity under the

It was Menéndez y Pelayo, who, in his seminal work <u>Ciencia Española</u> described him as a man of letters whose ideology became one with the intellectual history of the Iberian peninsula. According to Menéndez y Pelayo, Rada lead a literary, historical and political movement that would shape his time and the history of Spain (I, 191). More recently, Georges Martin has specifically credited Rada with being the first historian to conceive and propound a historical genesis for the kingdom of Castile as a political entity to the extent that he has called him "The inventor of Castile" ("Invención" 1).

In his studies of thirteenth-century historiography, G. Martin has portrayed Jiménez de Rada as "a persnickety and litigious man, an early <u>conquistador</u> in a permanent state of restlessness" ("L'Atelier" 283). Other contemporary scholars, such as Pick , have gathered a less heroic and more mundane interpretation of his role as archbishop according to which Rada was a pragmatist concerned with improving his own income and amassing power and wealth for the see of Toledo as well as for his relatives and friends ("Rodrigo" 203-22) or a man of few scruples only concerned with repaying those vassals who had been loyal to the causes he championed (Grassotti 167).

Regardless of the overall motivations and intentions behind Rada's policies, the truth remains that, as J. M. Feliciano has recently remarked, "his prominence in the ecclesiastical and political environment of Castile carried tremendous cultural weight and, indeed, saturated the first half of the thirteenth century" (121). After all, the last four last verses in Rada's epitaph at the Monastery of Huerta bear witness to the complexity of his character:

---

banner of Castile. Rada's main concern was, according to this theory, a permanent and relentless war against Islam in order to achieve monarchy and Christian rule for the Iberian peninsula.

Lucy Pick's recent work <u>Conflict and coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews in medieval Spain</u> argues for a more comprehensive view or Rada's ideals, politics and methods. According to this view, Rada "blended a mixture of pragmatism and idealism in his approach to the world" whose "view of the high calling and unifying role of the archbishop of Toledo in the peninsula cannot be dismissed as empty rhetoric cynically used to augment his own power" (22). An array of evidence such as the Hispano-Islamic tunic with the word ال-يأمن or <u>al-yumn</u> (prosperity) written on it (106) in which Rada was buried sheds new light on the limitations of imposing religious values on cultural and social practices. P. Linehan, on the other hand, (<u>History and Historians of Medieval Spain</u>) portrays the archbishop as a Machiavellian figure who manipulated historical records in order to advance his own political agenda and make Toledo the primatial see of the Iberian peninsula. Regarding the complexity of cultural identity at this time, M. J. Feliciano explains that "seemingly incompatible notions of cultural value in the thirteenth century" such as Rada's tunic need to be reassesed since "beyond their ornamental purpose . . . the function of Andalusi textiles in Castilian courtly and ecclesiastical ritual, as well as their use in daily life, suggests that they were neither exotic nor incongruous elements of cultural display" (102).

> Mater Navarra, nutrix Castella, Toletum / Sedes, Parisius studium, mors Rhodanus, Horta / Mausoleum, caelum requies, nomen Rodericus.

> Navarre his mother, Castile his nurturer, Toledo; his residence, Paris his school, The Rhône his death[122], Huerta his tomb; Heaven his resting place, Rodrigo his name. (V. De la Fuente 307)

3.2.2 Monastic Schools and Universities: Higher Education in the Thirteenth Century

Scholars who have studied the universities and monastic schools of the twelfth-century emphasize the changes that were taking place at this time when the latter were giving way to the former (Baldwin, "Masters" 138). The increase in the demand for clerics with university degrees who could perform bureaucratic tasks (N. Cantor 413), anticlerical and antiecclesiastic religious dissent as a consequence of the application of logic to theological matters (J. Peters 80-81), the increasing interest for causation among historians and rationality among legal scholars (LePan 44-46), the renown of scholars such as Peter Abelard of Hugh of St. Victor who attracted with their intelligence and inventiveness hundreds of students eager to attend their lectures (Baldwin, Masters 138) were all elements that indicate the emerging importance of higher education among the elites and those who needed to employ them.

L. Pick has recently pointed out that Rada's political agenda served Alfonso X as a roadmap in issues such as the characterization of the Reconquest as a crusade, the plans for an African invasion, the active participation and patronage of a vast translation program that would be incorporated onto Alfonso's court from Toledo, the acquisition of knowledge regardless of the cultural or religious background of the auctores in question or even the similarities between Rodrigo's successful centralization of power in the Iberian peninsula under the "historical right" of the Toletan see and Alfonso's claim to the Holy Roman Empire ("Rodrigo" 206).[123] A. Arizaleta has similarly remarked how Jiménez de Rada's treatment of Alexander the Great in chapter eight of his Breviarium Historie Catholice (BHC) shows many similarities to that awarded to Alfonso VIII of Castile in the same chronicle. According to Arizaleta, the Greek ruler is portrayed as an "exemplary monarch as well as a universal warrior" ("Estorias" 358) whose wisdom and deep commitment to justice and good rule are shared by the Castilian monarch.

The link between Alfonso's historiographic works and Jiménez de Rada's literary biography can be traced back to the Spanish kingdom of Navarre, in the small

---

122 Rada drowned while crossing the Rhône in Lyon on June 10, 1247 when he was returning from a visit he had made to Pope Innocent III.

123 The main point of divergence between Rada and Alfonso X would be the latter's interest in the use of the vernacular as an effective tool to transmit knowledge as opposed to the former's reluctance to enact laws in romance when he was nominal head of the Royal Chancery or when writing his history of Spain, which he compiled in reformed medieval Latin.

city of Artajona. Peter of Paris[124], Rada's tutor and mentor was Bishop of Pamplona between 1167 and 1193.[125] He was not only a teacher at the schools of arts in Paris (Gorosterratzu 24) but also wrote a treaty on the Holy Trinity (Tractatus de Trinitate et Incarnatione) which is extant in a manuscript stored at the University of Salamanca (Gaztambide 495).

As Moxó et al. point out in their Historia general de España y América: la España de los cinco reinos: (1085-1369) the Spanish bishops of this period "were among the most learned men of the time (198)" and thus men of letters such as Bernardus Compostelanus, Laurentius Hispanus, and Petrus Hispanus studied, like Rada in Bologna (Gorrosteraztu 24).[126] He apparently studied philosophy and law there for four years and attended Pope Innocent III's appointment as head of the Roman Catholic church in 1198 (25). He then proceeded to study Theology at Paris until he returned to Navarre around 1202 as a master of science. He was fluent in Basque, Castilian, and Latin and had a good command of French, Italian, English, and German (Rohrbacher 403). His competence in Arabic and Hebrew, even if open to debate, can be corroborated by several of his writings (Moxó 30-31).[127] Like his

---

124 As Goñi Gaztambide points out, he was commonly referred to as "Petrus, secundus, Pampilonensis episcopus" (433) so as not to be confused with a previous Bishop Peter of Pamplona who was also referred to as 'Petrus Parisiensis.'

125 Also known as Pedro de Paris, Petrus Parisiensis and Petro de Artassona.

126 Gorosterratzu's source for this statement is Rada's epitaph: "Fontibus Bononiae potatus philosphiae." "He obtained his philosophical knowledge from his studies in Bologna."

127 Terreros quotes in Paleografía from Diego de Campos philosopical treatise Planeta where Rada is lauded by the Chancellor of Castile as:

> Quaedam novit, ut astruat, quaedam, ut destruat, quaedam ut instruat. Quaedam novit, ut discutiat, quaedam, ut doceat, quaedam, ut non solum teneat sed occultet. Emendat, vel comendat Gallaecos in loquela, Legionenses in eloquentia, Campesinos in mensa, Castellanos in pugna, Sarranos in duritia, Aragonenses in constantia, Cathalanos in laetitia, Navarros in leloa, Narbonenses in invitatura. Emendat, vel commendat Brietones in instrumentis, Provinciales in rythmis, Turonenses in metris, Vascones in traiectis, Normannos in amicitiis, Francos in strenuitate, Anglicos in callidate, etc. (98)

> Some things he studies in order to contribute to their research, others in order to refute them, and others in order to arrange them for further investigation. Some of the things he studies he argues about, others he teaches about and others he keeps to himself. While commending them in that which he finds most admirable, he also shows himself capable of further instructing the Galicians in their speech, the Leonese in their eloquence, the country-folk in their good eating habits, the Castilians in their bravery, the mountaineers from the Iberian mountain-range in their strength, the Aragonese in their steadiness, the Catalans in their gaiety, the Navarreans in their war

successor in the Navarrean see, Peter was not only a man of letters capable of writing a treatise on the Holy Trinity but also an able politician who, for example, was one of King Sancho's envoys to England in the dispute with Castile over some municipalities in the area occupied by modern Álava, Navarre, and La Rioja (Mondéjar 103).

3.2.3 Jiménez de Rada: A Precursor of the Alfonsine Historiographic Enterprise

The similarities in the compiling methods and sources used by both Jiménez de Rada and Alfonso X have traditionally been confirmed through the comparison of the former's historical works and the latter's Historia de rebus Hispanie (ca. 1240),[128] also known as Historia Gothica. The HDRH, together with Lucas de Tuy's (commonly referred to as "El Tudense") Chronicon Mundi (ca. 1236) were indeed the two most important Iberian sources and models for the Alfonsine compilers behind the EE and GE. In the case of Tuy's, Chronicon only one reference to Ovid and his works is found on account of his birth in I, 91, 6.[129] The reference reflects, however, the high esteem in which Ovid was regarded by El Tudense, who calls him a poet-philosopher:

> Tholomeus Dionisius annis triginta. Per idem tempus Cato philosophus claruit. Virgilius nascitur Mantua, qui multa Rome et Neapoli humana sapiencia gloriose fere incredibilia fecit; cuius etiam carmina de Christo manifestissime prophetare uidentur. Oracius nascitur Venusina. Cicero laude oratoria celebratur. Apolodorus clarus habetur, qui postea extitit preceptor Augusti. Ouidius philosophus poeta nascitur.

> Ptolemy XII Auletes reigned for thirty years.[130] This was the time of the philosopher Cato. Virgil, who performed almost incredible feats with great human knowledge in Rome and Naples, was born in Mantua; his writings seem to clearly prophesize the coming of Christ. Horace was born in Venussina. Cicero received much acclaim. Apolodorus is considered famous, who afterward became the tutor of Augustus. Ovid,

> songs, and the Narbonenses in their hospitability. Likewise, he commends and further instructs the Bretons in their skill for making musical instruments, the Provençals in their poetic ability, the Basques in their capacity to carry out military incursions, the Normans in their friendliness, the Franks in their bravado, the English in their finesse, etc.

128 J. Fernández Valverde believes that the date of composition must be after that of Chronicon Mundi's since El Tudense's work is profusely used by El Toledano. He also believes that he was still writing in 1242 based on references made to events that took place that year (50).

129 J. Puyol states that Tuy began his chronicle between 1197 and 1204 in his first edition of the vernacular translation published in 1926 (v). Modern critics, such as Valverde have placed the date of conclusion around 1236.

130 Ptolemy XII (117 BC – 51 BC) was son of Ptolemy IX Soter II. He reigned over Egypt from 80 BC to 58 BC and from 55 BC until his death in 51 BC.

the philosopher poet, was born.[131]

An analysis of Jiménez de Rada's lesser known works, on the other hand, not only confirms this link but actually reveals many other connections between the works of the Castilian King and the Navarrean archbishop. As I mentioned earlier, Rada's treatment of the figure of Alexander the Great in his BHC bears a resemblance to that of a contemporary monarch (Alfonso VIII). As Arizaleta has explained, this approach to history makes Rada "the originator of a specific discourse and the representative of an historical will." The archbishops becomes in this way a key figure in "the elaboration of a global fiction aimed at furnishing a certain public with a series of successive figures in the line of kings of Castile-Leon which served as a symbol for the necessary alliance between the aristocracy and the monarchy in the first half of the thirteenth century" ("Lector" 167).[132]

Jiménez de Rada, according to Cerralbo, amassed a large collection of books which he donated to the Monastery of Huerta 12 years before his death (243). By 1835 only 43 (less than half) of the original books where left to be catalogued. This list gives us an idea of the breadth and depth of Jiménez' sources which should have been available to his successors:

> Historia de rebus Hispaniae by Jiménez de Rada.
> Arbor vitae crucifixe Jesu by Ubertino da Casale (1259-1329)[133]
> Diadema monachorum by Smaragdus, Abbot of St. Mihiel (fl. 809-819)
> The Metamorphoses by Ovid.
> Rationale divinorum officiorum by Guillaume Durand (ca. 1230-1296)[134]

---

131 Several of the GE's features show that El Tudense's work exercised a strong influence in the Alfonsine literary project such as the division in books (Fernández-Ordóñez, "El Toledano" 188-90). In more general terms, Chronicon mundi also introduces the "scissor and paste" (Patron III) method by which E. S. Procter described Alfonso X's historiographical enterprises. El Tudense, just like Alfonso X, based his historical accounts on previous chronicles and histories which he would then perfect or touch up in order to fit a rigorous historical approach which was always open to additions based on the access to knowledge that was unavailable to previous historians. Other features that the GE shares with El Tudense's chronicle include the six-age division scheme, as well as several historiographical techniques such as comparisons between two sources (such as the Septuagint and the Vulgate) or didactical elaboration on a source in order to approach a reader who is understood to not have access to as many sources or as much knowledge of the subject as the author.

132 This "implicit agreement" would have proved successful during the reigns of Alfonso VIII and Fernando III but would have been broken during Alfonso's last years as a consequence of the alliance between his rebel son Sancho and a majority of the nobility.

133 Ubertino's work was published long after Rada's death so it could not be part of the original collection.

134 See previous note.

<u>Tragedies</u> by Seneca.

<u>Summa pisana</u> (<u>Summa de casibus conscientiae</u>) by Bartholomew of San Concordio (1262-1347).[135]

<u>Commentarius aureus in Psalmos et cantica ferialia</u> by Honorius of Autun (ca. 1080-ca. 1156).

<u>De Sacramentis Christianae Fidei</u> (ca. 1134) by Hugh of Saint Victor.

<u>Flos Divinae Scripturae</u> (a florilegium of the Holy Scriptures).

<u>Ad Nepotianum de vita clericorum et monachorum</u> by Jerome.

<u>The Bible</u>.

<u>De differentia mundanae theologiae atque divinae et de demonstrationibus earumdem</u> by Hugh of Saint Victor.

<u>A collection of homilies</u> by Pope Gregory I (ca. 540-604).

<u>Historia scholastica</u> by Petrus Comestor.[136]

<u>Vita sancti Bernardi</u> by William of Saint-Thierry (ca. 1085-1148?)

<u>The Rule of Saint Basil</u> (ca. 329-379).

The first part of Saint Thomas' <u>Summa Theologica</u>.[137]

<u>Super Marci Euangeliare postilla uenerabilis domini</u> by Albertus Magnus (1193?-1280).

<u>Divus Augustinus</u> (a collection of writings by Saint Augustine).

<u>Evangelia totius anni</u> (a book of sermons).

Petrus Cantor's commentary on the Psalms (<u>Super psalmos</u>).

A book of epistles from the Bible (<u>Epistolarium totius anni</u>).

Sulpicius Severus' <u>Vita Sancti Martini</u> (c. 400).

Thomas Aquinas' <u>Catena aurea</u>? (<u>Catena Sanctorum Patrorum</u>).

Jerome's <u>Epistles</u>.

Augustine's commentary on the Psalms.

Justus', Bishop of Seo de Urgel, (fl. 527-546) comments on the <u>Song of Songs</u>, the <u>Gospels</u>, and <u>Acts of the Apostles</u>.

The <u>Decretum Gratiani</u> or <u>Concordia discordantium canonum</u> (ca. 1150).

A Bible (<u>Biblia Sacra</u>).

A collection of sermons and homilies (<u>Sermones et homiliae Sanctorum Patrum</u>).

Stephen Langton's (ca. 1150-1228) <u>Commentaries on the Bible</u>.

A florilegium of <u>Lives of the Saints</u>.

A book by Peter Comestor (most probably <u>Historia scholastica</u>).

A collection of sermons for Advent and Easter (<u>Evangelia ab Adventu usque ad Pascha</u>).

Saint Gregory's (ca. 540-604) <u>Sermons on Ezequiel</u>.

Peter Lombard's <u>Comments on the Gospels</u>.

A collection of sermons by several doctors of the church and an epistle

---

135 See note 13.

136 Cerraldo writes "Petrus Comestor, <u>Historia eclesiástica</u>" but this must be a mistake since this work was written by Hugh of Fleury in 1109.

137 See note 13.

from Bernard of Clairvaux.
A commentary on the <u>Epistles to the Romans</u>.

As this book collection shows, Rada's interests ranged from the classical works of Ovid to the contemporary commentaries on the Bible by Stephen Langton. Rada's literary preparation cannot only be appreciated in the catalogue of books that have survived the ravages of time but also in the vast compendia which he put together while he was the most important statesman in the Iberian Peninsula.

A further source of Rada's cultural repertoire in the form of books and treatises is the thirteenth-century catalogue of Rada's successors in the see of Toledo that was compiled in 1941 by M. Alonso. This catalogue is made up of several inventories belonging to men who succeeded Rada as the top figure of the Church in the Iberian peninsula and, who, like him, were some of the most influential politicians and men of letters of his time. The first of these inventories is one found in Juan de Medina's (d. 1248) testament. Most of the books listed are Bible commentaries or religious texts similar to those found in the previous catalogue and do not shed new light on the literary tastes and interests of men like Rada (296-97).

Sancho de Aragon's (d. 1275) library, however, paints a very different picture of the wide-ranging interests of late thirteenth-century Iberian intellectuals. Among Sancho's books we do not only find some of Seneca's and Terence's works but many others on law, sermons, commentaries on Biblical books as well a series of books on alchemy, astronomy/astrology, physics, metaphysics, botany, mathematics, philosophy, ethics, theology, etc. Among these, I have been able to identify the following:

Matthaeus Platearius' botanical catalogue <u>Circa instans</u> (ca. 1150).
Theophilus' medical textbook on urine <u>De urinis</u>.
A book beginning with the words <u>Lumen luminum</u> (a common beginning for a number of books on alchemy at the time including Michael Scot's translation of Muhammad ibn Zakarīya Rāzi's (Rhazes or Rasis) <u>Liber lumen luminum</u>).
An unknown book on philosophy by the Persian philosopher Abu Hāmed al- Ghazzālī (1058-1111) (<u>Tahāfut al-falāsifah</u> or <u>The Incoherence of the Philosophers</u>?). [138]
Another philosophical work by the Sephardic philosopher Moshe ben Maimon (Maimonides, 1135-1204).

---

138 Sancho's interest in Al- Ghazzālī is especially worthy of note since the Persian philosopher became a staunch opponent of Avicenna's theory of casual connection thus renouncing philosophy as a means to achieve knowledge of the universe or God. In <u>The Incoherence of the Philosophers</u> (<u>Tahāfut al-falāsifah</u>) Al-Ghazzālī criticizes heterodox Muslim intellectuals who pursue philosophy and explains to them that "the source of their unbelief is their hearing high-sounding names such as Socrates, Hippocrates, Plato, and their likes" (2). He then sets out to refute, among other tenants of philosophy, that the world be pre-eternal or post-eternal, that God be the maker of the world, that the existence of the world's maker can be proven, that there can be no more than one god, or that God is a unity. (10)

Burchard of Mount Sion's <u>Descriptio Terrae Sanctae exactissima</u> (a description of his travels through Armenia, Egypt and the Holy Land dating back to the first half of the thirteenth century, ca. 1283).

An arithmetic treatise (Boethius' translation of Nichomacus' <u>De institutione arithmetica libri duo</u>*).*

Seneca's <u>Epistulae</u>.

A glossed translation of one of Galen's treatises (<u>Tegni</u>?)*.*

Richard of St. Victor's (d. 1173) <u>De statu interioris hominis</u>.[139]

Palladius' (4th c. AD) <u>Opus agriculturae</u>.

Hippocrates' <u>Prognostica</u> with the commentaries of Galen (part of the medicine compilation known as the <u>Articella</u>).[140]

William of Conches' <u>Moralium dogma philosophorum</u> (a summary of <u>De officiis</u>).[141]

The Pseudo-Dionysian <u>De divinis nominibus</u> (6th c.) and <u>De ecclesiastica hierarchia</u>.

Hugh of St. Victor's <u>Commentariorum in hierarchiam caelestem s. Dionysii Areopagitae</u> (1125-1137).

A commentary on Ptolomeus' <u>Almagest</u> (<u>Comentarium Ptolomaei Almagestum</u>).

Another <u>Arithmetic</u> by Boethius.

A book called <u>Planeta</u> (could be Diego de Campos' <u>Planeta</u> or Gerard of Cremona's popular series of textbooks on astronomy/astrology <u>Theorica planetarum</u>).

Anselm of Canterbury's (1033-1109) <u>Monologion</u> and <u>Proslogion</u>.

Peter Cantor's (d. 1197) <u>Verbum abbreviatum</u>.

Paterius' (d. 606) <u>Liber testimoniorum veteris testamenti</u> (a series of commentaries on texts from the Old Testament attributed to St. Gregory).

Alonso argues that although this is Sancho's personal inventory most if not all

---

139 Richard was highly esteemed in the thirteenth century as a philosopher. Dante places him among doctors of the church such as Isidore of Seville and Bede in his <u>Divina Commedia</u>'s (Paradiso X, 130).

140 The <u>Articella</u> was a collection of texts of Greek and Arabic origin that became the standard textbook in European medicine from th twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. It was originally compiled in Salerno in the early twelfth century. It is very likely that the whole of the <u>Articella</u> (Ḥunayn ibn 'Isḥāq al-'Ibādī's (Johannitius) <u>Isagoge</u>, Hippocrates' <u>Aphorisms</u> and <u>Prognostics</u>, Theophilus' <u>De Urinis</u>, and <u>De pulsibus</u>, and Galen's <u>Tegni</u>) was in Sancho's possession since most of its titles are here included. Those not mentioned by name are the basis of my speculation regarding other texts that could not otherwise be identified.

141 P. Glorieux believed this work to be by the hand of Alan of Lille ("Le Moralium") whereas R. A. Gauthier argued that is is by Walter of Chatillon ("Attribution"). See P. Delhaye ("Adaptation") and T. Gregory (<u>Anima</u> 21-26) for a history and discusion of the issue.

of these books would eventually become part of the cathedral library in Toledo.

The last two catalogues listed by Alonso belong to D. Gonzalo García Cudiel and were compiled before and after his appointment as Archbishop of Toledo. By 1273 (the year when he was appointed bishop of Cuenca) D. Gonzalo owned, among many others, the following books:

Geoffrey of Bologna's <u>Documentum de modo et arte dictandi et versificandi</u>.

Azo's <u>Summa codicis</u>.

Justinian's <u>Institutiones</u>, <u>Digesta</u>, and <u>Codex repetitae praelectionis</u>.

The decretal collections <u>Compilatio secunda</u> (1210-125) and <u>Compilatio tertia</u> (1210).

A book by Avicenna.

Aristoteles' <u>De naturalibus</u>.

Palladius' <u>Opus agriculturae</u>.

Pseudo-Vegetius' <u>De re militari et frontini strategematon</u>.

Unidentified books by Dionysius Aeropagite, Plato, Macrobius, and Maimonides.

Boethius' <u>Arithmetic</u>.

Martianus Capella's <u>De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii</u>.

Hermes Trismegistus' <u>Hermetica</u>.

A new translation of the <u>Arithmetic</u> of Nicomachus of Gerasa.

A translation of Al-Jwārizmī's Algebra (<u>Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar fī ḥisāb al-jabr wa-al-muqābalah</u>).

Sallust's <u>Bellum Catilinae</u> and <u>Bellum Iugurthinum</u>.

Ibn Sīnā's (Avicenna) astronomical tables.

Cicero's <u>De inventione</u> and <u>De officiis</u>.

The pseudo-ciceronian <u>Rhetoria ad Herennium.</u>

A glossed treatise on Plato.

Lucan's <u>Pharsalia</u>.

Several books on geometry and astronomy including:

Alan de Lille's (ca. 1128-1202) <u>Liber de planctu naturae</u>.

Bernard Silvestris' (12th c.) <u>Cosmographia</u>.

Al-Farghānī's <u>Elements of astronomy on the celestial motions</u> (<u>Liber aggregationibus scientie stellarum et principiis celestium motuum</u>).

A translation of Theodosius of Bithynia's (2nd c. BC) <u>Sphaerics</u>.

An-Nairizi's (10th c.) <u>Commentary on Euclid</u> (<u>Exposicio Anaricii X primorum librorum Geometrie</u>)

Several of Albertus Magnus' treatises on the physical sciences (<u>De natura locorum</u>, <u>De proprietatibus elementorum</u>, <u>Physicorum</u>, <u>De generatione et corruptione</u>, <u>Meteororum</u>, <u>Mineralium</u>).

An original copy of the first translation of Ibn Rushd's (Averroes) Talkhīṣ Kitāb al-nafs (<u>Commentary on Aristotle's De anima</u>).

An original copy of a translation of seven of the original nineteen books contained in the compilation <u>Kitāb al-Hayawān</u> (an Arabic translation of Aristotle's <u>Historia Animalium</u>, <u>De partibus animalium</u>, and <u>De generatione animalium</u>).

Several works by Cassiodorus (<u>De anima</u>?)

And a second catalogue after he was appointed Archbishop of Toledo contains the following books:

Thomas Aquinas' <u>Summa Theologica</u>? ("quinque libri de opere fratris Thomasi").

Aristotle's <u>Physics</u> and <u>Metaphysics</u>, <u>Ethics</u>, <u>Perihermenias</u>, <u>Rhetoric</u>, and <u>Historia animalium</u>.[142]

Ptolemy's <u>Tractatus de iudiciis astrorum</u>.

Hilary of Poitiers' <u>De trinitate</u>.

Jordanus de Nemore's (fl. c. 1220) <u>Arithmetica</u>.

A treatise on music (Saint Augustine's <u>De musica</u>?, Boethius' <u>Musica</u>?).

Pseudo-Avicenna's <u>Liber celi et mundi</u> (a paraphrase of Aristotle's <u>De caelo</u>[143]).

Several Galenic treatises.

Aristotle's <u>Perihermenias</u>.

Adelard of Bath's <u>Quaestiones naturales</u>.

William of Moerbeke's translation of Simplicius' Commentary <u>on Aristotle's De caelo</u>. Pseudo-Aristotle's <u>De problematibus</u>.

Pseudo-Simplicius' <u>Commentary on De problematibus</u>.

Bonaventure's <u>Breviloquium</u>.

St. Thomas Aquinas' <u>Abjiciamus opera</u>.

An abridged version of the <u>Almagest</u>.

Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī's (787-886) (Albumasar) <u>Kitāb al-madkhal al-kabīr ilá 'ilm aḥkām al-nujūm</u> (<u>Introductorium in astronomiam</u>).

Abū 'Abd Allāh Muhammad ibn Mu' ādh's <u>Liber de crepusculis</u> (11th c.).

Muḥammad ibn Kathīr al-Farghānī's (Alfraganus) <u>Jawāmi' 'ilm al-nujūm wa-uṣūl al-harakāt al-samāwīya</u>.

Abū Isḥāk Nūr al-Dīn al-Biṭrūjī's (Alpetragius) <u>Kitab-al-Hay'ah</u> (<u>De motibus caelorum</u>).

A book listed as <u>De vera mathematica</u> (part IV of Roger Bacon's <u>Opus Majus</u>?).

Iohannes Pecham's <u>Perspectiva communis</u> (or perhaps Ibn al-Haytham's <u>Kitab al-man-azir</u> (<u>The Optics</u> translated into Latin as <u>De aspectibus</u> or <u>Perspectiva</u>), or Roger Bacon's <u>Perspectiva</u>, or Witelo's <u>Perspectiva</u>).

Thomas Bradwardine's <u>Propositiones de perspectiva</u>.

Jean de Meur's abbreviated version of Boethius' <u>De musica</u> (<u>Musica speculativa secundum Boetium</u> (1323))

A book by Terence.

---

142 Most if not all of these would be translations of Arabic versions of Aristotle's works: i. e. the Arabic translation of <u>Historia Animalium</u> (<u>De partibus animalium</u>) comprises treatises 1-10 in the Arabic <u>Kitāb al-hayawān</u>.

143 Avicenna's original paraphrase of <u>De caelo</u> is the second book of part two of the <u>Kitāb al-Shifa</u> (Gutman ix).

John Buridan's <u>Commentaries on Aristotle's Post. Analytics</u> (<u>Commentum posteriorum</u> or <u>Quaestiones in Posteriorum Analyticorum libros</u>).

Themistius' <u>Commentaries on Aristotle's Post. Analytics</u> (<u>Liber commentarii super posteriores analeticos</u>).

Alexander of Aphrodisias' <u>Commentary on Aristotle's Meteorology</u> and <u>De anima libri mantissa</u>.

Thābit ibn Qurra al-Ḥarrānī's (Thebit) <u>On the Exposition of Terms in the Almagest</u> (<u>Liber Thebit de expositiones nominum Almagesti</u>).[144]

Richard Rufus of Cornwall's <u>Commentary on De Anima</u>, an <u>Ars notariae</u>.

Calcidius' abbreviated version and <u>Commentary of Plato's Timaeus</u> (<u>Platonis Timaeus interprete Chalcidio cum eiusdem commentario</u>).

Commentaries on animals and natural history and morals.

Simplicius' <u>Commentary on De Caelo et mundo</u>.

A book by Julian of Toledo (642-690) (<u>De comprobatione aetatis sextae contra judaeos</u>?).

Another book by Alain de Lille and Bernard Silvestris.

Thomas Aquinas' <u>Commentary on Aristotle's De caelo</u> (<u>Sententia super librum De caelo</u>).

The Pseudo-Dionysian work on angelology (5th c.) <u>De coelesti hierarchia</u>[145] (probably in John Scottus Eriugena's exposition).

An unidentified history of Rome.

3.2.4 Jiménez de Rada's Historical Works and the <u>Heroides</u>

It is precisely in one of these treatises, the <u>Historiae minores dialogus libri vite</u>, where the first references to the <u>Her</u>. in Rada's works appear. The archbishop quotes the <u>Her</u>. four times when relating the history of the Roman people (<u>Historia Romanorum</u> (<u>HR</u>) I, 38-40, <u>HR</u> II, 31-33, <u>HR</u> II, 24-26 and <u>HR</u> II, 36-38): The first quote is from <u>Her</u>. IV, 49-50 and it makes reference to the quasi-religious trance into which Phaedra has been driven after being abandoned by Hippolytus. This trance resembles that inspired by Dryads and Fauns upon the Bacchantes: "Aut quas simedeae Dryades Faunique bicornes / numine contactas attonuere suo" ("Like those on whom the semi-divine Dryads and horned Satyrs come upon with terror and amazement").

The second quote is from <u>Her</u>. VII, 1 and 3-4 in which Dido complains about her fate after having welcomed Eneas into Carthage: "Sic ubi fata uocant" ("Thus do the Fates summon [the swans]"); "Nec quia te nostra sperem prece posse moueri alloquor, aduerso mouimus ista deo" ("Nor do I address you with the hope that my appeals will make you change your mind; something which I have wished against the will of the gods"). As it was the case with the previous couplet, this one is also given within a strictly historical context. The third quote is also from <u>Her</u>. VII, in this case 9 and 21-22: "Certus es ire tamen miseramque relinquere Didon" ("You are then

---

144 Also know by the title On Things Which Require Exposition before Reading the Almagest (De hiis que indigent expositione antequam legatur Almagesti).

145 In Greek according to the original document (306).

resolved to go away and leave Dido in her misery"); "Quando erit ut condas instar Carthaginis urbem et uideas populos altus ab arce tuos?" ("When will you build a city as prosper as Carthage, and, as its ruler, survey from its citadel your subjects below?"). These quotes also make reference to Dido's complaints about Eneas' behavior and are even more interesting since they are introduced in the preceding verses by Rada in the following manner: "Dido autem incauto amore succensa Eneam epistolari alloquio salutauit, sicut Ouidius in <u>Heroidibus</u> metrice declarauit dicens . . ." ("Dido, on the other hand, burning with the passion of love, sent a letter to Eneas reassuring him [of her love] of which Ovid made a poetic version in his <u>Her.</u> saying . . .").

Rada not only identifies Ovid's source for his poem as a real letter but also makes the point that the <u>Her.</u> are composed "metrice," this is, in accordance to the rules of elegiac poetry and verse, thus establishing a distinction between Ovid's sources and his poetic work. This last quote in Rada's <u>HR</u> is also from <u>Her.</u> VII (193-94) and is again related to the history of Rome by making reference to Dido's final plea to her sister before committing suicide: "Anna soror, soror Anna mea male conscia culpe, nunc dabis in cineres ultima dona meos" ("Anna sister, my sister Anna! The unlucky confidant of my guilt, you will soon offer in the presence of my ashes [your tears as] your final offerings").

All these references to the <u>Her.</u> are only a few among many similarities found in Rada's <u>HBC</u> and Alfonso's historical works. Among other sources, the common use of the <u>Oracula Sibyllina</u>, Peter Abelard's <u>Theologia Scholarium,</u> Peter Comestor's <u>Historia Scholastica</u> and Peter Lombard's <u>Sententiarum libri quator</u> is undeniable. Many other isolated instances of shared historical perspectives with Alfonso's historical works cannot be ascribed to mere chance such as the insistence in <u>HR</u> II, 38 on denying that Charlemagne conquered any territories in Hispania. Rada, as Alfonso will do after his <u>HDRH</u>, goes into great detail to provide a list of the Iberian cities conquered by Christian kings, thus eliminating the possibility that Charlemagne could have been responsible for any of these successes (III, ch. 9). Finally, Rada will reconcile the reference in the French sources to Charlemagne's exploits in Spain by referring to Charles' youth and a dispute with his father which led him to seek the help of the Muslim King of Toledo whom he served for several years.[146] This recurring theme in most historical works of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Spain clearly establishes an ideological continuity in Rada's and Alfonso's works and historical approaches.[147]

Rada's <u>BHC</u>, an abbreviated history of the Catholic Church largely based on Peter Comestor's <u>Historia scholastica</u>, contains a reference to Ovid that is worth

---

146 F. Bautista argues that Rada's source for this biographical information about Charles' youth would have been a now lost epic poem which Alfonso X would have used as a source for his summary of the French King's exploits as a youth in the <u>EE</u> (246).

147 Van Herwaarden defines Alfonso's approach to Charlemagne in the <u>EE</u> as ambivalent: "On the one hand, the role of emperor had to be supported by praising Charlemagne, but on the other, he wished to emphasize the unique nature of Spanish history" (486).

mentioning. In IX, xviii, 35-39 Rada describes how the pagans lived according to heathen customs that pervaded their virtues with sinful acts. According to Rada, Ovid is a clear example of this decadence and thus lauds Augustus for punishing his audacity: "unde et propter hoc Ouidium poetam exilio condempnauit." "on account of this [event] Ovid the poet was sent into exile."

HDRH, Rada's final and most extensive work, also contains references to Ovid and to the Her. which bear resemblance to those found in the EE and GE. The first reference (I, iiii, 23-29) establishes that Alfonso's allegorical and euhemeristic approach to Ovid's works, including the Her., is already present in the Toledano's work:

> Erat autem tunc temporis in Hesperia princeps quidam qui Gerion uocabatur et habundabat gregibus et armentis et habebat tria regna que nunc dicuntur Gallecia, Lusitania, Bethica: unde et iste Gerion cum esset alias fortis et ferox, triceps describitur fabulose. De quo Ouidius in nono Metamorfoseos: "Nec me pastoris Hyberi forma triplex, nec forma triplex tua, Cerbere, mouit" (Met. IX, 184-185). Et idem in libro Heroydum: "Prodigium triplex armenti diues Hyberi Gerionis, quamuis in tribus unus erat." (Her. IX, 91-92)

> There was in Hispania at that time a prince called Gerion who had plenty of cattle and who ruled over three kingdoms called Gallecia, Lusitania and Baetica. Since Gerion was otherwise strong and brave he was fantastically portrayed as having three heads. That is why Ovid in the Metamorphoses writes: "Cerberus, I did not show fear of either the Iberian shepherd's or even your own triple form." And also in the Heroides: "Geryon, the monster of the triple form, rich in Iberian herds, who had three bodies in one."

Rada's explanation shows familiarity with the allegorical interpretations found in John of Garland and Arnulf of Orléans but it also is important in the sense that it includes two references to two different works from Ovid. These two excerpts from the Met. and the Her. are linked only by the theme to which they refer and therefore show that Rada was acquainted with Ovid's works as well as with the hermeneutics of his texts.[148] There is actually another quotation in I, vi, 44-45 which, in spite of being ascribed to Ovid, cannot be found in any of his extant works: "Unde Ouidius: Incendit demum Deyanira virum." Even though a similar verse can be found in verse 176 ("Incendit demum paelex Deianira superbum") of Theoduli Ecloca (an allegorical Christian poem of the fifth century also quoted by Alfonso in the GE) this verse remains unidentified yet contributes to underscore Rada's use of Ovid as a reliable auctor.

The last citation of the Her. by Rada is also related to Hercules and it is found

---

148 Virgil is also used as a historical source by Rada as for example in I, iiii, 23-29 also when dealing with Gerion's Hispanic kingdom: "Expressius autem de morte Virgilius in VII Eneydos: "postquam Laurentia victor / Geryone extincto Tirynthius attigit arva"" ("Then the victorious, headed for Laurentum, after having killed Gerion, the Tirynthian [Hercules] finally reached a riverside"; Aeneid VII 665-66).

in I, iiii, 12-13: "Set quia Hercules Athlantem magnis honoribus extollebat, equiuocato nomine dixit poeta: 'Hercule supposito sidera fulsit Athlas'" ("But since Hercules was more revered than Athlas, the poet referred to him under the wrong name: 'Atlas held the stars while standing on top of Hercules'"; <u>Her</u>. IX, 18).

This survey of Jiménez de Rada's works, especially in relation to Ovid and the <u>Her</u>., shows that Rada's historiographic opus can be rightly considered an important precedent in Alfonso's compilation of the <u>EE</u> and the <u>GE</u>. In the case of the <u>Her</u>., Rada shows an acquaintance with this and all other major works from Ovid as well as a competence and understanding of the central role that Ovid's works were playing in the historiographic revolution of the early thirteenth century. This was a role, essentially, of providers of reliable historical information subject to the hermeneutic work of authors such as John of Garland and Arnulf of Orléans. Rada's education, cultural background, and thoroughly researched writings as well as his activities as a politician support the theory that, being among the academic elite of Europe, he must have been acquainted with Ovid's works, and specifically with the <u>Her</u>. not only through his writings but also in the course of his long and intense education in grammar, rhetoric and the <u>ars dictaminis</u>. Thus, Jiménez de Rada appears before us as the paradigm of the type of man behind the translation of the <u>Her</u>. in Alfonso's <u>GE</u>.

3.2.5 Conclusions

As I will explore in the following chapter, many literary figures of the thirteenth century like Jiménez de Rada were acquainted with Ovid's letters through their literary studies and through an academic curriculum in which Ovid's <u>Her</u>. were widely used as part of advanced grammar, rhetoric, and <u>ars dictaminis</u> studies. Rada's references to several Ovidian works in his own historical writings, among them the <u>Her</u>., indicate that the trend of Ovidian influence that swept Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries also affected Iberian intellectuals. Such influence would have become unavoidable through the standard education which they received, especially until the late thirteenth century, in the French and Italian centers of culture. Moreover, the continuous influx of foreign scholars who found patronage in the Castilian court as well as a job in the newly-founded <u>studia generalia</u> and cathedral schools of Palencia, Seville, Toledo, Vich, Gerona, must also have exerted a great influence in the intellectual milieu of Alfonso's time.[149]

---

149 José Sánchez Herrero has studied the evolution of the educational institutions in the city of Seville from the thirteenth throughout the fifteenth centuries. According to him

> the great demographic and economic development of the city of Seville at the end of the last third of the fourteenth century was in correlation to another cultural development. Seville's clerics were highly educated and had direct access to the city's institutions where they could learn grammar, theology and law. At the same time, they had the economic resources needed to travel to other Castilian and foreign cities where to further their studies. Hence we find many of them studying in the universities and studia in Salamanca, Valladolid, Bologne, Avignon, Florence, Rome and Paris in the second half of the fourteenth century.

Jiménez de Rada's role as the leading intellectual figure in the Iberian Peninsula in the thirteenth century constitutes irrefutable evidence that his historical works and methods of compilation were, to a large extent, imitated and adopted by the team of historians to whom Alfonso commissioned the redaction of the EE and the GE. In this sense, Rada's references to Ovid fall in line with those of his contemporary men of letters for whom, as E. Ruhe has remarked, the Her. constituted a valid source of additional historical information to which they could turn in order to supplement their knowledge of the history of the Trojan War as well as other crucial historical "sagas" of the ancients (50).

Even though those responsible for the translation and adaptation of the Her. in the GE did not leave behind any direct references to their cultural background, the magnitude and scope of such direct translation from the most elaborate of the Roman poets must have required a degree of acquaintance with ancient literature in general and Ovid in particular.

Indeed, only a select group of men with the advanced education that Rada had received could have confronted this immense philological task. It is precisely the object of the following chapter to investigate what types of parallel knowledge of the Her. might have influenced the decision of Alfonso to translate the Her. or, even, the actual interpretation of certain passages in one sense or another depending on literary and cultural assumptions.

(898)

CHAPTER 4: OVID AND THE <u>HEROIDES</u> AS SOURCE MATERIAL IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

Alfonso's <u>GE</u> and <u>EE</u> have come to be regarded as a product of a united historiographical enterprise and a personal project highly dependant on the political ideas of Alfonso the Wise (Redondo 686-7) as a direct consequence of the focus that modern research has placed on the conclusions of Rico, Catalán and Fernández-Ordóñez cited in 1.2.4. I argue that the selection of the <u>Her.</u> as a historical source in compiling the <u>GE</u> while confirming the theory proposed by the aforementioned critics, also calls for a more comprehensive view of the Alfonsine literary project as an enterprise that reshapes the Iberian historiographic tradition by incorporating to its sources a highly influential and widely read work such as the <u>Her.</u>

In spite of K. McKinley's consideration that the "female characters of the <u>Heroides</u> have received the burden of scholarly attention" (xix) the truth is that there is not a single, synoptic analysis of the influence of the <u>Her.</u> and its evolution in the High Middle Ages. In this sense, I have tried to modestly answer, by means of this survey of the <u>Her.</u> in Medieval European literature, to J. M. Ferrante's call among contemporary medievalists to "expand our vision beyond contemporary national boundaries, to include in our studies of particular works the response to them in the courts or cities of other nations as another way of getting at possible meaning for their contemporaries" (149). This is precisely why I deemed it necessary to systematically review the literary and historiographic trends that existed in the thirteenth century in order to better understand the cultural, historic, and literary environment in which Alfonso wrote his <u>GE</u>.

The spheres of influence into which I have categorized the use of the <u>Her.</u> throughout Europe in the late-eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and early-fourteenth centuries are Latin and vernacular lyrical poetry, historical romances, and historiography. As I will argue in each of these sections, the choice of the <u>Her.</u> as a reliable historical source in the <u>GE</u> cannot be ascribed to one particular reason (be it the sentimental interest of the epistles or Alfonso's fondness for the lyrical character of the pleads of its protagonists) but should rather be understood in the context of 1) Ovid's relevance as a lyrical poet in the twelfth and thirteenth century and the link established by Alfonsine compilers between men of importance (King Solomon, Jupiter, Perseus) and their innate ability to preserve knowledge through the encoded literary contents of, in this case, lyrical poetry; 2) Ovid's relevance as a pagan historian in general (especially through the Benedictine and Franciscan mythographers and historiographers) and one acquainted with the Trojan War in particular at a time when history is perceived as another scientific discipline in need of as much research and study of ancient sources as physics, astrology or theology; 3) The <u>Her.</u>'s model-like portrayal of epistolary relations that closely resemble those of Alfonso's historical time as well as those found in contemporary historical and romance literatures; 4) Ovid's importance in the advanced literary, rhetoric, and grammatical curriculum of the time not only through the <u>Met.</u> or the <u>Fast.</u> but through the interpretation and translation of the <u>Her.</u>

The confluence of historiographic approaches and literary sources in close relation to those developed in the Kingdom of France such as 1) the development of

Biblical exegesis in the thirteenth century, 2) the development of historically-justified genealogies through the historical writing in the region of Francia (Fleury, Reims, Saint-Denis, and Tours) that lead to the establishment of an "official" historical record under Capetian patronage in the Saint-Denis monastery, 3) the mythographical studies of friars of the Dominican and Franciscan orders in their studia generalia in the School of Orléans, 4) the historical compilations (and subsequent translations of historical works originally in Latin) in French vernacular Histoire ancienne jusqu'à Cesar or Les Faits de les Romains, 5) the encyclopedic works of Peter Comestor, Godfrey of Viterbo, and Vincent of Beauvais all had an influence on Alfonso's decision to carry out the research that a work such as the GE involved with regard to the gathering of reliable historical sources.

A corollary of this theory is that the predominant use of first, second, or even third-hand French sources and authors (R. de Th., Arnulf of Orléans, Peter Comestor, John of Garland, Vincent of Beauvais, etc.) responds to an intellectual enterprise devised in order to import institutions and methods of analysis, comprehension and transmission of knowledge which were believed to be necessary for a better development of Spanish culture. The use of the Her. as a historical source will be approached, thus, through the influences mentioned above in order to study this translation of the Her. as a literary phenomenon. I argue that the translation was executed at a time when two major and complex literary periods in the intellectual history of the Kingdom of France were taking place. In his Histoire Littéraire de la France Médiévale Paul Zumthor termed these to periods 'La fin de l'age "courtois"' (1210-1240) and 'Le triomphe du didactisme' (1240-1275).

As Menéndez Pelayo remarked more than a century ago in his seminal study of the Iberian medieval epic Antología de poetas líricos castellanos, "the center of all literary life in Europe in the Middle Ages was located in France" (129). This premise is still valid in the case of Alfonso's historiographic enterprise as P. Gracia has demonstrated in her analysis of the similar compilatory methods followed in the earlier (1213) but truncated Old French world history Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César and the GE.

As I shall argue in this chapter, Alfonso's choice of the Her. as a reliable historical source must be analyzed in the light of, not only the French historiographic model (which also adapted the Her. as historical sources) but also in a more general context of concurrent European interest in the discipline of ancient history. In the case of the Germanic kingdoms, D. H. Green has similarly termed the thirteenth century as a period when, around 1220, the interest in romance and courtly literature dramatically dropped and was substituted by an increasing demand from chronicles and saintly legends that developed into "a growth of didactic and religious literature (hardly well disposed towards the new concept of fiction), pointing to a function of literature in conveying knowledge of what is factually true, rather than an aesthetic presentation of secular values" (Listening 265). In England "the emergence of chronicles was the main feature of historical writing in the early thirteenth century" (J. Burton 198) even though it was the monopoly of the monastic orders.

4.1 VERNACULAR LYRICAL POETRY IN THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES AND THE HEROIDES

The origins of the troubadours and the early evolution of courtly poetry in twelfth and thirteenth century France have been the subject of much controversy among scholars. This debate over how much influence should be attributed (if any) to the vast array of poetic movements regarded as forerunners of Provençal lyricism continues to this day.[150] Both Latin love-lyric in general and Ovid in particular are unanimously regarded as key components in the evolution of the cultural movement known as fin d'amors and its corresponding poetic movement (Provençal lyricism) by contemporary critics. Therefore, it is necessary to study this cultural environment in which Alfonso's translation of the Her. was seen as a fit historical source for his GE. The aim of this section will be to assess the role that Ovid's Her. played in developing the cultural movement and the poetic genre which E. Pound made responsible for awakening "Song" again in the Western literary tradition (xi).[151]

Even though the following section focuses on French lyrical poetry in the vernacular, it should be noted that there are instances in almost every vernacular European language of this type of composition. Thus, for example, A. Saibene has studied how in the late twelfth century the Met. were used as a source by Minnesänger (lyric and song-writers who flourished in Germany in the twelfth century with their Southern French (troubadours) and Northern French (trouvères) counterparts such as Walther von der Vogelweide (ca. 1170-ca. 1230) who were under the patronage of Hermann of Thuringia. This interest in Ovidian themes coincides with the first translation in Middle-High German of the Met. (and of any other classical work) which was undertaken by Albert von Halberstadt in the first decades of the thirteenth century.

4.1.1 Troubadours, Trouvères, and Minnesänger: The Problem of Influence

The twentieth century has witnessed an evolution in the study of early lyrical poetry in Europe with regard to its Ovidian and Heroidian influence. In the first half of the twentieth century, A. Boutemy was already calling for more research in the field of eleventh century Latin poetry (Arnoul de Lisieux, Serlon de Wilton, Pierre la Rigge, Simon Chèvre d'Or, Etienne de Rouen...) and its relation to the rise of vernacular poetry in the following centuries ("Autour" 234).

Another French critic, J.-Y. Tilliette, has researched the changes that poetry underwent at the end of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth

---

150 Here is a list of the main trends as identified by M. Payen in I, 5-7: A) The Arabic thesis: 1) Odhrite love, 2) Ibn Hazm, 3) Arab-Andalusian literature; B) The Latin thesis and those attached to it 1) the liturgical thesis and 2) the Patristic thesis; C) The Cathar and Joachimist theses; D) The Celtic thesis and E) The folkloric or popular thesis. In this list, he provides a detailed account ot the proponents and opponents of each thesis and sub-thesis. Even though Payen's work dates back to 1966 this general classification is still valid and modern critics can still satisfactorily be classified according to it.

151 "Song did not again awake until the Provençal viol aroused it."

looking for an explanation to a phenomenon he does not believe can be entirely attributed to a change in the taste of the clerics who wrote the poems, or an influence of their study of the classics or the secularization of culture (<u>Troiae</u> 413). J. Crossland has established the pervading influence of Ovid's works in Provençal love poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by proving that Ovid's literary world and conceptualization of love were significantly absent from the poetry that preceded that of the French troubadours (Alcuin, Rabanus Maurus, Paulus Diaconus and others) as well as by tracing the Ovidian traits found in the evolution of key components in the <u>amour courtois</u> tradition such as the relation between the Virgin and Christ and its relation to the myth and cult of Venus and Cupid (204).

The differences that exist between Ovid's and the troubadours' conception of love must also be taken into consideration if we want to have an accurate idea of how complex the paths of influence were in this literary period. A good example of this complexity is G. Gouraige's insightful appreciation that "for Ovid, conquest is in itself an end" whereas "in courtly love it is the opposite, conquest is but a stage in a process which requires the lover to have previously undergone a process of moral development" (50).

Similarly, Bond's remarks that "Ovid's lover is not a vassal, love service is absent, and there is no question of gradual refinement" and "although explicit amorous verse was written by clerics, the poetic letters to ladies function less as love poems than as praise poems, and generally exclude sensuality" must be weighed in our discussion of Ovid's influence on the troubadours ("Origins" 244).

Although true, Gouraige's and Bond's observations do not take away from the argument that the connection between courtly love poetry and Ovid has become more consistent to the extent that the Roman writer is now considered to have "taught" the Provençal poets "at least the idea of seeking for the elegances and cultivated sentiments which may be found in love" (C. Morris 109). In this sense, H. Brinkmann has argued that it was precisely the exchanges of learned poetry between poets such as Baudri, Marbod, and Hildebert and noble ladies at courts and convents that gave rise to vernacular poetry of courtly love (18-44).

Whereas I concur with Brinkmann (who identifies the "<u>amicitia</u>" poetry of these early "humanists" and its Heroidian influence as important elements in the developing of courtly love literature), I will argue that this was just one of the socio-literary trends that prompted the emergence of courtly poetry. C. S. Jaeger summarizes this whole process in his foreword to an edition of Gottfried von Strassburg's <u>Tristan</u> as follows:

> Such a code [courtliness] had existed at courts ecclesiastical and secular at least since the mid-eleventh century. But in the middle of the twelfth, something quite radical happened: a code of court behavior—fine speech, delicacy of feelings, and urbanity—was preached to the lay nobility, to dukes, counts, and even normal soldiers, at least the ones who rode on horseback and defined themselves as professional militia. And the men who fashioned and propounded the code of courtly behavior, ordinarily classically educated court clerics, created a medium that became probably the most powerful instrument of education ever forged: the courtly

romance. This literary form creates the figure of the chivalric-courtly knight serving his lady and mankind. It put forward an ideal that until that time had next to no counterpart in reality, and the ideal became a wildly popular fashion, both in literature and in life. (xi)

By the second half of the twelfth century the northern counterparts of these poets, the <u>trouvères</u>, had successfully adopted this new set of themes and poetic forms which would influence European literature and society for centuries to come. This lyric poetry written in Old Provençal (also known as <u>Lenga d'oc</u>, Lemosi or Occitan) has its origins in the pagan traditions, rituals, and festivals that survived the Romanization of Southern France as well as in certain forms of popular Roman and Greek poetry until the eighth century in the form of lay songs. Only the rhythm and structure of these compositions was initially incorporated into liturgical literature by the clergy. Initially, this was done in order to substitute the complex Latin versification system. However, the chivalric culture that had developed in Provençe and in northern Spanish courts soon appropriated this lyrical mode in order to express a new and unique philosophy of life: chivalry.

The connection between chivalry as a complex net of social relations and its literary counterpart ("courtly love") was reciprocal and thus often one defined the other while claiming to be following its dictates. In her analysis of the literature that flourished as a consequence of this prolific relation, <u>The Medieval Society Romances</u>, S. F. Barrow defined this complex intellectual, social and literary system as a blend of ideas from the songs of the troubadours, the erotic works of Ovid, medieval medical treatises, and discussions fashionable in courtly circles such as those presided over by Eleanor of Poitou and Marie of Champagne, which were fundamentally social, a matter of manners idealized into a cult, something to be known and practiced by polite society, to be taught by the handbook as well as celebrated in song and story (6).

The case of the Castilian court in the thirteenth century was not an exception to the rising popularity of vernacular lyrical poetry. A great number of lyrical compositions have been preserved in compilations and, together with some cross-references in other contemporary texts, they tell the story of a court booming with poets and troubadours. We know of the Genovese troubadour Bonifaci Calvo, the Provençal Guiraut Riquier, Marcabru, and Peire d'Alvernha, the Portuguese Gils Peres Conde, and Gonzalo Eanes, Gallician poets such as Pero da Ponte, Pai Gomes Charino, and Joan Airas.

The influence of troubadour culture was even stronger in the expanding kingdom of Aragon that had just recently emerged from the union of several semi-independent Catalan and Occitan territories and Aragon. King Alfonso II of Aragon (1152-1196), known as "The Troubadour" not only welcomed troubadours to his court but also became the literary protagonist of much lyrical poetry (including his own) in which his affairs and public life were liberally commented upon by his contemporaries.

4.1.2 Ovidian Love vs. Courtly Love: Influence at Debate

Several of the motives and common places found in Provençal lyrical poetry bear a resemblance to those found in Ovid's works, including the <u>Her.</u>, even though

their relation is still open to debate. A brief look at the poems of the "first troubadour" William IX (1071-1127), count of Poitiers and duke of Aquitaine will suffice here for the purpose of illustrating how many of Ovid's characters, themes, expressions, mannerisms and even literary devices found their niche in the earliest extant Provençal lyrical poetry. William, the author of the earliest extant Provençal poems, was responsible for the emergence of a new literary genre that would reach maturity in the southern French courts where his followers, known as the troubadours, would make it an integral part of their lives. The most striking feature shared by William's eleven short poems (chansons) and Ovid's works is the authorial hand in the "first troubadour" and thus will suffice for the purpose of illustrating the many thematic and structural borrowings that the troubadours took from Ovid.[152]

G. Bond has reminded us of the difficulties involved in tracing the sources of the troubadours given its continuous renewal and the intertextuality and dependence established among composers as the sources that were used by the first poets were no longer consulted by those for whom their predecessors had become masters ("Origins" 241). G. Sigal provides an example of these difficulties in her analysis of the possible influence of the Her. in the dawn-song or alba, a brief poetic composition that recreates the coming of day, precisely the time when lovers (especially those whose relationship is to be kept secret) must part. Even though she remarks that "Alba poets make no reference or allusion to the Heroides and little to Ovid" (f. 6) she notes that "medieval Latin poetry does have a strain that invites sympathy and pity for the abandoned lady, echoing works such as Ovid's Heroides" (27). A similar suggestion is made by M. A. Manzalaoui for whom "the paraphernalia of the courtly love tale" can be found "in embryo" in the Her. whose "fairly open-eyed understanding" by Medieval readers he proposes as an inspiration for courtly love (41).

L. Cahoon has remarked in her essay "The Anxieties of Influence: Ovid's Reception by the Early Troubadours" on the difficulty in establishing the degree of influence exercised by Ovid in early Provençal lyrical poetry given the fact that, as Dronke has put it, "neat and conclusive lists of classical borrowings which it is easy to compile in the case of imitations and rhetorical exercises are rarely applicable to the making of living poems" (Medieval 180, qtd. in Cahoon 121). Cahoon's analysis of poems by William IX of Aquitaine and Marcabru leads her to suggest that "if they knew Ovid at all, their readings of him are far richer than modern readings that see only wit, amiable frivolity, stylistic ingenuity, and Hellenistic erudition in Ovidian poetics, and their "Ovidianism" offers more of a jouissance in intertextuality than in any anxiety of influence" (148-9) even though she allows for an "uncontaminated" strain of Ovidianism of which the poets could have participated or even originated without knowing they were being Ovidian.

The "echo" effect (which includes paraphrases, resonances and other "alleged" references), as I shall have the opportunity to argue, is present in almost every aspect of literary criticism that has studied the influence of the Her. in the middle Ages and as this work has progressed, has shown itself as an obstacle in

---

152 For a detailed analysis of Ovid's influence on other troubadours see Jessie Crosland's "Ovid's Contribution to L'Amour Courtois."

establishing the extent of the influence of the <u>Her.</u> in eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth century literature. The case of the <u>Old English Elegies</u> is a prime example of the problems critics face when tracing Ovidian influence in lyrical compositions. These ten lyrical poems found in the <u>Exeter Book</u> date back to the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. Critics such as A. L. Klinck argue that there is no definite evidence of first-hand Heroidian influence in the poems (237). On the other hand, R. Imelmann maintains that the saga of Eadwacer and <u>Her.</u> XVIII and XIX bear a resemblance (qtd. by Klinck in 237) and for H. Reuschel, the <u>Her.</u>, together with <u>Trist.</u> and the <u>Pont.</u>, provided a thematic frame of reference for the collection of Anglo-Saxon poems (142).

As we have just seen with regard to the <u>Old English Elegies</u>, it is not easy to provide hard evidence when it comes to establishing the influence of a lyrical author such as Ovid since the wide range of themes, motifs and scenarios he dealt with in his poetry comprehends topics that can also be found in various literary traditions. A brief look at some of these common features in some of the earliest troubadours will suffice to appreciate the difficulties involved in tracing Ovidian and Heroidian influences in these authors.

The earliest known troubadour, William IX Duke of Aquitaine, provides numerous instances of these connections. William boasts of being called "maiestre serta" ("perfect master"; 6, 35) by his followers and refers to his profession as love counselor as "mestier" (39) in the "sweet game" ("joc dousa; 30") of love just like Ovid refers to himself as love "magister" in, for example, <u>Ars am.</u> (II, 173, 744 and III, 812) as well as in <u>Rem. am.</u> 55. William's characterization of his poetic persona allows him, just like Ovid, to laud his successes as well as his failures as a lover while introducing the reader/listener to the complexities of the courtesan Roman/French world.

One of the themes both William and Ovid visit in their poems is that of the woman who is kept prisoner in order to keep her chaste. William explores in his second chanson the plea of a woman who complains about her confinement and the poet's advice is no other than warning the listener that, in spite of the watchful guards, the lady will find one way or another to follow "nature's course" just like she would have to settle for a cheap horse if she were not presented with the opportunity to acquire an expensive one. In <u>Am.</u> III, 4 Ovid similarly advises a husband not to be so protective of his wife so as not to make her more attractive to other men while exacerbating her own desire for that which is forbidden as expressed by the metaphor of the sick man whose thirst is only augmented by the fact that his doctor has forbidden him to drink water: "Nitimur in vetitum semper cupimusque negata; / Sic interdictis imminet aeger aquis" ("We always desire what is forbidden and denied and thus the men sick with fever always crave the water they ought not to have"; <u>Am.</u> III, 4, 17-18). The validity of the medical practice mentioned by Ovid in William's time actually allows for him to seamlessly incorporate the metaphor of the sick man and the water to the end of his second chanson:

> Non i a negu de vos ja·m desautrei, / S'om li vedava vi fort per malavei, / Non begues enanz de l'aiga / que·s laisses morir de sei. / Chascus beuri'ans de l'aiga / que·s laises morir de ssei.

There is not one among you who would ever deny to me that, if strong wine were refused to him because of sickness, he would not sooner drink water than allow himself to die of thirst. Everyone would sooner drink water than allow himself to die of thirst. (II, 19-22)[153]

Whereas these coincidences can hardly be attributed exclusively to coincidences in the complex social backgrounds behind Ovid's Rome and the troubadour's courtly society, certain precautions must be taken before ascribing the whole movement of courtly poetry and romance to an Ovidian Renaissance. As P. Dronke argues, "it would be absurd to claim that, say, Bernart de Ventadour or Reinmar, the Ripoll poet or Guido Guinizelli *derived* [emphasis added by the author] their language of love-worship from the Heroides or the Lydia" while adding that "it would be equally absurd to pretend that these poets would have written exactly as they did if such poetry had never existed" (Rise, 180).[154] Linda Paterson regards one of these debate poems attributed to a certain Domna H. as holding an "Ovidian view" with regard to women's' tolerance and acceptance of violence towards them as a proof of real love (261). The implied female author asks herself whether she should accept as her lawful lover, on the one hand, a man who has sworn not to make any advances on her should she allow him to spend time with her (a promise he has broken) or, on the other hand, the one who boldly acknowledges he will not be able

---

153 The translation is from Bond's bilingual edition.

154 There are multiple references to heroidian characters in the Latin commedies of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Phyllis is mentioned in Babio (Eulgheri v. 36) and in De nuntio sagaci (Rossetti v. 17). Phaedra is compared to Lidia and Pirro (the male protagonist) to Hyppolitus in Lidia (Gualandri vv. 241-46). Achilles is mentioned in De lombardo et lumaca (Bonacina v. 35) as well as in De nuntio sagaci (Rossetti v. 291). Eneas appears in Miles gloriosus (356 and 362). Hercules is mentioned in De Lombardo et lumaca (Bonacina 36) and in De nuntio sagaci (Rossetti v. 291) together with Deianira (17). Helena and Paris are referred to in most of these comedies. Petula, the protagonist in Babio, claims to be as faithful as Penelope, as chaste as Sabina, as elegant as Lidia and as faithful as Marcia (Eulgheri vv. 209-214). In Lidia there is a lament about the decay of morals in modern time as opposed to the "old days" when feats like those of Penelope and Lucrecia could actually take place (Gualandri vv. 131-32). Also in Lidia Pirro extolls Niobe for her arrogance, Circe for her magic, and Medea for her ill-will (Gualandri v. 429-31). Finally, there are two references to Oenone's lament in Her. XVII 139-140 "Quid facis, Oenone? Quid harenae semina mandas?" ("What are you doing Oenone? Why do you plant seeds in the sand?"). The first one is in De Paulino et Polla (Venosa v. 917): "Deperit ut pelagi mandatum semen harene" ("That seed which is entrusted to the sand ends up being lost") and the second one in Lidia (Gualandri vv. 177-78) "Lidia, perdidimus, quia nil maris edit harena / perdidimus sterili semina lapsa solo." ("Lidia we have lost because the sand in the sea does not bring forth anything; we have wasted our seed by sowing it in a barren soil"); The last one can be found in Pamphilus (Savia v. 561) where Galatea, the old woman asks "Quis nisi mentis inops sua semina mandat arene?" ("Who but a madman would sow his seed in the sand?").

137

to keep such a promise should he be the chosen one. The implied author's decision to eventually lean towards the man who broke the promise as opposed to the one who did not make it is made based on the assumption that a man who is really infused with love for a woman will break promises and do other foolish things since those are symptoms of real infatuation.

Paterson regards such poetry as composed by men "endowed with the misogynistic 'feminine' gender of male-authored poetry" who seek justification for something that would otherwise be known as rape[155]. Regardless of the interpretations on the meaning of such lyrical compositions, the connections (whether direct or not) with Ovidian poetry in general and the Her. in particular are here undeniable. The master of love (praeceptor amoris) of the Ars am. (1.673-8) warns us that women not only are not abhorred by violent love-making but actually enjoy it in spite of having to shun it in public in order to keep up appearances.[156]

Leo C. Curran's judgment of Ovid's treatment of women reflects the paradoxes involved in any definitive characterization of, among other issues, violence, sex, and their relation to the female condition in Ovid, whom he regards as "a keen student of female behavior" whose "painstaking observation of women, despite its appearance of having originally been undertaken in the spirit of the predatory seducer, finally led him in the Metamorphoses to a recognition of aspects of their condition which are only now becoming common currency" (213).[157]

In the Her., Oenone's vivid and rough description to Paris of her rape at the hands of Apollo after being chased and hunted down by his satyrs makes it clear that

---

155 An edition and English translation of this poem can be found in Bruckner, Shepard and White, Songs of the Women Troubadours (New York: Garland, 1995) 78-83.

156 It should be noted that Ovid uses "ista" in the first verse in order to refer to a specific type of violence:

> Uim licet appelles: grata est uis ista puellis; / quod iuuat, inuitae saepe dedisse uolunt. / quaecumque est Veneris subita violata rapina, /gaudet, et improbitas muneris instar habet. / at quae, cum posset cogi, non tacta recessit, / ut simulet vultu gaudia, tristis erit.

> The use of force is here convenient for this kind of force pleases women. They often seek to be given unwillingly that which the find enjoyable. Any woman who is possesed as a result of an arrest of love rejoices considering the improbity a worthy service. On the other hand the woman who could have been forced but was left untouched, even if she appears to be happy, will be left sad.

Condemnations of violence by Ovid can be widely found as in for example 1.7 3-4 and 49-50. Knowing how to discriminate between good and bad violence is actually one of the main lessons in the Ars am. and, as Sharrock has stated, in Ovid, "the creative and the violent are closely knit up in each other" without it being in itself a argument strong enough to "deny the beauty of Ovidian vis, whatever anxieties it might (rightly) raise in us" (106).

157 Curran's article was published in 1978.

she regards as degrading for any woman who considers herself noble to let a man (even if he is a god) take advantage of her body and her will. Oenone specifically refers to mythographic accounts of rape in which the victim is either not as innocent as she pretends to be, as is the case with Helen, whom she accuses of being in the same predicament twice (first with Theseus and now with Paris) or expected to ask for anything she wishes as compensation for rape, as with the Cumaean Sibyl whose virginity was taken away by Apollo who allowed her to live as many years as particles of sand she held in her hand:[158]

> Me fide conspicuus Troiae munitor amavit; / ille meae spolium virginitatis habet. / Id quoque luctando; rupi tamen ungue capillos / oraque sunt digitis aspera facta meis. / Nec pretium stupri gemmas aurumque poposci; / turpiter ingenuum munera corpus emunt.

> It was me whom the guardian of Troy [Apollo], famous for his lyre, loved. He took my virginity as his spoils. While trying to fight him off I still managed to tear his hair with my nails and with my fingers I made his face look distraught. I did not ask for either jewels or gold as the price of my rape for monetary favours cannot but shamelessly buy a free-born body. (V, 139-43)

The love theme is clearly related to social issues in these mentions, translations, and adaptations of Classical myths. As I will demonstrate in the following sections of this chapter, these issues reveal a close connection between historical narrative and personal relations. The stories of the individuals whose lives affected the course of history are taken to be valid representations of the historical discourse at work in those same narratives. From this point of view, the relevance of Ovid's Her. as historical documents that tell the stories of unfortunate lovers is obvious. The stories of these heroines were also part of the history in which they had an active role for Medieval scholars and their readership.

4.1.3 The Chanson, the Salutz and the Heroides

In her brief essay on La chanson de femme and La canso occitane with a feminine voice, M. R. Blakeslee advanced the hypothesis that both of these lyric types cultivated by the troubadours had among their main sources the Her. which, according to her, were among the most popular Latin works in Europe in the late twelfth century (74). These trobairitz or women troubadours were a small group of singer-poets who lived in the same time (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) as the renowned troubadours of Southern France. The second element that was introduced in Provençal poetry was chivalry, a set of beliefs and cultural practices which,

---

158 Oenone explicitly refers to Hellen but only hints at the Greek mythographic tradition according to which, as it was the case with the Sibyl here mentioned, gods often compensated rape (especially if the woman was a virgin) by granting her a wish. In Met. XIV the Sibyl explains how Apollo's gift was not as sweet as she would have expected since she did not ask the god to preserve her youth throughout the years and she eventually shrunk to the point that she could be kept in a jar and only her voice was left of her.

according to Fauriel, flourished in the Kingdom of Aragon and the Principates of Catalonia as well as in Southern France, thus providing a unique breeding ground for Provençal poetry in the eleventh century (10-12).

A piece of laudatory poetry by the Majorcan writer, philosopher, and mendicant preacher Ramon Llull (1232-1315), who was the personal tutor of James II of Aragon, provides a good example of how Ovid was not only considered a great author with regard to his amorous writings but also, in this case, as the writer of epic accounts such as those found in the Fast.:

> Unitat, donchs, mant levada; / trò qu'eu puscha ben xantar, / ¿Dariatzme ben pleguada / d'Abú-Soleyman vessada / l'ira é la má coretjada / per eu ma pensa escampar? / De ferre é de sanch parlar, / placia á Deus en mon pregon, / en mon pregon consirar; / Vos volria eu donar / els fayts grans que vá ordonar / n'Ovide per tot lo mon. / Donchs, xantar per eu no son / els pus grans esvesiments, / que xantar pogrés l'enton / de n'Horace é B. de Bon / e d'altre nuyl compaynon; / Els fayts eu xantats sovens.

> Unity, [I beg of you] who stands high in your loftiness; until I may sing a worthy song, would you be willing to give me, in a perfect combination, unleashed by Abu-Soleyman, his impetus, and his valiant hand so that I will be able to let my mind speak clearly? Of iron [swords] and of blood [battles] to talk, may it please to God in my speech, [indeed] in my speech [those things] be consigned; I would present you with the great deeds accounted in Ovid [in Ovid's works] for the whole world. Since, singing [these deeds] is not, in my opinion, among the greatest achievements, which could [only] be sung by the poetic abilities of a Horace and a Bertrán de Bon and not [just] any other fellow [poet], the deeds of which I sing are as follow. (652)

The values of courage, mercy, protection of the weak, faithfulness to the lord and the king as well as to the Church and its ministers combined with gentleness and the ability to behave appropriately in the court (hence courtly love) were immortalized by this poetic genre and its numerous offspring: Galician poetry (which Alfonso X would take to its greatest expression in the thirteenth century), Aragonese, Catalan, and Valencian troubadours in the Iberian Peninsula, the German minnesänger like Konrad von Würzburg, the trouvères in Northern France like Chrétien de Troyes and King Theobald I of Navarre, the Northern Italian troubadours and the Sicilian School of Poetry under the protection of the Emperor Frederick II poetry like Guido delle Colonne's.

As Magda Bogin explains in her book on these largely unknown female poets, the main differences between them and their male counterparts is their less stylized versification, a preference for a dialogue structure, and a more realistic conception of amorous relations between men and women as opposed to the quasi-fantastic themes upon which the troubadours and the male lovers they mention built a name for themselves (13). According to Bogin, the exceptional social independence enjoyed by the aristocratic women who produced these poems could only have been possible in the commerce-rich area of Southern France.

The Provençal troubadour Bertran Carbonel[159], who fought with King Peter II of Aragon in the Battle of Muret, lived in Spain after the Aragonese army was defeated by the Albigensian crusaders under the command of Simon IV of Montfort (Balaguèr 175). In his poem "Aissi m'a dat fin'amors conoissensa", Bertran says:

> Aisi, dona, co ieu dic, ses falhensa / vos ai amad' eus am de cor plenier; / mas tan m'aura dat fin'amors temensa/ de dir a vos, que, quim des Monpeslier, / non parlera, qu'ieu truep en l'escriptura / c' Ovidis dis qu'ieu feira desmezura; / pero ar vol qu'ieu vos o deya dir / et vos preguar qu'ieu vos dev' abelir. (Appel 70)

> So, lady, as I say, you and no one else have I loved; you I love with all my heart. Yet <u>fin'amor</u> has put so much fear in me that I would dare not confess my love in person to you even if somebody offered me the whole city of Montpellier to do so. I have read in the books that Ovid has written that it would be an outrage for me to speak to you [about this feeling]. However, Love demands that I confess it to you and that I beseech you that you find it in your heart to be pleased [by this confession].

Along the same lines, Arnaut de Mareuil tells us that:

> Doussa dompna cui desir, / per vostr' enseingnamen, / vostre bel acuillimen / no·m vedetz, que·m soletz faire; / del plus no·us aus preiar gaire, / tant sui espaventatz, / car etz de tant rics plais. / Mas Ovidis retrais / qu'entre·ls corals amadors / non paratgeia ricors.

> Sweet lady whom I desire; In the name of your good judgment: do not deny me the beautiful greeting with which you salute me every day. I do not dare to demand anything else from you, that is how terrified I am because of your high status. Yet Ovid has said it that decorum cannot interfere between hearts that love each other. (XXV, 21-25)[160]

These verses resemble, among other passages in the <u>Her.</u>, Phaedra's instigation towards Hippolytus in IV, 9-10: "Qua licet et seuitur, pudor est miscendus amori; / dicere quae puduit, scribere iussit amor" ("It is not safe to disregard that

---

159 The most recent edition of Bertran's works is <u>Les Poésies de Bertran Carbonel</u> by Michael J. Routledge (Birmingham: AIEO, 2000).

160 These references abound in twelfth and thirteenth century provençal poetry. Thus Rigaut de Berbezilh (fl. 1175 – 1215) defends Ovid's advice given in <u>Ars am.</u> II, 178 ("perfer et obdura"): "C'Ovidis dis el libre que no men / que per soffrir a hom d'amor son grat, / e per soffrir son maint tort perdonat / e sofrirs fai maint amoros iausen" ("For Ovid says in the book that tells no lies that through suffering a man has his will of love, and through suffering are many wrongs pardoned, and suffering makes many a lover rejoice"; IX, 29-32). The trobuadour Arnaut de Marueil (f. 1170 – 1200) similarly indicates that"Que Ovidis o retrai / qu'amors per riocor no vai" ("As Ovid puts it, love and power do not go well together"; Balaguèr 293) in reference to <u>Met</u>. II, 846.

which Love commands us to do: Love has driven me to write about that which I am ashamed to say out loud").

As Arnaut and Bertran's close relation with the Catalonian, Aragonese and Castilian environments indicates (both of them lived and worked in the Iberian peninsula under the patronage of Aragonese and Castilian kings) Ovid's influence in the Iberian peninsula had in the lyrical poetry of the troubadours one of its main carriers. In this sense, Lola Badía has argued that Ovid's <u>Ars am.</u> and <u>Rem. am.</u> were "the most natural thing in the world for writers in Catalano-Valencian in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries," referring especially to troubadours even though she points out that Ovid is not as predominant as other classical authors in the libraries and private collections of those centuries. Badía conciliates these two facts by arguing that Ovid was known mainly through <u>florilegia</u> (85).[161]

An often-quoted episode that reflects the extent of this influence is James I's speech delivered in the opening session of the general assembly of the Aragonese crown in Saragossa in 1264. The King quoted Ovid's <u>Ars am.</u> II, 13 ("Non minor est virtus quam querere parta tueri") ("It is no less of a virtue to preserve what one has than it is to acquire new things") wrongly attributing the maxim to a passage from the Bible in order to persuade the members of the <u>cortes</u> of the need to establish new taxes in order to finance his military campaign in the southeast of the Iberian peninsula against Arab rulers (<u>Llibre</u>, ch. 388).

The influence of Ovid in vernacular poetry is not only linked to the Ovidian love motifs and themes but also to the importance of the dialogic structure that Ovid adapts in order to instruct his readers in the practice of love. Lovers enter a dialogue not only with those who are the object of their desire, but they also must struggle with love itself and with their own fears and anxieties.

An anonymous <u>jeu-parti</u> (a short song in the shape of a lyrical debate) provides a good example of how Ovidian love can be articulated into the popular medieval genre of the dispute. Giles li Veniers (the apprentice) asks Simon d'Authie (the master) which one is better, an old man who has a young "friend" or an adolescent who has an old "friend", as "Ovides" claims in clear reference to <u>Ars am.</u> I, 765-68, and III 555-76 (Langfors 24). The troubadour Marcabru, in a dispute with a certain Uc Catola staunchly defends in a similar way the goodness of true love as described by Ovid in opposition to "<u>fals' amistat</u>": "Catola, Ovides mostra chai, e l'ambladura o retrai, / que non soana brun ni bai, / anz se trai plus aus achaïz" ("Catola, Ovid shows here and demonstrates in all detail that love does not discriminate against blondes or brunettes but rather shows preference for those who are worth the least"; Roncaglia 215).

In the case of the <u>trobairitz</u> Azalais de Porcairagues (late twelfth c.) the dialogic structure is close to that of the <u>Her.</u> in the sense that it represents the inner struggles caused by love. She thus quotes Ovid's amorous works as an authority in her poem "Ar em al freg temps vengut" ("And now has come the cold weather") in order to convince herself that the noble man with whom she is involved as a friend

---

161 The earliest translation of the <u>Her.</u> in catalano-valencian is found in BNF 583. It is a translation by Guillem Nicolau which can be dated back to at least 1389 when John I of Aragon requested a copy of it be sent to him (Garrido i Vals 39).

should never become her lover: "Que Ovidis o retrai / qu'amors per riocor no vai" ("As Ovid puts it, love and power don't go well together"; Balaguèr 293) in reference to <u>Met</u>. II, 846.

4.1.4 Ovidian Heroes and Heroines and the Dialogical Structure of Lyrical Narrative

E. J. Mickel has suggested that, just like it is the case with these <u>chansons</u>, <u>salutz</u>, and <u>jeux-partis</u>, "the monologue and dialogue came by way of Ovid and Virgil into the vernacular narrative of the mid-twelfth century in France" (471). Even though Mickel's study is limited to Marie de France's <u>Lais</u>, the evidence he provides to support his theory is abundant and can certainly be applied to many of these contemporary lyrical compositions. The lais and most lyrical compositions from this time use the monologue more often than the roman as a result of the genre's introspection of the decisions behind the characters' ultimate fate which is represented in the form of the same inner struggle through which many of the Heroidian protagonists must go themselves.

The <u>salut d'amour</u> sub-genre is a prime example of the other dialogical structure that runs parallel with those of the inner struggle within the lover and the endless dialogue between love itself and the lyrical voice that has been subjected to its rule. In the case of the <u>salut,</u> as its name clearly indicates, the whole composition is nothing but a verse epistle adapted into a declaration of the love professed by the sender to the addressee within the tradition of the <u>fin d'amours</u>. Arnaut de Mareuil is the first troubadour whose <u>saluts</u> have come down to us and his influence on successive poets is undeniable.

These early provençal <u>saluts</u> evolved in Northern France into <u>complainte d'amour</u>, a less refined composition with separate stanzas and a refrain. The relation between the <u>salut</u> and the <u>ars dictandi</u> can be inferred from the resemblance salut and <u>salutatio</u> (the introductory part in a medieval epistle) share. Alfonso X was certainly acquainted with this poetic sub-genre as a letter from Guiraut Riquier addressed to him shows. In a letter of supplication the troubadour complains to the king about the increasing amount of <u>joglars</u> without talent who are joining the profession and are now bashing the talented composers like Guiraut himself who still can count on the good judgment of learned patrons such as the King of Castile.

E. Fidalgo has analyzed this letter (IX) "Aitan grans com devers" (ca. 1270) together with another two sent to one of Alfonso's protégées, Viscount Amalric IV of Narbonne, (II "Al pus noble, al pus valen" /1265) and VIII "Al car onrat senhor") in the light of their moral recommendations. According to her, these letters, in spite of making reference to moral attitudes and providing advice on how to behave in a courtois environment, belong to a sub-genre that "resorts to adulation in order to later request a favor (récompense) from the addressee" (202).

These poems thus have in common with the saluts by authors such as Riquier himself a complex relation between addresser and addressee in which overt adulation is to be understood within not only a real context of friendship but also within the larger frame of literary creation implied in the preservation and recitation of these poems as well as the saluts. Elio Melli has studied the relation between the <u>salut</u> and the <u>ars dictandi</u> and has concluded that the <u>salut</u> evolved in a cultural environment propitiated by the increasing importance of the written experience as

part of everyday life among the educated classes. According to Melli the fusion of the poetic impulse of the Ovidian influence in Provençal lyrical poetry found a counterpart in the introductory salutatio as it was described in these libri manuales, thus giving birth to a hybrid mode of sentimental expression (398).

A. Viscardi described the Ovid found in the troubadour poetry of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as being a "new Ovid" that had undergone certain changes in order to be accommodated to the new Christian sensibility of a society with a "heroic conscience of an aristocratic and warlike society" (58-9). While, as I have argued in this section, the influence of Ovid's works in the twelfth and thirteenth century vernacular poets is undeniable, there are, as Viscardi has argued, a wide variety of ways in which Ovidian and courtly love related to each other. Hence Ovid's highly lyrical and melancholic poetry of exile, the idyllic tales of the Met., the dialogic structure of the Ars am. and Rem. am., were all directly or indirectly incorporated with a varying degree of change into the world of courtly lyrical composition.

Whereas proof that the Her. were part of this influx of Ovidian material is lacking in the form of direct references, as I shall argue in the following sections dealing with the fantastic and historical romance as well as with education and the ars dictaminis, the content and structure of the Her. appear to be present, once and again, in the literary worlds of twelfth and thirteenth century vernacular and Latin poets, historians, and men of letters in general.

4.1.5 Conclusions

Thirteenth-century vernacular poets found in Ovid's amatory works, including the Her., a canonical reference around which to build a whole literary movement. It is important to understand that the weight auctores such as Ovid had in Late Medieval culture allowed for their works to stand as milestones in the most diverse disciplines of knowledge and artistic expression. If we seek to comprehend the role that Ovid played in the cultural mind of translators such as those responsible for the Old Castilian Her., it is essential to see the Ovidian corpus as canonical.

D. Kolbas has spoken about the importance of canonicity in thirteenth-century Europe with regard to vernacular literatures in Critical Theory and the Literary Canon. Kolbas explains how early vernacular literary canons revolved around Classical works which had obviously been written in languages other than those used by authors such as Dante or Ariosto (16). The fact that Virgil appropriated the Illiad or that Dante did the same with Homer as well as Virgil does not imply compliance of servility with regard to those works or the cultures in which they were produced. As a matter of fact, whether Dante knew Ancient Greek or Shakespeare could read Latin does not take away from the fact that their literary worlds revolved around a canon from which they sought inspiration.

At this point I would like to provide an example of the complexity of the workings of inspiration and influence taken from U. Eco's essay "Borges and My Anxiety of Influence":

> Some time ago I found in an old drawer something I had written at the age of ten, the diary of a magician who claimed he was the discoverer, colonizer, and reformer of an island in the Glacial Arctic Ocean called Acorn. Looking back on it now, this seems a very Borgesian story, but

obviously I could not have read Borges at the age of ten (and in a foreign language). Nor had I read the utopian works of the sixteenth, seventeenth, or eighteenth centuries, with their tales of ideal communities. However, I had read many adventure stories, fairy tales of course, and even an abbreviated version of Gargantua and Pantagruel, and who knows what chemical reactions had taken place in my imagination. (120)

Eco goes on to explain that the concepts of "the universe of the encyclopedia" and Zeitgeist (understood as "a chain of reciprocal influences") are absolutely necessary if we want to understand how influence works. Intertextuality is not confined to citation or imitation: authors are also influenced by their own readings and their reactions and attitudes towards them. Furthermore, as Eco points out, intertextuality cannot be explained exclusively as a conscious and deliberate act. Intertextuality operates at the subconscious level as a contingent chracteristic of the larger Intertext. In the case of the "universe of the encyclopedia," the cultural system in which a text is produced can be found in two or more authors not only because they have read one another but also because the pull towards those literary ideas, concepts, themes, and approaches is so strong that they are bound by it. As Eco explains:

Between the moment when the book first came to us and the moment when we opened it, we have read other books in which there was something that was said by that first book, and so, at the end of this long intertextual journey, you realize that even that book you had not read was still part of your mental heritage and perhaps had influenced you profoundly" (132)

As for the Zeitgeist, the reactions that certain texts produce in different authors seem to be replicated at different periods in time without any apparent connection although similar readings and reactions of similar works can produce such results.

The case of Ovid and the Her., and their influence in vernacular poetry, is paradigmatic of the complexities involved in influence and inspiration. It is highly unlikely that the troubadours read Ovid in its Latin original or that they were acquainted with the full stories behind each and every one of the protagonists of, for example, the Her. Yet the literary and cultural world in which both Ovid and the troubadours had become so similar in their minds that mere references to semi-historical characters soon became common knowledge and a complex net of interconnected references brought back to life the world of Ovid that lay dormant in books such as the Her. In the words of Eco, one could say indeed that "books talk to each other" (122).

4.2 LATIN LYRICAL POETRY IN THE HIGH MIDDLE AGES AND THE <u>HEROIDES</u>

In her brief analysis of the <u>accessus ac auctores</u> to the <u>Her.</u>, the poetry of Baudri of Bourgueil and her correspondent Constance, Heloise and Peter Abelard's epistles, and the anonymous pseudo-heroidian epistle "Deidamia Achilli" Suzanne Hagerdorn concludes that "Ovid's epistolary collection was the object of careful study and imitation by medieval Latin writers and, . . . that creative interpretive responses of medieval poets to Ovid's oeuvre could look vastly different from the flat-footed didactic schema set forth in the schoolmasters' commentaries" (45).

Clerics such as those responsible for the poetic compositions studied by Hagerdorn were indeed responsible for the increasing appreciation of classical poets such as Ovid during the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, a time when, as we will see in detail in the next chapter, the number of those with an advanced command of the Latin language were acquainted with the complexities of Augustan elegy. An anonymous twelfth-century poem written in rhymed hexameters edited by Vernet provides us with a good example of a paraphrase of Ovid's <u>Her.</u> which, unlike many other complex and rather obscure references, has not gone unnoticed by editors and literary critics:

> Esse quidem dicam rem prosperitatis amorem / si non ex aliqua peperisset parte dolorem. / Sed quia perdendi timor est in rebus amatis, / Concludam melius "amor est genus anxietatis." [cf. "Res est solliciti plean timoris amor" <u>Her</u> I, 12] / Et scelus et timor est vetitas attingere nuptas: / quod scelus et timor est non est perfecta voluptas. / Cum soleat furtiva Venus quandoque placere, / Infaustum tamen esse reor nocitura timere. / Ergo voluptatis non sunt ibi gaudia plena / quo formidatur judex et debita pena.
>
> I would say that love has a properous nature provided that it has not brought about any grief. But since fear of loss comes with those things we love, I would better conclude "love is a type of anxiety." And it is a crime and it brings fear to infringe upon married women. Tthat which is a crime and brings fear is not ideal pleasure: although secret amorous encounters might bring us pleasure at times, I still deem it, nevertheless, shameful to fear those things which are bound to do us harm. Therefore, ultimate joy is not to be obtained from pleasure for the judge is feared and so is the deserved punishment. (I, 12, 256)

Eventually, this cultural elite, of which Jiménez de Rada was a privileged member, developed a particular predilection for imitating poets such as Ovid in compositions (e. g. the <u>Carmina Burana</u> or the <u>Cambridge Songs</u>) that were not only reminiscent of Roman elegy, but which were also imbued in the courtly-love tradition that was rapidly taking hold of almost every literary genre in Europe.

As D. Battles has noted, a key element in both the prose and poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is the special interest for the laments of the female protagonists (Atalanta, Hypsipyle and Argia) of, among other classical works, Statius' <u>Thebaid</u>. Battles finds this work to be glossed more often and more amply than other passages in thirteenth century manuscripts. According to him, the pathos shared by

these laments and those of Ovid's heroines were at this time becoming integrated in the <u>plaint d'amor</u> theme (5-6). As I shall explore in the following section, there are many instances of the poetic influence of Ovid and the <u>Her.</u> in the poetic works of the clerics and men of letters of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries which indicate a marked interest in the expressionistic possibilities of the Ovidian heroes and heroines.

4.2.1 The Loire Valley Poets and the <u>Heroides</u>

The most significant incidence of this renewed interest in the content, structure, and poetics of Ovid's exile letters and the <u>Her.</u> took place in many schools and abbeys of the Loire Valley at the turn of the twelfth century. Even though much of the poetry that was written at that time has been forever lost to us, the remaining poems from Marbod of Rennes (1035–1123), Hildebert de Lavardin (1056-1133), and Baudri of Bourgueil (1046–1130) "the three great men of letters of their time [twelfth century]" (Deudonné 39) bear witness to this localized Ovidian renaissance.[162]

One of the predecessors of the Loire valley poets, the eleventh century archdeacon of Meaux, Foulcoius of Beauvais provides us with an early example of Ovidian poetry worth discussing. This brief composition will help me present an issue of the utmost importance: how widespread and how influential Latin poetry styled after the Roman elegiacs became in the centuries to come. In a poem written as an epitaph for Manasses I (Archbishop of Rheims from 1069 to his deposition in 1081) Foulcoius thanks him for his support and patronage while making reference to his habit of burning poems which he had written in his youth:

> Voui Vulcano quod scribsi carmine uano, / acceptasque manu, fieret quo dignius igne, et facis esse reum uoti quod epistula garrit / quodque strepunt elegi, princeps, nugaeque canore.

> I have vowed to Vulcan what I have written, and you accept it so that it may be more worthy of the flame. I have not written my letters, elegies, and trifles for them to stand but to see whether I could write anything. (XXVI, 1-4)[163]

The poet's constant reminders that his elegiac poetry was written in his youth and must therefore be discarded as immature and excessively liberal is an example of a motif of apparent Ovidian influence. On the other hand, it still is necessary to consider that what few compositions we have left from this period are but a fraction of those which may have come into existence in the High Middle Ages.

Together with that of other contemporary men of letters such as Guidon d'Ivrée or Réginald de Cantorbéry, Foulcoius' poetry displays a high degree of acquaintance with classical literature and mythology and thus he invokes the muse before composing (XXV) or goes into detail when recounting the story of Venus'

---

162 As J. W. Baldwin has remarked, the Loire valley poets also wrote plays in Latin which resemble the ancient elegiac comedy as well as the vernacular fabliaux. Even though the structure of these plays is taken from Terence, "they enthusiastically selected Ovid as their exemplar for love." (<u>Language</u> 21).

163 The translation is M. L. Colker's.

adultery with Mars (XIX). One of these poems by Foulcoius (IX) is addressed to an adulterer friend whom he compares to Joseph (Potiphar's husband) and Hippolytus, the object of Phaedra's unlawful passion in Her. IV.

Unlike Foulcoius' poetry, which combines characters from the Old Testament and Greek and Roman myths, the poetry of Loire-valley poets often shows an absolute independence of the pagan themes from Biblical accounts. In this sense, Baudri of Bourgueil's poetry with its display of Roman and Greek mythology and its omnipresent direct and indirect references to Roman love-poets has been portrayed as evidence of the increasing Latin literary culture that was developing among the clerics to whom Baudri addressed his poems. Tilliete has identified this audience as being more secular and urban as opposed to the religious-oriented ruling-elite that had been educated in the isolation of the monastic schools of the early middle Ages ("Baudri" xxxiii).

Godfrey of Reims (ca. 1020-ca. 1094) is precisely one of these poets who had been educated in the cathedral school of Rheims away from the rigors of the monastic schools. As Helena de Carlos has remarked, Godfrey's poetry shows that the author was not only acquainted in superficial manner with the works of, for example, Ovid and Virgil, but that he actually had a deeper understanding of their works and the literary and cultural environment in which they were produced and to which they are intrinsically connected ("Poetry" 18). In his epistolary poem "Sompnium Godefridi de Odone Aurelianensi", Godfrey of Reims[164] refers to his relation with the addressee of the letter, Odo of Tournai, as being as close and intense as that of Penelope and Ulysses.

> Cunctatur totoque mari uagus er(r)at Vlixes, / Extendens longas in duo lustra moras; / Cunctantem pelagoque uagum duo lustra morantem / Casta sub ardenti corde fouebat amans, / Nec uidet instantium turbasque precesque procorum, / Sed aiet ablatum per freta summa uirum.

> Ulysses was held up for long and wandered in the seas, extending tedious delays for over ten years; held-up by the sea and wandering his return was delayed for over ten years. Penelope, his chaste, loving wife fostered him in a burning heart and she did not consider the crowds and the prayers of the pressing suitors but rather insisted that her husband had been made captive while sailing the high seas.

As Boutemy has pointed out ("Trois" 351), he imitates Ovid even in the format of the letter in which Odo visits Godfrey at night, in his sleep just like Cupid visits Ovid in his home at Tomis in order to cheer him up and announce to him that he might soon return to Rome (Pont. III, 3). The poem also lauds Odo's now lost poem on the Trojan War "De bello troianae" which (given that Odo's works dealt with dialectic

---

164 J. R. Williams has argued that Odo of Tournai (a. k. a. Odo of Orléans and Odo of Cambrai) is not the addresse of this poem. His argument is based on Godfrey's references to Odo as an emminent physician (v. 139-40) is not refuted anywhere else. He suggests that Godfrey is addressing Odo of Meung here, the presumed author of the rather popular treatise De viribus herbarum (34).

and theological matters) is very telling with respect to how even the most learned theologians were acquainted with the Her.[165]

Godfrey refers to Odo's poem in laudatory terms[166] and he himself displays his encyclopedic knowledge of the Trojan War by means of a poem that resembles many Ovidian compositions structured around a dialogue between the poet's literary persona and the muse of epic poetry Calliope, Orpheus' mother and inspirer of Homer. In this letter/poem to bishop Hughes of Langres ("Godefridus ad lingonensem

---

165 Among Odo's lost early works are The sophist (Sophista), the Book of Consequences or Conclusions (Liber complexionum), and On substance and Being (De re et ente), and his collected epistles (Epistola carmine) (Dupuis 309-12). Among his extant works can be counted the poem "De opere sex dierum", Expositio in canonem missae or De altare, (On the altar) De peccato originali (On original sin) Disputatio contra Judaeum, Leonem nomine... (A disputation with the Jew, Leo,...), De blasphemia in Spiritum Sanctum (On blasphemy and the Holy Spirit) and De canonibus evangeliorum (On the canons in the Gospels).

166 These verses are the final part of an exhortation in which Godfrey places himself next to Odo and asks him to ennounce and sing his poem:

> Et quia nostra tibi sunt semper opuscula cordi / Nec sunt arbitrio proicienda tuo, / attulimus qui bella canit Troiana libellum, / quem tu sepe tibi me recitare facis. / Quem tibi dum refero tanta est audire uoluptas, / quod nichil ipse tibi gratius esse putas. / Ergo tenent si forte magis te martia bella / et magis arma, tube, luctus et ira placent, / vel si te Paridis plectenda audacia tangit / Atque Micenee perfida preda dee, / quodque Pelasga manus furit hinc tumidumque per equor / Nauibus armatis Grecia tota ruit, / seu magis est cordi Danaum commenta reuolui / et sacra mentitis Pergama capta dolis. / En age de media quicquid placet erue turba / Dic que me malis pandere gesta biti! / In me nulla mora, est locus oportunus et hora: / Accipe iudicio cantica digna tuo.

> And because my works always please you and they are not, according to you, to be disposed of, I have sent you a booklet that tells the story of the Trojan War. This is the book that you often make me recite to you and which, while I'm reading out loud to you, you find more pleasant than anything else. So, if perchance you are more interested in bellicose wars and find weaponry, trumpets, grieving, and rage more pleasant; or if how Paris' audacity was reprehended touches you; or if the perfidious prey of the Mycenian goddess [Athene], and the fact that the Greek army raged from Mycenae through the wild ocean, and the whole of Greece rushed forth in wooden ships and the schemes of the Greeks, and the capture of Troy by means of trickery move your heart: come now and select from these [events] those which please you and tell me what deeds you would rather have me narrate to you! Do not worry about me: the place and time you should suggest will suit me; take these poems worthy of your judgment! (171-188)

episcopum"), written between 1065 and 1084, Godfrey displays this vast knowledge of the mythographic tradition by using one of Ovid's favorite narrative techniques: the embedded narrative. Barchiesi has characterized Ovid's use of this technique as a cunning display of the variety and command of poetic genres that fall within Ovid's capabilities as a writer ("Voci" 55) and the same aim is here pursued by Godfrey. He develops an ekphrasis around the chlamys he offers Calliope so that she will carry his poem to the bishop both in its written and pictorial form since the garment is adorned with several legendary passages of Classic history, four of which are contained in the extant part of the poem: 1) The legend of Cacus and Hercules (118-167), 2) Ganymede's kidnapping by Jupiter (208-49), 3) The kidnapping of Helene (257-381), and 4) the Trojan War (390-481).

The main source for Godfrey's early literary career and life is an extant letter from Baudri of Bourgueil addressed to him. J. R. Williams' detailed study of the epistle makes an important contribution to the often-overlooked issue of the value and longevity of literary authority and influence in the High Middle Ages. In spite of the small number of manuscripts containing Godfrey's works and the absence of any direct mention in any writers that came after him (even among those coming from the Loire region), the fact that Godfrey was pictured by Baudri as "a figure of great prestige in the literary world of the late eleventh century" (45) makes it difficult to assess an influence of which no trace remains. Baudri's letter, however, provides some clues with regard to the influence Ovid exercised on Godfrey's works. Thus he compliments him on "novimus auctorum quia vivat spiritus in te, Virgilii gravitas, Ovidii levitas" ("In you come to life, once again, the spirit of the ancients: Virgil's edifying style as well as Ovid's lack of steadiness; CLXI, 7-8").

A contemporary of Godfrey, the hagiographist and poet Marbode De Rennes (master of the cathedral school in Rennes, chancellor of the diocese of Angers, and archbishop of Rennes in 1096) also shows a remarkable ease when quoting and imitating Roman poets such as Ovid. As it was the case with Foulcoius of Beauvais and some of the vernacular poets in the previous chapter, Marbode regrets in his Liber decem capitolorum having used pagan sources such as Ovid's Her. as a model when, in his youth, he wrote letters imitating the Roman poet:

> Que iuuenis scripsi senior dum plura retracto, / Penitet et quedam vel scripta vel edita nollem, / Tum quia materies inhonesta leuisque videtur, / Tum quia dicendi potuit modus aptior esse; / Unde nec inventu preciosa nec arte loquendi / vel delenda cito vel non edenda fuissent.

> Having grown older, I now regret many of the things I wrote as a young man: I am sorry and wish I had not written or published certain works of mine. Some because their contents are trivial and vulgar, others because their style should have been more appropriate; This is why those works lacking rigor in their content or form should have been either immediately censored or never made public at all. (1-6)

Marbode's regrets could be here referring to his works on the properties of stones as Gaston Paris (Lapidaires, 18) and Joan Evans (264) suggest while, at the same time, introducing the subject of the banality of some of his poems and epistles as

Ampère (415) and Bloch (622) argue.

The truth is that Marbode's works are full of references to Ovidian and Heroidian motifs[167]to the extent that even this public confession seems to echo Ovid's sorrowful account of his early years as <u>magister amoris</u> in <u>Trist</u>. V, 7-8 and 15-19 where he regrets having written about youth and the playfulness of love now that he is more mature and can reflect on his mistakes: "Integer et laetus laeta et iuvenalia lusi: / illa tamen nunc me composuisse piget" ("While I was free and happy I played with happy youthful themes: I now regret I wrote such things"; 7-8) He also sets himself apart from other contemporary poets whose style he does not any more imitate:

> Delicias siquis lascivaque carmina quaerit, / praemoneo, non est scripta quod ista legat. / Aptior huic Gallus blandique Propertius oris, / aptior, ingenium come, Tibullus erit. / Atque utinam numero non nos essemus in isto!

> If you are looking for frugal topics and erotic poems I warn you: what is here written is not filled with those. Either Gallus or Propertius the sweet-talker would be more suitable for your taste, or even Tibullus with his natural good taste. I only wish I were not counted as one of them![168] (15-19)

---

167 The most recent edition of Baudri's works, which had been constantly revised since they were published by Abrahams in 1926, is <u>Baldricus Burgulianus Carmina</u> by Karlheinz Hilbert (Heidelberg: Winter, 1979). J.-Y. Tilliette has published the first volume in a series that will compile all of Baudri's extant works in their original Latin together with a French translation: <u>Baudri de Bourgueil. Poemes. Tome 1</u>. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1998).

168 It is interesting to note how some twelfth and thirteenth century vernacular writers follow the same pattern of distancing themselves from their early works. Paul J. Jones provides a list of prologues to hagiographies written mainly in the thirteenth century by authors who "profess a desire to repair, by writing devotional works, the errors of a wasted youth, when they were wont to compose less edifying literature" (26). Among these can be counted the prologue by the Anglo-Norman poet Chardri to the Old-French <u>Les Sept Dormants</u> (ca. 1216) gives us an insight on the reception of different literary genres at the time:

> Pur teus curages tenir / E le ben k'en poet avenir, / Unve aventure vus cunterai, / Dunt ja ren ne mentirai, / D'un miracle ke fist Jhesu, / Ki pitus est e tu jurs fu. / Ki deus eime de bon curage / Or i tende, si fra ke sage. / Ne voil pas en fables d'Ovide, / Seinnurs, mettre mun estuide, / Ne ja, sachez, ne parlerum / Ne de Tristram ne de Galerun; / Ne de Renart ne de Hersente / Ne voil pas mettre m'entente, / Mes voil de deu e sa vertu, /Ki est pussant e tuz jurs fu, / E de ses seinz, les set Dormanz, / Ki tant furent resplendisanz / Devant la face Jhesu Crist.

> So that you may be in good spirit and for the good that it will bring to you, I will tell you a story in which not one single thing is a lie. It is

Another of the Loire Valley poets, Hildebert de Lavardin (1056-1133) (of whom Marbode wrote a biography), Bishop of Mans and Archbishop of Tours between 1125 and 1133, had Ovid as his model and inspiration for most of his letters as Deudonné has shown (280).

In a letter addressed to an unknown monk in Chartres, Hildebert insists on the need for religious men to be humble and to share their hospitality. The first quote in the letter is from Ovid's <u>Rem. am.</u> 394: "Principio clivi noster anhelat equus" ("Our horse starts to pant as it enters a slope"). The section on modesty, in his treaty on temperance, includes quotes from Horace, Terence, Cicero, Persius, Seneca, Juvenal and Ovid's <u>Ars am.</u> II, 13*:* "Nec minor est virtus, quam quaerere, parta tueri." "It is not less of a virtue to keep those things one has than it is to achieve anything new"; <u>PL</u> 171, 1039a). Hildebert *also* composed verse in which he imitated the Latin poet and even used the figure of Phaedra's stepson, Hippolytus, as a paradigm of a man who fell victim to a woman's desire.[169] In one of his letters censoring women, Marbode cites Hippolytus among Biblical figures whose misfortunes were brought upon them by women:

> Femina sustinuit jugulo damnare Joannem, / Hippolytum letho, carcere spreta Joseph. / Femina mente pari vita spoliavit Uriam; / Et pietate David, et Salomona fide.

> A woman held John by the neck when he was killed, a woman brought Hippolytus his ruin, and ruinous jail upon Joseph. A woman consciously ruined the life of his companion Uria as well as David's piety and Solomon's faith. (<u>PL</u> 171, 1492B)

4.2.2 Baudri of Bourgueil: a Neo-Ovidian Poet

In spite of the recent interest that Godfrey, Marbode, and Hildebert have received from literary scholars, it is the works of the abbot of the Benedictine monastery of Bourgueil, Baudri, that have been the object of thorough research. Baudri's "Heroides" fall in three categories: the letters he and Constance exchanged, a consolation letter from Florus to his friend Ovid and his response, and two letters from Paris and Helen sent to one another as though they were two heroides proper.

> about a miracle which Jesus worked, who is and always was pious. The one who loves God in good spirit will now listen, if he/she will do that which is wise. I do not wish to direct my attention good sirs, to Ovidian fables; know also, that we will not speak either of Tristram nor of Galerun; neither on Renard nor on Hersent will I focus my attention. I will, on the contrary, speak of God and his virtue, who is and always was almighty, And of his saint, the Seven Sleepers, who shone with great brightness before the face of Jesus Christ. (156)

169 Both Marbode of Rennes and Geoffrey of Vendôme censored Robert of Arbrissel, considered a proto-feminist for whom women were as predisposed as men to be saved by God's grace (Dutton & Mommaers 15), actually founded several monasteries in which women and men lived together and in accordance to the Benedictine rule.

Baudri's exchange of a series of amorous epistles with Constance, his disciple and member of the Benedictine house of Le Ronceray in Angers, has been analyzed by P. Dronke. According to him, this and other similar epistolary exchanges between male and female members of the clergy are a representation of the need for women to resist the discourse of dominance imposed by their male counterparts. These letters, thus, represent a discourse of resistance similar to that enacted by Ovid in his Her. and his letters from exile (Women 84-102).

Baudri's Latin verses are only enough to fill a volume with his complete poetic works yet they are, like most other literary production at this time, filled with references and ambiguities that have led researchers whose focus has been too narrow to establish opposing views so as to the general leit motifs behind his creative work.[170] Thus, for example, M. V. Albrecht's comparison of Paris and Helene's letters as written by Ovid and Baudri brings him to the conclusion that the heroic characters are represented under a much more benign light than they are in the Her.

Albrecht argues that Baudri had to justify Paris' decision to take Helen with him by making her marriage to Menelaus look null given the fact that he is a Greek and therefore he must be "immoral, homosexual, and, above all, (and this is implied) not a good Catholic" ("Correspondance" 192). On the other hand, critics such as G. Bond have argued that "Baudri intentionally evoked homosexual relationships in many of his poems by discussing amor between males in a context devoid of explicit Christian values" (Loving 50).[171]

Regardless of the complexities involved in accurately interpreting the contents and contexts of an epistolary corpus dating back ten centuries, there are some specific Ovidian traits that can accurately be identified in Baudri's poetic epistles which he regarded very highly as proven by two poems (47 and 234) in which he carefully and affectionately describes the process of composing, preparing, writing, sending, and receiving the wax tablets on which epistles were written at that time. It is worth noting that Baudri establishes an important difference between his letters (which he declares he writes privately in the morning) and his short poetic compositions which he only writes while he is travelling or resting at night and which he dictates to a scribe.[172] In a brief epistle sent by Baudri to a male[173] friend

---

170 P. Abrahams edited Baudri's works for the first time in 1926. In 1976 K. Hilbert published a new version that corrected many of the errors found in Abraham's edition, yet no commentary was added. See the cited works list for both works' bibliographical references.

171 I ignore what Albrecht would have to say with regard to Baudri being one of the poets featured in The Columbia Anthology of Gay Literature (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998) 106.

172 163, 11-13: "Matutinus ego tabulas graphiumque pararam / inuitaturus nostras ex more camenas. / Ergo solus eram, solusque uacare solebam" ("This morning I prepared my tablets and my stylus as I customarily tried to conjure up the muses. I thus was alone for I usually stay by myself when I am at ease"). 36, 63-4: "Sed neque conuentus haec [nugae] propter opuscula fugit; (talia dictabat noctibus aut equitans" ("But I would not go to the convent when I intended to write these [trifles] but I would rather dictate such poetry either at night or when riding on my horse

("Ad amicum cui cartam mittebat") (170) he declares he wishes he could be the actual letter he is sending not only so that he could be touched by his friend but, in a very complex mix of linguistic and spatial analogy, Baudri (now turned into the message as well as its content) would be able to bear witness to his facial expression as well as to his mind:

> O utinam legatus ego meus iste fuissem, / vel quam palparet cartula vestra manus, / et mihi qui nunc est tunc idem sensus inesset / sed neque me nosses donec ego cuperem. / Tunc explorarem vultumque animumque legentis / si tamen, et possem me cohibere diu.

> How I wish I were this writing of mine, or the paper [letter] that your hand touched, and that I had then, as I do now, a rational mind but without you knowing it unless I willed so. Then I would scrutinize the features and expression as well as the mind of the reader, if I could only repress myself for long enough [so as to be able to do it]. (1-6)[174]

The theme of the book as an independent being with a life of its own finds its highest expression in Baudri's "Consolation to his book in response to the critics" ("Contra detractatores consolatur librum suum") (36). In its 130 verses, Baudri warns his book of the coming reproaches it will suffer on account of its author's renown for his non-religious poetry and instructs the poem on how to reply to its critics. Thus, for example, when asked "Cur nugis ergo uacabat?" ("How come Baudri did not have

---

[travelling]").

173 T. Pugh claims that in the closing statement in this letter "Baudri envisions a god willing and ready to forgive humanity's sinfulness, and the sins of same-sex desire thus lose their damning force" (32) and goes on to add that "Baudri's poetry is more concerned with celebrating same-sex desire between men than condemning it," (32) even though he concedes that "depending upon which of Baudri's poems one reads, contrasting views of same-sex desire emerge, as the image of the conquered man certainly does not carry the same sense of eagerness as many of Baudri's other homoerotic epistles" (33).

174 Baudri's mastery of the art of letter-writing in such a dire literary milieu as the thirteenth century cannot be emphasized enough. A comparison of Baudri's letter with an extract from Demetrius' (first c. AD) classical treatise Περὶ ἑρμηνείας (On Style) shows the deep understanding of the genre and its epistemological implications Baudri had:

> Πλεῖστον δὲ ἐχέτω τὸ ἠθικὸν ἡ ἐπιστολή, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ διάλογος· σχεδὸν γὰρ εἰκόνα ἕκαστος τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ψυχῆς γράφει τὴν ἐπιστολήν. καὶ ἔστι μὲν καὶ ἐξ ἄλλου λόγου παντὸς ἰδεῖν τὸ ἦθος τοῦ γράφοντος, ἐξ οὐδενὸς δὲ οὕτως, ὡς ἐπιστολῆς.

> The letter, like the dialogue, should abound in glimpses of character. It may be said that everybody reveals his own soul in his letters. In every other form of composition it is possible to discern the writer's character, but in none so clearly as in the epistolary. (227. W. R. Roberts tr.)

anything more important to do than write these trifles?"; 35) the poem is to respond "Nolebat uiuere tempus iners" ("He did not want to spend any time idling"; 36). The critics then, according to Baudri, will argue that "scriberet aut legeret diuina volumina" ("he might, instead, have written or read religious works"; 57) to which the poem will reply "scripsit, legit, fecti utrumque diu, / incubuit metrice magno conamine Moysi, / uitas sanctorum lucidius cecinit / sermones fecit multos sermone pedestri" ("he did write and read: he has been doing both for a long time, he has toiled over a poetic version of Moses, he has brilliantly versified the lives of the saints, and he has written many sermons in plain language"; 58-61).

This complex analogy has also a precedent in Baudri's letter from Helen to Paris. This long letter is composed of 298 hexameter verses (not in elegiac verse like the Her.) and, as we will see briefly, is a compendium of influences and sources that perfectly exemplifies the changes that poetic composition was undergoing at the beginning of the twelfth century. Baudri's letter bears a striking resemblance with Helen's epistle to Paris in which she expresses her desire to become the actual words and letters Paris must now be reading as he opens up her letter:

> O tunc carta Paris, Paris autem carta fuissem / atque modo possem poterit quo carta latere, / atque mens subito rursus mihi sensus inesset, / et scires quis ego, quis ego quoque discere possem; / carta domini remaneret ego quoque mitterer ad vos. / Essem legatus pro me bonus atque fidelis. / Interpres Paridis, Paridisque vicarius essem, / et propter Paridem tecum causas agitarem, / et res ponderem, si respondere juberes.

> If only this letter were Paris and Paris were this letter! If I could only hide were you would hide the letter! I would then suddenly gain back conscience of myself, and you would know who I am, and I could tell you who I am; The letter would then have remained unsent and I would have been delivered to you. I myself would then be an accurate and reliable messenger. I would be Paris' interpreter and Paris' substitute, and I would plead before you Paris' cause, and I would reply also should you demand an answer from me.[175] (42, 280-8)

---

175 Constance fittingly replies, lauding Baudri's literary prowess:

> Iste uidetur et est et dicitur alter Homerus; / O quanta uersus commoditate canit. / Hystorias Grecas et aearum mistica nouit / atque, quid hec aut hec fabula significet. / Vtque michi credas, metro mandauit idipsum; / adsensus fecit copia multiplices. / Euaginato David mucrone Goliae / Eiusdem uictor perculit ense caput. / Taliter hic uates adiit penitralia Greca / gentilesque domos despoliauit eas. / Decipulas ensesque suos detorsit in hostes / aduectans nobis carmine gentis opes. / Inuexit nugas nobis gazasque Pelasgas / ex locuplete penu deripiens spolia. / Quid Mars, quid Iuno, quid cetera turba deorum / significent, nouit, nouit et exposuit. / Si de deuinis insurgat questio dictis, / nectareo nodos explicat eloqui. / Immo quid est, queso,

The exact same type of construction around the text is found both in Baudri's letter to Constance and in her reply to the extent that both epistles' most important feature (other than the formulaic expressions of how much pain love is causing them due to their respective absences) ends up being precisely this concern for the physical world of letter exchange. The first six lines of Baudri's letter to Lady Constance (238) try to reassure her that she should read the letter she is receiving.[176] The sender implies that the missive does not come from someone who seeks to do harm to the addressee (implying that would be a natural reaction from her). At the same time, once Constance has read the initial verses and is reassured that it is Baudri who writes (on account of the style), she feels safe and proceeds to read the rest of the letter. Verses 7 through 12 also recall Ovid's intertextual play in Acontius's

---

quod sensum effugerit eius?

He is seen as, spoken of as, and actually is another Homer: Oh! How fittingly does he sing his verses! He knows the Greek stories as well as their profound and hidden meanings and also what each story represents. He instigated me to write it in verse so that you would believe me; he has written plenty of complex ideas! With his sword unsheathed did victorious David strike off the head of Goliath. Likewise, this poet entered the dwellings of the Greeks and looted those Pagan houses. He turned their snares and swords against the enemy bringing to us from abroad those peoples' riches in his poems. He presented us with Pelasgian treasures and trifles snatching the spoils that had been gathered in the plenty. He knows what Mars and Juno and everyone else among the deities stand for; he has studied them and he has explained who they are. If a question arises regarding the sayings of the deities, he explains the complexities involved with the sweetest eloquence. What (anything at all), I wonder, could escape his intellect? (31-49)

176 The resemblance is plain to see:

Perlege, perlectam caute complectere cartam, / Ne noceat fame lingua maligna meae. / Perlege sola meos uersus indagine cauta, / Perlege, quicquid id est; scripsit amica manus. / Scripsit amica manus et idem dictauit amicus; / idem, quie scripsit, carmina composuit.

Read this letter thoroughly and then cautiously hold it against your bosom so that no malicious tongue will harm my reputation: Keep reading my verses, alone, watchful of those seeking to catch you [in the act]; keep reading no matter what: a friendly hand has written this letter. It was dictated by a friend and taken down by the same friend's hand. The same person who composed these verses wrote them down. (1-6)

In order to reassure Lady Constance, Baudri makes reference to the extra precaution he has taken consisting in not having—as was customary—anybody take down the letter as he dictated it.

letter to Cydippe which she is afraid to open for fear of committing the same mistake twice.[177] There is also a reminiscence of Phaedra's instigation towards Hippolytus. Verses 13-16 are also Heroidian in essence and remind the reader of Phaedra's ensnares against Hippolytus:

> Ipsa potes nostram secura reuoluere cartam / inque tuo gremio ponere tuta potes. / O utinam nosses, sicut mea uiscera norunt, / Quantis sis mecum, quam michi te facio.

> Be assured that you can safely open my letter and put it in your lap with the utmost confidence. How I wish that you knew, as my heart does, how much you mean to me and to what extent I have you in my mind,

which bear a striking resemblance with, among other heroidian passages, IV, 3-5:

> Perlege quodcumque est. Quid epistula lecta nocebit? / Te quoque in hac aliquid quod iuvet esse potest. / His arcana notis terra pelagoque feruntur.

> Read through this letter whatever you may find in it: How could the reading of a letter possibly do you harm? You may even find in it something to your advantage.

Several aspects of Baudri's letters are featured in this brief extract which I would like to analyze in detail in the remainder of this section: 1) the intertextuality between Baudri's and Ovid's Her. on account of which protagonists confess to their lovers they wish they were the letters they are actually sending[178]; 2) the elaboration

---

177 Both introductions address the issue of the power of the written word:

> Quod sonat iste breuis, amor est et carmen amoris / Inque breuis tactu nulla uenena latent. / Sanguine Gorgoneo non est lita pagina nostra / Nec Medea meum subcomitatur opus. / Non timeas Ydram, noli dubitare Chymeram, /Dum tanget nudum nuda manus folium.

> What the following brief catalogue speaks of is love and love literature in spite of which no poison should be feared of being found in its reading. The page [on which my letter is written] has not been smeared with the Gorgon's blood nor has Medea been surreptitiously hidden in my text. Fear not the Hydra! Do not hesitate before the Chimaera as your bare hand touches the bare page.

178 Ovid's play with the written word in the shape of books or letters has been kept alive by his admirers throughout the centuries. Samuel Johnson, for example, sent the following letter to Hester Thrale in 1767:

> Dear Madam:

> You are returned, I suppose, from Brighthelmston and this letter will be read at Streatham.

> --Sine me, liber, ibis in urbem. (Tris. I, 1)

> I have felt in this place something like the shackles of destiny.

of this analogy combining it with linguistic notions involving words and letters and how they help both the sender and the receiver transcend the distance that separates them and how the reader participates of this interaction every time he reenacts (conjures up) this act of transcendence by the reading of the letter.

4.2.3 Intertextuality in Baudri's Epistles

Ovid regarded the text itself as an important part of his poetry just as much as he valued the context in which his poetry could be read as shown by his famous appeal to Augustus after having been condemned into exile:

> atque utinam revoces animun paulisper ab ira, / et vacuo iubeas hinc tibi pauca legi, / pauca, quibus prima surgens ab origine mundi / in tua deduxi tempora, Caesar, opus! / Aspicies, quantum dederis mihi pectoris ipse, / quoque favore animi teque tuosque canam.

> How I wish you would rescue your mind from anger for a short while, and, having thus been released, order some of these lines to be read to you, only a few, in which I start the account of the work which, beginning at Creation, stretches all the way to your own times, Caesar! You will realize how much passion you yourself have inspired in me, and with how great favor I treat you and yours. (Tris. II, 557-62)

Ovid is here referring to one of the most constant features in his literary production: the personification of his works as well as the act of reading. Ovid's earliest work, the Am., was originally published as a five-volume book but was later on edited by his author into only three books as the books tells us themselves in his famous introductory epigram.[179] From this early reference, Ovid's books, letters, and

> There has not been one day of pleasure, and yet I cannot get away. But when I do come, I perhaps shall not be easily persuaded to pass again to the other side of Styx, to venture myself on the irremeable road. (Aeneid VI, 425) I long to see you and all those of whom the sight included in seeing you. Nil mihi rescribas, for though I have no right to say, Ipsa veni. I hope that Ipse veniam (Her. I, 1-2). Be pleased to make my compliments. I am, Madam, your most humble servant,

> Sam. Johnson." (286-7, the original has no citations)

It is interesting to note how Johnson's letter shares Baudri's like for mixing Ovidian and Virgilian themes as well as by the complexity of establishing a separation between true affection and the literary persona when, as it is the case with Baudri and Johnson, the addressee of their letters is both a learned man/woman capable of appreciating the classical intertextuality displayed by the writers of the letter in question. In Johnson's case, we know here the persona is taking over the actual man, but what would our judgment of the previous letter be like if we did not know so much about Johnson's actual relationship with Mrs. Thrale and all we had left were this letter?

179 "Qui modo Nasonis fueramus quinque libelli, / tres sumus; hoc illi praetulit auctor opus. / Ut iam nulla tibi nos sit legisse uoluptas, / at leuior demptis poena dubous erit." ("We, those who were Ovid's five books, / are now three; this work he

even written words will be present as co-characters in the literary world of the Roman poet. In one of his poems of exile, at the dawn of his career, he still finds it suitable to write <u>Trist</u>. III, 1 as though the letter were alive and speaking itself to the reader.[180]   In the case of the <u>Her.</u>, this preoccupation with the written word is transformed and amplified given the epistolar character of the texts.

Baudri's brief message to his friend wishing he were the actual letter he is sending has its most direct Ovidian source in Leander's letter to Hero which, in itself, has become a representation of Leander who, after several frustrated attempts at crossing the Dardanelles, sends one of his envoys to Hero explaining to her why he has not been able to see her. Leander indirectly laments that a letter should be able to arrive where entry is forbidden to him and thus hopes he could enjoy the same fate as the letter he has written:

> Protinus haec scribens "Felix i, littera", dixi, / "iam tibi formosam porriget illa manum. / Forsitan admotis etiam tangere labellis, / rumpere dum niveo vincula dente volet." / Talibus exiguo dictis mihi murmure verbis, / cetera cum charta dextra locuta mea est.

> At once, as I wrote this letter I said, "Go, lucky epistle; soon she will extend her beautiful hand and reach for you with a gracious smile. You may even be pressed against her red lips as she attempts to break with her snow-white teeth your seals." After I had muttered these words in a low whisper my ready right-hand quickly produced the rest of the letter. (XVIII, 15-20)

The same message is conveyed in the closing statement "Interea pro me pernoctet epistula tecum, / quam precor ut minima prosequar ipse mora" ("In the meantime, let my letter spend the night with you instead of myself while I pray that it should not be long before I may follow suit"; 217-18) to which Hero briefly responds (also in her closing statement) "Interea, quoniam nanti freta pervia non sunt, / leniat invisas littera missa moras" ("Until then, since the sea is not to be crossed by a swimmer, let this missive ease the sickening delay"; XIX, 209-10). Penelope asks

---

the author preferred. / If you still should not find any pleasure in reading us, / at least the pain will be less since two books have been removed; Epigramma Ipsius"). Among Ovid's possible sources of inspiration Horace's twentieth letter in his first book of epistles must be counted.

180 Since it has come all the way from Pontus, the book is tired (1) but still warns the reader that is not treating any trifle matters (9) and explains the obvious elegiac rhythm that the reader must have perceived by then as consequence of the long trip (12) which has damaged the original verses and made them lose one foot. The letter apologizes for not being polished and well printed (12-15) and even takes a tour around Rome (25-50) on its way to a library in the capital. The book is so scared that it claims its pentameters are a result of that tremor (56). The book is finally taken to the Palatine library (64-66) looking for his brothers (Ovid's other works including those his father wishes he had never begotten) but finds none of them. The book is finally forced to stay in a private household since entry has been denied to all libraries in Rome to any of Ovid's books (79-80).

Ulysses, not that she wishes she were the letter he (or us for that matter) is reading, but that he promptly returns home as a reply to her plea instead of sending another letter.[181] Briseis warns Achilles that the Greek language she is using to write her letter (in the original) is not very good since she is a foreign slave[182] and warns him that should he find any blots, her tears are responsible for them even though he still should consider them characters since they also carry a deep meaning.[183] Sappho ironically tells Phaon he is the reason why she has changed her traditionally lyrical verse for the elegiac poetry into which he writes to him; further, she makes him responsible for the transformation since he is the one who has put her into a state of blightness proper of an elegy.[184]

Being the only poet among heroines, Sappho's letter contains the most references to the act of writing. She introduces herself by accusing Phaon of not recognizing her hand-writing and having to open the letter in order to find out whose it is, in spite of having read many verses written by her former companion.[185] She also mentions having spilled her tears over the paper and caused several blots.[186] Ariadne warns Theseus that she is so shaken by his departure that her writing has been affected by it.[187] Similarly, Canace warns his brother that she is writing her letter in an awkward position, since she is holding next to her the sword with which their father has suggested she commit suicide while she is writing with her other

---

181 <u>Her.</u> I, 1-2: "Hanc tua Penelope lento tibi mitti, Ulixe. / Nil mihi rescribas tu tamen; ipse veni!" ("This letter is sent to you, Ulysses (you whose return is slow) by your Penelope; do not reply to it but rather come to me you yourself!").

182 <u>Her.</u> III, 1-2 "Quam legis, a rapta Briseide litter venit / vix bene barbarica Graeca notata manu" ("This letter you are now reading comes from the captive Briseis and it is written in broken Greek as it comes from a barbarian hand").

183 This analogy that makes reference to the sentimental character of the epistolary genre as well as of literature in general. By sentimental it is meant dealing wtih feelings and emotions in general and not only from a so-called sentimental perspective.

184 Elegiac verse was first developed in Greece in the shape of small poems sung on the occasion of the death of a beloved or relevant person. Then the amorous and warfare themes took hold of the poetic form at the time when the first elegiac poems we preserve were composed (seventh century BC). By the third century BC poets like Callimachus had transformed the genre into one of lamentation, generally caused by love, whereas shorter compositions became the standard form we know as idylls.

185 <u>Her.</u> XV, 1-2: "Ecquid, ut adspecta est studiosae littera dextrae, / protinus est oculis cognita nostra tuis?" ("At the sight of this letter that comes from my anxious right-hand, will you not instantly recognize these characters to be mine?").

186 <u>Her.</u> XV, 97-98: "Scribimus et lacrimis oculi rorantur obortis; / adspice quam sitin hoc multa litura loco" ("I write, and, as I do it, tears start to flow from my eyes: see how many blots are in this part of the letter!").

187 <u>Her.</u> X, 139-40: "Corpus utimpulsae segetes quilonibus horret / litteraque articulo pressa tremente labat" ("My body trembles like the corn shaken by the North winds; and the letters come out from my trembling fingers in an uneven form").

hand on a papyrus unfolded on her lap.[188] Cydippe also warns Accontius that she ought not to be writing the letter he is reading, for she is so weak she can barely rest her arm on her elbow as she writes.[189]

4.2.4 The Power of Words/Letters in Baudri's Epistles and Poems

An ever more complex linguistic entrapment is reenacted by Accontius in his letter to Cydippe. Accontius had earned Cydippe's favor by throwing at her feet an apple in which he had carved the verses "Iuro tibi sane, per mystica sacra Dianae, / Me tibi venturum comitem, sponsamque futuram." (I swear to thee inviolably, by the mystic rites of Diana, that I will join myself to thee as thy companion and will be thy bride"). Cydippe was at that time at the temple of Diana in Delos and she carefreely whispered the verses written on the apple as she picked it up. In an unknowing display of performative language, she became bound by her words to love Accontius since tradition dictated that anything sworn at that temple ought to be inviolably observed. Thus, in his letter, Accontius warns Cydippe that she may read the letter she has in her hands since she will not make any promises by doing so this time.[190] In her cunning reply, Cydippe tells Accontius that this time she prevented any mischief by reading his letter without uttering the least sound.[191] She further reproaches him by arguing that she had not taken any oath but merely read out loud the words of which an oath consists.[192]

Even more complex than Cydippe's warnings is Phaedra's insistence that Hippolytus should read her letter even if he considers her an enemy. She challenges

---

188 <u>Her.</u> XI, 1-4: "Siqua tamen caecis errabunt scripta lituris, / oblitus a dominae caede libellus erit. / Dextra tenet caalamum, strictum tenet altera ferrum / et iacet in gremio charta soluta meo" ("If any of the letters proves hard to read, it is because of the blots that obscure them, which come from the blood of its author. In my right hand I hold a pen; in the other I have a drawn sword while the page lies unfolded in my lap").

189 <u>Her.</u> XXI, 17-18: "Quam tibi nunc gracilem vix haec rescribere quamque / pallida vix cubito membra levare putas?" ("You cannot even imagine how feeble I am as I write this letter to you or even how difficult it is for my weary limbs to support themselves in the bed"). She insists on the same issue on 247-8 as she closes her letter: "Iam satis invalidos calamo lassavimus artus / et manus officium longius aegra negat" ("Already my exhausted fingers lay useless, tired by the pen, and my aching hand cannot any longer perform the task [of writing]").

190 <u>Her.</u> XX, 3-4: " Pone metum! Nihil hic iterum iurabis amanti; / promisam satis est te semel esse mihi" ("Do not be afraid! You will not swear anything in favor of your lover while reading this letter; it is already enough that you have been once promised to me").

191 <u>Her.</u> XXI, 3-4: "Pertimui scriptumque tuum sine murmure legi, / iuraret ne quos inscia lingua deos." ("I was distressed and without even murmuring a sound I read your letter so that my tongue may not swear unknowingly in the name of the gods").

192 <u>Her.</u> XXI, 145-46: "Non ego iuravi, legi iurantia verba: / Vir mihi non isto more legendus eras" ("I did not take an oath; I just read out loud the words that form an oath: You were not to be taken as my husband in this way").

him to keep reading while insisting of the power of words to conjure up reality and its hidden secrets.[193]

Along the same lines, Oenone opens her letter by reassuring Paris that, in spite of the busy correspondence he must be keeping given the upheaval provoked by Helen's escape, he has done well in opening it up. This epistle has nothing to do with Helen, but with her beloved Oenone about whom she seems to be implying that nobody cares, in contrast to the war brought about by his current wife.[194] Hypsipyle complains to Jason that he has not sent her any letters telling her of his exploits and she is embarrassed whenever she has to confirm or deny to people his deeds since people expect her to have received letters from him telling her all about his voyages.[195]

Cydippe even refers in detail to the act of writing when she describes how she must compose her letter in her room while her maid sits outside the door telling people she is asleep. Yet when she realizes somebody is eventually going to enter the room she coughs and Cydippe is forced to hide the letter in her bosom and leave the sentence she was writing unfinished.[196]

---

193 <u>Her.</u> IV, 3-5: "Perlege quodcumque est. Quid epistula lecta nocebit? / Te quoque in hac aliquid quod iuvet esse potest. / His arcana notis terra pelagoque feruntur" ("Read through this letter whatever you may find in it: How could the reading of a letter possibly do your harm? In this there may be something which may even be to thy advantage").

194 <u>Her.</u> V, 1-2: "Perlegis? An coniunx prohibet nova? Perlege! Non est / ista Mycenaea littera facta manu" ("Are you reading this letter carefully? Or does your new wife not allow you to open it? I urge you to read it! It is not written by the hand of the Mycenians [Agamemnon and Menelaus]"). Oenone also implies that Helen has taken a hold of Paris' will since she is the one who has to give him permission to read a letter addressed to a prince. As it is the case often with Ovid, the fact that the letter is actually being read also conveys the meaning that Oenone is aware that that will not be the case since, just like we read the letter, Paris is supposed to be reading it, thus almost unavoidably falling into Oenone's "epistolary trap."

195 <u>Her.</u> VI, 15-16: "Hoc ego si possem timide credentibus "Ista / ipse mihi scripsit" dicere, quanta forem!" ("How happy would I have been if only I had been able to say to those who were willing to believe these with hesitation "He himself has written to me this [letter]!"").

196 <u>Her.</u> XXI, 21-28:

> Ante fores sedet haec, quid agamque rogantibus intus, / ut possim tuto scribere, "dormit" ait. / Mox, ubi, secreti longi causa optima, somnus / credibilis tarda desinit esse mora / iamque venire videt, quos non admittere durum est, / excreat et cauta dat mihi signa nota. / Sicut erant, properans verba imperfecta relinquo, / et tegitur trepido littera coepta sinu.

> She sits by the door, and tells everyone who asks about me that I am sleeping so that I may write to you with all the more safety. But when this excuse (the best in the world for long privacy), is no longer a valid

Hypermnestra ends her letter by telling Lynceus she wishes to write even more but the chains around her wrists will not let her.[197] Similarly, Accontius apologizes to Cydippe for sending such a long letter which, in her current state of distress, might be too long to read.[198] Medea similarly warns Hippolytus that her handwriting could be hard to read since she is still shaking after killing her own children, a deed she does not dare confess.[199]

Paris rejoices that his letter is being read by Helen and hopes he will also receive Helen's attention. Even though Paris does not know for a fact the letter will be read, Ovid uses once again the epistolary reader to activate his invective fiction: the message remains untruthful unless it is read and, since no message can be true or false unless it is received, he provokes the perplexity of the reader as he ponders this apparent paradox.[200]

Helen's response goes one step further. After mentioning that her fingers are weary because of her writing (this being the longest epistle), she adds that the messengers who are to take the letter to Troy carry more information too private to be put into writing and which will be revealed to him upon their arrival.[201] Leander tells Hero how his letter has arrived to her through an envoy who has departed him right before he was about to attempt the crossing of the Dardanelles.[202]

As we can see in these examples, L. Fulkerson's remarks on the relationship

---

excuse for a far too-long absence, and she observes people approaching to whom she could hardly deny access to the room, she coughs, and warns me of the danger by means of some previously-agreed sign.

197 Her. XIV, 130-32: "Scribere plura libet. Sed pondere lassa catenae / est manus et vires subtrahit ipse timor." ("I wish I could write more but my hand is now weak with the weight of my chains and painful fear does not allow me to think clearly").

198 Her. XX, 243-44: "Longior infirmum, nelasset epistula corpus / clausaque consueto sit tibi fine: Vale!" ("So that I should not fatigue you (already tired by a long epistle) and so that this letter should be finished in the usual terms, Farewell!").

199 Her. XII, 116-18: "Deficit hoc uno littera nostra loco: / Quod facere ausa mea est, non audet scribere dextra" ("Only in this passage is my writing unclear. My right hand does not dare write down the same thing it did itself").

200 Her. XVI, 13-4: "Iam dudum gratum est, quod epistula nostra recepta / spem facit, hoc recipi me quoque posse modo." ("It brings me joy that my letter has been received and [this fact] gives me hopes that I, also, may be received in the same manner").

201 Her. XVII, 267-70: "Arcanum furtivae conscia mentis / littera iam lasso pollice sistat opus. / Cetera per socias Clymenen Aethramque loquamur, / quae mihi sunt comites consiliumque duae" ("My fingers now being tired, allow that my writing, the carrier of my concealed thoughts, bring to an end its task. Other things we will say through my companions, Clymen and Aethra, whom are both my maids and my counselors").

202 Her. XVIII, 9-10: "Unus, et hic audax, a quo tibi littera nostra / redditur, e portu navita movit iter" ("It was by means of a sailor (a bold one) that my letter was delivered to you, after he steered his course from the harbor").

that is established between the reader and the characters as well as the story itself apply to Baudri's erudite reading and reenacting of the Her.:

> Perhaps one of the most important aspects of the Her. intimately related to the fact that they are letters, is the authority they grant to their reader, whether that reader is their addressee, who is given innumerable choices, about whether to read and how to read, or the external reader, who must decide whose version of events to believe- the traditional story or the new "feminine" reading offered here. (6)

As Gerald Bond has shown, the Her. were essential in the developing of an "Ovidian subculture" during the early middle Ages which was characterized by "a cult of the auctores, an optimistic depiction of a man-centered world, a faith in the virtue of human amor, a cult of individual genius, and a passionate belief in the value of literary activity" (192). As Phyllis Abrahams, the first editor of his poetic works, indicates, poems 42, 43, 159, 160, 196, and 216 explicitly use Ovidian material. As a matter of fact, poems 42 ("Paris to Helen") and 43 ("Helen to Paris")[203] are two epistles in which Paris and Helen reply to their "previous" letters in the Her. including, as well, information obtained from Dracontius' Raptu Helenae and Dares' De excidio Trojae (Abrahams 37).[204]

Baudri's correspondence with Constance is also imbued with Ovidian references to the extent that Dronke has characterized it as being written in "the purest Heroides vein" (Latin 217). According to S. Schuelper, the Ovid-Florus letters are not only a display of mastery of Latin classical poetry but also a reivindication of his passion for the classics against the accusations of those who, as it was the case with Ovid, sought his destruction (117).

Some of Baudri's poems, such as a 130-verse poem addressed to one of his works ("Contra obtrectatores consolatur librum suum"), corroborate Schuelper's view. Baudri addresses his own book by comforting it in the light of accusations of being poorly written and takes the blame for it while trying to cheer it up: an attitude that we find in Ovid's Tris. III. I. C. Ratkowitsch, who sees poems 97 and 98 ("Florus Ovidius") as a "self-defense" imitating that of an Augustan elegiac poet like Ovid who had become "a poet in exile", shares this same theory. In this case, his appointment as Bishop would have prompted a reaction in the form of poetry when "he felt banished to Dol because of his poetry and the reproach of some critics who envied him and criticized his indecent way of life" (165).

It is important to understand Baudri's identification with Ovid in the context of a larger trend of ever-growing admiration and study for and of the classical authors which Bond in The Loving Subject sees, among others, in the case of Baudri as "a cult of the auctores, an optimistic depiction of a man-centered world, a faith in the virtue of human amor, a cult of individual genius, and a passionate belief in the

---

203 G. Bond has analyzed these epistles in "Composing Yourself: Ovid's Heroides, Baudri of Bourgueil and the Problem of Persona" (Mediaevalia 13 (1987): 89-93).

204 Baudri's poems 159 ("Florus Ovidio") and 160 ("Ovidius Floro suo") are also epistles modeled after the Her., in which the Roman poet himself and a friend named Florus address each other regarding Ovid's unfair and unfortunate exile.

value of literary activity" (69).

In order to understand the works of these medieval clerics it is equally necessary that the generic, thematic, or structural boundaries we recognize as self-evident in the works of classical authors be understood as not so apparent or restrictive in the eyes of these proto-classicists. Thus, for example, an important aspect of Baudri's heroic letters is, as Albrecht has pointed out, their Virgilian character (192). Baudri not only uses Virgil's heroic hexameter instead of the elegiac distich but also shares his same musicality and preference for bucolic description. Albrecht also notes differences in the characterization of Paris and Helen: "Whereas for Ovid Paris is a young man of the world –good looking, sensual, vain and without scruples, for Baudri, quite the opposite, he is the secret envoy of the gods, their missionary" (191). In the case of Helen, a similar judgment prevails: "one is vain, playful, resourceful, makes fun of her husband . . . the other: faithful wife, deeply attached to her country, serious and constantly crying, a bit vexing" (191). Albrecht's conclusion is that in Baudri's works, one can find more of the medieval romances than of the Ovidian Her. whereas, in his poetry, Virgil's spirit is omnipresent. (193)

4.2.5 More Verse-Burning

I would like to close this section on Latin verse and the Her. by citing another confession from a man of letters who also put into writing his personal regrets regarding his poetic compositions in his youth. Guibert (d. 1124) abbot of Nogent (with whom Baudri kept correspondence) confesses in his autobiography, De vita sua, to having read and imitated Ovid's epistles in his own correspondence:

> Interea cum versificandi studio ultra omnem modum meum animum immersissem, ita ut universae divinae paginae seria pro tam ridicula vanitate seponerem, ad hoc ipsum duce mea levitate jam veneram ut Ovidiana et Bucolicorum dicta praesumerem, et lepores amatorios in specierum distributionibus, epistolisque nexilibus affectarem.

> Meanwhile I had dedicated my whole self to the passion of verse-making to the extent that I preferred such trifle matters over the Holy Scripture. In my craze, I had reached a point where I was striving to compete with Ovid's works and with those of the pastoral poets trying to conjure up love's intricacies in the creations of my imagination and in the letters I wrote. (PL 156, 873a)

In spite of his willingness to confess to having succumbed to the charm of Ovid's amatory poetry, Guibert cites Ovid's Met. on several instances in his autobiography and he even makes a veiled reference to purely Ovidian amatory terminology when he complains in chapter 5 (PL 156, 846b) that the tutor his mother had appointed for him after his father's death imposed a strict discipline on him out of the "harsh / fierce / relentless / savage love" (saevus amor) his master felt for the young boy.[205] The use of the expression saevus amor, almost exclusive in Latin of

---

205 "Erat igitur homini illi penes me saevus amor, non [*f.,* nam] nimietas severitatis in injusto videbatur verbere; eminebat tamen totius diligentia observationis in

165

elegiac poets such as Tibullus (Book III, iv, 65)[206], Virgil (<u>Bucolics</u> VIII, 47)[207] and Ovid (<u>Ars am.</u> I, 17-18[208] and <u>Am.</u> I, 6, 34[209]) by Nobert, and his public abjuration of his "Ovidian" past represent the complexity of the reception of Ovid's works in the late middle Ages.

       While Ovid was studied, abundantly cited as an authority, and imitated by those seeking access to the highest levels of Latin rhetorical and grammatical education, the growing concerns regarding the excessive preoccupation with literary matters involving topics not sanctioned by the ecclesiastic elite prompted many of these men of letters to publicly "recant" and deny any relation or particular interest in the elegiac poetry of Ovid, among others. In the case of the <u>Her.</u>, the ever-growing interest in increasingly rhetorically intricate and literarily complex Latin authors reflected on the ability of these men of letters to quote, imitate and adopt Ovid's letters as well as the literary personae they contain to their already abundant and diverse Latin cultural baggage.

---

opere" ("The love and care this man showed for me were coarse as seen in the excessiveness with which he punished me even for the most trifle things, yet he also showed great care and concern in the way he proceeded towards me").

206 "Saevus Amor docuit validos temptare labores, / Saevus Amor docuit verbera posse pati. / Me quondam Admeti niveas pavisse iuvencas / Non est in vanum fabula ficta iocum" ("Fierce love has made [me] undertake the most toilsome tasks / Fierce love has taught [me] to endure lashing / The fact that I fed Admetus' white steers / is not a vain joke or a made-up story"). This poem is supposed to have been written by Lygdamus to whom Apollo appeared in a dream. The God tries to convince him of the fact that the girl he loves (Neaera) is not in love with him and he must, therefore, use persuasion if he wants her to change her mind. Apollo here makes reference to King Admetus and his wife, Alcestis, both of whom were considered exemplary lovers. Having been offered immortality by the gods if someone should die for him, Admetus is preparing to die when Alcestis volunteered to exchange her life for his. Thanks to Hercules' intervention, both were granted immortality and lived together ever since.

207 "Saevus Amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem / commaculare manus; crudelis tu quoque, mater: / crudelis mater magis, an puer improbus ille?" ("Savage love instructed the mother to stain her hands with the blood of her issue: You too are cruel oh mother! Was the mother more cruel than her son or could it be that the son was himself heartless?"). Virgil seems to be referring to Medea's killing of her children after she had taken revenge on their father Jason by killing his new wife, Creusa and her father. Fearing retribution, she killed her two children before fleeing Corinth. Saevus amor (Δεινὸς Ἔρως in Greek) is also the poetic character of Cupid even though Virgil does not seem to be referring to Venus and Cupid here.

208 "Aeacidae Chiron, ego sum praeceptor Amoris: / Saevus uterque puer, natus uterque dea" ("Chiron was the preceptor of the grandson of Aecus [Achilles]; I'm love's preceptor: both of them rebellious children, both of them of divine stock").

209 "Non ego militibus venio comitatus et armis; / solus eram, si non saevus adesset Amor" ("I come not as a warrior attended by his army; I would be here all by myself were it not for cruel Love who always accompanies me").

4.2.6 Conclusions

The main conclusion that can be inferred from these references to Ovid and his works is that there were already instances of a learned use of Ovid's Her. in twelfth-century France among the same clerics who would later be responsible for the adaptation of Roman epic poetry into vernacular poetry first and then into historical prose.

I would like to bring this examination of some of these Neo-Latin lyrical compositions to an end by highlighting the relevance of the innovations displayed in Baudri's adaptation of Ovid's Her. These adaptations are critical to understand the increasing complexities of the literary world of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is in the literary culture promoted by these clerk-poets in which the first vernacular adaptations of classical works appeared soon after the likes of Marbode or Baudri had already produced their own adaptations of, mainly, stories related to the Trojan War.

At the end of the eleventh century, a series of poets, all of them with strong ties to centers of learning and important positions in the highest echelons of the Church, cultivated a special interest in the motifs, characters, and literary tradition of the Trojan War (cf. Boutemy, "Pergama" 233). The first extant poem in this series (written before 1085)[210] is Odo of Orléans' summary of the Trojan War, of which only a reference made by his friend Godfrey of Orléans is left. In this laudatory poem Odo is introduced as a poet of the stature of Horace capable of writing epic, erotic poems, epigrams and satire, yet he is especially commended for his History of the Trojan War.[211] Clerics like Odo and Godfrey and their Loire Valley successors represent the first generation of Medieval Neo-Latin poets who, after centuries of restoration of Classical knowledge, were now fully capable of reestablishing the Latin literary tradition.

In this new intellectual environment in which Odo lived Latin literacy and literary culture became a medium through which to validate one's own claim as a man of letters and member of the intellectual elite. This group of literary figures included Hildebert, Marbode, Baudri and Raoul le Tourtier, all of whom "willingly resorted to Ovid when searching for a model" for their prose and verse compositions (Ghellinck 201).

The underlying message in most of these compositions, as well as the theme through which it is enacted, are essentially Ovidian. In this sense, I would be specific in applying S. K. Gertz's general conclusion to the relation between Ovid and all "medieval readers" and would ascribe it to active readers and men of letters such as the ones I have studied in this section of chapter four. Thus, Gertz's argument that

> for medieval readers, Ovid is the authoritative source for the rhetorically talented lover, who chooses literary love over epic heroism. Literary love, as understood here, depicts love as private, centered on individual rather than societal goals, playful with language, and cognizant of literature as a powerful vehicle for love.

---

210 Boutemy puts forth this date ante quem in "Odon d'Orléans", 184.

211 Godfrey himself wrote a letter to Hughes Raynard in which he gives his own poetic account of the war.

Such traits stand in opposition to epic heroism, which is manifestly public and aimed at the benefit of society through ethically articulated goals. (76)

As I will argue in the following part of my thesis, Gertz's categorization of Ovid's interpretation in medieval times, while accurate, is certainly in line with the poetry produced by both vernacular and Latin lyrical poets. On the other hand, as I will show in the following part of this chapter, romance and historical narratives offer a much more complex picture of Ovid and his world which indeed accepts epic heroism as an essential trait of Ovidian literature, including the Her.

4.3 THE <u>ROMANS ANTIQUES</u> AND <u>COURTOIS</u> IN XII AND XIII C. FRANCE AND THE HEROIDES

A major methodological question must be dealt with before I proceed to discuss separately the historical romances of Thèbes, Troy and others based on Latin sources such as Sallust, Julius Caesar, Dares or Dyctis, and the romans "proper" involving Arthurian characters or medieval legendary adventures. This question is none other than that of verisimilitude and to what extent it was a category that was actively and consciously taken into consideration when evaluating the contents of works which to us contemporary readers seem to mix historical fact, contemporary reality, and outlandish fiction with an ease hard to reconcile with our restrictive division between the realms of fiction and reality.

In <u>The Beginnings of Medieval Romance: Fact and Fiction, 1150-1220</u>, D. H. Green defines fiction in the literature of this period as

> a category of literary text which, although it may also include events that were held to have actually taken place, gives an account of events that could not conceivably have taken place and/or of events that, although possible, did not take place, and which, in doing so, invites the intended audience to be willing to make-believe what would otherwise be regarded as untrue. (4)

While concurring with Green's definition, there are many instances in which it is difficult to tell whether something that might seem to be straight-out fiction to a contemporary audience (such as Medea's esoterical powers) was actually believed to be false by medieval writers or their audiences. One example taken from the <u>GE</u> will suffice to illustrate this point. After having told the story of Medusa according to Ovid and other mythological sources, the Alfonsine compilers pose the following question: "Et esta rrazon sy es fablilla o sy es estoria fallamos la nos por otros escriptos desta gujsa que oydes & qujere acordar en este libro de lucano" ("And whether this razon is <u>fablilla</u> or <u>estoria</u> we found out when we read in other comments what you will hear now as explained in Lucan's book [Pharsalia]"; <u>GE</u> VI, 144r).

The distinction between a fable and a historical account based on <u>fechos</u> (deeds) is made unequivocally by the author who leads the reader in a hypothetical inquiry into whether the story can be true or not as it is told by Ovid. This type of inductive logic applied to the historicity of the stories narrated in the <u>GE</u> suggests that there are instances when those doubts would have formed in the mind of the reader. It is, therefore, important to study what factors determined the characterization of a particular fecho or estoria as fictional and what is it that fiction meant for the editors and the readership of the <u>GE</u>.

If we take into account, for example, that the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries were the most prolific in the production of lives of Saints filled with miraculous cures and divine interventions, the distinction between fiction and reality becomes even more difficult to make.[212] It is not within the scope of this thesis to find

---

212 As B. Ward notes, the nature of miracles was understood to have been laid out by

a definite answer to this much-discussed problem. However, my analysis of the <u>Her.</u> in both "historical" and "courtois" romans will show that a relevant degree of heterodoxy must be acknowledged among the authors of these romans, who often time voiced their opinions adamantly regarding the fictional value of the works of their contemporaries and the gullibility of their audience.

This diversity of opinion in the matter of fictionality also applies Ovid and the <u>Her.</u> As we shall now see, Ovid's heroes and heroines were portrayed and probably perceived under different narrative lights depending on the literary context in which they were featured.

4.3.1 Truth, Verisimilitude, and History

Verisimilitude has always been an issue for Spanish medievalists since all research in Medieval <u>chansons de geste</u> in the Iberian peninsula has been limited by what researchers have perceived as a bias towards any narrative subject of being classified as fictional by medieval historians starting with Alfonso X. As M. Álvar remarked in <u>Cantares de Gesta Medievales</u>, even though there is substantial evidence that several epic sagas existed in the Iberian Peninsula since the ninth century, only a few of these survived. This is, precisely, because they were used as reliable historical sources by the chroniclers and historians that preceded Alfonso's historiographic enterprise, Alfonso himself, and his immediate continuators in the fourteenth and fifteenth century chronicles (xii).

Hans-Robert Jauss's research on the question of historical verisimilitude in medieval narrative within the framework of reception theory is one of the most comprehensive attempts to provide an insight on the question of what was believed to be true or fantastic among those who wrote and read these medieval vernacular romances. According to Jauss, medieval texts possess the quality of being integrated into the ideological world in which they were developed via their "generic structure" (82). Since medieval literature relies heavily on works written or translated by previous authors, the translations or re-workings of the original versions would be conditioned, mainly, by two factors: the "structuring ability" of the author/s and the conception which that author had of the implied reader (86).

According to this view of medieval literature, a number of texts are chosen among the many available and then translated or reassembled in a particular way which differs from other ways possible by adding or eliminating information that was not in the original. Jauss' approach is based on the premise that all literature is functionally determined by "its place in life" as opposed to other literary ages in which an esthetic sense of the work of art developed independently from the "daily-life value" of the artifact, be it a book or any other form of human expression. Thus, in the case of medieval narrative, all those stories which were still alive in the collective imagination of the intended audience would have been conceived as epic (e. g. the <u>chansons de geste</u>) since the author would have taken for granted that he had to answer to the sense of historical accuracy present in the minds of those to

---

St. Augustine throughout the middle Ages. She explains that, according to Augustine's theory, miracles were considered "wonderful acts of God shown as events in this world, not in opposition to nature but as a drawing out of the hidden workings of God within a nature that was all potentially miraculous" (3).

whom his narrative was addressed. On the other hand, the stories of King Arthur, Percival and other characters already belonging to the realm of fiction in the minds of twelfth-century consumers of romance literature would be subject to a series of diegetic rules closely resembling those which we attribute to fiction or fantastic narratives.

Jauss's approach has been revisited by critics for decades since it was systematically explained in 1970. S. Fleischman is one of such critics who, in spite of taking as valid the premise that medieval authors and editors as well as their audience discriminated between fiction and history when they composed or re-composed their accounts, argues that "this distinction cuts across different lines from our own" (300). Fleischman's analysis of the concept of historical truth applied to medieval narratives offers a conclusion that is reminiscent, in its perplexing simplicity, of that which C. J. Cela offered of the novel in the prologue to his 1955 novel <u>Mrs. Caldwell habla con su hijo</u>. According to the Spanish Nobel laureate, after much research, the only "sound definition" of the novel he could come up with was "a novel is all that which, edited as a book, admits under its title, and between parentheses, the word novel" (9).

Fleischman's argues that an event or narrative was considered historical in the middle Ages if its contents were "familiar; legendary; held to be true" by its audience so that "history was what was willingly believed" (305). As she herself acknowledges, this is only a preliminary stage in the advancement of a comprehensive theory of fictionality. Such theory should account for as many historical perspectives as possible in the intellectual makeup of the different cultural, ideological, and social groups that comprise the medieval spectrum, an objective to which I intend to contribute with my research.

Two recent works that set out to analyze the nature of romance and, among other topics, its links to historical narration are <u>Shaping Romance</u> by M. T. Bruckner and <u>Reality Fictions</u> by R. M. Stein. Bruckner's analysis of several Old French "romance fictions" (<u>contes</u>, <u>lais</u>, and romances) from the latter half of the twelfth century leads her to conclude that, far from being a well-defined and stable generic category, "romance" stands for a polymorphic literary genre that is "neither simply mimetic, nor dynamically cut off from real life" that became "an integral part of the dialectic of history" (4). Thus, much like our modern drama series and historical Hollywood blockbusters, (the comparison is mine and not Bruckner's) "romances may scramble oppositions, but do not eliminate distinctions: the categories of fiction, truth, history, and narrative, remain essential to their effective functioning in non-disjunctive oppositions" (213). It should come as no surprise, therefore, that Chrétien de Troies' readers, just like historical romance readers, "expected to find substantial fare mixed into his [Chrétien de Troies'] agreeable fictions" (105) without it affecting their perception and interpretation of the main characters, their stories, and their predicaments, much like it is the case with contemporary TV drama series and films.

R. M. Stein's definition of romance established a more direct link in the genesis of the genre as an offspring of historiography:

> Romance is an attempt to seize directly the significance that in history appears only as a disappearance, the meaning at the heart of events that seems always about to announce itself but remains ever out of

reach, and to seize it directly as a matter of historical understanding. (106)

Stein's argument is based on the often-overlooked fact that it is historical texts that preceded and set the stage for romance accounts and not the other way around. Thus, she seeks to

> avoid the false appearance that narratives of interiority, of personal development, or of personal salvation such as those that have claimed our attention in historical texts are examples of "romance influences" or "romance elements" in historiography—as if such a thing as romance existed all along to lend out its features at need. (106)

It should also be considered that, as it is the case with historiography and historical romance, medieval authors and their audiences were well aware of the complexities involved not only in establishing what a true historical event was, but also in the value and character of truth itself. C. R. Clason's recent study of the value of truth and fiction in Gottfreid's <u>Tristan</u> analyzes Tristan and Isolde's encounter at the olive grove as well as Isolde's ordeal by hot iron in order to prove that the protagonists establish competing versions of each one of these events so as to construe a truth that will suit their purposes.

This process takes place in front of the eyes of the audience and can therefore not be considered secondary to the plot, but an actual constituting element of the narrative. In the first instance, King Marke hears from his servant Melôt that Tristan and Isolde have planned a meeting in the olive grove. Marke and Melôt set out to catch the lovers in flagrante and thus climb up on a tree and wait up until Tristan shows up and throws into the rivers several pieces of wood with the letters "T" and "I" carved onto them (He had also sent olive branches downstream in order to announce to his lover their meeting place). When Isolde arrives at the meeting place she is surreptitiously alerted by Tristan that he has seen two suspicious shadows coming from two people hiding on top of one of the olive trees. Immediately they start to enact an improvised theatrical representation which will eventually persuade their still unaware audience that their encounter is anything but an amorous escapade (14628-14694).

The second instance in which truth seems to be compromised in the Tristan is Isolde's ordeal by hot iron to which she submits only after having conceived an elaborate plan to avoid God's punishment. In order to not be found guilty of lying by the divine power, she arranges that Tristan will have her carried ashore from a boat disguised as a pilgrim at which point she falls from his arms and ends up tangled up with the anonymous pilgrim. When the time arrives, Isolde swears to her husband the King that (247-248) she has never laid in the arms of any man other than him with the exception of the pilgrim that helped her get off the boat.

The fact that Isolde passes her ordeal without being burned by the hot iron as well as many other complications in this and other contemporary romances proves that the minds of medieval writers and their educated audiences were not unaware of the susceptibility of truth in any type of narration, be it historiographic or novelesque.

4.3.2 The Meaning of Love

One of the main structural and thematic components of both historical and legendary romances is the love relations that develop among its protagonists. These relations provide a code with which to interpret the larger narrative units that make up the story or stories and, as we will see in the remainder of this section, eventually became the main articulating element in both romance and historical narrative in the late middle Ages.

T. Davenport's study of medieval narrative (based largely on English and French works) defines historical romances as a composite of dynastic history, courtly love, and exotic adventure. According to Davenport, the analysis of love from an Ovidian/courtly point of view took place in these narratives as part of the enactment of the heroic past as "a language in which to think of the political ambitions of the present, and the interaction of love and politics extended the historical material" (140).

B. Nolan has similarly exposed the poetics lying underneath the fine amor theme in these composites of Classical historical and epic works which she deems as a distinguishing feature between the romans antiques and the chansons de geste as well as the lyric cansos. According to Nolan, "The Eneas-poet and Benoît de Sainte-Maure were the first medieval vernacular writers to pose urgent, practical questions about the place of sexual love in a highly structured, politically ambitious aristocracy" in a way that explores "the ethical significance of private love in relation to public, moral life and historical narrative consequences" (Chaucer 75).

The Old French texts that were composed in the first half of the twelfth century in the French court of the Plantagenet fall into two distinct categories: the short, Ovidian-based brief mythographic narrations usually known as lais (e. g. the Lai de Narcissus) and the longer romans antiques of an epic character (e. g. the R. de Tr.). Even though these works were composed by the same elite of clerics who worked under the patronage of the nobility, the generic differences they display in their structure and content have prompted critics such as E. M. Thornington to study whether these differences could be related to the specificity of the public to which they were intended. According to Thornington the Lai de Narcissus displays clear evidence of having been intended for a female audience given the changes made to Ovid's original account in the Met.:

> In taking away Narcissus' powers of speech at the very end of the poem, the poet causes him to experience life from Echo's point of view. Similarly, when Dané tells Narcissus' story, she understands his viewpoint and comprehends the consequences of her own actions. With this reversal, the poet breaks down the barrier between masculine and feminine, between the initiator of amatory discourse and the recipient of that request. (38)

In his examination of medieval marriage fictions in Old French secular narratives between 1170 and 1250 K. Nickolaus argues that both in the Old French Tristan tradition and in Ovid there is "a common emphasis on the natural or transcendent authenticity of erotic desire". According to Nickolaus Ovid's conception of love as an eternal bond merged with an "emerging view that the bond of marital

affection is an extension of a universal impulse governed by natural law to the same extent that this same affection derives from the divine grace inherent to the larger operations of marriage as a sacrament" (228).

As I will analyze in the following medieval romances, the concepts of love and marriage were among those which attracted the attention of clerics toward Classical descriptions of Ovidian love, not only on account of their possibilities for lyrical expression (as we saw in the previous sections) but also as narrative devices which helped structure and better understand the stories they were trying to tell.

4.3.3 Yvain and the Heroides: Ovidian Lore and the Evolution of Romance

"The inventor of Arthurian literature as we know it" (Kibler 1), Chrétien de Troyes (late twelfth century) has long been recognized as an admirer and imitator of Ovid on account of his famous statement at the beginning of his second romance, Cliges (ca. 1176):

> Cil qui fist d'Erec et d'Enide, / et les comandemanz d'Ovide / et l'art d'amors an romans mist, / et le mors de l'espaule fist, / del roi Marc et d'Ysalt la blonde, / et de la hupe et de l'aronde / et del rossignol la muance.

> The one who wrote the Erec and Enide and translated Ovid's commandments and Art of Love, and wrote The Shoulder Bite, and told of King Marc and Iseult the fair, and of the transformations of the hoopoe, the swallow and the nightingale. (1-7)

F. E. Guyer remarked in Romance in the Making on how Chrétien's profound admiration for Virgil and Ovid lead him to successfully initiate a trend of Ovidian influences that can especially be identified in Chrétien's later works (Cligès, Lancelot, Yvain) (28). In the particular case of Yvain, Guyer points out how the speeches of several characters contain sentences borrowed or based on Ovid's Met., Ars am. and Tristia (Romance 208-219; Inventor 94-101; "Influence" 107-11). Among these striking similarities can be counted Ovid's advice in Ars. Am. III on how to look for a wife at a husband's funeral and Yvain's presence at Esclados' (Laudine's husband whom Yvain himself had killed) funeral when he first falls in love with her. There is also, according to Guyer, one specific echo of Leander's lament in Her. XVIII 49-50 "Nunc daret audaces utinam mihi Daedalus alas! / Icarium quamvis hic prope litus abest" ("If only Daedalus would bestow upon me a set of daring wings! Although this shore is so close to that one of Icarus'") in the words of Yvain as he gets ready to leave his beloved Laudine:

> Mes sire Yvains plore et sospire / si for qu'a painnes li puet dire: / "Dame, cist termes est trop lons. / Se je pooie estre colons / totes les foiz que je voudroie, / mout sovant avuec vos seroie.

> Yet lord Yvain cries and sighs so much that he can hardly say: "Lady, this is too much time. If I were a dove I would be able to come and be with you as often as I pleased. (2579-2584)

Guyer further reinforces the theory of the heroidian influence by pointing out in Chrétien de Toyes: Inventor of the Modern Novel that Laudine's messenger uses

words very similar to those of Phyllis in her accusatory remarks against Demophoon (91):

> Hospita, Demophoon, tua te Rhodopeia Phyllis, / ultra promissum tempus abesse queror. / Cornua cum lunae pleno semel orbe coissent, / litoribus nostris ancora pacta tua est. / . . . . / Tempora si numeres bene quae numeramus amantes, / non venit ante suam nostra querela diem.

> Demophoon, I your Rhodopeian hostess, Phyllis, am complaining that your time has run out and you have not yet returned as promised . . . . If thou dost reckon the time, which we who are in love so carefully reckon, not before its day does my complaint come. (<u>Her.</u> II, 1-2 and 7-8)

These words clearly resemble

> jusqu'a la feste saint Jehan / te dona ele de respit, / et tu l'eüs an tel despit / qu'onques puis ne t'an remanbra. / Ma dame paint an sa chanbre a / trestoz les jorz et toz les tans; / car qui aimme, il est an porpans, / n'onques ne puet prandre buen some, / mes tote nuit conte et asome / les jorz qui vienent et qui vont.

> Your lady gave you leave up until Saint John the Baptist's day [a whole year] yet you have had so little regard for her that you have not kept her in your mind. My lady has written on the walls of her room keeping track of every single day for those who are in love live in anxiety and are hardly able to sleep at all yet every night they count and add up the days that are left to go and those that have already gone by. (2750-2759)

These examples show how Chrétien de Troyes initiated a trend of incorporation of Ovidian themes and literary techniques in the Arthurian romance at the end of the twelfth century. This interest, as I will show next, comprises not only the dramatics of the first-person laments and diatribes of heroides such as Leander but also the recreation of the tragic fate suffered by these women on account of both the unnatural character of their love and the disdain and abandonment that they suffered at the hands of their once-trusted male lovers.

4.3.4 The <u>Roman de la Rose</u> and the <u>Heroides</u>

"The most popular and influential work of the later middle Ages without any close competitor" (Dales 185), Jean de Meung's (c.1250-c.1305) continuation of Guillaume de Lorris' <u>Roman de la Rose</u> (ca. 1230), features a series of references to several of Ovid's heroines in the context of a catalogue of "fatal women."[213] The attitude expressed by the author of the poem is indeed hostile towards marriage,

---

213 L. C. Brook has inquired about the target audience Jean de Meun would have had in mind around 1275 when he addressed Philip IV in the preface to his translation of Boethius' <u>De consolatione philosphiae</u> and announced that he would be translating "les Epistres Pierres Abaelart et Heloys"(99).

which is portrayed as a lesser evil that must be accepted in order to propagate the human species at the command of Dame Nature. It should be noted, though, as A. Gunn has done, that the character of the Old Woman (La Vieille) is introduced as a righteous defendant of the cause of all women who have been wronged by their male counterparts and, to a certain degree, deprecated by the discourses of Amors, Raison and Amis (388-90).

Critics such as P. Allen have argued against Gunn's view of La Vieille as a valid feminine voice and propose, instead, that the Old Woman is a low and base character whose arguments are based on experience and not knowledge and who seeks nothing but to exert further wrong on all men regardless of their attitude towards women and promote immoral behavior among women in order to take the upper hand in their relations with men (197).

The core of the characterization of La Vieille is found in verses 13177 through 13269: a diatribe in which she warns women about the fact that "tuit les boulent et trichent, / tuit sont ribaut, partout se fichent" ("all men want to betray and deceive women, they are all sensualists who easily get infatuated with everything they see"; 13270-71).[214] The Old Woman first discusses Dido's abandonment at the hands of her guest Eneas (13177-13213). Her brief recapitulation of the story is based on the same theme as Ovid's letter: Dido had been betrayed by a man who had come to Carthage as a refugee and had been presented with a flourishing kingdom and a beautiful and devoted queen, yet he chose to set sail for an unknown destiny.

Next comes Phyllis' story which the poet summarizes in four verses by describing her suicide as a consequence of her long wait after Demophoon broke his promise that he would soon return to her; once again de Meun's recapitulation masterfully concentrates in four lines the essence of the Ovidian letter which presents the reader with a distraught woman whose good faith and innocence have been betrayed by a man whose lack of consideration prompted her to commit suicide: "Phillis ausi tant atendi / Demophon, qu'ele se pendi / pour le terme qu'il trespassa, / dont serement et foi quassa" ("Phyllis was another. She waited so long for Demophoon that she hanged herself because he overstayed the time when he was to return and thus broke both his oath and his faith"; 13215-18).

Verses 13219 through 13232 recount Oenone's abandonment by Paris and emphasize a chapter that seems to have left an especially significant imprint in the mind of the medieval audience since it is recurrently referred to in several contemporary romances. De Meun exemplifies Paris' lack of trustworthiness by reminding the reader how he carved on a tree a promise to Oenone that the river Xanthus would sooner flow backwards than his love for her would be extinguished:

> Que fist paris de Enoné / ki cuer et cors li ot doné, et cil s'amour li redona? / Tantost retollu le don a, 7 si l'en ot il en l'arbre escrites / a son coutel lettres petites / desus l'escorce en lieu de chartre / qui ne valurent une tartre: / Ces lettres en l'escorce estoient / d'un poplier et representoient / que xantus s'en retorneroit / si tost com il la laisseroit. / Or ault xantus a sa fontaine, / qu'il la laissa puis pour

Elaine.

> What did Paris do with Oenone? She had given him her heart and her body, and he gave his love in return. But straightway he took back his gift. For on a tree by the river, instead of on paper, he had carved with his knife tiny letters that were not worth a tart. They were cut in the bark of a poplar and said that the Xanthus would turn back on itself as soon as he left her. Now the Xanthus may return to its sources, for afterward he left her for Helen. (13219-32)

The last reference in the R. de la R. is to another epistle that was especially echoed throughout the middle Ages: that of Medea to Jason (13233-13268). This is the longest example provided by the author and it thus can well serve the purpose of confirming that De Meun was directly influenced by the Her. in this passage. As I have pointed out earlier, the stories of Dido, Phyllis and Oenone are masterfully summarized in a way that coincides with what critics have termed as the kernel from which Ovid's narrative becomes pertinent in each of those epistles.

The structure of the recount of Medea's story follows closely the argument used by the heroine herself in her letter. After summarizing the reasons for Medea's complaint in two verses ("Que refist jason de medee, / qui si vilment refu boulee / que li faus sa foi li menti / puis qu'el l'ot de mort garenti?" ("Again, what did Jason do with Medea? He deceived her shamefully, the false one, when he belied his faith to her after she had saved him from death"; 13233-36) the poet follows Ovid in enumerating one after another and without a previous introduction several affronts: Medea helped him overpower Mars' bulls, defeat the dragon and defeat the soldiers that sprung from the beast's blood. She also rejuvenated Jason's father, Aeson, and finally, an action despised by de Meun, out of desperation, she killed her children.

4.3.5 Gottfreid Von Strassburg's Tristan: A Learned Man's Romance and the Heroides

Gottfried's Tristan is a poem comprised of some 19,000 verses composed circa 1210 by Gottfried von Strassburg. It tells the story of Isolde and Tristan and how they have to overcome an incessant set of adverse circumstances in order to be able to marry and consummate their passionate love. The work belongs to a long tradition of Arthurian legends but it is mainly based on Thomas of Britain's version (ca. 1150).

In the foreword to F. G. Gentry's edition of Tristan (ca. 1210), C. S. Jaeger discusses the importance of the work in our understanding of medieval narrative and its only apparent homogeneity. With regard to the issue of religious faith, he remarks that "when Isolde carries the glowing iron to test her loyalty to her husband and is not burned, God attests to her innocence, even though she is guilty as sin and has sworn a false oath to maintain the illusion of innocence" (vii). Chivalric societal traditions are similarly put to the test by a hero who "attacks his father's liege lord and kills him, though the latter has neither weapons nor armor" (viii) and a court, that of Cornwall, that is depicted "as teeming with intriguers" (viii) and governed by a king who is "shallow, sensual, materialistic, and a sentimental cuckold" (ix).

Even if we acknowledge, as Jaeger does, that Tristan and Isolde's love for each other is presented as the most powerful of all forces in the romance, the truth remains that Gottfried's works "sanctifies a forbidden and destructive love" (ix).

It is precisely this destructive nature of love that the protagonists of Tristan allude to when they recount the stories of several of the protagonists of the Her. while they are still enjoying their company in the pleasant garden which they will soon have to leave:

> Dâ sâzen sî zein ander an / die getriuwen senedaere / und triben ir senemaere / von den, die vor ir jâren / von sene verdorben wâren. / Si beredeten und besageten, / si betrûreten unde beklageten, / daz Villîse von Trâze, / daz der armen Kanâze / in der minnen namen geschach; / daz Biblîse ir herze brach / durch ir bruoder minne, / daz ez der küniginne / von Tîre und von Sidône / der seneden Didône / durch sene sô jaemerlîche ergie. (17182-17197)

> Our constant lovers sat there close together and told love-tales of those whom love had ruined in days gone by. They debated and discussed, they bewept and bewailed how Phyllis of Thrace and poor Canacea had suffered such misfortune in Love's name; how Biblis had died broken-hearted for her brother's love; how love-lorn Dido, Queen of Tyre and Sidon, had met so tragic a fate because of unhappy love. To such tales did they apply themselves from time to time. (F. G. Gentry 226)

P. Ganz has argued that the characters are here showing their awareness of the dangerous and fateful situation in which they find themselves thus contributing to the "fatidic" characterization of their amorous relationship with respect to Gottfried's audience (399). Whether we agree with A. Wolf's argument that the protagonists are vindicating amorous relations outside the norm (109), Ovid's heroines are indeed aware of the futility of their love and their attempts to recover the esteem of their loved ones but, as it is the case here with Tristan and Isolde, that fatidic characterization only adds to the interplay between the audience, the narrator, and the characters themselves, all of whom develop an empathetic relation through this meta-textual interplay.

The reference to Phyllis' letter to Demophoon (Her. II) where she anticipates her intentions to commit suicide by hanging herself from a tree are obvious. Similarly, Canace tells her brother Macareus (Her. XI) of their father Aeolus' determination to punish her for her unlawful attraction to him, her own brother. Byblis' incestuous love for her brother Kaunos was not turned into a love epistle by Ovid yet it is told in book 9 of the Met. As Mark Chinca points out in his analysis of Tristan, Gottfried's references could alternatively come from another source or a combination of sources, in this case, Hyginius's list of women who committed suicide as found in chapter 243 of his Fables.[215] According to Dennis Green, since all of these

---

215 Chinca suggests that the actual order of the heroines quoted by Gottfried is very close to that of Hyginius's Fables:

> Phyllis propter Demophoonta Thesei filium ipsa se suspendio necauit. Canace Aeoli filia propter amorem Macarei fratris ipsa se interfecti. Byblis Mileti filia propter amorem Cauni fratris ipsa se interfecit. Calypso Atlantis filia propter amorem Vlixis ipsa se interfecit. Dido Beli

heroines would have not been known to anyone without a thorough education in Latin, only clerics who had read the Her. or were familiar with their tradition should be considered as Gottfried's intended audience (299).

As Lambertus Okken has demonstrated in his thorough Commentaries on Tristan (487-488), there are several instances in which the narrative shows resemblance of the Her. In the chapter known as "Capitulation," Tristan confesses to Isolde his love for her in a way that resembles that in which Paris reveals to Helen that he is consumed with passion for her in Her. XVI. The following two excerpts will suffice in order to bear witness to the similarities in the behavior of both lovers:

> Si gesaz in eines tages bi / heinlichen unde lise; / diu stolze, diu wise / 'hiest nieman' sprach si 'wan wir driu: / saget mir ir zwei, waz wirret iu?

> One day she sat between the twain in confidence, as ever--this proud, wise maid, so clever--and spake: "We're all alone, we three, what troubles you, o tell me free? (12078-12082)

which clearly resembles Her. XVI 3-4:

> Eloquar, an flammae non est opus indice notae, / et plus quam vellem iam meus extat amor?

> Shall I then speak? or is it unnecessary to inform you of a passion that betrays itself? Has not my love already laid itself too open?

And then 12083-12096:

> "Ich sihe iuch zallen studnen / mit trahte gebunden, / siuften, truren unde clagen." / "Höfschiu, getörste ichz iu gesagen, / ich sagetez" iu' sprach Tristan. / "Ja herre, vil wol: sprechet an; / swaz ir welt, daz saget mir!" / "saeligiu guotiu" sprach er zir / "in getar niht sprechen vürbaz, / irn gewisset uns e daz / mit triuwen und mit eiden, / daz ir uns armen beiden / guot unde genaedic wellet wesen: / anders so sin wir ungenesen."

> I see you, all the time, as though lost in longing, sighing, sorrowing, and lamenting." "Courtly lady," Tristan said, "If I dared, I would tell you." "Very well, sir, let's hear it-- You can tell me whatever you wish." "Oh, fine lady," he replied, "I cannot say any more unless you will assure us on your solemn word of honor that you will take compassion upon our misfortune, for otherwise, we are lost." (12083-12096)

clearly resemble Her. XVI 5-10:

> filia propter Aeneae amorem se occidit.

> Phyllis hanged herself because of Demophoon, son of Theseus. Canace, daughter of Aeolus, committed suicide because of her love for Macareus her brother. Biblis, daughter of Miletus, killed herself out of love for Kaunus. Calypso, Atlas' daughter, killed herself out of love for Ulysses. Dido, Belus' daughter, killed herself out of love for Eneas. (151)

Ille quidem lateat malim, dum tempora dentur / Laetitiae mixtos non habitura metus, / Sed male dissimulo; quis enim celaverit ignem,Lumine qui semper proditur ipse suo? / Si tamen expectas, vocem quoque rebus ut addam -- / Uror! habes animi nuntia verba mei.

It could be that I desired to keep it a secret until the time comes when we may enjoy the relish of pure joy without [bitter] the taste of fear. But I cannot hide it for who could conceal a flame whose brightness will always show that it actually is there? If in the same way you expect that my speech confirm what my actions have for so long now made clear 'I burn'.

These instances of Ovidian parallelism are accompanied by more direct references to Ovidian themes such as King Marke of Cornwall's (Tristan's uncle) doubts about Iseult's faithfulness to him. Being suspicious of his nephew Tristan, he asked Iseult who she would like to be her guardian if he were to depart on a crusade. Iseult naively responded that Tristan would be the one he should trust with her well being in his absence in which moment Marke is described by Gottfried as

Waz mag ouch liebe nâher gân, / dan zwîvel unde arcwân? / Waz anget liebe gernden muot / sô sêre, sô der zwîvel tuot? (13781-13784)

What harms love more than doubt and suspicion? What constricts a lover's heart so much as doubt? In its grip he does not for one moment know where to go. (182)

These are very similar terms to those in which Penelope describes her anxiety for Ulysses' return "Quando ego non timui graviora pericula veris? / Res est solliciti plena timoris amor" ("When did I not fear dangers that were more serious than they turned out to be? / Love is a sentiment full of unrest and fear"; Her. I, 11-12).

As we have already seen in the cases of vernacular and Latin poetry, Marke's close association with Penelope as the suffering subject indicates a prevalence in the use of Ovidian heroines and heroes among medieval authors as a source of emotional displays associated with the pangs and sufferings caused by love itself as it is the case with Marke here, as well as by those who know themselves to be loved. These references to the tragic fate of Phyllis or Canace are not, however, in the case of the Tristan, shown under a favorable light. They rather are presented as examples of the follies of a mystified conception of courtly love in a poem that "demystifies knighthood and undermines heroic pride" (W. C. McDonald 183).

4.3.6 The Romance d'Yder, Der Wälsche Gast and the Heroides: Heroines as Models of Exemplary Female Behavior

In spite of providing us with a list of heroines similar to that found in Gottfried's Tristan, the idealized protagonists of the Romance d'Yder pose a stark contrast to the scheming Tristan and Guenolie and provide us with a much different textual reference to Ovid's works.

The Romance d'Yder is an anonymous romance written either in England or in the French territory that was under English control during the reign of King John of England (1199-1216) (A. Adams 13). The romance narrates the story of Yder, the illegitimate son of an impoverished noblewoman, who sets out to find his unknown

father and marry Queen Guenloie.[216] At one point in the story, Guenloie grieves over having lost Yder moments before finding him wounded and unconscious and tending to him without being recognized by Yder. In verses 2564-80 Guenloie, in an able display of intertextuality, briefly mentions a series of tragic love stories that bear a resemblance to her own troubles:

> D'amor me recomfortera / La lasse Dëianirra, / Ki s'en ocist e Canacé, / Eco, Cilla, Fillis, Pronné, / Ero, Biblis, Dido, Mira, / Tysbe, la bele Hypermnestra / E des autres mil e cinc cenz. / Amor, pur quoi ne te repenz / De ces simples lasses destr[u]ire? / Trop crüelment te voi ded[u]ire; / Peché feitz, quant n'en as pitié, / Nuls Deus fors toi ne feit pechié. / De cel est Tysbe el dessus, / Ke pur lié s'occist Piramus, / Amor, de ço se puet löer, / Kar a ta cort siet o son per; / Ero i est o Leander.

> They will bring me solace in my love, wretched Deianira who killed herself, and Canace, Echo, Scylla, Phyllis, Procne, Hero, Byblis, Dido, Mhyrra, Thysbe, beautiful Hypermnestra as well as fifteen hundred others. Love, how come you do not regret having brought the ruin of these poor girls? I see you rejoicing cruelly; You commit a sin whenever you show no pity, No other god but you commits sins. Thysbe is a prime example of this, since it was because of her that Pyramus killed himself. Love, of this you can be proud, that in your court she sits next to her equal; There is Hero with Leander. (2564-

---

216 Here follows a summary of the plot: In his quest he will meet Queen Guenloie who will not consent to his amorous approaches unless he proves himself a knight. Thus Yder enters the service of a mysterious knight who turns out to be King Arthur but after a series of setbacks he leaves his company and becomes a knight of his own who will defeat Arthur's liegemen on several occasions. In an encounter with Gawain, Yder is wounded and secretly tended to by Guenloie who is "burning" with love for him. After several misunderstandings and mishaps typical of an Arthurian romance, Yder is confronted by a knight who reveals himself as his father moments before he is getting ready to kill Yder. Both men set out to look for Guenloi who in the meantime has also been looking for Yder. Meanwhile, King Arthur, overcome by jealousy, decides to get rid of Yder after Guenevere ambiguosly declares her admiration for the young knight. Arthur and his knights (among them is Yder) go in an expedition and eventually meet Guenloie, with whom all the knights agree to have a contest to decide whom she will marry. The challenge consists in killing two giants who live in the woods and Yder eventually prevails. However, Kei, one of Arthur's knights, poisons Yder who is left behind as dead. An Irish king, Alfred, rescues him and helps him restore his name and marry Guenloie. Yder's father travels with them back to Carlyle where he marries Yder's mother and all of them live together happily ever after. See B. Schomolke-Hasselmann's "King Arthur as Villain in the Thirteenth-Century Romance Yder" (Reading Medieval Studies 6 (1980): 31-43) for a interesting discussion of King Arthur's representation as an antagonist in this romance.

80)[217]

The anonymous author shows here an acquaintance with Deyanira's letter to Hercules (Her. IX), Canace's letter to Macareus (Her. XI), Echo's story (Met. III), Scylla's[218] story (Met. VIII), Phyllis' letter to Demophoon (Her. II), Procne's story (Met. VI), Leander's letter to Hero (Her. XVIII) and her response (Her. XIX), Byblis' story (Met. IX), Dido's letter to Eneas (Her. VII, as well as Met. XIV, and Aen. I-IV), Myrrha's story (Met. X), Pyramus and Thisbe's story (Met. IV), and Hypermnestra's letter to Lynceus (Her. XIV). All of these stories are linked thematically so it can be argued that the names are not merely a display of literary erudition but an inventory that demonstrates acquaintance and mastery of the Her. as well as some of the myths found in the Met.

The characterization of Yder and Guenloie who are constantly stricken with sadness and pain due to the absence of their lovers is very similar to that of many of the protagonists of the Her. As a matter of fact, the "unavoidable" separation between the two lovers provides the poet with numerous occasions in which to display his ability to explicate the intricate workings of "longing" as an unequivocal symptom of being "sick with love." In the first part of the poem, after Yder has explained how he will only be able to attain Guineloie's love by becoming a "good" and "humble" knight willing to help all those in trouble so that his good deeds would eventually reach her and prove his worthiness as a knight, a Christian and, finally, a lover (509-26, 666-81).

Even though the struggle to reach the loved woman differs substantially from the one found in Ovid, both literary worlds share one important motif: only the favor of the loved one will deliver the lover from his suffering and the Her. seem to have supplied many an example of the symptoms found in those whose love is the reason for their suffering. In the case of Yder and Guenloie this suffering is enhanced immediately after the lovers have departed each other's company or when they stay close to or meet (knowing or unknowingly) each other as though their minds and bodies could feel the presence of the person with whom they long to be united.[219]

A prime example of this is Guenloie's distressed speech after having camped in Rougemont where Yder had challenged and defeated several knights without knowing that his beloved was watching him. Yder confesses he is so distressed he will kill himself unless he can soon be joined with his beloved (1747-53), a confession shared by many of the protagonists in the Her. such as Phaedra, Dido, Deianira, Laodamia or Phyllis who, for different reasons and with varying purposes also seek

---

217 The translation is from A. Adams' bilingual edition.

218 The author seems to be making reference to Nisus' daughter and not to Phorcys' daughter (the sea monster).

219 This situation reaches its climax when the lovers meet as it is the case in 5303-15 where their hearts are said to "come close to stop beating" and Guenloie sighs and turns pale (without being sick) and even is attracted to him as though he were a magnet before she regains consciousness and steps back. Other examples of pain in absence of the loved one can be found in Am. I, 4, 59-70 and Ars am. II, 2523-8 and III, 581-2 for example.

death as the only relief of a situation of certain death from which not even a doctor would be able to save them (1844-6)[220].

The narrator describes Guenloie's state as "encor a el pis, se pis puet" ("even worse if possible; 1754"): she is lying on her bed sad and reflective, pondering how "foolish" love has made her be in her treatment of Yder. Penelope's[221] laments for Ulysses (I, 7-8) as well as Ariadne's for Theseus (X, 55-56) also take place in the lonely company of their beds while preventing them from sleeping[222] as is the case with Guenloie's insomnia[223] which resembles Canace's[224], Hermione's, and Dido's[225].

In spite of all these similarities, there is a stark contrast between the ultimate fate of Ovid's heroines and Yder and Guenloie's happy reunion. As A. Adams has remarked, "at the end Yder is not only united with Guenloie but brings happiness and harmony to all the characters in the story. The author's recipe for this harmony rests not on society, the Arthurian circle, but on the behavior and example of the individual who must remain faithful to spiritual rather than worldly values" (77). This attitude is in stark contrast with that of Gotffried, whose protagonists recall the ultimate fate of Phyllis, Canace, Byblis, and Dido in order to anticipate their own tragic ending thus providing the audience with a further indicator of the extent of the protagonists' disdain for whatever consequences their actions may bring upon them. On the other hand, Guenloie's heroines (which include all of those recalled by

---

220 "Kar mult li est le terme pres / Ke par mire n'avera defense / Qu'il ne murra, si Deus n'en pense." ("That the time was approaching at which point not even a doctor would be able to save him from death unless God put a remedy to it").

221 Ovid is in this instance, like in many others, adding new dimensions to myths and common places found in Greek literature. In the case of Penelope, her portrayal in the Odyssey XIX, 513-17 is here being imitated by Ovid.

222 Gelzer pointed out in his edition of the text (xcix n.) these but does not produce any examples from the Ovidian corpus. I have used his research as a reference and searched for possible sources in the Heroides specifically.

223 Her. VIII, 107-10: "Nox ubi me thalamis ululantem et acerba gementem / Condidit in maesto procubuique toro, / Pro somno lacrimis oculi funguntur obotis, / Quaque licet, fugio sicut ab hoste virum." ("Once night has consigned me to my bedroom, sobbing and lamenting bitter things, after having lain in my sorrowful bed, my eyes, instead of sleep, are filled with rising tears and, to the extent that it is possible for me, I flee from [the memory of] my husband as though he were an enemy.")

224 Her. XI, 29-30: "nec somni faciles et nox erat annua nobis, / et gemitum nullo laesa dolore dabam" ("I did not have any easy sleep periods and night was as long as a year to me and, while I did not have any affliction, I still sighed often.")

225 As M. Desmond shows, lovesickness was rapidly becoming a focus of interests for medieval intellectuals who sought to explain it in purely medical terms. In Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval Aeneid she cites the author of the R. d'E. as an example of this preoccupation: "An tel travail et en tel poine / fue la raïne une semaine; ne nuit ne jor ne ot repos, / ne por dormir ne ot l'oil clos" ("The queen was in such torture and such pain for a week that she had no rest, night or day, nor ever closed her eyes in sleep"; 110-111).

Tristan and Iseult) are taken by the protagonists as a vivid reminder of what their ultimate fate could be even though they distance themselves from their actions and focus on their tragic endings.

Whereas Gottfried's characters show a tragic affinity with the heroines and seem to be eager or at least willing to accept a similar fate to theirs, Yder and Guenloie appeal to the sincerity and nobility of their love and can only hope that they will not follow Deianira's, Canace's or any of the others' tragic ending which they recall in order to vindicate their true love.

Another instance of such moral use of the Ovidian heroines in a thirteenth century courtly romance is featured in the Middle-High-German moral treatise <u>Der wälsche Gast</u> by Thomasin von Zerklaere (c. 1185- b. 1238). In its 14,000 verses, Tommassino (a clerk of Italian origin who accompanied German bishop Wolfger von Ellenbrechtskirchen as secretary and personal aide) introduces several of the characters of Arthurian romance as being positive exempla of moral values which the audience should strive to imitate. In the first chapter the author gives advice to children and young people including a special admonishment for young aristocratic ladies.

Since the book was destined to become a manual of behavior for the aristocratic class, the examples posed by the heroines in Ovid's epistle must have been especially appropriate for Thomasin. He names Penelope and Oenone among the heroines and heroes to be imitated in a blend of legendary, historical and semi-historical characters:

> Si suln hoeren von Ênît, / daz si die volgen âne nît. / Si suln ouch Pênelopê / der vrouwen volen und Oenonê, / Galjênâ und Blanscheflôr, / . . . unde Sôrdamôr / sint si night all küneginne, / si mügen ez sîn an achoenem sinne. (1033-1038)

> They [young female readers] should hear of Enite, that they gladly follow her example. They should also follow the example of lady Penelope and Oenone, Galjena and Blanscheflor . . . and Sordamor. Even if they are not all queens, they could be because of their fine manner. (Sterling-Hellenbrand, 13)

Teske has noted that Thomasin's catalogue of exemplary women does not necessarily contain characters with which he should have been more than a basic acquaintance on account of his education in Latin (78). On the other hand the references to Penelope and Oenone, even though they do not prove a deep knowledge of Ovid's <u>Her.</u>, prove that Thomasin's intended audience would at least be familiar with the tragic stories of these heroines as well as with their exemplary moral qualities. It is precisely these "high" moral standards that Thomasin lauds in book VIII as he specifically addresses, by means of several ancient and contemporary, legendary and historical, examples the vice of <u>unmazze</u> (immoderation).

The emphasis placed by the author on the social status of Penelope and Oenone as not being of royal lineage furthers the argument of scholars such as W. F. Carroll according to whom "Thomasin addresses a variety of people in <u>Der Welsche Gast</u>" while "he has a specific audience in mind" which would consist of "men and women from the upper classes, particularly from the nobility and the clergy" (164).

4.3.7 The <u>Romance of Flamenca</u>: Ancient Heroines in the Middle Ages

The <u>Romance of Flamenca</u> (circa 1250) is an Occitan Arthurian romance whose adherence to the rules and principles of a courtly romance places him much closer to the <u>R. de la R.</u> and the <u>Yder</u> than to the <u>Tristan</u>. The romance narrates the story of Flamenca after her marriage to Count Archambaud of Bourbon, whose jealousy soon leads him to incarcerate the newly-wed in a tower for fear that anyone may even dare look at her. The only person who shows pity for her is the other protagonist, the cleric Guillem de Nevers, who develops a relation of <u>amour courtois</u> with the captive princess that includes brief encounters and secret messages. Guillem ends up meeting secretly with Flamenca after contriving a plan to sneak her out of the tower and "consummate" their love in a bath-house intended to serve as Flamenca's cure to her ailments. The text is interrupted in the only extant manuscript after Guillem and Archambaud become friends and return home from a "tourneying trip".

W. P. Ker has characterized this romance as "the triumph of Ovid, with the <u>Art of Love</u>, over all his Gothic competitors out of the fairy tales" (361) and there is plenty of evidence that demonstrates the author's profound knowledge of Ovid. The narrative voice often quotes Ovid as an authority on amorous matters which are Ovidian in essence such as love's immense power "E, si con Ovidis declina, / Amors es domna e reïna / que vol de tota gent trahut, / et eu non l'en ai ges rendut." ("As Ovid shows us, love owes us and reigns over us, and it requires from us all that we pay due tribute which I myself have not paid yet"; 5569-5572); the passing of time and its influence on beauty "Aissi con Ovidis retrai, / tems sera que sil c'aras fai / parer de son amic nol qua illa / jaira sola e freja e veilla" ("As Ovid clearly shows, a time will come when the one who now shows herself indifferent to her wooer will find herself alone, cold and old"; 6275-6278) or even women's naturally advantageous position in love relations

> Tota bona dona sabe be / que ja sos amics no·s moura / ni sa boca non fugira / cora ques ill baisar lo vueilla, / mais homs ha paor qu'il si tueilla / de josta lui, e que fugissa, / s'el la vol baisar, o·s gandissa, / sa boca o <so> teng'a mal. / E per so plus en tal art val / una domna que mil baron; / so dis Ovidis qu'en saup pron.

> Every good lady knows it well that her pretender will not run away from her or hide his mouth when she shows her willingness to give him a kiss. On the other hand, the man fears that if he should be close to her, she, reticent, if he is going to kiss her, will turn her mouth away and take offense. This is the reason why one lady is capable of defeating a thousand men when it comes to the art of love; s so says it Ovid who knows this well. (7544-7554)

And, finally, the much-commented-upon, infamous advocacy of force within the context of amorous interplay found in <u>Ars. am</u>. I, 673-78:[226]

---

226 Ovid advises the hesitant lover that

> Vim licet appelles: grata est vis ista puellis: / Quod iuvat, invitae saepe dedisse volunt. / Quaecumque est veneris subita violata rapina, /

Et hom pot esser trop cortes, / a l'autre mot. Ver ne digam, / pos sera vengutz a reclam, / s'atent que si donz lo somona; / mais, si luecs et aises o dona, / prenga de lui seguramen / so qu'il no·il dona ni·l defen.

On the other hand, a man can be courtois too so that (and this is true) when he will come to depart with her he will wait until his lady summons him; but, if she provides him with a place and an occasion, let him in all confidence take from her that which she does not give or wishes to defend. (6248-6254)

Even though all these references could be taken from almost any amatory or elegiac Ovidian work, there also are, as it was the case in the R. de la R., the Tristan and the Yder direct references to Ovidian heroines and heroes who have succumbed to their amorous impulses. After the dinner that follows the wedding between Lord Archambaud and the protagonist Flamenca, the jongleurs (1,500 according to the narrator) get ready to show their abilities and capture the attention of the satiated audience. Almost all of the stories and tales in their repertoire come from the Met. or the Her.:

qui volc ausir diverses comtes / de reis, de marques e de comtes, / auzir ne poc tan can si volc; / anc null'aurella non lai colc, / quar l'us comtet de Priamus, / l'us comtet de la bell'Elena / com Paris l'enquer, pois l'anmena; / l'autres comtava d'Ulixes, / l'autre d'Ector e d'Achilles; / l'autre comtava d'Aeneas / e de Dido consi remas / per lui dolenta e mesquina; / l'autre comtava de Lavina / con fes lo breu el cairel traitre / a la gaita de l'auzor caire; / l'us comtet de Pollinices / de Tideu e d'Etïocles; / l'autres comtava d'Apolloine / consi retenc Tyre Sidoine / l'us comtet de rei Alexandri, / l'autre d'Ero e de Leandri; / l'us diz de Catmus can fugi / e de Tebas con las basti; / l'autre comtava de Jason / e del dragon que non hac son; / l'us comte<t> d'Alcide sa forsa, / l'autre com tornet en sa corsa / Phillis per amor Demophon; / l'us dis com neguet en la fon / lo belz Narcis quan s'i miret; / l'us diz de Pluto con emblet / sa bella mollier ad Orpheu. (617-649)

Whoever would like to hear different tales about kings, dukes and counts may then listen to as many as he pleased, none of his ears being left idle. One told the tale of Priamus, another that of Piramus, one told of beautiful Helen, and Paris, who took her away. Others spoke of

---

Gaudet, et inprobitas muneris instar habet, / At que cum posset cogi, non tacta recesssit, / Ut simulet vultu gaudia, tristis erit.

It is appropriate for you to use force for such force is pleasing to women; they often wish to be forced to concede that which they were already inclined to give. She will be pleased by whatever she has been forced into giving up, and will have a high regard for your audacity. On the other hand, she who is left untouched when she could have also been forced, though she appears to be pleased will be disappointed. (Ars Am. I, 673-78)

Ulysses, Hector and Achilles. Still others spoke of Eneas and Dido, abandoned by him, left broken-hearted and sad. Others spoke of Lavinia, how she had the arrow with the message sent to her. Others spoke of Pollinices, of Tideus and Etiocles. Others of Appolonius and how he retained Sidon and Tyre. Others of Alexander, hero and Leander. Others of Cadmus and how he fled and then founded Thèbes. Another of Jason and the sleepless dragon. One spoke of Alcides and his strength and another of how Phyllis hanged herself on account of Demophoon. Another of how fair Narcissus drowned in the pool where he looked at himself; another of how Pluto deprived Orpheus of his beautiful wife.[227] (618-650)

It is interesting to note that the tales told by these entertainers include in the same category tales like those of Pyramus and Thysbe or the story of Penelope and Ulysses as well as those of David (651-652), Samson (653-654), Julius Caesar (657-658), Gawain (665-667) and Lancelot (668-670). As E. B. Vitz has pointed out, this lengthy catalogue of poetic and musical genres (just like the incredible amount of jongleurs present at the banquet) can hardly be taken as a true representation of one single event and should be considered a rather exhaustive enumeration of all the acts and stories that could potentially be heard at such an event ("Showcase" 685).

These references to Ovidian heroines would, no doubt, have become much more valuable if a complete copy of the poem had been left extant. We can, however, infer from Guillem's successes at conquering Flamenca's will that both her and the characters from the Her. are being presented by the narrator as gullible victims of men. As we will see in the sections of this chapter dedicated to the depiction of young noble women in the GE, the theme of female vulnerability and the role of women in society (nobility to be more specific) permeates many references to the Ovidian Her. such as the ones found in Flamenca.

This vulnerability is shown by the male protagonists' mastery in the art of deception which allows them to conquer the innocent hearts of their female counterparts. While it is evident that most authors denounce directly or indirectly such fatidic and tragic ends for their protagonists, the question remains open as to what could have been intended by these acts of violence.

Both romance and historical narrative, as I will continue to show, contain elements that point towards an indirect depiction of women as inherently inferior and weaker to their male counterparts while, at the same time, a case is made for their moral superiority and subordinate social position. The question is one that remains open and I hope that my analysis of the Her. in romance and historical narrative as well as in the GE will contribute to a better understanding of the many factors involved in this complex issue.

4.3.8 Reinfried von Braunschweig: The Heroides and Medieval Epistolary Fiction

The anonymous verse epic Reinfried von Braunschweig was composed soon after 1291. In its 27,000 lines the poem narrates the love story between princess

---

227 The English translation is from Hubert & Porter's bilingual edition in Provençal and English.

Irkane and Reinfried, while also focusing on Reinfried's adventures as he is forced to leave Irkane and join the crusaders in Palestine. While Reinfried's feats constitute an important part of the narrative, the poem is unique in its use of embedded epistles as a means of introspection in the minds of both protagonists who exchange six letters throughout the work, all of which play a key role in the sentimental aspects of the plot.

The first one of these letters (5803-46) is from King Fortanagris (Irkane's father) to the Danish knight who had become jealous of princess Irkane's love for the protagonist, Reinfried von Braunschweig, a German Lord with whom she had secretly met while visiting Denmark. After being rejected by Irkane, the Danish knight threatened her with telling everybody about her secret encounter with Reinfried and sets out to Paris filled with jealousy and disdain. While in the first letter the King tries to entice the knight so that he will return and settle the matter, in the second one (6243-77) the tone is more aggressive to the extent that the knight takes it as a threat and an affront. Thus, considering himself disowned as a liege to his lord, the knight writes the third letter to the king infuriated, declaring his intentions to return and challenge any of the king's knights in order to prove that he is worth having Irkane's love.

Even though the letter is only briefly paraphrased as it is read to Irkane, it has a great value both in depicting the knight's fiery character and as a legal document. This epistle triggers the creation of an ad-hoc committee by the king that decides that the knight's claim is valid according to the law of the land and thus insists that the princess should find a knight who would fight for her honor.

Before sending a letter to Reinfried asking for his succor, Irkane is said to have sent letters to several other knights, once again emphasizing the functionality of epistolary communication in contemporary medieval society. Surprisingly, in the fourth letter (7511-7587), Irkane does not tell Reinfried about her predicament nor asks him directly for help. This is so to the extent that, as it is the case in some of the Her., she uses the third person to describe the addressee in order to create an effect on both the fictional reader and addressee. Moreover, the fact that Irkane pleads with Reinfried that he listen to the messenger who delivers the letter (7588-92) elaborates on the complexities involved in the epistolary mode of communication in the middle Ages.

Irkane's letter implies that the message is not only carried in the dispatch but also in the trust-worthy messenger who will supply (just like Medea's sister Chalciope or Helen's maids in the Her.) the information that decorum does not allow to put into writing (a request for help from a royal princess) or which, if intercepted, would not present her as an innocent lady, but rather as a manipulative member of the nobility. It is interesting to note here, as P. Dreher has done, that Irkane's apparent innocence is put into question by the presentation of King Fortanagris' letters (46). While being unmediated, honest, direct, and strictly adhering to the most refined ars dictaminis prove disastrous to Fortanagris' interests, Irkane's seemingly-innocent, duplicitous, circuitous, and highly-lyrical plea achieves its two ultimate purposes: to bring back Reinfried to her and to get rid of the threat posed by the knight seeking to marry her against her will.

Reinfried writes letter number five (8607-30) to the King announcing his

impending visit yet he never delivers it through a messenger but rather presents it himself to the King. This message is obviously not intended as a functional document but rather as a written declaration of intentions highlighting Reinfried's resolve as well as a plot device that emphasizes the knight's resolve and haste in coming to the aid of his beloved (he is travelled so fast that not even a messenger would have delivered the letter before himself). The first part of the romance comes to an end after Reinfried defeats his enemy and marries Irkane.

The first letter (24523-684) in the second part (number 6) is Irkane's own heroide in which she reminds her now absent husband (who has left her to crusade in the Holy Lands in order to fulfill an omen that his wife will only bear him children if should help recover Jerusalem from the infidel) of his duties as a spouse, a father (she has had a child since her husband departed) and describes the pain his absence is causing her. In order to further advance her case, she appeals to both her husband's and the reader's conscience by citing the renowned cases of several of the heroines (Penelope, Dido, Briseis, Phyllis, Helen, and Medea) portrayed in Ovid's Her. with whom she undoubtedly is comparing herself:[228]

> "Ei künd ich als Benelopê / durchgründen rehter liebe mez, / dô sî dem helt Ulixes / brief und boten sante, / daz er wider wante / von Troye sîne widervart, / der sî doch entweret wart, / wan der künste rîche starp / ûf dem mer dâ er verdarp, / sô wolt ich schriben ouch alsô. / Ald kund ich joch als Dŷdô / schreip Enêâ dem fürsten wert, / des sî ouch leider wart entwert, / dâ von sî sich verbrande. / Brîsêidâ diu sande / ouch minnenclîche botschaft / Achillî der mit grôzer kraft / vor Troie ritterlîchen vaht. / Pillis in grôzer liebe aht / schreip dem helt Demesticô. / Hêlên von Kriechen schreip ouch sô / Parîde vil schône. / Medêâ schreip Jasône / ouch minnenclîchiu mære. / Ob nu mîn herze wære / listic gên der minne / für ir aller sinne / in den ie stæter muot beleip / ald von minne minneuchlîch geschreip / ie der werd Ovidîus, / daz wolt ich al en einen kus / mit gedihte schrîben."

> "Oh, if I only could fully express true love as Penelope did when she sent hero Ulysses a letter and a messenger, asking him to return home from Troy (she was, however, not successful, since the "multi-talented one" died at sea where he disappeared);[229] in this manner I too would

---

228 Irkane also compares herself to Isolde and Helen in a previous monologue (92336-55). According to Dittrich-Orlovius, this comparison allows the author to present Irkane's character more fully by providing direct access to her feelings and motivations (139). It should be noted, however, that the letters sent by Irkane present her as a much less innocent character than those portrayed by Ovid or that which she ascribes herself by means of her desperate pleas.

229 This is, obviously, not the case in the Odyssey. According to Dictys in Ephemeridos Belli Troiani VI, 15 (whom the author of the Reinard seems to follow here), Ulysses ends his days at the hands of his son by the sorceress Circe, Telegonus. As M. M. Rossi points out, not even Dante believed Ulysses had safely returned to Ithaca (196). When commenting on the fondness of medieval authors for heroes who

like to write. Or, if I only could do as Dido did when she wrote a letter to the worthy prince Aeneas (unfortunately she was not successful either, so she took her own life on a pyre). Briseis too sent a love message to Achilles who, with a great army, fought valiantly before Troy. Phyllis, in the grip of great love, wrote a letter to hero Demesticus [i.e. Demophoon]. Helen of Greece also wrote a letter to Paris in this beautiful way. Medea, too, wrote Jason a missive of love. If my heart were skillful in regard to love concerning all those whose minds always remained steadfast, then I would put all that venerable Ovid ever wrote lovingly about love into a poetically written kiss." (24534-65)[230]

As P. Dreher has remarked, the anonymous author of the <u>Reinfried</u> "is able to heighten the reader's sense of action and discovery" by "withholding the texts of the letters from the reader until they reach the intended receiver, the poet" (47). The letters presented in the <u>Reinfried</u> are thus an integral part of the complex mechanism used by the author to present the characters' pretended and real qualities. Moreover, the details into which the poet goes when describing how these letters are composed, sent, read out loud and the intricacies of the negotiation of their content as well as of their continent indicate that there was a strong association between real contemporary letters and pseudo-historical literary correspondence such as that of Ovid's heroines.

4.3.9 <u>Diu Crône</u>: Hierarchy and the Constraints on the Female Voice

This Arthurian romance by the Austrian Heinrich von dem Türlin tells the story of the Knights of the Round Table and their search for the Holy Grail. <u>Diu Crône</u> (<u>The Crown</u>) (ca. 1220) narrates in its some 30,000 lines the parallel stories of King Arthur and Sir Gawein. The poem is conceived by the author as a "wol gesmite(r) krone" ("well-wrought crown"; 29917) that combines fantastic events and creatures and is furnished with prolific lists of events, members of the nobility, descriptions of landscapes, castles, precious stones... M. Wynn sees in the <u>Diu Crône</u> an author who seems to be attempting to compile "an all-embracing corpus of Arthurian tales" so as to provide his readers with an ever more original and authoritative account of the lives of Arthur and Gawein (135). The use of many French, Latin, and Greek words throughout the text, coupled with his eclectic use of romance sources has

---

wander endlessly in the late medieval romances, E. B. Vitz, ironically, remarks that "if (certain) medieval narrators were to get hold of Ulysses, he would never get home" (<u>Narrative</u> 111).

230 The translation was kindly provided to me by Dr. Bernd Kratz. He also added the following note to the last verses:

> The last section is highly problematic. These eight lines of text, as they appear in the unique manuscript in which the work is preserved, are undoubtedly partially corrupt, as quite a few passages elsewhere are. The sentence structure is unclear, and I am also skeptical about the 'kiss'; I wonder whether in the original it wasn't 'gus' instead of 'kus' (cf. modern German 'aus einem Guss,' 'in perfect shape.')

contributed to Heinrich's portrayal as a learned clerk whose main aim was to startle his readers with his knowledge (E. K. Heller 81).

In the case of the prolific list of lovers that the author furnishes midway through the romance, the examples of Ovid's heroines are presented as victims of the folly of romantic love. L. Jillings sees this list of tragic heroines as supportive of the "reaction against the over-idealization of love" that the poem features especially in the narration of the abduction of the female protagonist (4897-4916, 4969 ff) as well as in the open criticism of the author towards Gawein's enforced marriage (260).

The author actually describes himself as a defender of women's worth on several occasions, especially when he points out at the beginning of the romance that "ez ist von dem Türlin / Heinrich, des zunge nie / Wîbes ganzen lop verlie, / der vant ditz maere, / wannen geborn waere / Küneg Artûs der guote" (246-251) ("it is Heinrich von Türlin, who has always praised women highly, who discovered the story about the origins of the good King Arthur"; J. W. Thomas 5). If the work is understood as an expansion on the theme of the role of women in Arthurian romances, the episode of the abduction reveals itself key to understanding how Heinrich enables a dialogue between the feminine characters of Diu Crône and the expectations that his audience had of them as well as of him as the narrator.

The first mention of Ovidian characters in the romance is precisely brought up in order to express the deep sorrow that the abduction of King Arthur's Queen has brought upon the kingdom.[231]

> Dô Elena mit Pârîs schiet / Ze Kriechen ûz dem lande, / Dar umb man Troien brande; / Swie ditz allez wære / Genuoc klagebære, /wan maneger dâ den lîp verlôs, / È sie wurden sigelôs: / Daz englîchet sich niht dirre klage; (11550-57)

> There was great sorrow among the Greeks at Helen's departure with Paris, which led to the burning of Troy, but although the whole affair was lamentable enough and many lives were lost before the defeat, the mourning did not equal this. (J. W. Thomas 129)

From the very beginning, many of the elements of the plot are directly linked to (if not caused by) gender-related issues. Thus in verses 1179-1521 the story of a

---

231 There are numerous variations of this event in the corpus of Arthurian romances. In the Durmart le Galois (ca. 1200), for example, the story is quite different:

Guenevere, while hunting near Glastonbury in a forest under the sole escort of Yder, is carried off by King Bruns de Morois to his castle. Durmart, one of Arthur's knights, undertakes to rescue the queen. He finds that King Bruns' stronghold, le Chastel de Morois, is defended by water and bogs and is surrounded by seven walls in each of which is an iron gate. As Durmart, Yder, and others approach le Chastel de Morois, the townsfolk warn them that if they fail Yder's head will be stuck on a pike outside the castle. Upon the castle walls are diplayed the shields of warriors whom Bruns has conquered and slain. Durmart is victorious and releases the queen. (qtd. in A.C.L. Brown 10)

strange knight turns into a test of female faithfulness.[232] Keii has arrived into the court of King Arthur mysteriously and with him he has brought a magic cup made in Toledo by necromancers. Anyone who attempts to drink from the cup who has a bad spirit or is unfaithful to their lover/spouse is bound to spill its contents when they try to drink from it. Unknowingly, the king grants Keei his wish that all women in the court drink from the cup in public, which they do with different results. Ginover is the only lady who spills but a little of the wine in the cup. Other "contestants" such as her sister Lady Flori (Gawein's ladyfriend) has the wine gushed over her face not to mention Galaida (the ladyfriend of the lord high steward), whose hands are even unable to touch the cup.

This seemingly antifeminist display is brought to an abrupt end by Greingradoan, who defends women and their mistakes and accuses his male counterparts of even greater evils (1360-1370). Indeed, when the turn of the knights come, only King Arthur is capable of drinking from the cup whereas even Lancelot and Gawein spill at least some wine. Both the incident of the magic cup and Heinrich's laudatory comments of his predecessors Reinmar and Hartmann on account of their defense of women further the argument that <u>Diu Crone</u> is engaging in a debate about the worth of women as portrayed in Arthurian romance (2250-2260).

The cause of all of Ginover's troubles is precisely her "lack of modesty" when she scorns her husband in private regarding his manliness (3334-3456). Arthur returns home after a hunt-day and while he sits by the fire his wife accuses him of not being as "warm-blooded" as a knight she will not mention. Ginover insists on describing the "secret knight" to the point that the king leaves the room in anger and asks his counsellors for advice so as to what should he do with the queen. Keii advises him to not pay heed to women since they often speak without thinking first. The narrator then points out that whereas a wise man finds comfort in sorrow, it is women who dwell in their own grief. Then he goes on to reprimand Keii for ill-speaking about his wife and reminds him that she has always been well-mannered and faithful to him.

Since it was precisely Arthur's "cold heart" that his wife had reproached him for (she claimed that a mysterious knight who patrols a ford outside the city walls was "warmer" than him), the events that follow the counselors' misogynist advice is telling of the narrator's attitude towards female representation in romances. The King and his knights decide to watch the area that this knight is supposed to patrol and Keii, Gales, and Aumagwin, overcome by the cold, are apprehended by the mysterious knight, a fact that cannot be taken but as a sign of the narrator's contempt for the characters' misogynist attitude. King Arthur is the only knight left standing and, again, the nature of women is discussed by the narrator through one of his characters. Now that Arthur is calm (the cold has leveled his "humor") he realizes that although women can be offensive in the way they act or when they talk, the truth is that their actions are of a noble nature (4379-4386).

---

232 A similar ordeal takes place in 23418-24692; This time a glove is the magic object used to test the virtue of knights and ladies alike. Once again, only Arthur and Ginover pass the test although not without blemish.

Eventually Arthur and the secret knight (Gasozein de Dragoz) become friends, although, soon enough he reveals that he has come to claim Ginover's hand which had been promised to him by Cupid when Ginover was only a girl. The story breaks up here and Gawain becomes the protagonist. After a long ordeal, the knight finds himself at a court where a messenger is sent by Amurfina of Serre, a powerful lady who demands that Gawein come to her or else she will bring war to those who protect him (7667-7853). Amurfina did not want her sister and co-heir to the throne of Forei to have Gawein sent by King Arthur to defend Sgoidamur's cause, since both sisters were now claiming their father's throne. Gawein and Amurfina quickly fall in love but when they are lying together in bed, a magic sword seizes the knight and does not allow the lovers to consummate their love. Heinrich explains that only a lover whose heart is constant and promises to be faithful to the queen will be allowed to lie with her. Gawein takes his vow and eventually becomes king although he forgets his previous identity since "Love has locked his thoughts" (9125).

Once Gawein's ordeal comes to an end, the narrator makes a sudden transition to King Arthur's court where everybody now waits for the knight. Arthur is worried about his wife and he recounts the story of her offensive words and the mysterious knight who soon will return to fight him for his wife and his kingdom. Heinrich censors those who speak ill of women and even promises that any lady whose favor he should win will never have her name revealed (10402). When Arthur finally meets Gasozein, Ginover is forced to decide in public whom she wants to keep as her lover and she finally chooses Arthur (10965). Ginover's brother, Count Gotegrin becomes infuriated, since he is told that his sister had hesitated before accepting Arthur as her lawful husband and plans to have her killed. When the terrible deed is about to be committed, Gasozein rescues Ginover. In spite of her state of distress, Ginover is aware that the knight's ultimate intentions are not lawful, although she eventually is forced to accept his protection as Heinrich explains:

> Ein weinen von ir ougen brach, / dar ûz sie leideclîchen sprach: / riter, tuot dise rede hin; / ez ist an iu ein unsin, / daz ir der rede gedenket. / Wie het ich danne bekrenket / aller wîbe werdekeit, / Sô ich iu des waere bereit, / daz ich mînen man lieze / und mich alsô verstieze, / daz ich mit iu ze lande / mich ûf solhe unstaete wande, / daz ich iuwer kebes müeste wesen. (11345-57)

> The tears began to flow as she sadly replied: "Don't talk about that, knight; it is foolish for you even to think of it. What harm I would do to the honor of all women if I were ready to leave my husband and unfaithfully stray so far as to go home with you to be your mistress." (J. W. Thomas 127)

When news of the abduction reach Arthur's court, everybody is distressed and the first mention of Ovidian characters in the romance is precisely brought up in order to express the deep sorrow that the abduction of King Arthur's Queen has brought upon the kingdom:[233]

---

233 There are numerous variations of this event in the corpus of Arthurian romances. In the Durmart le Galois (ca. 1200), for example, the story is quite different:

Dô Elena mit Pârîs schiet / Ze Kriechen ûz dem lande, / Dar umb man Troien brande; / Swie ditz allez wære / Genuoc klagebære, /wan maneger dâ den lîp verlôs, / È sie wurden sigelôs: / Daz englîchet sich niht dirre klage; (11550-57)

There was great sorrow among the Greeks at Helen's departure with Paris, which led to the burning of Troy, but although the whole affair was lamentable enough and many lives were lost before the defeat, the mourning did not equal this. (J. W. Thomas 129)

At this point, Heinrich recalls the stories of several heroines whose misfortunes recall that of Ginover, who has been mistreated no less than by her rightful husband (King Arthur), her own brother (Gotegrin), and even a noble knight such as Gasozein:

Und swie wir hœren manic sage, / Dâ vil jâmers geschach, / Sam dô sich brande unde stach / Vrowe Dîdô umbe Êneam; / Und dô her Tristram genam / Durch vroun Îsalden den tôt; / Und dô man Grâlanden sot; / Und Îwein wart sinnelôs, / Dô in vrou Laudîn verkôs; / Und dô Leander ertranc, / Und ouch Mêdêam ir gedanc / Dar zuo leider nôte, / Daz sie ir kint ertôte, / Daz nieman kunde erretten; / Und dô Totan under betten / Durch liebe erdructen diu wîp; / Und dô vrou Tispê den lîp / Verlôs und her Pîramus; / Und dô der künec Thêseus / Wart ouch in den tôt versant, / Und Alexandrum, den wîgant, / Daz eiter und diu gift zebrach; / Und dô sich mit dem tôde rach / Jæmerlîchen Adriachnes, / Und der küene Hercules / In einem hemede verbran, / Und ouch umb den selben man / Vrou Jôles tôt gelac, / Diu ir und ime einen slac / Des tôdes von ir schulden gap; / Und do Diedamîa in daz grap / Lemtigiu vor leide gienc; / Und dô sich Phillis erhienc; / Und dô von der leide gart / Mirra zeinem boume wart; / Und dô sich Dafnes ersluoc; / Und dô Dirtes an truoc, / Daz Agamennon wart erslagen, / Und Thiesti wart vür getragen / Ze ezzene sîn selbes kint; / Und dô bî des meres sint / Ipolitum die delphîn, / Als ez diu stiufmuoter sîn / Schuof, allen zebrâchen / Und sie an ime gerâchen: / Daz was klagebære vil; / Vür wâr ich iu sagen wil, / Noch was der jâmer grôzer hie, / Der sie al gemeinlich vie / Und sie kein vröude haben lie. (11549-11607)

Guenevere, while hunting near Glastonbury in a forest under the sole escort of Yder, is carried off by King Bruns de Morois to his castle. Durmart, one of Arthur's knights, undertakes to rescue the queen. He finds that King Bruns' stronghold, le Chastel de Morois, is defended by water and bogs and is surrounded by seven walls, in each of which is an iron gate. As Durmart, Yder, and others approach le Chastel de Morois, the townsfolk warn them that if they fail, Yder's head will be stuck on a pike outside the castle. Upon the castle walls are displayed the shields of warriors whom Bruns has conquered and slain. Durmart is victorious and releases the queen. (qtd. in A.C.L. Brown 10)

194

We hear many tales of much suffering—Dido stabbing herself upon the flaming pyre because of Aeneas; Tristram [Tristan] dying through love of Lady Isolde; Gralant [Graelent] being boiled, Iwein losing his mind on being rejected by Laudine; Leander drowning, Medea's thoughts driving her to kill her child, whom none could save; the women suffocating Totan [?] under the bedding for Love's sake; Pyramus and Thisbe losing their lives; King Theseus being sent off to his death; poison destroying the mighty Alexander; Arachen avenging herself wretchedly through her death; the bold Hercules burning up in a robe, and Lady Iole, the cause of this, dying on account of him; Deianira going alive to her grave through grief; Phyllis hanging herself; Myrrah goaded by sorrow into becoming a tree; Daphnis slaying herself; Dirces [Dirce?] plotting the murder of Agamemnon; Thyestes being served the flesh of his own son; and the stepmother of Hippolytus getting revenge on him by contriving to have dolphins crush him at the seashore, which was greatly to be deplored—but I tell you truly that the grief that seized everyone here was much greater and left them bereft of all happiness (J. W. Thomas 129-30)

The comparison being established here is obvious: Ginover's unfortunate remarks about King Arthur's prowess have caused great sorrow to many in the same way the love stories of the ancient heroines are still remembered because of their tragic consequences.

Heinrich's excursus is immediately followed by Gisozein's attempted rape of the queen who is eventually saved at the last moment by Gawein who implores him by saying:

Ritter, waz ist dirre gewalt? / Wie wurt ir ie sô vrouwen balt, / oder wer lêrt iuch die unzuht, / daz ir solhes gewaltes vruht / an vrouwen soltet wenden, / dâ mite ir iuch schenden / und sie und ritters namen welt? (11760-66)

"Knight, what do you mean by this? How did you ever get so brave with women? And who taught you to be crude enough to use force against them, bringing shame on them, yourself, and knighthood? (J. W. Thomas 131)

As Neil Thomas points out in his introduction to "Diu Crône and the Medieval Arthurian Cycle," Heinrich's work has been the subject of much exegetical debate, especially since it has been studied mainly in comparison to other Arthurian works while not paying attention to "the author's "transgressive fantasy" and the "comedy and contrafactura" in which the romance abounds" (1).[234]

S. Samples argues that the description of the rape attempt by means of a "language of violence" has the effect of diminishing "the heinousness of this sexual assault" (196). I, however, believe that Gasozein's perturbed state and lack of

---

234 The expression "transgressive fantasy" is borrowed from Elisabeth Schmid (211); "comedy and contrafactura" is from Hartmut Bleumer (267).

restraint as well as Ginover's futile attempts to resist the advances of the knight are evidence that the narrator, much like Gawein himself, is presenting the heroine as a helpless victim.[235] The narrator goes in detail to explain that Ginover was paralyzed by fear and helpless:

> Ginôver von der rede erschrac / sô sêre, dâz ir muot gelac / under dirre rede zwîvelhaft, / und gedâhte, daz wibes kraft / wider in waere ze swach; / dar zuo und sie niemen sach, (der ir hülfe wider in; /si enkunde ouch deheinen sin / ûf dise rede erdenken, / dâ mite sie ime gewenken / deheine wîse möhte, daz ez nâch êren töhte. (11411-22)

> This declaration so frightened Ginover that her courage failed her; she thought that a woman's strength could not resist him [Gasozein] and saw no one to help her. Moreover, she could think of no reply that could in any way change his mind and bring about an honorable outcome. (J. W. Thomas 128)

In spite of R. Wallbanks' judgment that the work is "by almost universal consent, the most tedious, superficial and ill-constructed" of the early thirteenth-century German Arthurian romances (300), recent studies such as Susann Samples' "The Rape of Ginover in Heinrich von dem Türlin's <u>Diu Crône</u>" have focused more in

---

235 This is Heinrich's account of the climatic moment:

> Als er nû die hüffe begreif, / sîn hant manegen enden sleif, / swâ im aller liebest was, / unz erkam vür daz palas, / des vrouwe Minne eine pfliget / und dâ ir bere tougen liget: / da hegan er suochen daz sloz, / in ir bruël zevuorte er daz broz, / daz mit blüete was entsprungen; / wan er kam zuo gedrungen / wan er kam zuo gedrungen / Mit sô grôzem gwalte, / daz er sîn vil valte, / als ez die geluste reizte. / Vor der porten er erbeizte / und wolt sie hân ervohten. / Gotes gnâden don enmobien / sô smelle von sinem igel / vor dem antwerc die rigel / niht werden wol zebrochen, / dâ mite sie was belochen, / wan sie satzte sich ze wer, / ouch was ez sô in ir gewer, / dar nâch Gasozein streit, / sit ez ir was sô leit, / daz sie imz guot wile entseit. (11719-43)

> After the knight had grasped her hip, his hand wandered here and there at will until he came to where Lady Love's mountain lies hidden and the palace that she alone rules. He brought a sprig that had sprung up with blossoms into her bushy meadow and began to search for the castle, pressing forward with great force so that he could throw down as much of it as he wished. Soon the knight dismounted in front of the gate and tried to seize control of it. Luckily, the bars with which the gate was secured could not be broken by his battering ram so quickly because the lady defended herself. Since that for which Gasozein strove was in her keeping and she struggled desperately, she was able to protect it from him for some time. As the one line of attack had failed, the knight swung himself under Ginover's leg and tried to conquer her thus. (J. W. Thomas 131)

Heinrich's "changing male attitude toward women" (196). The ample sources and the variety in the examples provided by Heinrich reinforce the hypothesis that he was indeed trying to lay out a convincing argument in the defense of his female protagonist, romance female characters, and women in general.

The great amount of sources used by Heinrich (some of which have been lost to us) make it difficult to assess the work's originality and intertextuality since it seems that his audience, just like himself, would have a much greater understanding of the world of Arthurian romance than we could devise. At any rate, as J. Heinzle has suggested, Heinrich's bookish display of an array of literary traditions, characters, and descriptions is deliberately abundant, although its purpose or context remains unclear (<u>Wandlungen</u> 132-33). According to N. Thomas, however, since Heinrich's King Arthur is presented as "a seemingly inexperienced ruler who, insecure in his marriage, is moved on one notable occasion to confide his woes to three remaining knights who had not fled his presence at the behest of the (at that stage) rather feckless Gawein" (762-63), it appears that the romance could be seen as revisiting a fictional history such as that of Karidol from the point of view of a contemporary courtly audience.

At any rate, <u>Diu Crône</u> displays a remarkable exploration of the protagonist female characters that bears a clear resemblace to Ovid's association of women in the <u>Her.</u> to truthfulness, faithfulness, self-disclosure, and writing. The protagonists of the <u>Her.</u>, like Ginover, are victimized by men's ability to work around traditional morals and modes of behavior in order to subvert their female counterparts' natural use of truthful and clear arguments in their defense. Similarly, these women's inability to speak their minds without being victimized, accounts for their tragic ends which men often associate to their own manipulative nature. Finally, both their letters and their substitutes in romance narratives, (internal monologues) are represented as the only way left for them to speak out and trascend the impositions of a hierarchy which is the ultimate responsible for the behavior of the male protagonists and the tragic end of their female counterparts.

4.3.10 Conclusions

N. E. Griffin has defined romance as "a tale of an improbable or, better, of an incredible character" as opposed to the epic which he considers to have been "a credible tale" to its contemporary audience (55-6). The romance writer would thus have been "totally indifferent to the credibility of his tale so long as it is made plausible or, failing that, amusing and diverting." (56) Griffin adds that "the epic of one people will, if transplanted, become the romance of another" (58). The Trojan War and the characters and stories in the <u>Her.</u> share the traits of "romanticization" described by Griffin and are presented throughout Europe as ancient historical or epic accounts which were adapted and transformed to please the tastes of a Medieval audience. In spite of retaining some relatively fantastic features, the stories of these heroines were not considered exclusively historic material but history at the service of larger narratives.

The romance author presents this historical information as foreign and distant in time and must therefore become an interpreter of its meaning. This interpretation is carried out in accordance to the ultimate end of the narrative as well as with the habitus of the implicit reader in mind. In order to do so, the writer

will often find it useful to his purposes to rely on a previous narrative voice whose authority he will recurrently establish as uncontested.[236] Since the resulting text would be aimed towards a public sensibly different from the original audience, these were stories "from which had been expunged whatever was exclusively national and failed to possess meaning for the people for whom they were written" (Griffin, 60).

The first thing which these authors took special care not to remove was any reference or description to battle (62). Griffin offers the Trojan War as an example in which Homer's divinities are dismissed in favor of Dares and Dyctis' first person accounts. He also cites how Trojans and Greeks fight on horse-back and not on chariot or joust in the R. de Tr.(63). Griffin also explains how the romance writer does not hesitate to add to the story, if need be, to please a patron or favorable person (65). He concludes with a rather poetic metaphor in which he affirms that an epic story "is like a ship which, once cut loose from its moorings, becomes a derelict, capable of being put to whatever uses the coast-dwellers upon whose shores it is cast may choose" (70).

Before the roman français emerged in the twelfth century, a series of now lost short poems existed which critics believe gave rise to longer and more detailed historic accounts of Troy, Rome, and Greece. These short tales had been extracted from Ovid's works and thus the R. de Tr. mentions a poem about Héro and Léandre (22121 anf ff.); William of England mentions a Conte de Tantale (903-914), and a tale about Orpheus (from which the English version (Sir Orfeo) would have come) is mentioned by Marie de France in the tale of L'Espine. On the other hand, we preserve the tales of Narcissus, Piramus et Tisbé, and Chrétien de Troyes' Philomela.

A.-F- Sabot has argued that the creative explosion that took place in twelfth-century France was the result of a new class-consciousness by the aristocracy that developed an "amorous ideology, heathen morals and a joy of life" that were unknown to a firmly Christian Western society (242).

The most thorough studies of the influence of Ovid's works on the French epic genre known as matière de Rome, roman français, roman d'antiquité or roman antique are Faral's Recherches sur les sources Latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge and Wilmotte's De l'origine du roman en France (La Tradition anitque et les éléments chrétiens du roman).

Faral and Wilmotte's argue that It was during the so-called Second Medieval Renaissance (which C. H. Haskins so clearly defined in his seminal work, The

---

236 Griffin cites three examples:

> The Life of Alexander, falsely attributed to Callisthenes, the attendant of Alexander on the latter's Asiatic campaign; the Charlemagne cycle upon the History of Charles the Great, fraudulently ascribed to Archbishop Turpin, the friend and contemporary of Charlemagne; and the Troy cycle upon two annalistic histories of the Trojan war falsely attributed to alleged participants in that event, who had never so much as had even an existence in the flesh, viz., to the Cretan soldier Dictys, represented as fighting on the side of the Greeks, and to the Phrygian soldier Dares, represented as fighting on the side of the Trojans. (59-60)

Renaissance of the Twelfth Century) that this very specific combination of historic, epic and poetic genres flourished in France. According to them, it was precisely the two universities that Jiménez de Rada attended (Paris and Orléans) that pioneered this new literary movement. Cicero, Statius, Seneca, Horace, Virgil and many other classical writers were meticulously studied by clerics (men of letters who could understand and use Latin). As Faral notes, these clerics were admirers, commentators, and collectors who avidly acquired, read and copied manuscripts (398) but who also developed a great admiration for the capacity of the ancient *poetae* whom they saw as learned men capable of transmitting knowledge that otherwise would have been lost forever (399).

The representation of these ancient poets as "érudit" can be found in Arnulf d'Orléans (together with John of Garland, Alfonso's authority on Ovidian matters) in his commentaries and glosses to Lucan's Pharsalia, whereby "poetae non ore proprio tantum loquuntur sed de spiritus reuelatione, et bene dicuntur poetae canere quia metrice scribunt et continentiam et concordiam morum persuadere intendunt" ("poets do not speak for themselves but rather according to what the geist reveals to them and it is appropriate to say that they sing because they write in metrical form and because they advocate a behavior based on self-control and amity"; Marti 250). Similarly, for Arnulf, Lucan is both a poet and a historian: "Non iste est poeta purus sed poeta et historiographus; nam historiam suam prosequitor et nihil fingit, unde poeta non simpliciter dicitur sed poeta et historiographus" ("He [Lucan] is not a poet per se, but a poet and an historian, for he proceeds to give his account without making up or altering anything, thus claiming for himself not only the title of poet but also that of historian"; Marti 247).

This description of the ancient poet as both a poet and an historian is found in the GE when Ovid is introduced as someone who writes for entertainment (razones de solaz) but also with the purpose of enlightening his audience (razones de verdad):

> Ouidio que fue muy sabio & muy cumplido poeta entre los auctores (& poeta quiere dezir tanto como fallador de nuevo de razon, e enfeñidor della e assacador por mostrar razones de solaz por sus palabras en este fecho, e aun razones e palabras de uerdad, segund lo que ellos quieren dar a entender por ellas mostrar, como oyredes adelant).

> Ovid was a highly esteemed poet among the auctores. And poet stands for re-teller of a truthful concept or idea as well as an interpreter of it and its developer who devised a way to tell the story in an entertaining way while telling the truth according to his own interpretation of those words as you will be able to see next. (GE I, 69r)

As we can see in this excerpt, the didactic purpose of the GE provides us, once again, with great insight into the habitus of thirteenth-century medieval translators and editors. Alfonso's explanation of the translatio topos is not much different from that expounded by critics such as D. Kelly: "translatio is itself a lingering over old matter. But it is also an expansion of vision and knowledge about that matter. The inquiry and studium that translatio supposes show that new truths may be uncovered in what the ancients left obscure" (305-6). In the case of the GE John of Garland and Arnulf of Orléans are major influences in this hermeneutic effort that

Alfonso explains in so much detail all over the GE:

> Leemos en los integumentos de los sabios que espusieron oscuros los dichos delos gentiles. E es integumento por descobrimiento. por que departe & descubre & apaladina las palabras & razones sobre lo que quisieron dezir en ellas los sabios delos gentiles. en que dixieron encubierta mientre uno por al.

> We read in the integumenta of the wise men who explained the obscure words of the Gentiles (and integumentum means discovery because it discusses and removes that which is "covering" the words and puts them forth in common language together with their meaning in accordance to what the wise men of the Gentiles meant by them and what is it that they meant when they said one thing "covertly" instead of another.) (GE I, 73r)

A final conclusion that is derived from the references to the Ovidian heroines in these romances is the characterization of women as a focus of moral exploration in the narrative. There is a stark contrast between these characterizations and the religious invectives and short Goliardic poems that are often used in order to present the Middle Ages as a predominantly misogynist era. The following excerpt follows the previous one in which integumenta were discussed. It is not a coincidence that the author explains what the stories of the Gentiles meant immediately before providing an explanation for why these stories talked about heroes and for what purposes are these narratives supposed to be used:

> Et fallamos que departen que por poder et saber que auien algunos dellos en las cosas & en las naturas dellas. mas quelos otros omnes. llamaron los gentiles sos dioses aaquellos. quelo merescieron desta guisa. E qual quier Rey o dios que ellos dixieron que era Rio. gelo dizien por razon de friura dessa tierra o el regnaua. & dela castidad delas yentes della. E dizien gelo otrossi por seer el Rey. o aquel dios muy poderoso. de las riberas & delas tierras uezinas daquel Rio. Et por que el agua es fria de natura. departe Maestre iohan entre los otros departimientos desto. que el agua es madre dela friura. & la friura madre dela blancura & dela castidad. E diz que por quelas donzellas uirgines fastal tiempo de casar. suelen seer de fria natura & casta. mas que enel tiempo de despues. llamaron a algunas dellas essos auctores. delos gentiles. fijas daquellos dioses & Reyes. E ellos non fablaron en sos dichos si non de grandes omnes. quier fuesse de malas costumbres quier de buenas. aquellas dueñas o donzellas en quien ellos quisieron poner sos exiemplos encubiertos. Assi como era Dampne aquien amo Phebo dios del sol. fascas sabio da e las naturas del sol. quela llamaron fija de Peneo. a quien llamauan ellos Rey & dios. Et otrossi a esta yo de quien aqui fablamos aquien amo el Rey Juppiter como es dicho. quel dixieron que era fija del dios. & Rey. et Rio ynaco. & esto assi fue & todos lo dizen que esta yo fija fue de ynaco Rey de argos de Grecia.

> And we find that they discuss how it was because some of these

Gentiles had more power over and knowledge about things and their nature that they were called by the others gods which they deserved to be called. And as for any King or god which they said was a River, they called him so because of the coldness of the land over which he ruled and of the chastity of the people who lived in it. And they also call him that since he was a mighty King or god among whose territories were those riverbanks and the lands adjacent to that river. And Master John of Garland explains, while discussing these interpretations, why water is naturally cold. And he says that water is the mother of coldness and coldness the mother of whiteness and chastity. And he explains how, since virgin ladies tend to be of a colder and more chaste nature before they get married than after they do, as time went by, some of those ladies began to be called by the Gentiles daughters of those gods and Kings. And in their writings they do not talk about anyone but great men (be them of good or bad morals) [including] those ladies and maidens in which they put their covert examples. And such was the case with Daphne who was love by Phoebus, god of the sun, which is to say, a wise man with regard to the nature[s] of the sun. And she was called daughter of Penus [a river god] whom he called King and god. And so is the case with this Io of whom we have said was loved by King Jupiter and, as it was just said, was said to be daughter of a god and King and River Inachus. And this was so and everybody agrees on it that Io was the daughter of Inachus, the king of Argos in Greece. (<u>GE</u> I, 73r)

A good example of this controversy is the anonymous Lombardo-venetian misogynist poem <u>Proverbia quae dicuntur super natura feminarum</u> (1152-1160), which contains a reference to the <u>Her.</u> The text predates the <u>GE</u> by several decades and is based on an Old-French original dating back to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century (<u>Chastiemusart</u>). Whereas the French original varies from some manuscripts to others (twenty up to fifteen hundred lines), the Italian version is extant in only one manuscript. Both are written in the traditionally clerical style of monorhyming Alexandrine quatrains, which in Spain would be adapted as the <u>cuaderna vía</u>.

F. R. Psaki has read the <u>Proverbia</u> not as much as an adaptation of the <u>Chastiemusart</u>, but rather as a dialogic response to a series on unjustified prejudices against women prevalent in many misogynist texts of the time. According to Psaki, "the <u>Proverbia</u> make of the <u>Chastiemusart</u> a hyperbolic parody of its textual matrix, turning misogyny against itself by undermining the credibility of its wise fool of a mouthpiece" (29):

E tanti per 'sto segolo d'esti fati ai entesi, / como le false femene gabà li soi amisi, / quando d'esi recordome, molto ne faço risi: / quili ch'ad ele serveno, ben li tegno barbisi. / La raina Trïesta como lo fiio aucise, / Ovidio ['n]dele Pistole ben lo conta e 'l dise: / 'sta eniquitosa femena stranio pensero fese, / ond no s'enfid' en femena né vilan ni cortese. / Saçate, ogna malicia et ogna mala causa / en lo cor de la femena sta

201

serata e repausa. / 'Sta paraula descovrove, e no stëa reclausa: / merveio, cui conosele, com' unc' amar le ausa. / La fii[ol]a d'un re, c'Amirai l'om apela, / ço q'ela fe' al pare, Ovidio ne favela: / Mira con la soa baila li fe' tal garbinela, / no la feçe plu laida vetrana ni poncela. / Çà lo cor de la femena no repausa né fina / tant fin q'ela no emple ço q'à en soa corina: / cortese né vilana, contesa ni raina, / tuto tempo sta en ele 'sta malvasia dotrina.

And I have heard of so many of these stories in this age (how false women have deceived their lovers) that when I recall them I cannot help but to laugh at those men who fall for those women's entrapments: I rightly consider them idiots. Ovid tells well the story of how the saddened queen killed her son when he says: "This wretched woman developed an abhorrent mind which is the reason why neither townsmen nor refined men should trust them. Be aware that in woman's heart lays entrenched and ensconced an infinite capacity for wickedness. So that I should not keep it any longer to myself, let it be known that I wonder how those who, knowing women's true nature, still dare to love them. Ovid tells us of a king's daughter whom they call Myrrha and what she did to her parents: Myrrha and her nurse deceived him in such a reprehensible manner as it had never been done before by either an old or a young woman. A woman's heart never rests nor tires until she accomplishes that which she desires with her heart: whether she is a townswoman or a refined lady, a countess or a queen, it does not matter; this ill-conceived way of thinking always lies within her. (Contini 180)

In the case of the protagonists of the Her., as this poem shows, many interpretations circulated with regard to the meaning and connotations of stories such as those of Medea and Penelope. As W. Ginsberg has noted, "Ovid is the poet of potentiality: by making us aware of other possibilities, he invites and subverts any attempt to make his stories mean only one thing" (75). As I have pointed out on several occasions, for Alfonso X, as well as for many thirteenth-century men of letters the polysemy found in the Ovidian corpus is, above all, a sign of intellectual authority. For these authors, the truth is hidden, concealed, carefully and masterfully embedded in narratives which, in the case of the Her., are presented in the form of amorous epistolary narrative.

Whereas I agree with J. Ferrante that there is enough textual proof to sustain the hypothesis that "with the rejection of the courtly ethic, the symbolic status of woman also suffers: she becomes a temptation rather than an inspiration" (Woman 3), I also believe that enough evidence can be produced to defend other positions in this respect. In this sense I must concur with R. Psaki that "the cultural traffic in talk about women was . . . neither unidirectional nor universal in medieval culture. Even single texts, and certainly single manuscripts and single linguistic traditions offer multiple positions on the nature and worth of women" (29). In the case of the Her. and thirteenth-century European literature, this statement could not be more adequate, as I hope to continue to show in the remainder of this chapter. I will

proceed to analyze romance and historical narrative while comparing their discursive modes to that of Alfonso X's <u>GE</u>.

4.4 HISTORICAL DISCOURSE AND THE HEROIDES

The author of Historia Trojana (c. 1150), an adaptation of Dares Phyrigius' DBT, adamantly states that "Non ego sum, quoniam nil fingo, poeta vocandus" ("I am by no means to be called a poet, because I invent nothing"; J. Stohlmann, v. 12). Although many such assertions can be found in different medieval periods, the truth remains that no single theory of verisimilitude can be successfully applied to medieval literature as a whole. This fact, as current research shows, can be applied just as well to contemporary media realism. We can of the complexity of this issue is offered by A. Hall's "Reading Realism: Audiences' Evaluations of the Reality of Media Texts." In this study, Hall interviewed several people regarding how they conceptualized media realism according to its plausibility, typicality, factuality, emotional involvement, narrative consistency, and perceptual persuasiveness. Among other interesting findings, she observed that

> the contrasts in the genres that were used to illustrate different conceptualizations suggest that the salience of particular conceptualizations or realism may depend on the genre of materials that is being considered. Materials that are purported to represent historical or nonscripted events seemed to prime audiences' evaluation of the materials in terms of factuality, whereas fantasy or science fiction texts seemed more likely to bring issues of emotional involvement or narrative coherence to the foreground. (639)

Hall's experiment does indeed raise questions about the stability and unity of literary genres as well as of commonly accepted notions of verisimilitude or fictionality. Her conclusion about how the 6 categories of realism she studied are connected could well be applied to the field of Medieval Studies in the sense that they make us aware of the many notions that generic categories such as "historic", "truthful", or "fictional" involve:

> Contradictory reports of the link between plausibility, emotional involvement, and narrative consistency suggest that the salience of these dimensions may differ across individuals. Some audience members, for example, may have a more pronounced tendency to emphasize plausibility, whereas others may pay more attention to issues of emotional involvement and narrative consistency. (639)

This having been said, it is just as evident that there are generic categories that operate in the habitus of the audience and the author when a text is approached as cultural product to be produced or consumed. What I hope to show in this section, as well as in the rest of this chapter, is that there is no unity in how the texts I have analyzed were interpreted by their audiences. However, just like it is the case with contemporary media such as drama series and motion pictures, we cannot ignore the acceptance of a particular narrative in the polysystem into which it is inserted and its subsequent popularity as shown by its replication or canonization. My argument in this chapter, as well as in the rest of my dissertation is that the inclusion of the Her. in the GE coincided with the acceptance of Ovid's epistles as a valuable cultural product in the habitus of the intellectual and ruling class of the thirteenth century

for various reasons which cannot be ascribed to one particular formula such as the "sentimental theory" or the cultural inertia of Traube's "aetas ovidiana."

4.4.1 Ovid: <u>Auctor</u> and <u>Poeta</u>

The most important consideration when studying the influence a classical author such as Ovid had on medieval historians is that rather than a poet, Ovid was considered an auctor. As we have seen on several occasions, medieval writers meant by <u>auctor</u> any man of extraordinary insight who had written works in the fields of science or art, including, of course, literature:

> fue aristotil el mas sabio clerigo deste mundo. fue fastal dia d oy assi como dixiemos que lo fuera. en la dialetica. & de los filosophos & de los autores & de los otros sabios que en esta estoria nos acaesciere de fablar.

> Aristotle was the wisest among all the clerks in this world. Indeed he was until this day as we have already said it with respect to dialectics. And he was also the wisest among the philosophers and the <u>auctores</u> and all the other wise men that we shall mention in this history. (<u>GE</u> IV, 193v)

Although this apparent lack of distinction in the classification of the humanities and the arts, and the sciences might seem strange to us, all these disciplines were conflated in the middle Ages. In Medieval times authority in one of them granted authority in the rest since the capacity to apprehend truth was an abstract ability all <u>auctores</u> equally possessed. Again, Alfonso explains this ability in an excerpt I quoted in chapter I:

> Andados ueynte nueue años del regnado deste Rey dario. fueron tenidos por Nobles poetas. dos sabios de que llamaron al uno pindaro. & al otro Simonides. & es poeta sabio que sabe assacar & enffeñir. razon de nueuo & componer la apuesta mientre. & fazer ende libro. & dexar la en escripto.

> Twenty years into the reign of Darius, two wise men called Simonides [of Ceos] and Pindar were regarded as dignified poets. And a poet is a wise man who knows how to infer the truth and then is able to conceal it by arranging it in the most suitable manner and with it he makes a book and sets it into writing. (<u>GE</u> IV, 155v)[237]

---

237 The meaning and translation of 'razon' are complex matters. The <u>Diccionario de la prosa castellana del Rey Alfonso X</u> provides six entries for it: "1 Words or sentences by which discourse is expressed; 2 Argument or demonstration that is provided in support of an idea; 3 Motivation or cause; 4 Appropriate order and method of something; 5 Account, narrative, story; 6 That which is appropriate" (1518-19). The meaning is just as obscure in Middle English. Consider the following verses in this Middle English biographical poem of Saint Katherine. The saint is giving a speech to emperor Maxentius in which she explains to him how it is the intellect and reason that lead all wise men to convert to Christianity:

It is also important to remember that <u>auctoritas</u> could often be acquired almost immediately after the publication of a particular successful work. Thus, for example, in his History of the Kings and Heroes of the Danes (<u>Danorum regum heroumque historia</u>), the Danish historian Saxo Grammaticus (ca. 1150-1220) mentions several contemporary sources for his historical account. Both Dudo of Saint-Quentin's (ca. 965-ca. 1043) <u>Gesta Normannorum</u> and Bede's <u>Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum</u> (I, 4) are his models in his aim of producing a nationalist history of, in this case, the Danes.[238] On the other hand, Saxo also complies with other more general requirements of the historical genre such a careful style and a lively "historization" of events as can be found in Paulus Orosius, Virgil or Valerius Maximus in his style (York Powell 17).

The main reason for this conflation of sources in the historiographic genre throughout the middle Ages was the immutability of the tenets on which the historic discourse was based. The theoretical approach of Alfonso X in the thirteenth-century still bore enough resemblances to those of the two great early Medieval historians from the seventh century: Saint Isidore of Seville and Bede the Venerable.

In <u>De tabernaculo</u>, I. II. 784-5 Bede had defined history as "namque est cum res aliqua quomodo secundum litteram facta sive dicta sti plano sermone refertur" ("the literal recording of facts whithout moral or rhetorical embellishment or interpretation"). Similarly, Isidore of Seville insisted in his <u>Etymologies</u> that history should be recorded only by those who have been witness to the events they set to put in writing (I, 44.5) thus being more restrictive than Bede's reliability on first-hand accounts other than his own.

Bede and Isidore belong to long series of Christian scholars who took an interest, in different times, in the implications and possible interpretations of historical time. Since Alfonso's <u>GE</u> was intended to be a historical compilation that would provide both the pagan and the Christian historiographic scopes with the vision they lacked, I deem it necessary to study now how other ancient and recent

---

> Mid oþer reisouns of clergie: þat maide preouede also / Þat here godes noþing nere: þat hi aourede hem to. / Þemperour stod and ne couþe: answerie in none wise / Him wondrede of hire fairhede: and of hire queyntise.
>
> With other learned arguments that maid also proved that the gods to which they prayed were nothing. The emperor stood and could not answer in any way for he was in awe of her beauty and her wisdom. ("Seinte" 534, v. 31-34)

238 Otfried's <u>Liber evangeliorum</u> wrote in a Rhine-Frankish German dialect a decision which he justifies at length. In the introductory letter in Latin (Ad Liutbertum) to Liutbert of Mainz cites Virgil, Ovid, Juvencus and Prudentius as people who praised "their own" meaning their own people. Most of the chronicles and historical accounts produced in the twelfth century have a nationalist or ethnic character found in works belonging to different periods: Jordanes' <u>Getica</u> (551) chronicles the history of the Goths, Paul the Deacon's <u>Historia Langobardorum</u> (795?) that of the Lombards', Helmod of Bosau's <u>Chronica Slavorum</u> (ca. 1171) the Slavs', Gerald of Wales' <u>Itinerarium Cambriae</u> (1191) and <u>Descriptio Cambriae</u> (1194) the Welsh's, etc.

historical works that preceded the GE contributed to create a narrative discourse that was far from being reductionist or orthodox. In doing so, I will analyze the most salient features of the historical discourse in the GE and compare them to other discourses found in narratives with a historic thread.

4.4.2 Ovid the Historian

We can tentatively argue that "medieval historical writers accepted a certain amount of decoration, of plausible invention" (Morse, Truth, 96) or that they display an inherent "inability of refusal to distinguish between fact and fiction" as showing in "the medieval historian's assumption of the right to select, arrange, or rewrite his materials in accordance with an ideal of usefulness or truth, rather than hewing slavishly to models of factual adherence" (G. Heng, 21). Again, this by no means implies that medieval historians argued over the verisimilitude of their predecessors or contemporaries. As R. Morse describes it, historical thought was

> an exemplary narrative based upon events which had occurred at some point in the past. These events would then be told in order to move and persuade an audience to imitate the good and eschew the evil. a 'true tale about the past' which includes a vast range of what modern readers would regard as invented material and inappropriate, if implicit, moralizing. (Truth 6)

The fact is that history as a discipline cannot be dissociated from the rhetorical discourse that permeated medieval thinking. R. Copeland explains this point when discussing Chaucer's concept of history:

> The culture of medieval Christianity was profoundly informed by inherited and evolving systems of rhetorical thought. Rhetoric was not simply an "art" that was codified in the later middle Ages and became important to literary authors: as a crucial legacy of classical culture, rhetoric was a fundamental way of thinking and constructing experience. To begin to understand the outlook of medieval rhetoric, we need to grasp its history through the largest and most pervasive cultural themes that embodied rhetorical thought. ("Chaucer" 123)

The following example should help me clarify the distinction that Copeland here makes between what most still consider a stylistic characteristic of medieval narrative and what really is an essential component in medieval discourse. It does not deal with history per se but with geography and it shows how auctoritas was an essential component in this rhetorical discourse as opposed to a mere adornment signifying erudition. When trying to locate paradise as a physical space on earth, Gervase of Tilbury (ca. 1150 – ca. 1228) portrays Adam as a king who gave Hebrew names to the creatures that lived with him. According to this description, Paradise is located in the east and so far up that it even touches the lunar sphere. Gervase ignores whether this location is beyond the torrid zone but argues that Ovid was right when he stated that:

> Utque due dextra celum totidemque sinistra / Parte secant zone, quinta est ardentior illis, / sic onus inclusum numero distinxit eodem / Cura Dei, totidemque plage tellure premuntur. / Quarum que media

est, non est habitabilis estu; / Nix tegit alta duas; totidem inter utramque locauit / Temperiemque dedit mixta cum frigore flamma [Met. I, 45-51].

As to zones on the right and two more on the left divide the heavens, and a fifth between them blazes with greater heat, so did the providence of God mark off the solid mass he had molded with the same number of zones, and equivalent tracts were stamped on the earth. Of these the central one is uninhabitable because of the heat; deep snow covers two, but he place two more in between and gave them a temperate climate, blending heat with cold. (Otia I, 10)

Gervase relies on Ovid's auctoritas on several instances to the extent that, as Banks & Binns point out, he supplements Honorius of Autun's (? – ca. 1151) Imago Mundi with information on the elements quoted from Ovid's Met. (XV, 244-51) (I, 4, p. 40). Gervase indicates himself that his sources have been compiled according to the authority that has been invested upon them by time or by eye-witness accounts and disregards his stories as being "vaniloquis fabulis" (III, Preface).
In his study of the medieval exemplum, L. Scanlon argues that authority

involves not just deference to the past but a claim of identification with it and a representation of that identity made by one part of the present to another. In this way the constraint of authority can also be empowering. The power to define the past is also the power to control the constraint the past exerts in the present. (38)

This complex system of discourse based on the compilation and arrangement of ideas expressed by ancient and contemporary authors was indeed more dynamic than we tend to think. Auctoritas is the approach to follow in the rhetorical process. Its use did not confine or dictate what a medieval author could say but rather gave shape and coherence to ideas which could only be argued within the only textual network available to all intellectuals: that which was made up of a rather select number of works widely accepted as canonical. The mere fact that this virtual library was continuously updated proves that auctoritas was a dynamic concept that evolved at the same pace as those ideas it helped reinforce.

J. Summit has explained how auctoritas was often used to subvert ideas that could also be defended within that framework of reference. She makes her case with reference to medieval women's writing: "While the process of writing by compiling pays homage to a system of auctoritas based on citation and traditio, it would be wrong to assume that compilation was necessarily a non-creative act. To the contrary, its uses in literary culture reveal that medieval authorship did not require a modern concept of originality in order to produce new cultural forms" (100).

In the case of a historical discourse like the one enacted in the GE, the issue of authority is directly related to that of verisimilitude. Alfonso's remarks in the GE are explicit about the different types of historic discourse and how each one of them should be handled. First of all, Ovid is considered the most important among the auctores:

Los auctores delos gentiles fueron muy sabios omnes & fablaron de

grandes cosas. & en muchos logares en figura & en semeiança duno por al. como lo fazen oy las escripturas dela nuestra sancta eglesia. Et sobre todos los otros <u>auctores</u>. Ouidio. enel so libro mayor. E esto tira ala su Theologia delos gentiles mas que otras razones que ellos ayan. E el Ouidio mayor non es al entrellos. si non la theologia & la biblia dello entre los gentiles.

The <u>auctores</u> of the Gentiles were very wise men and talked about great things and on many occasions figuratively and in resemblance of one thing instead of another just like the Scriptures of Our Holy Church speak to us today. And above all the other <u>auctores</u>, Ovid [was a wise man] in the <u>Met</u>. [he talked about great things]. And this work represents the theology of the Gentiles better than any other <u>razones</u> that they have and the <u>Met</u>. is not anything else among them but their theology and the Bible of the Gentiles. (<u>GE</u> I, 72v)

Alfonso's explanation of allegory as a method of biblical exegesis that can be used for literature evinces the existence of a solid link between the Alfonsine historiographic project and the efforts carried out by friars in the mendicant orders to identify the spiritual meaning to be found in non-biblical literary contexts. As J. B. Allen explains in <u>The Friar as Critic</u>, beginning in the thirteenth century, "exegesis and arts commentary came together, and the result was a clear, articulated, and elaborately explained spiritual sense of fiction" (30).

The evolution in the distinction and appreciation of ancient literature resulted, as it is the case with the <u>GE</u>, in "the reception of a developed literary tradition (the <u>auctores</u>, interpreted literally as ethics) into the mainstream of a developing literary tradition (mendicant preaching)" which Allen suggests is a sign of "a weakening of traditional distinctions between the two" (52). While Ovid's authority is regarded as the highest among the Gentiles, the authors of the <u>GE</u> insist several times on Ovid's status as a poet among the <u>auctores</u>:

Los <u>auctores</u> de los gentiles que fueron poetas dixieron muchas razones en que desuiaron de estorias. & poetas dizen en el latin por aquello que dezimos nos en castellano enffeñidores & assacadores de nueuas razones & fueron trobadores que trobaron en el latin & fizieron ende sus libros en que pusieron razones estrañas & marauillosas & de solaz mas non que acuerden con estoria menos de allegorias & de otros esponimientos. & assi fizo ouidio que fue poeta en las razones daquel diluuio & daquella quema de que dize mas que otro sabio & eñadio y unos mudamientos dunas cosas en otras que non son estoria por njnguna guisa & dexamos las aqui por ende.

The men of letters of the gentiles who were poets revealed many truths which they derived from historical accounts. In Latin, a poet stands for someone who interprets and develops new ideas. They were troubadours and they composed lyric poetry and thus wrote their books in which they put remarkable and astonishing as well as entertaining accounts and events all of which are historical except for

209

those which are allegorical or metaphorical. Thus Ovid wrote poetry about the deluge and about that fire of which he speaks more than any other learned man of his time. He interpolated certain metamorphoses of some things into others which by no means can be regarded as historical. We now leave these stories for later on. (GE I, 167v)

Most of these narratives deal with moral issues found in the stories written by the ancient auctores as interpreted by the contemporary ones. The ancient authors, however, mixed truth with fabliella and, sometimes, the truth gets lost in the maze of fantastic additions made to the original story. In those few instances, Alfonso explains what the difference between the two is:

> Mas ante queremos uos contar. unas razones que leuantaron los Autores de los Gentiles en este lugar sobresta razon et estoria de Persseo. & daquellas fijas del rey phorco. Et pero que es razon estraña. & semeia como fablil[l]a conuien(n)e que lo digamos por que entre todos los sabios que llamamos autores non fallamos ningun clerigo grant. que grant hobra & bueña aya compuesta; que desta razon non tenga. & non faga emiente en algun lugar por alguña guisa; Et en cabo dezir uos emos lo que dan alguños delos nuestros sabios a entender.

> But first we want to tell you about the razones that the Gentile auctores inferred from this razon and estoria of Perseus and the daughters of King Phorcus. But this is a strange razon and it resembles a fabliella and it is appropriate that we say so since among all the wise men that we now call auctores we cannot find any great man of letters who wrote a great and good work without using at least part of this razon or making reference to it. And now we will tell you what is it that some of our own wise men infer from this estoria. (GE II, 203v)

A good case in point with regard to this apparent mixture of fact and fiction is a chronicle written by a French parish priest at Ardres at the end of the twelfth century or beginning of the thirteenth. In the Chronicle of the Counts of Guînes and Lords of Ardres (Chronicon ghisnense et ardense) Lambert gives us an insight on his thoughts about history. In the prologue to his work he explains he is about to recount 235 years of history (Prologue X)[239], something nobody should be alarmed about since

---

239 Lambert states, before citing Eusebius, Jerome, Prosper, Sigebert and Bede as examples:

> Verissimo tamen siquidem credimus vaticinio, aemulationem malignam non modice nobis obstrepere, et subsannationis rugas in nostri innocentiam nominis certatim replicare, eo quod ducentorum ferme triginta trium annorum temporis cursum metiri sucipimus.

> Malicious envy will hamper me to no small degree and earnestly wrinkle its nose in derision at the innocence of my name, because I have undertaken to measure out a course of almost 233 years. But these people do not know that our more ancient authors in their own times treated a course of 2395 years and perhaps more in writing.

ancient historians were able to dispatch 2395 years in one work without anybody condemning them (XI).[240] Lambert also cites Ovid in the prologue as the prime example of an ancient writer who, very much like himself, sought to gain the pardon of a ruler (Germanicus), and in order to do so strove to write a history of the world from creation up to his own time like he intends to do.[241]

The preface opens with a quote from Ars am. in which Lambert, rather poetically, compares the flow of time with the flow of rivers both impossible to retain.[242] It is worth mentioning that the meaning of the quote is removed from the general purpose and theme of the book quoted, something which bears witness both to how well-versed the author was in Ovid and how far-ranging and authoritative Ovid's sententiae were for Lambert's intended audience.

Lambert mentions how Baldwin II (1169-1202) ordered a book translated from Latin into French since "he avidly embraced all learning about everything and was not able to retain all knowledge in his heart" (81). Thus The Song of Songs, sermons, The Life of St. Anthony, Physics, Solinus. So many books did he have that the librarian in charge of keeping them safe eventually learned to read and write just by the sheer amount of books that Baldwin had entrusted him (81). He even received Archbishop William of Reims and Thomas Beckett in his house (87).

Lambert's references to the value of knowledge as found in the works of auctores such as Ovid represent the importance of authority over any other consideration when it comes to source us in the late Middle Ages. The following excerpt from Lambert's preface shows

> Ipse tamen divinam genesim tractandam suscipiens, ab Adam, qui ante diluvii tempora duobus milibus ducentis quadraginta duobus annis secundum diligentem et infallibilem Hebreorum computationem et veritatem ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei creatus est, incipit et dicit: "In principio fecit Deus celum et terram." [Gen. I, 1.] . . . . Ovidius quoque in tempore Germanici Cesaris studuit et libros composuit. Qui tamen ut eiusdem Cesaris gratiam, a qua peccando pusillum quandoque declinaverat, recuperare meretur, a nobilitate generis eum commendare intendens, altius orditur, et cosmographiam tractaturus, a mundi principio incipiens, post propoositionem, uti moris est auctorum, et invocationem infra narrationem suam continuans incipit et dicit:
>
> Ante mare et terras et quod tegit omnia celum / Unus erat toto

---

(Shopkow 45)

240 The last event narrated in the chronicle (Baldwin's chase of the inhabitants of Merck) took place in 1203.

241 "Ovidius quoque in tempore Germanici Caesaris studuit et libros composuit..." ("Ovid who studied and wrote books in the time of the caesar Germanicus...; Prologue VII").

242 Ars am. III, 62,64: "Eunt anni more fluentis aquae, / nec quae praeteriit hora redire potest" ("The years, like flowing streams, go rolling on, / time cannot be called back when it is gone").

nature vultus in orbe, / Quem dixere chaos. [Met. I, 5-7]

Divinorum autem spirituum invocans auxilium dicit:

> . . . Dii, ceptis / Adspirate meis primaque ab origine mundi / Ad mea   perpetuum deducite tempora carmen. [Met. I, 2-4]

Et sic ad ipsum Germanicum, quem laudare intendit et cuius gratia tantum opus incipit, convenienter ascendit.

> Nec tamen est aliquis dampnans opus Ovidianum; / Sed legit et relegit, docet et colit et veneratur: / In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas / Corpora [Met. I, 1-2]. (MGH Scriptores XXIV, 558)

Nevertheless, this man [Moses], undertaking to treat divine genesis beginning with Adam, who was created in the image and likeness of God 2242 years before the time of the flood (according to the careful and infallible calculation and truth of the Hebrews), began and spoke, "In the beginning God created heaven and earth." [Gen. 1:1] . . . . Again, Ovid studied and wrote books in the time of Germanicus Caesar. Nevertheless, as he strove to recover the grace of this same Caesar (from which he had fallen by sinning a trifle), intending to praise Caesar through the nobility of his family, he began in a more lofty fashion. Shortly to treat cosmography from the origin of the world, he began, continuing his narrative below after his theme and invocation (as authors customarily do) and said:

> Before there was the sea or land or sky / That all things else embraces from on high, / In all the world the face of nature was one, / That they called chaos.

Moreover, calling upon the help of divine spirits, he said,

> Gods, inspire these things I have begun, / And lead my song to my times   ere it's done, / From the beginning.

And then he moved forward in an appropriate way to that Germanicus whom he intended to praise and for whose grace he began his work:

> But no one speaks condemning Ovid's writ; / Instead he reads, rereads, and prizes it. / The spirit bears changed forms in bodies new. (Shopkow 45)

Lambert goes on to make the argument that history can (indeed it has always been) written by those who lived long after the events they narrate. He equates Moses' account of the history of the world to Ovid's Met. in their historical essence: both describe the long evolution of time and of the human race as a valuable historical narrative. He goes on to explain and justify his chronicle while expounding on the issue of authority:

> Sic et ille, ille quem poetarum eximius et doctissimus in divina Eneide pedetentim imitatus est ad unguem, Homerus multis annis, teste

Cornelio Affricano, immo Pindaro et Phrigio Darete, post excidium Troianum natus est, qui tamen Torianum sufficienter vel eleganter tractavit et docuit excidium. Nec querit ab aliquo Virgilius, ubi tante veritatis fabulam invenerit vel acceperit Homerus. (MGH Scriptores XXIV, 558)

So also that most marvelous and learned of poets (who was imitated to perfection in the divine Aeneid), Homer, was born many years after the destruction of Troy, as Cornelius Africanus witnesses – or rather Pindar, and Dares Phrygius. Nevertheless, he described and expounded the story of the destruction of Troy fully and elegantly. Nor did Virgil ask anyone where Homer found or received this so very truthful fable. . . . Indeed, the ancient authors did not trouble themselves about this; for them, "a thousand years were the same as the day that ended yesterday [Ps. 90:4]" Thus, they boldly and confidently wrote about and expounded the long-ago deeds of the ancients in the same way as contemporary ones, with "one and the same Spirit working and dictating in them, who apportions to each one as he wishes, where he wishes, and when he wishes [1 Cor. 12:11]. (Shopkow 45)

As I will continue to argue in the following sections of this chapter, Alfonso's reliability on Ovid as a historical source of facts as well as a provider of wise and insightful estorias and razones was not uniform among his contemporaries throughout Europe. There are many interpretations so as to what the true nature and worth of ancient literature in general, and Ovid's works in particular were in the thirteenth century.

4.4.3 Historical Narrative and Fictionality

A note written on the margins of a tenth or eleventh-century manuscript (Freiburg University MS. 380) by a thirteenth-century hand is the first testimony of the legend of Ovid's tomb according to which

Venerunt duo clerici ad sepulcrum Ovidii poete eloquentissimi in terra Thomitana et legentes epithaphium, quod ipse sibi dictaverat in libro Tristium, ceperunt confabulari de tanto rethore. Dicebat autem unus: "Quis est optimus versus ipsius?" Cumque de hoc altercarentur, ecce vox de sepulcro dixit: "Est virtus placitis abstinuisse bonis" [Her. XVII, 98]. Querentibus autem eis, quis esset pessimus, iterum vox dixit: "Omne iuvans statuit Iupiter esse pium." [Altered version of Her. IV, 133: "Iupiter esse pium statuit quodcumque iuvaret."] Dicebant ergo ad alterutrum "Oremus pro tanto viro" et ceperunt dicere: "Pater noster" etc. Et iterum vox dixit: "Nolo: Pater noster, carpe, viator, iter."[243]

Two clerks came upon Ovid's (that most eloquent poet) tomb in Thomis and, as they were reading the epitaph (which he had himself written in his book Tristia) they began to fantasize about rhetoric. One said to the other: "Which one was his best verse?" And as they argued over this

---

243 See T. Wright 43-44 for an alternate version.

issue a voice that was coming from inside the tomb was heard saying: "Virtue will shun even those joys that are permitted." They went on to inquire about the worst verse and, again, the voice said: "Jupiter states it clearly that all that which is pleasant is good". After hearing this voice a second time they said to each other: "Let us pray for this man" and began to say: "Holy father" etc. And again the voice said: "I don't want any 'Holy Father': get back on the road traveler." (Wattenbach, I, 324)

It is undoubtedly complex to locate stories such as this one in the habitus/es of medieval author/s. The case of the spurious De Vetula, which precisely began to circulate in the twelfth century, is another example of this controversy. The book was supposedly written by Ovid while he awaited death in Tomi and a brief introduction that accompanies most manuscripts indicates that the book was found in Ovid's tomb inside an ivory capsule.[244]

Some of Alfonso X's contemporaries such as Richard Bury, Robert Holkot, Roger Bacon, Thomas Bradwardine or Walter Burley thought De Vetula to be part of the Ovidian corpus (Robathan 198-99). On the other hand, Alfonso X and Vincent of Beauvais' works do not include any reference to it in spite of their encyclopedic character. Differences such as this in the canonicity of texts or in how a particular author was interpreted or viewed in different periods of the middle Ages are proof that there were more than a few considerations in the minds of medieval authors when it came to questions of verisimilitude, generic pertinence, or authority.

In order to shed some light on these and other issues related to the nature and purpose of historical discourse, I will now provide two specific examples of Ovidian authority in the realm of history taken from contemporaries of Alfonso X. These works shed light on different aspects of how the Her. circulated in the middle Ages and what relationship did they have with the rest of the Ovidian corpus. The first one is a chronicle written under the influence of the ars dictaminis and it shows how Ovidian authority needs to be understood in close relation to the importance of rhetoric as the hegemonic mode of discourse in the thirteenth century. The second chronicle I will discuss features several citations from Ovid whose diverse nature will also enhance our view of Ovid's auctoritas as not a matter of choice or obligation but of mere compliance with the habitus of the intellectual elite of the late Middle Ages.

The chronicle I will be discussing in the first place was written by rhetorician, diplomat, and historian Rolandinus the Grammarian (Rolandino Patavino) (1200-1276); it belongs to his Chronicles of the Trevisan March (Cronica Marchie Trivixane) (written between 1260 and 1262). This is a rather lengthy and detailed account of how Padua had been captured by Emperor Frederick III in his struggle against the Papacy. After twenty years of despotic rule at the hands of Ezelino III Da Romano (Frederick strongman), a rebellion broke out and the citizens of Padua were able to expel Frederick's troops in 1256.

The first interesting fact in the case of Rolandino's chronicle is that he himself

---

244 The authors of this story go as far as to point out that, since the tomb was opened by some locals, they could not understand Latin and had to take the scrolls all the way to Constantinople to have them deciphered. (Ghisalberti, "Medieval", 50-51).

was the product of an institutional effort similar to that undertaken by Alfonso X in the Iberian Peninsula. He graduated from the University of Bologna in 1221 where he studied under Boncompagno da Signa, where he would eventually return as a grammar and rhetoric professor. Rolandino's unique case of a rhetorician skilled in the ars dictaminis (the "studio paduano" was comparable to that of Orléans) turned historian evinces the multiplicity of Ovidian influences that populated the habitus of the medieval intellectual.

As J. R. Berrigan remarks in the introduction to his English translation of Rolandino's chronicle, the account begins commenting on how a woman (Cecilia d'Abano who had been betrothed to Gerardo Camposanpiero) had been the initial cause of strife between two major families (The Da Romanos and the Camposanpieros) (ix). The author goes as far as to date the event between April 1 and 10, 1239, a date which roughly coincides with Frederick's capture of Padua. This fact is obviously reminiscent of the Trojan War and it bears a special significance since Rolandino's training as a rhetorician seems to have lead him to begin his historical account by choosing an event charged with symbolism.

Another interesting element in this narrative is the description of a dungeon at the height of Ezelino's reign of terror (according to Rolandino's view). He describes how many people were incarcerated and tortured in the Citadel in Malta. The intense narration of the series of false accusations, kidnappings, arrests, tortures and killings that took place in Padua in the year 1253 reaches a climax when this dungeon is described as a horror even when compared to the calamities already described taking place in Italy:

> Quid plus? Non est relatu dignum, set illic multi consumpti fame, siti quoque arida nichilati; talem hauserunt potum, talem furtim emerunt cibum, qualis per sui fratris posteriora vel socii de corpore desicato exivit, forstian et de suo. Hic inventum est esse aliquid peius morte. Ben quidem ait Ovidius:

> > "Morsque minus pene quam mora mortis habet [Her. X, 82-3]."

> What else [can I say]? It is not appropriate that I should put these things down but [let it be known that] many were so famished and so much consumed with thirst that stealthily ate and drank such food and liquid as they could obtain from what came out of their fellow prisoners' rears or from the desiccated bodies of those who were already dead or even, perhaps, from their own bodies. Here you just have found about that there exists something worse than death. Ovid was indeed right when he proclaimed:

> > "Death bears less pain with it than awaiting for it does" [Her. X, 82]. (MGH Scriptores XIX, 100)

A. Jaaware has noted how Rolandino's training as a rhetorician influenced if not prompted his interest in writing history (146). It is more than probable that Rolandino's skills as a man of letters made him a suitable candidate for a work that bears the imprint of an expert in the ars dictaminis. Rolandino's use of Ariadne's words in her last attempt to move Theseus' heart could not have been more

adequate. In "The Isolating Effect of sola in Heroides 10", M. C. Bolton analyzes precisely the profound sentiment of abandonment and loneliness that Ariadne's epistle conveys. She argues that "in the character of Ariadne, Ovid is able to exercise his skill in a unique triple estrangement, as Ariadne is cut off from Theseus (her lover), from her family on Crete and, perhaps most importantly, from all visible signs of human civilization" (42).

The influence of the ars dictaminis in this Italian chronicle is even more visible through the many speeches and letters found interspersed throughout the work.[245] One of those speeches is given by Pierre della Vigna (ca. 1190 – 1249) in the presence of his patron Emperor Frederick III. Again the Her. are quoted as a text with the utmost moral auctoritas:

> Cum insonuisset per Paduam, quod imperator erat excommunicatus per papam, tunc ipse fecit protinus convocari magnam concionem in palacio Padue. Et dum illic in sua maiestate sederet, surrexit iudex imperialis Petrus de Vinea, fundatus multa litteratura divina et humana et poetarum. Proposuit autem illam auctoritatem Ovidii:
>
>> "Lenite, ex merito quicquid paciare, ferendum est; / Que venit indigne pena, dolenda uenit"; [Her. V, 7-8]
>
> et aptata sapienter auctoritate intencioni, disputavit et edocuit populum, quod cum dompnus imperator foret adeo benignus et iustus princeps et dominus equitatis, sicut unquam fuerit aliquis qui a Karlo citra imperium gubernasset, digne poterat de sancte matris ecclesie rectoribus conqueri et dolere.
>
> As soon as the rumor that the Pope had excommunicated the emperor reached Padua, Frederick called a general meeting at the royal palace. There sat in his majesty the Chief Justice Pierre de la Vigne (a thoroughly read man in religious and secular matters as well as in those of the poets) until he arose. He then took the following sentence from Ovid as the opening statement for his argument:
>
>> "Whatever suffering is brought upon you deservedly should be born with patience; / The suffering that comes as an unjust punishment, however, brings grief with it."
>
> And with supreme skill he elaborated on the meaning of the sentence,

---

245 The case of Emperor Frederick II's chief judge, Pierre de la Vigne argues for a strong link between the Her. and the discipline of the ars dictaminis. Pierre became an expert in legal proceedings and was well-known for his Latin style both of which skills he put at the service of the emperor in his absolutist conception of government both with respect to state and church affairs. I have reduced the scope of my inquiry into the use of the Her. in the rhetorical arts of the thirteenth century in order to focus on works of a historical nature. I hope to carry research on this connection in the future, especially since I have already accummulated important textual evidence that I could not incorporate to this dissertation.

made his case and showed the audience how since their lord emperor was the most benign and just ruler the empire had had since Charlemagne, it was fit that all in the audience should complain about and weep for those in charge of their Holy Mother, the Church of God. (<u>MGH</u>, Scriptores, XIX, 71-72)

Pietrus complains in the name of the emperor arguing that had he been condemned justly by the Pope, he would not even have a complaint to rise. On the other hand, Frederick considered his excommunication a political maneuver from Innocent IV and thus warned everybody it would be the cause of great pain in the realm. Again, contemporary criticism of the <u>Her.</u>, in this case Oenone's letter to Paris, shows a correlation between the situation of Frederick and that of Oenone. As E. M. Bradley describes in his analysis of Oenone's letter, the unfortunate Ovidian heroine presents herself as "an innocent creature aggrieved by malignant gods" in lines 1 through 8 (159). Again the parallelism between the literary and historical characters is deliberate and it evinces a deep understanding and awareness of the <u>Her.</u>, among thirteenth-century intellectuals, and more even so in the case of rhetoricians.

The second case of historical use of Ovidian material I would like to discuss belongs to the <u>Chronica Fratris salimbene de Adam Ordinis Minorum a. 1233</u>, and it features this moral and didactic character. At one point, the author decides to include in his account the story of the anonymous Archpoet, described as "magnus trutannus et magnus trufator et maximus versificator et velox, qui si dedisset cor suum ad diligendum Deum, magnus in litteratura divina fuisset et utilis valde ecclesie Dei" ("a great truant, always a good laugh, witty and one of the best verse-makers, who, if he had put his whole heart to getting to know God, would have become very useful to the Church of God and even one of the greatest writers of religious literature"; <u>GHR</u> 32, 83).

The archbishop of the dioceses (Rainald) came to visit the convent and reported the archpoet as being guilty of the sins of "opere venereo, id est de luxuria, et de ludo et de taberna" ("lewd works, this is, lust, of gambling and of drinking") to which he replied in the form of a poem in which he excuses himself and blames temptation and nature of his feeblenes. He actually argues that not even Hippolytus, who had been able to resist Phaedra's ensnares included letter IV in the <u>Her.</u> (as well as <u>Met</u>. XV, 487ff), would be able to resist the level of corruption that existed in their times:

> Si ponas Ypolitum hodie Paie, / non erit Ypolitus in sequenti die. / Veneris in thalamos ducunt omnes vie, / non est in tot turribus turris Aricie.[246]

> [Things as they are] if you left Hippolytus loose on his own in the city of Pavia today, you would not find anything left of him by tomorrow: [These days] all roads lead to the resting places of Venus, and there is no Arician tower among all the towers. (<u>MGH</u> 32, 85)

---

246 I have opted for the alternate reading 'm' (Aricie) over the one established by the editor according to manuscript evidence (Aliciae, Alethie). Virgil names her as Hippolytus' wife after whom the homonymic valley was named (<u>Aeneid</u> VII, 762.).

Again, this type of reference to an Ovidian work, just like the ones quoted by Rolandinus features a specific case of a historical event such as the downfall of Hippolytus which was common currency among the chronicler's audience. At the same time, the focus of the narration is not only the historic or biographic information but the moral judgment and the reflection on society that the whole excerpt carries with it.

I will use another example from the same chronicle to emphasize this point, in this case, from the field of anthropology. When commenting on the festival of Santa Clara around the year 1284, as I mentioned in chapter II, the same author reflects on how men go more more hungry men go in his age as opposed to our forefathers from the Ancient Age:

> Item millesimo supraposito in festo sancte Clare comedi primo raviolos sine crusta de pasta. Et hoc ideo dico, ad demonstrandum, quantum subtiliata est humana gulositas circa comestibilium rerum appetitum respectu primitivorum hominum, qui contenti erant cibis a natura cratis. Deq uibus dicit Ovidius in primo <u>Methamorfoseos</u> libro: (103-105)

> > "Contentique cibis nullo cogente creatis / Arboreos fetus montanaque fraga legebant, / Cornua et in duris herentia mora rubetis". (<u>MGH</u> 32, 547)

> In the festivity of Saint Claire (August 12) I ate for the first time ravioli without a wrapping [naked ravioli]. I say this in order to prove how much more refined has human desire become with regard to food in comparison with the first generations of men for whom the food produced by nature was enough. In this respect Ovid says in <u>Met</u>. I:

> > "Content with food that had not been cultivated, they gathered fruit from the trees, and wild strawberries, and Cornelian cherries, and blackberries sticking on harsh brambles [103-105]." (547)

The author relies on Ovid's works in order to make a statement with enough <u>auctoritas</u> so as to get across to his audience his point which, in this case, is no less than the passage of time and the effect of morals on the human race. The idea that the consumption of too much food, as the Franciscan Alexander of Hales (1183 – 1245) had explained, lead to sin and decay (III, 573-92).

References to Ovid's works in the contexts of historical and physical discussions are, as I have shown, neither exclusive to Alfonso X's <u>GE</u> in the thirteenth century nor exclusively historic in nature. References to Ovid's works are actually commonplace and almost universally accepted among the men of letters of the late Middle Ages and can be used, indistinctively, as moral, physical or historical references.

The <u>Met</u>. are considered to be Ovid's major work on account of its complexity and thoroughness, but we should not forget that <u>auctoritas</u> does not only rely on the work itself but is, as we have seen, a major force behind the author's creative and intellectual abilities. This creative force to analyze and interpret reality trascends the

borders of literary divisions and is accepted as being present in any and every artistic creation composed by ancient poets such as Ovid. From this perspective, we can understand how in spite of the severe criticism that Ovid faced on account of some moral excesses, his genius is perceived as the driving force that dictates all of his writing.

The Her. are also part of this corpus that is to be looked upon as a complex conundrum of obscure truths. In the case of the letters by these ancient heroines, the form that that genius takes is the relations and feelings explored in the Her. This interest is not exclusively sentimental as some have argued but is part of a complex narrative habitus.

As I will explore in the following sections of this chapter, love, despair, betrayal and many other aspects of the human condition were explored by many historians seeking to make sense out of the many events around which their accounts revolved. However, these references, these narrative models, should not be understood exclusively as a manipulation or concoction of a sentimental narrative thread at the expense of anachronic references or sentimentalism.

Historical accuracy and narrative coherence were, much like they are today, dependent on a complex net of influences and references that was not always straightforward. Many of these representations of the past and of history, as elaborate or convoluted as they may seem to us, were dependent on the habitus of the medieval historians as well as that of their intended audience. The romances that we will be looking into were the main expression of this narrative mode. As I will argue in the final conclusions to this section, these narrative modes have much more in common with contemporary historical representation in the audiovisual media, than with literary theories that are secluded to the exclusively written dimension of the text.

4.4.4 Didactism and History

In the particular case of ancient history, I argue that such complexity of opinion in the reception of Ovid was nonexistent and his works were taken to be historically accurate beyond any doubt. Once again, medieval authors did not consider any of the great works by ancient authors (especially those known as poets) to exclusively belong to a realm of knowledge but rather as a skillful composite of knowledge disguised and harmonized under the guise of a work of art. The euhemeristic conception of the works of Ovid was, again, not uniform across authors and literary periods and yet it became dominant at the time when the GE was composed. Historical exegesis, much like other disciplines in the late middle Ages, was a branch of learning in continuous evolution.

The evolution of the hermeneutics of history is in close relation to that of other branches of knowledge such as rhetoric. In his study of several rhetorical treatises S. D. Troyan argues that "rhetoric in the middle Ages was a shifting landscape. Rhetoricians were concerned not only with saying something, but also with repositioning it. By repositioning itself, rhetoric came to say something new. It also came to suggest different ways of interpreting" (223). Troyan's conclusion that the nature and purpose of medieval rhetoric was "at once stable and mercurial" does also apply to the conception of history in authors like Alfonso X. This relation becomes even more appealing if we consider that that John of Garland and Arnulf of

Orléans, two of the rhetoricians studied by Troyan, were Alfonso's main authorities in the interpretation of the writings of ancient authors. History, much like rhetoric was, at this time was "stable in that its status quo . . . was rarely, if ever, significantly challenged" and "mercurial in that the emphases and foci of the status quo advice subtly shifts from author to author, manual to manual, and ultimately text to text" (218).

Whereas S. D. Troyan's main obstacle in researching the meaning and purpose of rhetorical treatises is that "the history of medieval rhetoric was indeed never explicitly written" (223), Alfonso's didactic purposes in writing the GE provide us with unique insights into the hermeneutics of the historical discourse. Alfonso's compilers negotiated meaning in the form of a dialogic structure composed of an anticipation of the questions posed by the text and the audience. This approach required that explanations be provided to the audience with regard to the hermeneutics of the works compiled as well as their original sources.

In order to illustrate this point I will now comment an excerpt from the GE that shows the dynamics of this interpretative method at work. It is the epilogue that follows the story of Bacchus and the Minyades as told by Ovid in Met. IV, 1-415. King Minyas of Orchomenos had three daughters: Leukippe, Arsippe and Alkithoe, all of whom worked diligently spinning wool. One day a priest of Bacchus announced a festival for his newly-arrived god and requested that all people stop working and prepare accordingly to celebrate.

The Minyades saw no reason to stop their spinning and even refused to let their servants attend the festival. Bacchus tried to persuade them by metamorphing into a child, a lion, and a leopard but when he saw that they did not pay heed to his request he lost his patience. Bacchus decided to use his power to possess the three sisters and thus he forced them to commit several dastardly deeds. Now in a Bacchic trance, the three daughters felt compelled to make a sacrifice to the god. Leukippe was chosen to make the offering and she ordered her son Hippasos to be brought to her for the sacrifice.

The three sisters tore the child to pieces and then, after the offering had been consummated, walked towards the mountain where the festival was being held. Bacchus eventually turned the three sisters into bats so that they would have to remain awake at night and live far from the woods where his festivals were held. According to Alfonso this is the meaning of the whole story:

> Sobresto departen Que aquello que los autores delos gentiles trobaron en esto aquellas dueñas & trouaron dellas: que se entienda & que sea por enxiemplo. Non solamientre alos que se trauaian del mester dela filaduria: mas aun pora todos los otros omnes que en el mundo son uarones & mugieres. que se non trauaien de desdeñar nin despreciar asos santos nin asus Reyes & sos mayores nin alos mas sabios. mas poderosos que ellos. Lo al otrossi que non usen del fecho del niño adesmesura si non pueden ualer menos por ellos. Et esto en la su guisa tan bien cae en los grandes como en los medianos & aun dent ayuso.

> [The exegetes] depart about this story and what it is that the Gentiles found in [the story of] these ladies and how they made it into a

narrative so that it would be understood and serve as an example not only for those who are spinsters but actually for all the people in the world both men and women. They ought not to disdain or despise their saints, kings, elders or those who are more powerful and have more wisdom than them. The other thing that they meant is to not abuse children since they cannot defend themselves on their own. And this applies, and rightly so, to those standing up high [in the social ladder] as well as those in the middle and below. (GE II, 168r)

The story of Cadmus' daughter, Ino, and her husband, Athamas, follows immediately after that of the Myniades. Ino and Athamas' downfall (also described in Aeneid VI) is associated with their arrogance although, once again, issues related to social status and morality are intertwined in the interpretation:

> *Del fecho de yno fija del Rey Cadmo & de la Reyna Hermione [sic] & de Atamant su marido.*
> Destos dos yno & athamant maguer que fueron de muy alta guisa dize Ouidio que fueron tornados sandios. Et departe el frayre sobrello que non ay marauilla. ca estos diz que despreciauan asos dioses. Et sobresso que se desanparauan mucho al poder de uino & yno muy mas & por end ensandescio muy mas & mas ayna que el marido. Onde dize el frayre. Que qual sandez es mayor que la que se mueue por el mucho uino.

> *On the deed of Ino, daughter of King Cadmus and Queen Hermione [sic], and Athamas, her husband.*[247]
> About both of them Ino and Athamas, in spite of being of very high [social] standing, Ovid says that they became insane. And the friar [John of Garland] discusses the issue and says that this is not something out of this world. He says that they despised their gods and, on top of that, that they lent themselves to the power of wine, and even more so Ino which is the reason why her madness was even greater than her husband's. And the friar points out here that there is no greater frenzy than that induced by too much wine. (GE II, 168r)

Excerpts such as these demonstrate that Alfonso relied on exegetical theories of history adapted from the same theology doctors and rhetoricians who were rapidly occupying influential positions in the centers of learning of all Europe. Alfonso X's historiography relied heavily on the exegetical works of friars belonging to the mendicant orders who, at the same time, had developed their interpretative works from Bible exegetes such as Peter Comestor. On the other hand, the ulterior intellectual milieu in which this effort to present ancient pagan history and Biblical history as one took place remains to be analyzed. One of the key factors behind this change was an increasing interest in didacticism as a means of moral, political and economic advancement. Conversely, men of letters whose interests were invested in the political buoyancy of emerging states and the Church were also responsible for

---

247 Ino was Harmonia's and not Hermione's daughter.

bringing about the discipline of history to the forefront of political and moral discourse. As I will explore in the following sections of this chapter, this renewed interest in the narrative discourse within the discipline of history that could have perhaps led to a conscious effort to control and regulate the production of historical knowledge; the conflation of dynastic, amorous, political, and moral issues in the romance and historical narratives clearly indicate so.

4.4.5 Conclusions

I have looked into the relation that existed between what is known as history and romance according to our own contemporary categories from the point of view of the influence that the latter hand on the former. In the final section of this chapter, I intend to look more closely at a series of works which, unlike romance, had an essentially historical approach as opposed to a more romance-influenced narrative style.

Whereas chivalric and courtly culture and the romance narratives were by far the most popular forms of transmission of historical data during the thirteenth century, we must not forget that this was also the century of encyclopedic learning. In Les origines des encyclopédies médiévales: D'Isidore de Séville aux Carolingiens, Bernard Ribémont reminds us that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a time at which the revival of the natural sciences prompted an interest to pursue and conceive knowledge in a comprehensive manner (319). Isidore, Bede, and Rabanus Maurus had kept alive the tradition of the compendium for many centuries in Europe yet this new wave of encyclopedism had a very different nature and purpose. Where early medieval compilers strove to preserve what little they could of a cultural world they saw waning around them, the thirteenth-century encyclopedists were fired by a passion to achieve what they saw as the ultimate compilation of knowledge. The High Middle Ages were a time of rapid economic growth and constant political turmoil but, above all, they were a time when many men of science thought it possible to comprehend and categorize in a series of clearly-divided categories all the knowledge (medicine, law, history, natural science...) they thought was available to humankind.

This drive to achieve totality lead to an exhaustive search for new sources of knowledge that could have been forgotten or overlooked in the monastic libraries or that could be imported from the most remote nations of the earth. In a cultural context like this, knowledge was considered power and prestige and it rapidly became commonplace to find rulers all over Europe who claimed to be successors to Julius Caesar, Priam or even Jupiter. Of course, Charlemagne had initiated this movement towards the reestablishment of Classical culture during the Carolingian Renaissance and it is precisely his model of translatio imperii and translatio studii that monarchs like Alfonso X would not only follow but eventually evolve and refine.

It should also be noted that the veracity of many historical events was open to debate as I mentioned already in the case of Charlemagne's conquest of territories in the Iberian peninsula which historians such as Jiménez de Rada and Alfonso X never acknowledged as true. One of the most renowned cases of such historiographic altercations is that of William of Newburgh's (1136?-1198?) prologue to his History of English Affairs (Historia rerum Anglicarum). In this history of England from 1066 to 1198 William severely criticizes Geoffrey of Monmouth's immensely popular History of the Kings of Britain (Historia regum Britanniae) (ca. 1135) for its blatant historical

inaccuracies and straight-out lies:

> Inde fabulator ille, ut suum Arturum ad summon evehat, facit eum Romanis bellus indicere, ant ehoc bellum singulari certamine mirae magnitudinis gigantem prosternere, cum post Davidica tempora de nullo gigante legatur. Consequenter profusiori mentiendi licentia facit adversus eum convenire cum Romanis reges magnos orbis terrarium, scilicet Graeciae Africa Hispaniae Parthorum Medorum Ituraeorum Libyae Aegypti Babyloniae Bithyniae Phrygiae Syriae Boeotiae Creatae; omnesque refert uno proelio ab illo devictos, cum Alexander ille Magnus et omnibus seculis clarus per annos duodecim in quibusdam tantorum regnorum principibus superandis sudaverit. Profecto minimum diditum sui Arturi grossiorem facti dorso Alexandri Magni, praesertim cum ante hanc victoriam de tot magnis regibus faciat eum commemorare suis in concione subactionem triginta regnorum a se et illis jam factam. At non einveniet fabulator noster tot regna in orbe nostro praeter regna memorata, quae utique nondum ille subegerat. (Prologue 13)

> Subsequently our story-teller, in seeking to exalt Arthur to the heights, makes him declare war on the Romans. Before this war commences he has him felling a giant of monstrous size in single combat, though we read of no giants after David's day. After that his undisciplined lying pours forth in greater flood. He makes the great kings of the world ally themselves with the Romans against Arthur; these are the kings of Greece, Africa, Spain, the Parthians, the Medes, the Ituraeans, Libya, Egypt, Babylonia, Bithynia, Phrygia, Syria, Boeotia, Crete. He recounts that they were all conquered by Arthur in a single battle, whereas the celebrated Alexander the Great, renowned in every age, sweated for twelve years in overcoming certain princes of these great kingdoms. He certainly makes his Arthur's little finger broader than the back of Alexander the Great, especially as before this victory over so many great kings he has him at an assembly remind his troops of the subjugation of thirty kingdoms already achieved by himself and them. Yet out story-teller will not find that number of kingdoms in the world we live in, over and above the ones listed which Arthur clearly had not yet conquered. (Walsh & Kennedy 35)

In the case of the <u>GE</u>, the didactic principles that propitiated first the compilation of the <u>EE</u> and then that of the <u>GE</u> have to be understood in the context of this emerging encyclopedism. Lucas de Tuy Iberian chronicle first and then Jiménez de Rada renewed historiographic works clearly set the standards for exhaustiveness that Alfonso sought to overcome with his historiographic works. It was only natural that the intellectual climate of the thirteenth century prompted an effort to take such historic works not only one step forward but to create a standard that would have no rival in any other medieval proto-state in Europe.

In the frenzy to compile and contrast all the sources that were at their disposal, the Alfonsine translators and editors had little or no time to consider

questions of verisimilitude or historical veracity. The reasons why these issues were not even considered by medieval historiographers such as Alfonso have nothing to do with how much history they knew or how much of it was accessible to them. History was simply a discipline that differed substantially from our modern conception of historiography. The historical discourse was the carrier of many other threads of meaning that dealt with moral and social issues which were simply much more present in the lives of the authors and the audience of these works.

In conclusion, the view of historical events that can be obtained from these romances and their references to Ovid's Her. is that any historical event narrated by authors considered to be canonical was understood to have had a factual basis. In the case of Alfonso, the recurring contrast between contemporary troubadours and ancient poetae shows that the attitude among the intellectual elite towards stories such as those found in the Her. was one that did not focus on the accuracy of all the facts referred in the story. Much like contemporary television series or historic motion pictures, medieval romance was a meeting place for varying degrees of, to use A. Hall's terms, plausibility, typicality, factuality, emotional involvement, narrative consistency, and perceptual persuasiveness, among other factors that conditioned the different dimensions and levels of historicity found in literary works like the Her.

Finally, Alfonso's specific reference to the romance character of the supposedly original Greek work onto which Ovid appended his own letters (also based on historical accounts) relies heavily on a euhemeristic approach to ancient literature. This approach was largely based on the appeal that ancient history had had for theologians and preachers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries who actively sought to incorporate and adequately interpret the works of all those ancient authors considered canonical. Whether this impulse emerged as a reaction to an increasingly blurred distinction between canonical and non-canonical readings of these authors or as a pre-emptive appropriation of the emerging authority of these works is a question that remains to be discussed.

4.5 HISTORICAL ROMANCES AND THE <u>HEROIDES</u>

In the case of Greek romances, R. Beaton has explained this narrative aspect of medieval romance (both in its Western and Eastern versions) by arguing that "the individual in the romances is rarely a unique 'character', in the sense that the term is used in modern fiction, perceived, that is, with all the particularity and concreteness of real people whom we would not be surprised to meet; rather, the heroes and heroines of the medieval romance represent generalizations of the self" (29). I share Beaton's premise that the individual is rarely a unique character and that such an interpretation is based on our belief that verisimilitude is a category that easily transcends temporal and cultural barriers. On the other hand, I disagree with his explanation of this phenomenon based solely on the concept of a newly-discovered interest in "the individual's subjective experience."

Firstly, I argue that these medieval semi-historical characters do indeed have a unique character although they inhabit a historical world that differs from anything we know. The interest shown by medieval commentators in learning more about new sources which complement ancient history accounts for this interest in the uniqueness of the historical moments as well as the individual. Secondly, the introspection that is found in these romances is not oriented exclusively towards the creation of a sympathetic character; it also explores the human condition as reflected on the passing of time, or amorous relations, or personal challenges and quests, or even duels or epic battles.

A consequence of this argument is that I must also disagree that modern fiction (historical novel or films) and medieval fiction are not so different in how they conjure up historical discourse. Contemporary "historical" characters such as William Wallace, Maximus, or Spartacus do indeed strike us as incredibly modern and yet, much like Alexander or Eneas in medieval times, we find their stories unbelievably realistic. This realism does not belong essentially to the realm of history but that of the historical narrative which, as I argue throughout my thesis, cannot be understood in isolation from certain socio-cultural aspects that govern how knowledge is negotiated, produced, and internalized as cultural, political, moral, or social capital.

4.5.1 <u>Roman de Thèbes</u>: The Power of Stories to Move an Audience
The first systematic translation and adaptation of ancient stories in Europe began in the first half of the twelfth century with the poem of Alexander around 1130 and the three successive romans of the matter of Rome: <u>R. de Th</u>., <u>R. d'E</u>., and the <u>R. de Tr</u>. Unlike the old Chansons de geste these new stories feature not only military prowess but also amorous relations as their key themes. In the following sections I will explore how the themes of love, social order, moral righteousness, individual struggle, and divine retribution, among others, can help us shed light on the nature and purpose of historical discourse as enacted in the <u>GE</u> through the adaptation of Ovid's <u>Her.</u> Moreover, this analysis will contribute to comprehend what position/s did Ovid and the <u>Her.</u> hold in the habitus of the Alfonsine translators. As I shall explain in the next chapter, these intellectuals must have been faced with a translation process during which references to notions of historicity and authorial reliability similar to those explored in the following sections well as interpretative

norms must have been enacted.

As diverse in their sources, style, and content as these four romances may seem to us modern readers, they were all considered part of the same genre in the thirteenth-century: historical romance. All of them were written within the second half of the twelfth century and they all reflect the same growing preoccupation in the late middle Ages with issues of warfare, good government, dynasty, succession, and "romantic" love.[248]

The Thèbes and the Enéas are translation/adaptation of a classical work (Statius' Thebaid and Virgil' Aeneid) whereas the Troie is a free adaptation based on Dictys EBT and Darès HET as it is the case with the Roman d'Alexandre. Both the Troie and the Alexandreïs belong to a category that shows traces of a more developed narrative style that bears a resemblance to that of the epic chansons de geste as well as the romans. Only the Alexandreïs is written in dodecasyllabic couplets; Only the Alexandre focuses on the life of one individual "historical" character whereas the other three are presented as sagas involving larger groups of people (e. g. the Thebans).

A closer look into Benoît de St. Maure's R. de Th., should allow us to find out the extent to which Ovid's interpolations in this and other romans, as we shall see, were regarded as historically true. The issue of the historicity of Ovid's material as incorporated to twelfth and thirteenth-century romans has been studied by B. Nolan in Chaucer and the Tradition of the Roman Antique. Nolan's thesis, accepted as definite by other medievalists (cf. D. H. Green, Beginnings 156), proposes that the stories of, among other characters in the Ovidian opus, heroines such as Medea or Dido were incorporated by Benoît and other romans writers in order to establish a sexually oriented exploration of historical evolution (117).

Whereas Nolan considers these amorous interludes as explicitly fictional and episodic (in the etymological sense of the word),[249] one of the tenets of my thesis is that the relation between Benoît's translation of Dares and Dicty's account of the Trojan War, as well as Alfonso X's addition of the Her. to his GE, (an event unanimously regarded as historical by medieval writers) and his Ovidian interpolations is more complex than the history/fiction binomial Nolan and Green

---

248 Thèbes: 1150, Enéas: 1160, Troie: 1165, Alexandre 1184-5.

249 This is Lewis & Short's definition of ἐπεισόδιον:

1. 'Addition for the purpose of giving pleasure', Plu.2.629c, 710d; e. gastros, of dessert, AP6.232.6 (Crin.(?)).

2. in Poetry, 'parenthetic addition', 'episode':

a. in Ep. poems, as the Catalogue in the Iliad, Arist.Po.1459a36.

b. in Tragedy, the portions of dialogue between two choric songs, ib. 1452b20: then of all underplots or parenthetic narratives in poetry, which might themselves form distinct wholes, ib. 1451b34; also in prose speeches, etc., D.H.Comp.19, Isoc.4, Th.7.

c. in Comedy, interlude, intermezzo, Metag.14. ("Epeisodion," def. II)

among others propose in order to explain this phenomenon.

By asserting that human feelings and emotions have a bearing in the evolution of history these authors don't make a statement regarding the nature of history as the passage of time but of the evolution and change that history brings with it. History, like any other type of narrative, invites the mind of the audience to reflect, in this case, over issues dealing with power relations. In the case of medieval romance, characters such as those portrayed in the Her. must be approached much like contemporary audiences perceive contemporary film icons. Suspended belief is essential if we are to understand the essence of these characters as being both appealing to the audience because they share common traits with them, while also being as distant as required in order to make of them appropriate historical characters.

In the very specific case of Ovid and his use as a source to furnish stories and characters for these "amorous interludes", it has been A. Petit who has recalled Faral's conclusion to his Recherches regarding Ovid's influence in the writer of the R. de Th. According to Petit, Ovid is present in the work but this can be attributed to the general Ovidian influence at the time coupled with the specificity of the sources used by the author who could have hardly recurred to anybody else but Ovid. This tendency to find "Ovidian mirages" everywhere in twelfth century French literature would not be in accordance with the evidence Faral provided in his research which for Petit is, at least, "debatable" given that Statius, manuscript glosses, the Mythographie Vaticane or Hyginius could also be sources for those references (240). Petit also notes an absence of the Ovidian love rhetoric in the Thèbes' early redactions and indicates that those episodes containing Ovidian rhetoric were added later on maybe as a consequence of the new influence exercised by the highly popular R. d'E. (240).

4.5.2 The Tragic History of Eneas, Lavinia (and Dido): The Roman d'Enéas

The R. d'E. is an anonymous and rather free adaptation into Old French of Virgil's Eneid dating back to ca. 1155 that focuses on Eneas and Lavinia's relationship from the point of view of its historical relevance as well as its narrative value as a love story within the context of the romance. One of the so-called romans antiques, the Enéas is written in octosyllabic rhyming couplets just like its other twelfth-century counterpart the R. de Tr. and the R. de Th. enjoyed a tremendous popularity immediately after its publication as Heinrich von Veldeke's translation into Middle High German (which we will see next) bears witness to.

As E. Faral pointed out many years ago, an in-depth analysis of, in this case, the R. d'E. shows that the anonymous poet of the twelfth century not only "did not make up anything" but actually "transformed and adapted" a text which he sought to perfect through his erudition and adapt to his audience ("Aenéas" 74). More recently, N. P. Pope, after analyzing three passages and their historical content in the R. d'E. as opposed to their Virgilian original counterparts, came to the conclusion that "the translator's revisions were not based on misreading or misunderstanding the Aeneid, but rather on the need to tell the story in a manner appropriate to his contemporary audience" (249).

Even though both Faral and Pope dismiss the idea that a thorough understanding of these "para-historical" texts has been achieved, they admit to the

possibility of identifying certain recurring features such as a "medieval fondness for marvels" (243); a tendency to attribute "many events to natural or human agency which Virgil ascribed to divine intervention" (245), and the omission of those historical references "which would have no significance to medieval readers or would even have a negative connotation" (249) in the case of Pope or, in more general terms, Faral's assertion that whenever possible, the cleric would infuse the text with the new knowledge he had acquired while pursuing his own studies in order to contribute to the better understanding of the story in question by the audience as it is the case with the long descriptions of famous cities or characters such as Carthage or Helen (100-9).

All of these trends will also be present in Alfonso's translation of the Her. as we will see in detail in the following chapter and can certainly be attributed to the general literary techniques of those clerics involved in the writing of any type of historical prose in the eleventh, twelfth, and even thirteenth century throughout Europe.

A prime example of the interest in providing the reader with ancillary sources from which to obtain more information and integrate them within the newly created text is the interpolation of the story of the Judgment of Paris in the R. d'E. (99-182). Since the event only takes two verses in the first book of the Aeneid (7-8) many researchers have tried to find the one source from which the story might have been taken.

As Faral pointed out when he first dealt with these verses in the article previously mentioned, the author might have used a commentary on the Aeneid such as that of Donatus' or he could have done something more simple yet not usually expected from a medieval cleric: re-work the material in his own words without copying it from any one specific source basing the account, on this occasion, on Paris' confession to Helen explaining a story he thinks she will find hard to believe. Only the apple inscribed with Greek words is absent from the Her.

It would not be too daring to suppose that that information might have come from a source common to that of the Rawlinson Excidium Troie, a Latin account of the Trojan War that E. B. Atwood determined to be independent from the Dares and Dictys's accounts. He argues was used by the authors of other surviving epitomes of the Trojan War which will be analyzed in this chapter such as Trojanska Priča, the Trójumanna Saga and Konrad von Warzburg's Trojanierskrieg.[250]

Faral points out that the writer of the R. d'E. was well-acquainted with the Met. (110-20). However, the fact Ovid's works have recurring images and that his influence seems to have been absorbed and then applied to the R. d'E. and not just copied and pasted make it difficult to identify any specific sources. Faral (121) quotes 1662-4 "Car ki aime toz tens mescreit; / En dotance est et en peor, / Ja n'ert seürs ne nuit ne jor…" as resembling Her. I, 12 ("Res est solliciti plena timoris amor") and Her. XVIII, 109 ("Omnia sed vereor: quis enim securus amavit?") whereas XIII, 101-2 ("Sive latet Phoebus seu terris alitor exstat, / tu mihi luce dolor, tu mihi nocte venis:")

---

250 C. F. Fraker argues that the Excidium could well have been used a source by the authors of the thirteenth-century Libro de Alexandre and Leomarte and by the compilers of the GE ("Dios" 29).

(Whether Phoebus is concealed, or whether more on high he is visible, thou comest to me by day, thou comest to me by night, an anxious care.") could also be a source. Carthage's description could also be related to <u>Her.</u> VII, 21-22: "Quando erit ut condas instar Carthaginis urbem et uideas populos altus ab arce tuos?" "When when will you build a city as prosper as Carthage, and, as its ruler, survey from its citadel your subjects below?" as in 505-7 ("Li palés fu desoz la tor; / onc a roi ne enpereor / ne fu si buens veüz ne talz." ("The palace was beneath the tower. None so handsome was ever seen or built by king or emperor.")

The author could have been familiar with the details in Dido's epistle since he does mention interesting details such as the queen's probable pregnancy (135) in 1521-38 which makes reference to a consummated sexual act that is actively denied in 1279-32 as not having taking place. In 1391-42 she is represented as having lost her mind and unattended her city whereas in Ovid she is represented as a well-established ruler who knows all of the workings of her realm as she actually spells them out for Eneas in order to try to convince him. Moreover these verses add to the description of her love disease in a way that is not present in Ovid; Dido speaks nonsense, takes him on strolls for no reason, and loses her trend of thought and many other common places not found in Ovid. Similarly, at around verse 25, she describes her state as "burning like wax on a torch" or frankincense poured on the altars and she thinks of him day and night whereas 1219-78 is more exaggerated: Dido is now embracing her bed, as she is agitated and troubled, trembling naked in his arms kissing her pillow and even speaks to him. It seems like the author of the <u>Enéas</u> had a more vivid and eloquent source from which to borrow Dido's story since Ovid's letter seems to make reference to future events more than it describes her state of mind or her death.

The only source that can certainly be linked to the <u>Her.</u> is the epitaph that Dido leaves behind her: "Illuec gist / Dido qui por amor s'ocist; / onques ne fu meillor paiene, / s'ele n'eüst amor soltaine, mais ele ama trop folemant, / savoir ne li valut noiant." which is a free adapation from <u>Her.</u> VII, 197-8: "Praebuit Aeneas et causam mortis et ensem. / Ipsa sua Dido concidit usa manu" ("Aeneas provided both the reason for death and the weapon [that caused it]").

It is hard to establish how the author of the <u>R. d'E.</u> obtained the information about Dido he used to expand on the Virgilian characterization of the queen of Carthage. However, it does not seem probable that all of the allusions pointed out by Faral and others should have as their sole source an alternate recension of the Trojan War similar to that of the <u>Rawlinson Excidium Troie</u>. Whether the <u>Her.</u> were known to the author of the <u>R. d'E.</u> or not cannot be established with all certainty based solely on textual evidence. However, some of these allusions could probably have been incorporated as a result of the author's training in advanced Latin grammar through, among other classical works, the <u>Her.</u> Alternatively, as we saw in the case of the courtly romances, this could also have been done through popular adaptations of the Ovidian original letters.

In the case of the <u>R. d'E.</u> the connection between love and empire is even more obvious given the character of the original story of Dido and Eneas as told by Virgil in the <u>Aeneid</u>. Far from being a worthy queen, Dido is presented in this narrative as a distraction to destiny-bound Eneas. The reasons behind these alterations to the

original story seem too apparent to be ignored. First, the courtly environment and audience for whom the work would have been written would clearly find an echo of their own world in the adventures of the lofty Roman rulers.

The highest echelons of this heavily stratified society were the intended audience for these romances and it would be only natural to expect that love and romance be present in even the most historical of works. As W. P. Ker reminds us, "it is impossible to separate the spirit of French romance from the spirit of the Provençal lyric poetry" since "the romances represent in a narrative form the ideas and the spirit which took shape as lyric poetry in the South" and thus they "are directly dependent upon the poetry of the South for their principal motives" (345).[251]

Critics such as Jean Frappier have raised concerns about the explicitness of such methods in explaining the phenomenon of the historical romances by arguing against the plausibility of "trying to explain the genesis of the ancient romances, and all courtly romances in general, based solely on the influence of the ancient authors" (Peinture 19). There are indeed far more complicated reasons lying behind the rapid spread of the romance as a vehicle of literary expression and this section of my dissertation will try to look into some of the factors that promoted this change and how they bore some resemblance with the protagonists, the history, and the stories found in the Her. In the following sections we will be looking precisely at the unique characteristics that prompted this intersection between historical narrative and romantic stories.

As Ker has argued in the case of French romance, there is strong evidence that the R. d'E. as well as the other historical compositions are more complex than critics may have thought. As I will discuss in this chapter, I agree with Ker's statement that

> what made by far the strongest impression on the middle Ages was not the example of Paris or of Leander, nor yet the passion of Catullus and Propertius, who were then unknown, but the poetry of the loyalty of the heroines, the fourth book of the Aeneid, the Heroides of Ovid, and certain parts of the Metamorphoses. (346)

In order to prove this point, I will not only look into the sources used by romance writers but also other medieval historic works that sought to comprehend as much ancient historical material as was available to them, including the Her.

4.5.3 Roman de Troie: Individual Struggle and the Female Protagonist

The case of the R. de Tr. is also paradigmatic of the interest shown by medieval audiences in heroic feminine characters. M.-R. Jung was among the first literary critics to point out the relevance that these female protagonists had not only in the more "sentimental" parts of the story but on the concept of historical narrative as a whole:

> Benoît's poem is a text that is rich in feminine figures: Medea and her love craze, Hesione, the prisoner and the mother of Ajax Telamon, Helen the "femme fatale", Cassandra, the prophetess scorned by men,

---

251 Ker acknowledges G. Paris' research as the foundation for his own finding on the matter.

Polixena, the pure girl sacrificed on the tomb of her lover, Briseis the unsteady woman and also the wives, Hecuba and Andromache, and finally Penthesilea, the Amazon and Circe whose love is stronger than her necromantic powers. (Légende 10)

Jung's insightful analysis consists of a multi-dimensional study that, for example, also reagards the R. de Tr. as "both the account of the destruction of a city which was the emblem of a sumptuous civilization as well as that of the destruction of the Greek on their way back home" (Légende 10). As I will try to demonstrate in my own review of how these romances used characters taken from the Ovidian lore, Jung's multiple readings of the R. de Tr., constitute the basis for a coherent understanding of how all these narrative elements played into one another to conjure up a multifaceted vision of history.

As it has been the case with many other works reviewed in my thesis, attributin direct influences from the Her. to authors who do not quote them specifically are hard to validate. However, in this case, Nickolaus has convincingly argued that Benoît's use of book VI of Dictys' chronicle was supplemented with information obtained from the Her. (116). Since Dictys does not explain how Hermione is granted to Orestes in VI.4 yet he himself attends Neoptolemus' wedding to Hermione in VI. 10 and 12, Benoît adds information (29596-29602) regarding the kidnapping which corresponds to that mentioned by Hermione in her epistle to Orestes.

A similar case of source-crossing takes place with regard to the relation between Polixena and Achilles. C. Croizy-Naquet has argued that Achilles as well as other Greek heroes have been reworked by a romance-writer "whose work is a composite of several sources". She argues that this eclecticism is the end-result of a complex process that involves "assembling, piecing together and combining different sources" among which the most important would be Dares, Ovid's elegiac works (including the Her.) and, possibly, the R.d'E. ("Modèle" 41).

I would like to conclude this brief survey of the use of the Her. in the R. de Tr. by contrasting the original Old-French composition to Guido delle Colonne's History of the Destruction of Troy (Historia destructionis Troiae) (1287). Guido's work does not only provide a contemporary historical account to that of Alfonso's GE but is also quite original in that it is a unique case of medieval plagiarism: Guido's book is a Latin prose translation of Benoît's Roman de Troie to which he added information from various sources.[252]

Guido's discussion of Ovid and his use of Ovidian sources contain a great lot of information regarding Ovid's reliability as a historical source at the end of the thirteenth century. In the prologue, Guido severely criticizes Homer for having interwoven historical facts with divine myth in his Illiad and Odyssey and having

---

252 Guido's translation was not identified as such until 1869. Previous to that, it had been regarded as an original compilation. See A. Joly's Benoît de Sainte- More et le Roman de Troie (Paris: A. Franck, 1870-1) and H. Dunger's Die Sage vom trojanischen Kriege in den Bearbeitungen des Mittelalters und ihre antiken Quellen (Leipzig: F.C.W. Vogel, 1869) for the two contemporary yet independent studies credited with the discovery.

thus inaugurated a trend among ancient poets of which Ovid was one of the main representatives: "Ovid of Sulmo, with his fertile pen, wove both of these together in his many books [inventions and truthful facts]. He added many inventions to what had been invented and did not omit the truth mixed in with them."[253] At the end of his account of the war, in the last chapter (35) he again insists on the premise of his new (sic) account of the Trojan War:

> I considered, however, the failure of the great authors, Virgil, Ovid, and Homer, who were very deficient in describing the truth about the fall of Troy, although they composed their works in an exceedingly glorious style, whether they treated them according to the stories of the ancients or according to fables.

Again, in Book II, this time on account of Medea's powers, fiction is described by the poet. It is noteworthy that this remark is introduced by a presentation of Medea. According to Guido, she studied the liberal arts and became wiser than any other man or woman of her time. She is credited with being a magician but her powers are limited to invoking winds, storms, and even earthquakes or making people grow old or become young again at her will. However, when it comes to the eclipsing of the sun, Guido discredits Ovid as a storyteller and firmly states that only God can alter the course of the planets which he has established according to his own will and not even Medea can intervene in it: "But that storytelling Ovid of Sulmo, writing fictitiously about Medea, daughter of King Aeëtes, thus proposed it should be believed of her (which it is not fitting that Catholics faithful to Christ should believe, except to the extent that it was told as a story by Ovid)" and he concludes that "however, all this about Medea is therefore set forth according to the legends, although the present history does not omit the fact that this material about her was legendary, since it is not to be denied that she was extremely skillful in astrology and witchcraft."

Details from Medea's story, in spite of not being quoted as such, are taken from the Her. which are indeed quoted in reference to the original cause for the war in chapter four:

> Ovid, in the epistle of Oenone, thus reproaches Paris: "The Tyndarid by an enemy," and so forth, and he adds afterward, "Is it to be thought she was rendered back a maid, by a young man and eager?" and so forth. (Her. V, 91 and 129).

4.5.4 Alexandreïs or Roman de Alexandre

Although the Roman de Alexandre was composed in Latin, it had already been translated in Catalan, Old Norse, Czech, Dutch, Old Castilian, Old-French, Italian, and

---

253 This tendency in the middle Ages to underscore Homer's use of divine forces in his account of the Trojan War is remarkably Aristotelian in the sense that it obeys, at least partially, to narrative considerations. It is not that divinities are not supposed to intervene in human affairs (as Socrates insists on several times) but that it is a stilystically poor resource to make characters act or situations develop in ways that show lack of coherence with respect to their own characterization.

almost every other vernacular language in European by the end of the thirteenth century, shortly after its composition between 1176 and 1202. Walter of Châtillon's eclectic approach to the epic genre shows to what extent historiography and literary narrative in general were not a static and uniform entity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. As D. Townsend explains

> the poem abounds in incongruities between form and content produced by this amalgamation of genres. Such hybridizations are evident, for example, at points when characters speak in styles that have more in common with the extended, rhetorically balanced speeches of prose historiography than with the generally briefer and more focused dicta of epic characters. (xviii)

Townsend himself points out that Walter's narrative style and historic approach, as I will show in the specific case of the GE, were not considered incongruous by any means. However, I would like to focus my brief discussion of this Latin composition not on the character of Walter's style as a whole but on a very specific aspect of this complex intertextual maze that the Alexandreïs is. This feature is the mutual influence that para-historic genres such as romance and epic on the one hand and historiography on the other exercised on one another. I will argue that both in the GE and in the Alexandreïs auctoritas is understood in different terms when it is ascribed to a modern auctor such as Walter of Châtillon. As Alfonso's admiration for the French poet shows, the handling of sources and the cohesiveness of the narrative in terms of the harmonization of historical, moral, and didactic issues are the essence of auctoritas in a contemporary auctor.

Moreover, the fact that features belonging to historiographic narrative were incorporated into Walter's narrative and contributed decisively to its canonicity evinces the high status that some traits of the historical discourse had achieved in the late middle Ages. In the case of the Alexandreïs, the use and contrast of several literary sources or the speeches and monologues through which the protagonist speak are two of those features which both Alfonso and Walter took as essential in the production of an adequate narrative.

One specific example of the importance of sources in the Alexandreïs will suffice to illustrate this point. The example is a reference to the story of Paris and Oenone as narrated by Ovid in the Her. The incident in which Oenone carves Paris's name on a poplar as a sign of her love for him became a recurrent theme in the middle Ages. The event is recounted by Ovid in Her. V and, to this date, no other Latin source that could have been known to romance writers has been discovered. In the case of the Alexandreïs, it is the Macedonian general who, while marching eastwards in command of his troops, passes by Troy and sees with his own eyes Oenone's popplar:

> While he carefully sought for the lightest traces of antiquity he came across Oenone's poplar planted on a river bank, whereon the writings of the adulterous Paris, carved by his scythe, were hidden and his tender words of love were legible. (I, 452-467)

The use of the Her. in Walter de Châtillon's Alexendreïs is part of a rather

large compilation of sources that the twelfth-century French writer and theologian undertook.   According to Gaullier-Bougassas, successive imitators of Walter such as Thomas de Kent's and Alexandre de Paris (as well as Ulrich von Eschenbach and Rudolf von Ems) incorporated that trait to their own Alexander epics. This method of writing was characterized by an eclectic combination of characters, themes, literary uses and conventions borrowed from the most dispare genres: chansons de geste, romanz, mirabilia, encyclopedias, political treatises... that aims at "providing a full recount of Alexandre's life" and thus "saturate their works with facts and present the ancient character as the ultimate hero" (521).

Alfonso X's explanation as to why he incorporated Walter's story of Alexander into the GE provides with a detailed perspective of this very same fact in the eyes of a man of letters of the thirteenth century. He explains:

> Maestre galter natural de francia fue muy buen clerigo en gramatiga & en los otros saberes. & grand uersificador. & ueyendo como auie y razones de Hercules en latin que se leyen en las escuelas. ca fablo Ouidio de hercules enel so libro mayor. & enel de las dueñas. & tanxo del en otros lugares de sus libros muchos que fizo. & otros Auctores que tanxieron otrossi del. & la estoria de Achilles uersificada. otrossi de Omero & de Stacio. & libros fechos della en griego & en latin. & otrossi la estoria de los Reys de Thebas uersificada de Stacio. & otrossi la estoria de Julio cesar. & de Pompeyo el grand de que fizo so libro grand & bueno. Lucano natural de la cibdad de cordoua que es enell andaluzia en España. & la estoria de Alexandre que fue tan grand princep. & tan bueno en armas. andar assi sin todo beneficio de latin. & de se leer en escuelas seyendo razones de tan alta materia. non lo touo por bien. & por bondad de si quisosse meter a trabaio por fazer ende obra que se leyessen en las ascuelas & fizo lo. & compuso ende un libro grand & bueno. & bien uersificado por latin en que a diez libros en que fabla el de Alexandre quando fue de dolze años. & de los fechos que fizo fasta que murio.

> Master Walter was French and he was a very good man of letters in grammar and in other disciplines and a great verse-maker as well. Seeing how there were razones about Hercules in Latin which were read at the schools (because Ovid talked about Hercules in the Met. as well as in the Her. and in many other places in all of the many books he wrote and other auctores who also talked about him). And [seeing how] Achilles' story had been versified by Homer and by Statius and books had been made of it in Greek and in Latin. [And seeing] how the story of the kings of Thebes had been versified by Statius. [And seeing] how Julius Caesar's had been so, and also Pompey the Great's about whom Lucan (who was from Cordoba which is in Andalusia, in Spain) wrote a long and good book. And so the story of Alexander who was such a great ruler and military man was without a story in Latin and could not be read in the school in spite of containing such highly positive razones. So he made the story and wrote it down "into" a book which

was well versified and divided into ten books in which he speaks of Alexander since he was twelve years and all of his great deeds until he died. (<u>GE</u> IV, 238r)

Alfonso's prolific explanation of Walter's motives for composing his poem (which he himself discusses in the prologue to his work) abounds in the character and nature of historiography. Walter is compared to Statius, Homer, and Ovid, among other ancient authors and it is through these explanations that Alfonso reveals his own understanding of history as a discipline that is eclectic in its methodology and purpose. The historian is presented as a poet, a man of letters, someone with a great intellectual and an innate capability to arrange historical data into a narrative that is historically accurate and morally relevant in its structure and purpose. On the one hand, a prolific supply of sources will be the measure by which historical accuracy and authority are enacted. Whereas, on the other hand, a masterful composition of all the elements furnished by those historical sources is required of the author if he is to be considered a relevant historian.

As I will explain in the reminder of this chapter, both historical accuracy and a masterful narrative technique are necessary for a storyline that purports to be historical in essence or character to be considered as such. The differences between romance, epic, chronicle and other narrative modes in the late middle Ages are, to a large extent, contingent upon how these notions were approached by authors and their audiences. In the case of Ovid, as I will explain, both his prolific account of many of the stories that constituted historical material and the many ways in which he approached the creative task as a narrator and a story-teller, which would be incorporated in the lore of thirteenth-century historians and writers such as Alfonso X and Walter of Châtillon.

4.5.5 Stories from the Past: Historical Romances as Courtly Romances

As we have seen in the cases of all these French historical romances, the <u>Her.</u> were used in combination with other ancient works as a source of historical information. The process by which these romances came into being relied on a thorough analysis of previous literary references and in a continuous process of addition and alteration of those sources. In the case of romance, characters such as those found in the <u>Her.</u> were looked upon as a source of information to complete particular accounts. Moreover, in the case of Ovid's epistles, it is beyond question that the complexity of the relations expressed by those heroines (cf. my previous discussion of Latin lyrical poetry) was equally attractive to those authors.

In the following sections I will be reviewing specific cases of works that could not be classified as romances and yet have several aspects in common with them. As I will explain, the fact that these characters were involved in key historical events for medieval authors such as the Trojan War was also part of the reason why they were seen as historical material. As a matter of fact, among the epistles that were left out by Alfonso in the <u>GE</u>, it is interesting to note that those which were the least relevant from a historiographic point of view were left out. Canace, Macareus, Hero, and Leander have less of a historical interest than Ulysses or Hercules. The only caveat to this hypothesis is the fact that Paris and Helen's letter were not included in the <u>GE</u> although they were explicitly mentioned. In the following section of this chapter I

will show how the Trojan War was the main catalyzer in most if not all of these narratives and how this lead to an increasing demand from the part of the authors and the audience with regard to the sources they used.

As I explained in the previous chapter, as well as in my analysis of historical romance, the rise of lyrical poetry runs parallel to the emergence of, on the one hand, a new, more sophisticated historiography, and, on the other, an increasing interest and fascination for the ancient stories that will give birth to the great romances of antiquity. Both literary phenomena (the chronicles and the romances) coincide in their use of themes present in the works of Ovid: the Met. is used as a compilation from which brief stories such as those used in the earliest contes can be extracted without the need to use or even posses the whole work or a thorough knowledge of it.

The Am., Ars am. and Rem. Am., not only provided medieval readers with endless commonplace occurrences of love's labors and toils but also with a genuinely medieval methodical approach coupled with an embedded narrator whose literary persona and real character are hard to distinguish. The Tristia and the Epistulae appeal to the solitary and more reflexive aspects of a class of learned and influential men of letters who are also rapidly evolving into an urban species. Ovid belonged to this type of class before his exile in which intellectual and sentimental friendship and affinity as expressed through epistolar correspondence become an essential part.

The Her. occupy an important place in this Ovidian subculture since they are filled with the myths, legends, and sagas as well as the poetic narrations of the Met. They participate and expound, and provide "real-life," contextualized instances of the stituations surrounding the world of "eros" depicted in the amatory works, and, most important of all, their epistolar character finds an enthusiastic reader in the learned classes for whom the ars dictaminis had become an essential part of their lives. B. Guenée has referred in broad terms to the general preoccupation that many of these men of letters felt during the thirteenth century with compiling more and more historical sources while carefully trying to establish the level of authority to be ascribed to each one, as we have seen was the case with Dares, Homer, Ovid, etc. ("L'Historien" 126-35).

These historical works bear the imprint of their authors: medieval clerks with an education that was based almost exclusively on the imitation of ancient Latin authors. As I shall argue in the following section of my dissertation, the increased interest in Trojan history as represented by its protagonists, its stories and their narrators prompted an interest in increasingly more specialized texts. The Her. ranked high among these texts since many of their characters were protagonists or secondary characters in the literary history and prehistory of the Trojan War.

Ovid's qualities as a reliable compiler of historical accounts could not be overlooked given the enormous influence his Met. had on those scholars seeking to complete the "book" of world history by fleshing out other historical sources such as Jerome's and Eusebius' general chronological tables. Thus Ovid's prolixity as a reliable auctor coupled with the carefully crafted "historical" background in which his heroines' stories develop prompted the incorporation of the Her. as a historical source among those seeking to recreate ancient history in its various forms in thirteenth-century Europe.

4.5.6 A Major Historical Concern in the High Middle Ages: The Trojan War

In his study of the influence of the Trojan War in continental Europe, M.-R. Jung concludes that "at the end of the thirteenth century and beginning of the fourteenth, the trojan legend became highly popular both in France as well as in Italy where the Trojan "centers" were Naples, Tuscany and Southern Italy" ("Roman" 434). It is not at all surprising that a saga containing the wealth of characters and multiple sequences of events that are connected with the Trojan War became the focus of so much attention in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. The High Middle Ages were a time of intellectual awakening and artistic rediscovery as well as an era of political and military turmoil and thus the variety of ways in which the Trojan matter was researched reflect the deep changes that European society was undergoing.

As we saw in the preceding sections, the matters of Thebes, Alexander, or Eneas were also sought after in the initial period of historic reawakening that took place in the eleventh century. However, the texts that have come down to us show that the Trojan matter rapidly became the preferred choice for most of these early neo-classical works. The examples are scarce but they paint a coherent enough picture of the prevalence of this event. From the eleventh century we have Bernard de Fleury's (ca 1050) De Excidio Troie, largely a lament from Hecuba written in four hundred elegiac verses; Odo of Cambrai's now-lost elegiac poem of which only survives a 25-line summary by his friend Baudri of Bourgueil, and Godefroid de Reims' Hector and Achilles based on the Illias Latina tradition.

In the twelfth century, that of Simon Chèvre d'Or's can be counted among the earliest Trojan narratives that we preserve. Simon was a canon at Saint-Victor who wrote, among several short poetic compositions such as epigrams and epitaphs. as well as this poem on the Trojan War, referred to as Illiad, is written in elegiac verse and although it follows the Illias Latina, interestingly enough it focuses on the tragic love of Achilles and Polyxena. The original composition had only 152 verses but it eventually grew up to the 994 of the fourth and last edition we have extant and which is now referred to as the Ylias. Finally, the anonymous Pergama flere volo also dates back to the twelfth century although it is not clear whether its 44 elegiac couplets stand as poem on their own or were just a mere "floating school-poem" as Sedgwick has suggested ("Pergama" 82).

Aside from these short Latin epic poems, there are many precedents that point towards a rapid evolution in the presence of the Trojan War in both historic and non-historic literature in the eleventh and twelfth century. Thus Heinzle has remarked on the importance that Helen had as a cause for the Trojan War in late Medieval German Literature from song 99 in the Carmina Burana (as well as in Konrad von Wurzburg's Trojanerkrieg and Herinrich von Veldeke's Eneid). This influence pervaded any work that claimed to have a historical truth behind it and, as I have already pointed out, even those stories without a classical origin contained references to ancient sagas such as the Trojan War. The historical poem Annoleid (ca. 1100) is a vernacular example of this type of influence. This short composition is written in Early Middle High German rhyming couplets and was dedicated to Bishop Anno II of Cologne. The Annoleid portrays the Franks as descending from the Trojans through Franko, the patriarch of the Franks. He is said to have found the town of

Xanten after the name of the river Xanthus back in Troy where his ancestors came from:

> Franko gesaz mit den sîni / vili verre nidir bî Rîni. / Dâ worhtin si dǔ mit vrowedin / eini luzzele Troie. / Den bach hîzin si Sante / nâ demi wazzere in iri lante; / den Rîn havitin si vure diz meri. (Nellmann, XXIII, 17-23)

> Franko settled with his men very far downstream by the Rhine. There they joyfully built a little Troy. They called the brook Xanten after the river in their land; they thought the Rhine was the sea. (T. M. Andersson 99)

By the thirteenth century, the importance of the Trojan War in any type of narrative that claimed any historic value was beyond question. The Trojan War had become now a matter of intense research and a mirror of the interests and preoccupations of those clerics who avidly studied it. One of these men of letters was the Frenchman Jean de Flixecourt who translated Dares literally into Old French in 1262. Only a few years later the English Dominican Jofroi de Waterford (an arabist and classicist from Ireland who also translated the pseudo-Aristotelian Secret of secrets (Secretum secretorum), and Eutropius' Breviarum historiae romanae) produced his L'Estoire des Troiens, a literal translation of Dare's DET. It is worth noting how Jofroi explains that he found it necessary to undertake the transalation "pour che que li roumans de Troies rimés contient mout de coses que on ne treuve mie ens u latin, car chis qui le fist ne peust mie autrement belement avoir trouvee se rime" ("because the rhymed romances of Troy contain many things which are not found in the Latin original since those who composed the romances could not have otherwise come up with the appropriate rhyme"; Vielliard 285).

Jean explains how the original text came into being before translating the letter that Cornelius ("a Roman cleric") sent to his uncle Sallust as a preface to his translation. Jean's linguistic explanation bears some resemblance to Alfonso's theory that Ovid's epistles were originally composed in Greek, then translated into Latin, and finally made into Old Castilian by him. Here are both Jean and Alfonso's explanations:

> **(JF)** Premierement on doit savoir que Daires fu uns chevaliers de Troies qui l'estoire descrist en grijois, et Cornilles, uns clers de Roume, le translata de grijois en latin, si comme il apert en cheste epystre que il envoia en latin a Saluste son oncle.

> First we should say that Dares was a Trojan knight who wrote the story in Greek and Cornelius, a Roman clerk, translated it from Greek into Latin, as you can find it in this epistle that he sends to his oncle Salust in Latin. (286)

> **(GE)** Empos esto. de como fizo el Rey Danoo con su fija doña ypermestra despues que ella salio dela prision. & de como fallo Ouidio en griego el romanz delas dueñas yl ouo trasladado enel latin. & entre las otras epistolas delas dueñas que fizo dell. como compuso y una por esta ypermestra daquellas razones que ella embio dezir a su marido

seyendo en la prision. & aun despues que salio della.

And after this [we will talk about] how King Danaus and his daughter Hypermnestra after she was released from jail, and about how Ovid got hold of the Greek romance of the ladies [The Her.] and had it translated into Latin together with the other epistles of these ladies which he wrote himself. And how he wrote one for this Hypermnestra based on those razones which she sent to her husbad while she was in prison and even after she got out of it. (GE I, 336r)[254]

J.-Y. Tilliette has argued that "before 1050-1060, Troy does not exist as a literary object in medieval poetry" (407). According to the French critic, the eleventh century witnessed a sudden change in how poetry was conceived, what themes it should be interested in and what its purposes should be. Tilliette's analysis shows that the Trojan War, its battles, its heroes and heroines started to be cited more abundantly at around this time. This thematic revolution not only coincided with the birth of new and prolific lyrical and roman genres but also prompted a historiographic revolution since it should not be forgotten that, as D. H. Green clearly states, that "the Trojan War was regarded unquestioningly in antiquity and in the middle Ages not merely as having actually taken place, but as the epoch-making event of Pre-Roman history. It is therefore recorded as a historical fact by historians of antiquity and by their medieval successors" (153).

The authors cited by Tilliete, in addition of having their focus on the "Trojan matter" also share an interest in Ovid and more particularly in the Her., which I will continue to demonstrate in the last section of this chapter. This part of my analysis will show how Her. were not only present in the lyrical revolution that took place in France during the eleventh century, but also in the emergence of classical works as the source of a renewed historiographic enterprise in many European countries. In the words of Barnicle:

> The various authors of the Troy romances . . . appear to have had a knowledge of Dares, Benoît, Ovid, Statius, or whatever was used as the ground source plus a knowledge of classical legends, such as theYouth of Achilles, the Youth of Paris, etc., which they used at whatever point in their account seemed most strategic and with whatever variations seemed most interesting. (lxxiv)

4.5.7 Heinrich von Veldeke's Eneide: a Further Imitation

The influence that Ovid exercised on the Minnesang poets, specifically with

---

254 Przychocki's compilation of accessi to Ovid's works contains a prologue in which a similar remark is made:

> Sciendum est Ovidium Romae primur scripsisse epistolas non imitando quemquam Romanorum, quorum quippe poeta nullus adhuc scripserat epistolas, sed quendam Graecum, viderat epistolas.

> Ovid is known to have written his epistles first at Rome not imitating those of the Romans, among whom no poet had to this point written epistles, but those of a certain Greek whose epistles he found. (81)

regard to his <u>Am.</u> has been widely argued. In his study of Hartamann von Aue's poetry, F. Piquet concludes that one of Aue's most important poems, <u>Büchlein</u>, shows a strong influence of Ovid's <u>Ars Amatoria</u> which the poet would have known of either directly in Latin, or through Chrétien de Troyes' popular French translation (359). Similarly, Heinrich Veldeke "founder of the German court epic" (Auerbach 186), used direct Ovidian and Virgilian sources which he incorporated to his translation/adaptation of the Anglo-Norman <u>R. de E</u>. known as <u>Eneas</u>, <u>Eneide</u>, or <u>Aeneasroman</u>.

In his study of Veldeke's sources, Andreotti Sabiene concludes that the Dutch author looked in the <u>Met.</u>, <u>Ars am.</u>, <u>Rem. am</u>., and even the <u>Her.</u> for additional information with which he could elaborate on the literary/historical characters that were the protagonists of the legend of the Trojan War and the foundation of Rome (<u>Rapporti</u> 102-3). Moreover, Andreotti demonstrated that Veldeke's translation methods were complex; and he used both Ancient Latin sources and contemporary Old French romances in order to supply historical data he thought was missing in the original and was provided by these alternative sources. In the case of Ovid and the <u>Her.</u>, Veldeke proves that Virgil's account was found to be lacking information that Ovid could provide specifically with regard to Dido's extended monologue after her premonitory dream (borrowed from the <u>Her.</u>?) and Dido's conversation with her sister which Andreotti believes to have been based on Mhyrra's in book X of the <u>Met</u>. (102-3).

Von Veldeke's embedded love-letters are thus important in understanding the influence of Ovid's <u>Her.</u> in medieval writers not only because they were readily used as a complementary source but also because the <u>Eneid</u> is the first German work in the vernacular to feature whole letters as a part of its main context.[255] In this search for what Spiewok has called "renovatio imperii" (57), Von Veldeke indeed seeks to recover the cultural and political heritage of the ancient romans by associating the Hohenstaufens with cultural progress in his own time. The link is established not only through the parallels found in the lives of the ancient and contemporary rulers (e. g. Frederick Barbarossa and Eneas) but also, as Spiewok remarks, through an extensive genealogical compendium that links the German royal family to the founders of Rome, Barbarossa's discovery of Pallas' tomb, and the representation of Frederick's festivities as reminiscent of those in Eneas and Lavinia's wedding (56-58).

4.5.8 <u>Trojanerskrieg</u>: A Combination of Several Ancient Sources

The literature produced in Late Medieval German kingdoms at the end of the twelfth century and beginning of the thirteenth was especially influenced by Ovid's <u>Met</u>. The main center of Ovidian scholarship was the court of Hermann I of Turingia (1190-1217), where the <u>minne</u> theme and other narratives involving amorous relations flourished in this period. Authors such as Heinrich von Veldeke (<u>Eneide</u>), Walther von de Vogelweide, Wolfram von Eschenbach (<u>Parzival</u>), or Herbort von Fritzlar (<u>Liet von Troye</u>) were among the many clerks who worked under Hermann's patronage. This influence was expressed both in the commentaries and imitations of works written in Latin as well as in several vernacular translations. As a matter of

---

255 A contemporaneous anonymous work, <u>Herzog Ernst</u> (1180), also features a letter: Otto II's alleged marriage proposal to Adelheid.

fact, Albert von Halberstadt's translation of Ovid's Met. (possibly the first vernacular translation of any classical text) was not only the first but also the only one available up until the second half of the sixteenth century of the reception of this Classic work in Germany (Andreotti Saibene, "Metamorfosi" 30).

Konrad of Würzburg, "the leading German author in the second half of the thirteenth century" (Coxon 95), has left us a prime example of this renewed interest in classical themes in general and Ovid's works in particular. As T. R. Jackson has remarked, Konrad's poetic output displays an "astonishing" generic diversity that ranges from minnesang (courtly love poetry) to social and moral Sprüche (didactic poems), from the laconism of his saints' legends to the rhetorical elaboration of Die goldene Schmiede (The Golden Smithies), and from small narrations like his Mären (stories) to his vast 40,000 line poem of the history of the Trojan War (Der Trojanerkrieg) (61).

Konrad's main sources for this epic poem are Benoît de Saint Maure's Roman de Troie, Dares Phrygius' De excidio Troiae, Dictys Ephemeris belli Trojani, The Latin Iliad (Ilias Latina / Homerus Latinus), Statius' Achilleis and, finally, as Dunger (46), W. Bolther (259), T. Jackson (Konrad 138), and Kokott (275)[256] have pointed out, Ovid's Met., Am., and Her. The parts of the poem that deal with Paris and Helen's affair (19345-23393) and the story of Jason and Medea (6496-11390) are influenced by Ovid's narration of the events as found in the Her. Moreover, Konrad's references to the stories of Phyllis (2320-22), Oenone (768-784) and Paris (785-803) also bear a resemblance with their corresponding heroides.

As Lienert has shown, Konrad not only translated Benoît's adaptation of the War of Troy but he elaborated on it by carefully inserting materials from other sources in episodes like the story of Jason and Medea (especially 10084-10205) among which are Ovid's Am., Rem. Am. and the Her. (66- 69).[257] Konrad even changes the story according to his own judgment when he narrates how Medea and Jason lived together happily with their two sons thus avoiding any references to the cruel murder (10876-10921). Moreover, as Dunger has proven, Konrad incorporated information for Her. XVI and XVII when he describes Helen's Rapt as well as the lovers' correspondence in the Trojanerkrieg, a practice which he describes as "common" among Konrad's contemporaries such as the chronicler Albert of Stade and his Troilus, a 5,320-line Latin epic on the Trojan war (53). Dunger's conclusion with regard to the sources used by Konrad is that "Konrad's main source is Benoît

---

256 I have not found any specific references to Konrad's use of the Heroides in any of these authors even though they state that Konrad used them as a source. The specific instances in which Konrad uses Ovid here listed have been taken directly from Trojanerkrieg.

257 Leinert cites Her. XII,115 and VI, 129 as the source for Konrad's mention of Absyrtus who is not mentioned by Benoît. Absyrtus was killed and cut into pieces by Medea so that her father Aetes would be forced to gather the limbs of his son (which Medea had scattered into the sea) in order to give him a proper burial. Medea would thus have time to avoid being pursued when she escaped with Jason. Ovid makes a more explicit reference to this incident in Tristia III, 9 which could also be the source of Konrad's reference since only Apollodorus (I, 9, 24) gives such a detailed account.

[Benoît de St. Maure's Roman de Troie] to which he adds information obtained from Ovid's Heroides and Metamorphoses, and from Statius' Achilleis"; 57).

After comparing Herbert's and Konrad's renderings of the Trojan War, J. M. Pastre concluded that Konrad's additions and amplifications of the original descriptions of Troy as found in Dares and Dyctis gave an image of the city of Troy that was "more byzantine, more oriental, more fastuous" (148). Once again, this fascination with the more picturesque elements of the historical past reveals the special interest that authors such as Konrad invested in creating a vivid picture of the past by borrowing material from several sources or even embellishing certain aspects of these stories on their own.

Before I move on to the next medieval rendition of the Trojan War, I would like to briefly mention another rendition in Middle-High-German of the War of Troy that has often been linked to the Trojanerkrieg: the Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg (1270-1300) (erroneously attributed to Wolfram von Eschenbach). This romance tells the story and exploits of Paris, Ulysses, as a Trojan knight who, for example, must fight such unseemly characters Alpheolan, a Scottish knight (Kopitz 3973-4074). In spite of loosely following the story of Troy according to Dares and Dyctis, this Arthurian romance lacks any sense of historical reference thus posing an interesting challenge to the barriers that separate the historical romans antiques from the fantastic matière de Bretagne (G.P. Knapp 89-90; Birkhan 116).

The narrator portrays knighthood as a corrupt and cruel system that lacks any sense of honor as opposed to Greek and Trojan times when "knights" such as Paris and Agamemnon set an example with their behavior (Kopitz 3189-3306). It is true indeed, as Birkham has remarked, that the overtly positive description of these Arthurian-Greek characters is only debunked by "a certain subversive tendency in romans against patriarchal tutelage" which would be aimed at a "predominantly feminine audience made up of noble women and their young daughters" (114).

The reason why it is important to not leave out of this or any other study of medieval historic narrative works such as the Göttweiger Trojanerkrieg is that it poses a challenge to our understanding of the medieval concept of history. Although it may be difficult to account for the generic transgressions found in this romance, any work with such unique traits should be the focus of more research and attention by scholars. I hope that this brief mention as well as many others made in my dissertation with regard to topics that are beyond the scope of this study will further that goal.

4.5.9 Jacob van Maerlant's Historie van Troyen.

A good example of quasi-contemporary expansion on a historical text is that of Flemish sexton, town-clerk, and poet Jacob van Maerlant (ca. 1235 - d. after 1291). His Historie van Troyen (ca. 1260) constitutes yet another account of the Trojan War largely based on Ste. Maure's Roman de Troie. Maerlant's account elaborates on the original text by adding information obtained from ancient authors such as Ovid whereas, at the same time, filtering mythical elements and divine interventions out of these adaptations. L. Jongen has studied the particular case of Ulysses' depiction as treated by Maerlant and has concluded that the Greek hero was

       introduced in the iudicium armorum from Book Thirteen of Ovid's

Metamorphoses to underline once again how perfidious a character Ulysses was, and to show that, though the greater Ajax was not a gifted speaker, he was certainly a brave fighter and a model of medieval chivalry. To increase Ajax' honor and reputation, Maerlant describes in great detail the burial monument built for this Greek hero. It portrays the battle between the Lapiths and the Centaurs. This battle, which symbolizes the contrast between culture and barbarism, Maerlant also borrowed from Ovid's Metamorphoses (XII, 212-535). ("Winner" 509)

Jongen's research on Maerlant variations and interpolations on Ste. Maure's text show that he was aware of his superior status over the French poet as a more accurate relator of truth as he declares himself when discussing Benoît's treatment of the theft of the Palladium in 23555-23565:

In syn Romans so scryft Benoet, / Een dinc die my vernoit, / Dat Athenor soud hebben ghenomen / Ende soud te Ulixes syn comen / Ende hebben hem dat beelde ghebrocht; / Mer, had hy die waerheit besocht / In buecken die men leest in scolen, / Soe en had hy niet moghen dolen. / Ic wil u tellen mitter haest, / So ic mach der waerheit naest, /Hoet was ghenomen ende by wies rade.

In his French, Benoît writes something that bothers me, namely that Antenor took the statue [the Palladium] and brought it to Ulysses. But if he had searched for the truth in books that are read in the schools, he would not have made this error. Therefore, I will quickly tell you and as well as I possibly can according to the truth, how and by whose counsel that statue was stolen. ("Winner" 508)

Jongen has argued for a strong bias in Maerlant's view of the destruction of Troy which would be the consequence of the city's impious behavior, especially that of Paris. On the other hand, Troy is presented as a superior civilization to that of the Greeks which would eventually survive through Eneas whereas the corrupted Greeks would eventually also fall into barbarism ("Achilles" 126).

Maerlant's interest in Trojan history is even more fascinating with regard to the study of Alfonso's conception of history when compared against their shared interest in world history. Jacob's first works were all translations of Old French and Latin chivalrous romances such as Histoire van den Grale, Merlijns Boeck, and Roman van Torec. It is remarkable that among these works, Jacob also produced the Alexanders Geesten, a translation and adaptation of Walter of Châtillon's Alexandreïs. Jacob's additional sources consisted of Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica, Lucan's De Bello Civile, Ovid's Met., Petrus Alfonsus' Secreta Secretorum, Honorius of Autun's Imago Mundi and Virgil's Eneid among others. Jacob's broad interests in romance as well as in the didactic and scientific character of the discipline of history resemble those of Alfonso X. Moreover, the fact that both of them compiled and expanded on historical works by means of further additions evinces the encyclopedic spirit of many of the men of letters whose works I have analyzed in this chapter.

A further example of this methodology is Jacob's own translation of the R. de

243

Tr (<u>Histoire van Troyen</u>). In this work, Maerlant turns away from romance and poetry and focuses on providing as much detail as possible when reproducing and adding to Benoît's original depiction of the Trojan War. The rest of his opus evinces this renewed interest in disciplines opposite to those interest which he cultivated as a young man of letters. Later in his life Jacob wrote <u>Heimlicheit der Hemlicheden</u>, a treatise on politics based on Pseudo-Aristoteles' <u>Secreta Secretorum</u>; a versified version of Thomas of Cantimpré's natural history (<u>De natura rerum</u>) and his most renowned work, <u>Rijmbijbel</u>, a versified adaptation of Peter Comestor's <u>Historia Scholastica</u>.

Jacob's evolution from a successful romance writer to a reputed scholar and conscientious translator constitutes a remarkable case of literary competence. As a matter of fact, he eventually undertook the most ambitious pursuit in the field of translation that could have been available in his time: an adaptation of Vincent of Beauvais' <u>Speculum historiale</u> entitled <u>Spiegel historiael</u> which he dedicated to Count Floris V. In conclusion, Jacob's prolific career as a man of letters devoted to the most diverse literary undertaking, the breadth and scope of his translations and adaptations, and the thoroughness of his search for new sources of knowledge present us with a man of letters who shared many of Alfonso's approaches and notions with regard to the character of history as a moral and didactic discipline. Similarly, both of their opera show a remarkable interest and ability to conjure up the most diverse historical sources in order to enhance the readability and authority of the historical narratives they adapted and revisited.

4.5.10 Conclusions

In his study of the genesis of fictionality in medieval romance, Green observes three degrees of fictionalization corresponding to how medieval authors approached the "windows of opportunity" for invention that ancient texts had left in the form of gaps in these narratives (187):

> non-fiction (invention which is a fabrication, not meant to be seen through or called into question and therefore not fiction in the technical sense); incipient or episodic fiction (such as . . . with the <u>matière de Rome</u>); and fiction fully fledged (as with the <u>matière de Bretagne</u>, where the fiction was more far-reaching and was meant to be recognizable). (187)

Since Alfonso's <u>GE</u>, far from being a romance, is intended to serve as a reliable historical account, it must be noted that neither the adaptation of the <u>Her.</u> nor any other seemingly un-historical account can be classified according to Green's parameters. It is interesting to note, however, how Alfonso's translations from the <u>Her.</u> seem to have been incorporated in the <u>GE</u>, in part, in accordance with that type of literary creation Green calls incipient or episodic.

The only governing notion that seems to be operating in all the literary genres that I have analyzed in relation to Ovid's <u>Her.</u> is the progressive character of almost any composition. Whether it is Latin or vernacular poetry, or romance or historical compositions, one author after another, almost invariably, sought to expand on what their predecessors had written as well as in the scope of the themes they treated. How historical material related to those themes of political, economic, military, or

moral nature is what dictated which literary parameters were to be used. As we saw in the case of Geoffrey of Monmouth's <u>Historia Regum Britanniae</u>, several parameters of plausibility, fictionality, etc. were at play simultaneously at times during this period.

In the case of Alfonso's <u>EE</u> and <u>GE</u>, the governing principle that regulated how historical information was adopted was clearly a moral one. Didactism is what Alfonso sought with his historical compilations and, while historical information is the basis for his cultural project, moral rectitude is the ultimate goal pursued in the <u>EE</u> and <u>GE</u>. The proper configuration of the individual both as a responsible citizen and member of the Church are seen not only as the objectives of historical discourse but as an actual necessity if those involved at every level in the government of a society are to make informed decisions.

The differences that Alfonso explains exist between a poeta/troubadour and an author (both ancient and modern) are essential in understanding how fiction operates under a hermeneutic cosmos dominated by the exegetical work of theologians seeking to continue the work of the Church Fathers. This process began in the eleventh century and continued throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as knowledge of the Classical authors rapidly spread throughout the European centers of knowledge. Under this new dominant mentality "the whole of mythology tended to become <u>philosophia moralis</u>. This was even the title of a work attributed to Hildebert of Lavardin, bishop of Tours, who drew as many examples from pagan poets as he did from the Bible. In this context, pagan myths were seen as prefigurations of the Christian truth" (L. Brisson 134).

The motivations that lead Alfonso to adopt this method of allegorical interpretation are more difficult to assess than commonly accepted. The dominant explanation in these cases is that these allegorical interpretations were "a method of exegesis for use in reading the ancient poets, whose idolatrous or licentious content would have been unacceptable" (M.-D. Chenu 109). In an intellectual landscape like this, dominated by an understanding of literature dependant on accurate and authoritative interpretation, it is understandable that the romances dealing with ancient stories and characters sought more historical sources in order to expand on interpretations and approaches to parallel contemporary and historical realities.

Alfonso's courtly and aristocratic audience, as exemplified by the admiration professed by a ruler and aristocrat like his nephew Juan Manuel, is directly related with the themes and purposes of the <u>GE</u>, thirteenth-century historiography, and romance literature in general. The ancient world rapidly became in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries a literary <u>topos</u> with a dense and complex set of coordinates that regulated fictionality, plausibility, fantasy, and many other such categories much like Westerns, or other film genres dealing with the most disparate themes such as pirates or Romans.

The readers of Alfonso's historic prose, unlike the readers of the romances of antiquity were provided with some general coordinates that showed them how to negotiate meaning across these all genres. The most important of those, as I have mentioned on several occasions, was to distinguish poets from the rest of the authors in that they provide <u>razones de solaz</u>, or arguments which are intended to entertain and display a liking for the art of literature. In this sense, Alfonso seems to have

taken for granted that all literature is to be didactic or meant to preserve knowledge or complex and valuable ideas otherwise hard to preserve by any other means.

The fact that the ancient <u>auctores</u> are presented as having encoded the knowledge of their times and their own personal thoughts in obscure <u>razones</u> indicates that literary composition was not only seen as a method to transmit knowledge but as a necessary step in the propagation of it. From the point of view of the romances of antiquity, I believe that it is essential to understand the importance of these interpretative notions of the transmission of knowledge if we want to understand how romance was composed and read.

Late medieval authors, both romance and non-romance writers, looked constantly for new sources with which to furnish their narratives in order to endow their ideas and stories with even greater authority and cohesiveness. The fact that these stories could have been compromised by the plausibility or credibility of their contents was not as relevant a matter as we might be lead to believe. Some of these characters, situations, or locations were imaginary but that does not imply that their authors were seeking to explain the real through the imaginary. Rather, they look in the historical past for further episodes that would help further their argument. As I hope I have shown and will continue to do so in the reminder of this chapter, Ovid's <u>Her.</u> were archetypical instances of such historical information since their characters and stories, while understood as historical, were also regarded as skillful literary compositions that inspired medieval writers to further their own compositions with additional layers of meaning and an erudite, if not encyclopedic, taste.

4.6 HISTORICAL ACCOUNTS AND THE HEROIDES

As it was mentioned in the case of historicity and fictionality in the section dealing with romance, our conception of both historical romance and historiography can sometimes prevent us from understanding the original epistemological context in which works like the GE were produced. D. H. Green has summarized the complexity of the relation between history and narration in medieval times by arguing that "in medieval historiography past events can be distorted and adapted to a later historical situation, but thereby still retain a historical function and be regarded as true" (135).[258]

In the previous section of this chapter, I discussed how the Her. were considered as part of that historical legacy that medieval authors sought to acquire and integrate into their narratives. In this section I will look into a series of works that differ clearly from those romances of antiquity in their approach to and use of ancient historic material. The emerging importance of presenting historical facts in a more informative manner or, as Alfonso would have put, without seeking the solaz or entertainment of the audience, also played a role in how Ovid and the Her. would be understood by future generations of Medieval humanists, historians, or even successive romance writers.

N. Croizy-Naquet has defined this tendency in the world of literature at large and historiography in particular as a development that runs parallel to other literary tendencies in Alfonso's time: "The necessity to distinguish between history and romance, to rethink the course of history as a global entity, and to eventually comprehend the heroes of the past without any type of disguise, coincide, at the turning of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with the advent of prose" ("César" 46).

As I will explain, this preoccupation with historical accuracy was not exclusive to the Iberian peninsula in the thirteenth century or to France in the twelfth but can also be found in "remote" centers of learning theoretically detached from the great universities and monastic schools of Continental Europe.

4.6.1 Togail Troí: An Irish Account of the Destruction of Troy

The earliest adaptation of a Classical work by European clerics did not take place in continental Europe but in Ireland where Dares' Excidio Troiae Historia was adapted into the Irish culture and language in the Togail Troí (The Spoiling of Troy) (ca. 1050) at least one hundred years before Benoît de Sainte-More's R. de Tr. (ca. 1165). TTr already displays the most important traits that will be shared by the translations and adaptations of Dares' and Dyctis' historical works which, as I will demonstrate later, will prove key in the incorporation of Ovid's Her. as a historical source with which to complement these newly re-discovered historical texts. Among

---

258 I disagree with Green's categorical statement that in medieval narrative the contrast of "historia as the historical truth (or what was held to be such) and . . . fabula or fictio, stamped as untrue or even impossible, is a clearcut one" (141). He himself acknowledges, when studying the matière de Rome he will be looking into "the historicity of these themes, but also for their penetration, tentative and episodic, by features that may be regarded as fictional or potentially so" (153).

these traits are: 1) the preference of the translators for Dares' Trojan account over Dyctis' Greek version of the War of Troy; 2) the incorporation of contemporary cultural items and the suppression or reelaboration of those difficult to understand in the source text; 3) introduction of Christian ideas; 4) subordination of the accounts to Eusebius' and Jerome's chronological canons, and 5) incorporation of explanatory material from glosses or other texts.

Each one of these characteristics is shared by the GE and the TT as well as any other work with a historiographic scope in between these two. In the case of Middle Irish litterature, as Ó Cróinín has pointed out, Irish historians deemed it necessary to provide the Irish with an appropriate place in the recently incorporated chronology of world history into which all Christians shared. As a result of this need, they came up with "a list of prehistoric kings of Ireland, and added a similar tract for the Christian period entitled De flaithiusaib Érenn (On the rulers of Ireland)" (185) which they appended to the Lebor Gabála Érenn (On the Taking of Ireland), an eleventh-century collection of narrative prose and poetry that aimed at providing the Irish with an ancient history comparable to that of the other European peoples or even the Hebrews.

The Christian sources for the Irish scholars are again shared by Alfonso in his GE: St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei, Orosius' Historia adversum paganos, Eusebius' Chronicon and Isidore's Origines. The wanderings of famous heroes of antiquity are also responsible for the founding of cities in early medieval Irish history: just like Hispán was appointed leader of Spain by Hercules or Ulysses is responsible for the founding of Lisbon in the GE and the EE, in the Lebor Gabála, the Irish are said to be descendants of Iberian colonizers coming from the Northern part of the Iberian peninsula not before having come all the way from Scythia, Babel and Egypt. The Irish would thus be descendants of the Scythian Fénius Farsaid, and Scotta, the daughter of the Pharaoh Cencris (5).[259] The contents of history are also subject to new additions as new sources become available and just like three different versions of the EE have been identified, Statius' Achilleid is added to the third recension of the Ttr.

The addition of explanatory content renders the TTr twice as long as the original text it purports to translate due to numerous explanations as well as contextualized explanations of historical events and characters very similar to those found in the EE and the GE. As a matter of fact the historiographic awareness portrayed by Alfonso's historians is also displayed by the compilers of the TTr who, at one point, argue over how could it have been possible that, as Jerome points out, Hercules had destroyed Troy when he had long been dead at the time when the war broke out between Troy and Greece (689-99). The historian altered Dare's narration in order to provide for a first destruction of Troy at the hands of Hercules and Jason thus making the War of Troy a two-event conflict.

Among the new material that the Ttr had to integrate in Dare's description of the war, the now first destroyers of Troy, Hercules and Jason, became a priority and are, thus, the most important characters in the story together with Hector, Helen,

---

259 This particular account was introduced in Irish history by the Welsh priest Nennius (829) in the Historia Brittonum which was incorporated to the Lebor Gabála.

and Paris. It is not clear where the extended stories of Hercules and Jason in the TTr came from. W. Stokes (iv) has suggested Vergil and Ovid and, and, more recently, L. Diane-Myrick has proposed Servius' commentary of the <u>Aeneid</u> and Justin as possible sources (98-100).

The first story that is explicitly mentioned is that of Jason and Medea, which is told in verses 251 through 371 in a manner very similar to that found in the <u>Her.</u>[260] Whereas in the <u>TTr</u> it is Medea who foolishly approaches Jason through a messenger (they meet in person in the <u>Her.</u>) in order to propose to him marriage in exchange for her esoteric help, in the <u>Her.</u> Medea reproaches Jason for having begged for her help.[261] The <u>TTr</u> similarly omits Medea's initial escape with Jason as well as Absyrtus' gruesome murder while being persecuted by their father Aetes. Instead, the <u>TTr</u> has Medea stay with her father in Colchis and attributes the slay of her children not to the madness and rage with which she was overcome (after Jason changed her favor for that of Creüsa) but to a demand from Jason and her devotion for him.

In spite of these differences it cannot go without mention that there are at least two intriguing similarities in both stories. The first one is the depiction of Medea's "love wound" which in the <u>TTr</u> is described in the traditional yet complex theory of the gaze much favored by Ovid in which the eyes become an opening connected to the organs that regulate bodily as well as spiritual and mental functions:

> Amal athchonnairc fochetóir inní Iasón tummis rind ruisc a menman ind, adantair serc tromthaidbsenach ind ocláich fá hucht fa airbrunni din ingin.

> At once, as she saw Jason, she dipt the point of her mind's eye into him, and sore, manifest love of the youth is kindled throughout the breast

---

260 1) Jason arrives in Colquis and demands from Aetes the Golden Fleece, 2) Aetes sets his demands, 3) Jason moves into the royal palace 4) Medea sees him and falls in love with him 5) Hercules, Castor and Polux are introduced, 6) Medea sends a messenger to Jason promising to use her magic in his favour if he would marry her and promise her eternal love; Jason agrees 7) Jason obtains the Fleece 8) The Argonauts start to leave and Medea wants to be taken with Jason but he refuses on the grounds that her children will not be welcomed and princes by the Greeks and therefore cannot come with them, 9) Medea kills her children out of love for Jason and so that she might depart with him, 10) Medea is left behind by Jason who claims that he would never live with a woman capable of killing her children by other man as she might do it again to his own, 11) Jason returns home and Medea gives herself entirely to witchcraft out of desperation, 12) Medea kills Jason with her witchcraft and Jason's mother (Torpellandra?) kills both Aetes and Medea in revenge in a similar way.

261 It must be noted that Medea's letter reflects upon the fact that Medea has a grudge against Jason which shows on the letter more than she would hope since she contradicts herself when she accuses Jason of entreating her yet acknowledges being wounded by the love he has caused her.

and bosom of the maiden. (283-85)[262]

which clearly resembles

> Tunc ego te vidi, tunc coepi scire, quis esses; / illa fuit mentis prima ruina meae. / Et vidi et perii! Nec notis ignibus arsi.

> Then did I behold you; then I began to comprehend what you were [meant to me]. At that moment, I began to lose my mind. To see you was to die! I burnt with flames unknown to me. (33-5)

The second coincidence is directly linked to and follows the first one as an explanation for Medea's infatuation with Jason on the grounds that

> Fodagin ón raderscaig din tṡluagsain di laechraid in domain archena, etir chruth deilb deichelt, etir chóri cháime cutrumma, etir rosc ḟolt dath, etir gnúis álli urlabra, etir arm erriud écosc, etir áni immud ordan, etir gnáis gaisced chenél.

> Jason outdid that host and the heroes of the world besides, both in form and shape and raiment, both in fitness and beauty and proportion, both in eye and hair and colour, both in countenance and seemliness and eloquence, both in armour and dress and habit, both in splendour and abundance and dignity, both in companionship and valour and lineage. (285-9)

which once again bears some resemblance with

> Cur mihi plus aequo flavi placuere capilli / et decor et linguae gratia ficta tuae?

> Why did I find myself desperately longing for [your] yellow hair-locks and your imposing presence and the feigned pleasantness of your tongue? (Her. XII, 13-4)

The second story on which the author of the TTr explored other sources searching for information missing in Dares is that of Hercules. The TTr actually traces the enmity between the Trojans and the Greeks to the Argonauts' request for hospitality at the port of the city of Troy which was denied by King Laomedon (372-80). The first deed ascribed to Hercules in the TTr is the estrangling of the two serpents as an infant while he was still in his cradle as told in Her. IX, 21-2:

> Fáidid Iúnanind da nathraig dá ḟis cia díb bad laechdu bá diliu ri tustighidib com mbeth ara amles . . . intan immoro dariachtatar co Hercoil geibid nathraig cechtar a da lám nos-essairg imbi don talmain.

> Juno sends two snakes in order to see which of the boys was the more heroic and dear to the parents . . . but when they came to Hercules he seizes a snake in each of his two hands, and dashes it by him to the ground. (383-7)

---

262 The translation is Whitley Stokes'.

which resembles

> Tene ferunt geminos pressisse tenaciter angues, / cum tener in cunis iam Iove dignus eras?

> Do they say that while you were still in your cradle you strangled two serpents, already worthy of Jove while still an infant? (Her. IX, 21-2)

as well as

> Scilicet: immanes elisis faucibus hydros / infantem caudis involuisse manum.

> No doubt you spoke of how in the cradle your young hads squeezed the throats of the huge serpents with their tightned jaws. (Her. IX, 85-6)

I have shown in this survey of the Ttr how the Her. were not a text that appealed exclusively to the emerging court societys of central Europe in as much as their protagonists were aristocrats and their themese dominantly "sentimental." The Her. were considered historical documents which, under the guise of literature, contained much relevant historic information. Since most of the events and characters featured in Ovid's letters were related to the Trojan War, it is understandable that compilers like those in charge of the Ttr looked in the Her. for additional information with which to furnish their chronicles.

4.6.2 The Trojanska Priča: Traces of Alternate Sources for the Trojan War Story?

The Trojanska Priča is an Old-Bulgarian account of the Trojan War from the twelfth (perhaps thirteenth) century that has largely been ignored by critics and scholars. For the purpose of my study, there are several aspects of this chronicle that will help us understand how common it was for late medieval historians to furnish their accounts with the authority of as many classical authors as possible. E. Barnicle has traced back the description of Jason and Medea's story to Her. XVI and XVII in both the Trojanska priča and Konrad's Trojanierkrieg (lxxi) while pointing out that other versions of the Troy story such as the TTr follow Dares in their description of the incident. Barnicle's comparative analysis led her precisely to conclude that in the case of the story of Jason and Medea "the lack of inter-relationship between the different versions is apparent, and it is superfluous, therefore, to postulate an enlarged R. de Tr. to serve as a common source" (lxxi). Such a conclusion calls for a simultaneous and largely independent historical interest in the expansion of the sources used when translating and adapting historical texts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The TPr is indeed an interesting text from the point of view of source analysis since it is not clear how this early thirteenth-century abridged recount of the Trojan War came into being. In his edtion of the text, Miklošić reviews the two main theories regarding its origins. On the one hand, B. Kopitar has argued for a Czech, Polish or Hungarian original from which the Old Bulgarian would have been translated (45) whereas, on the other, A. N. Pypin has argued for a Latin original (or Western in any case) of which the TPr would not be a translation but rather an abridged adaptation (306-16). In both cases the original source would date back to the early thirteenth century. Whatever the case may be, there are other instances of use of Heroidan

characters than those mentioned by Barnicle that point towards the use of the <u>Her.</u> as a source by the author of the <u>Tpr</u>.

> Et apud fluvium eum invenit Oeneuš dominam et accedens dixit eit: domina Oeneuš, ama me, et te amabo. Et respondit ei Oineš: o Alexander Fariž, nunc me amas, sed veniet tempus, et deseres me, et dixit ei Alexander: domina Oineuša, non deseeram te; si vero te deseruero, fluvius hic Kašantuša retrorsum fluet. Et cum ea primum amorem iniit, et sumpsit ei coronam; et intravit Troiam, et obviam venerunt ei troici heroes et roicae dominae et ipse Prêjamuša rex et Jakupa domina troica, et exceperunt eum, eet introduxerunt in palatium, et laetati sunt de eo toto corde.

> And lady Oenone came to that river (Scamandros) and as she drew near [Paris] told her: "Lady Oenone, love me and I shall love you" and Oenone replied to him "Oh Alexander Paris! Now you love me but a time will come when you will abandon me!" and Alexander told her: "Oh lady Oenone, I shall not abandon you; If I should, let this river Scamander flow upwards" and with her he fell in love for the first time and assumed his crown. And he entered Troy and the Trojan heroes and the Trojan ladies and King Priam himself and Queen Hecuba welcomed him and received him and showed him into the palace and they are all truly happy for him. (163)[263]

Similarly, the epistle of Helen seems to have been used when relating the incident with the wine at Menelaus' table

> Et quum sumerent sudarium et aqualem de mensa, Alexander Fariž scribebat rubro vino in albo sudario, et ita loquebatur: Helena regina, ama me, amabo te.

> And whilethey held the handkerchief and the water basin underneath the table, Alexander Paris wrote with red wine in the the white handkerchief, and thus he told her: Queen Helen, love me, and I shall love you!

as well as on the ocasion of a series of dialogues (chapter IV) in which Paris and Helen express their mutual love much like in the letters they exchange in the <u>Her.</u> (165)

---

263 Oenone's abandonment at the hands of Paris was particularly popular among medieval writers. In the first book of Walter of Châtillon's <u>Alexandreïs</u> (ca. 1180) <u>Her.</u> V is referred to in the following terms:

> Dumque vetustatis saltem vestigia quaerit / Sedulus, occurrit flaviali consita rivo / populus, Oenones ubi moechi falce notata / Scripta latent Paridis, tenerique leguntur amores.

> While Alexander was looking for the slightest remnants of the ancients he came across Oenone's poplar next to a river bank. On it were written the words of Paris the adulterer which he carved with his own scythe and now lay hidden but still legible. (<u>PL</u> 209, 473b)

These brief references to the <u>Her.</u> in a chronicle of the Trojan War so dettached from any other that has arrived to us indicate that Ovid and his epistles were not used in isolated instances but rather abundantly when historians or chroniclers sought to learn more about the history of the Trojan War. Future research is needed to ellucidate how the TPr relates to all the other accounts of the Trojan War that I have surveyed in this chapter although a preliminary analysis suggests that it could well be a rare instance of a rather common type of historical composition of which not many examples might have reached down to us.

4.6.3 <u>Trójumanna Saga</u>: Norse Heroines

The influence of the tale of the destruction of Troy was important in the development of vernacular European literatures as far removed from the center of Europe as that of Iceland. As G. Jensson has recently argued, in spite of the neglect of previous scholars, there is enough evidence to subtantiate an emerging Latin culture among Icelandic clerics in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (150-2). Moreover, as Jensson points out, the eight extant Icelandic Latin texts[264] composed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries "seem to be of fundamental importance for the origins of at least three of the major genres of vernacular literature in Iceland, <u>konunga sögur</u> (kings' sagas), <u>biskup sögur</u> (bishops' lives), and <u>fornaldar sögur</u> (legendary sagas) (154).

In his analysis of Old Icelandic grammatical literature, F D. Raschellà concludes that "The intellectual background of the medieval Icelandic grammarians – and of medieval Icelandic scholars in general – was basically the same as that of their colleagues on the European continent, that the same books circulated, and that the same authors were read; in brief, that the curriculum in the medieval Icelandic schools corresponded very closely to that of all the other schools in the Western world" (125).

A good example of the importance of classical knowledge for Icelandic men of letters is the first seven chapters of The <u>Snorra Edda</u> (<u>Younger Edda</u>, <u>Prose Edda</u> or <u>Snorri's Edda</u>) (ca. 1220) which are but a mythographical introduction to Jupiter's line which is in accordance with the genealogical preocupations of the continental kings and nobles: "Einn konungr er þar var er nefndr Munon eða Mennon. Hann átti dóttur hǫfuðkonungs Priami, sú hét Troan. Þau áttu son, han hét Tror, þann kǫllum vér Þór" (Prologue 4) ("One of the kings was named Munon or Mennon. He was married to Troan, the daughter of Priam, the chief king. They had a son who was named Tror, the one we call Thor"; Byock 5). The author of the Prose Edda shows a remarkable ability to link Scandinavian mythology with the "historical" accounts of ancient Roman and Greek kings and heroes that were popular all over Europe:

> Skipaði hann þar hǫfuðingjum ok í þá líking sem verit hafði í Troja, setti tólf hǫfuðmenn í staðinum at dœma landslǫg, ok svá skipaði hann réttum ǫllum sem fyrr hǫfðu verit í Troju ok Tyrkir váru vanir. (6)

---

264 The authors cited by Jensson are Sæmundr Sigfússon (1056-1133), Oddr Snorrason (fl. 1150-1200), Gunnlaugr Leifsson (d. 1218(19), and Arngrímr Brandsson (fl. ca. 1345). There is also an anomymous work (<u>Vita sancti Thorlaci</u>) and a biography of an Icelandic saint (<u>Vita beati Johannis</u>) whose author is unknown (153-4).

He [Odin] appointed leaders and, in accordance with the customs of Troy, he selected twelve men to administer the law of the land. In this way he organized the laws as they had been in Troy, in the manner to which the Turks were accustomed. (7-8)

It was in this cultural context of mutual borrowing between vernacular, pre-Christian pagan culture and Latin ancient and religious culture that the Trójumanna Saga, a prose adaption of Dares' DET written in Icelandic in the thirteenth century, was composed.[265]

In the words of M. Schlauch, one the first scholars in Scandinavian studies to look into the influence that Ovid had in the evolution of Old Norse literature, "Ovidian ideas on love were . . . fairly current in Scandinavia by the middle of the thirteenth century" (46).[266] This interest in classical literature in general and Ovid in particular, coupled with the fact that Medieval Icelandic writers were "not averse to including treatments of foreign places and material from foreign literature in stories and histories written in their own tongue" (McDougall 222) promted the homogenization of stories and literary genres such as the Scandinavian saga, the Old French romance and classical literary works.

In the case of the TS, the anonymous author's main sources, in order of relevance, were Dares' DET, Ovid's Her. and Met., Virgil's Eneid and, in the case of the Hauksbók version, the Ilias Latina. According to R. Eldevik, the use of the Her. in this Icelandic version of Dares'--as I have argued was the case with Alfonso's GE-- was only natural since, in this period "Ovid's Heroides became an important source to draw on for medieval writers concerned with the Troy legends" (57).

The TS is extant in three different versions: α (mid thirteenth century), β (mid thirteenth century), and Hauksbók (early fourteenth century). Both the α and Haubksbók redactions contain historical references borrowed from the Her. even though they lack any direct references to their epistolary form. The α redaction contains several monologues by the protagonists of the Her. presented as direct speech that have been articulated within a larger historical discourse but never these are presented as actual letters.

---

265 W. P. Ker has characterized the monologues of Oddrun and Gudrun in the Lay of Gudrun (Guðrúnarkviða) included in the Poetic Edda (Eddukvæði) as "Northern Heroides" on account of their emotional intensity and the dramatism of its protagonist (111). In the first lay, Guðrún laments the death of her husband Sigurd. Her aunt Gjaflaug and Herborg, the queen of the Huns bring solace to the protagonist by narrating the tragic death of their own husbands and family members. In the second lay (Guðrúnarkviða II), King Þjóðrekr and Guðrún lament together the loss of his soldiers and her family members. In the third and final lay of Gudrun (Guðrúnarkviða III) Herkja, one of Atli's concubines tells him that she had seen Guðrún (Atli's wife) together with king Þjóðrekr and thus Guðrún is asked to explain her relationship with the king.

266 See M. Schlauch (42-68) for a review of Ovid and other classical sources in medieval Icelandic literature. See P. Foote ("Latin") for a specific study on Latin rhetoric in medieval Icelandic poetry, esp. 125-7.

As it was the case with Konrad's <u>TK</u> and the Irish <u>TT</u>, the contemporary editors of the Icelandic <u>TS</u> have ascribed these additions to Dares' account to one or more now lost translations into the corresponding vernacular which, in the case of the <u>TS</u>, J. Louis-Jensen argues would either have already been present in the Latin <u>DET</u> or added to the archetype of all <u>TS</u> extant versions (l). As it is the case with the <u>GE</u>, Ravik has argued that the leap taken in the <u>TS</u> from Dares' and Dictys' accounts of the Trojan War is considerable since dialogue is incorporated into the two major account of the Trojan War both of which contain "not so much as a single line of direct-discourse dialogue" (57).

The first letter introduced in the <u>TS</u> is that of Deianira to Hercules (<u>Her.</u> IX):

> þa sende Dianira honom bref þat er sva melti. Mart kemr vid um þitt rad þat er firir litlu mundi ecki likligt þickia. Þu hefir nu tekit þer til hand eina bonda dottr þa er ecki kann gora nema rifa i sundr vll. Ok sua er mer sagt at þu siert at med henne at greida ef flokar ero i. En ef þu greidir ecki duganda þa lystr hon þik med snældu hala sinum. (Louis-Jensen 32)

> Then Deianira sent him a letter that said: "Many go against your authority, which a little while ago would not have seemed likely. You have now taken unto yourself a farmer's daughter, which can do nothing but tear everything apart. And it is reported to me that you sit with her to comb if there is wool. And if you do not comb well, she strikes you with her spindle-tail." (Eldevik 58)

which certainly is based on Deianira's account of Hercules' submission at the will of one of her wives, Omphale. Deianira finds it particularly degrading to note how the most valiant of all heroes finds no affront in spinning wool when commanded by his new wife:

> Inter Ioniacas calathum tenuisse puellas / diceris et dominae pertimuisse minas. / Non fugis, Alcide, victricem mille laborum / rasilibus calathis inposuisse manum / crassaque robusto deducis pollice fila / aequaque formosae pensa rependis erae?

> They say that you have held the workbasket as though you were one more among the Ionian women and that you would tremble when threatened by your lady. Are not you ashamed Hercules to put your hands (which were victorious in one thousand challenges) upon the soft basket? Are you not ashamed of having to make the thread as instructed by your noble mistress? How often have your sturdy hands broken the feeble distaffs while you drew out the thin thread? (<u>Her.</u> IX, 73-78)

This adaptation of Deianira's letter shows how the translator was capable of retelling the story without having to mention important details within the Ovidian narrative such as the successive mentioning of Hercules numerous wives whom are presented as one. On the other hand the author also elaborates on rather complex narrative elements such as the threats "minas" which he turns into a rather picturesque representation of Hercules being hit by his mistress with the spindle. It

should be noted that the process of spinning wool is being recreated by the author through the social implications of Hercules' new role as a servant. In ancient times the female slave just like Hercules now would receive the 'pensum' or wool to be spun only after it had been measured and was expected to return it to her mistress who would weigh it again ('rependere') and make sure that it all had been spun without any waste. It is certainly not far-fetched to imagine, as the author of the TS has done here, Omphale receiving from Hercules poorly spun wool given the fact mentioned by Ovid that Hercules' thumb ('pollex') was 'robustus' or coarse and rather inappropriate for a task that required that the thread be twisted with the fore-finger and thumb of the right hand.

As Eldevik rightly points out some of the additions in the TS are nowhere to be found in the original Her. as it is the case with the allusion of Hercules' mistress being a farmer's daughter which the Icelandic critic has linked to the cultural background of the translator (60). The translator certainly has missed here the status of wool-spinning in Ancient Greece as a task carried out by noble women (e. g. Penelope) and would have intepreted in Norse terms as being an indicator not of Omphale's short patience or "social conquest" of Hercules but rather as a fit of rage proper of a course farm-girl.

Medea's letter to Jason (19-21) is similarly summarized in a way that demonstrates familiarity with both the content and the context of the original Latin as exemplified by the reference to Medea being abandoned by Jason not in her native Colchis (as, for example, the TT implies) but after having fled her father and the implication that the actual letter is being written from the island where she has been marooned: "Ærit miok þu þa til skaps mins er þu letz mik eina eptir ǻ eyiunni oc sigldir fra ollum her þinum" (Louis-Jensen 20) ("You proved yourself sufficiently, to my mind, when you abandoned me alone on the island and sailed away from me to your people here"; Eldevik 61).

It is as well worth-noting that, according to the TS, Medea sends her sister Chalciope to Jason whereas in the R. de Tr. and in the Irish Togail Troí she sends a handmaid, in accordance to Met. VII, 54[267] and Her. XII, 62-65.

The case of Paris' (Alexander) letter is even more significative of the amount of composition involved in the summary of Her. XVI in spite of an introduction that leaves no doubt that the text that follows is an actual letter:

> *Quediusending Alexandri sonar Priami konungs hinni kurteisu Helenu.*
> Þenna titul sendi Alexandr sonr Priami konungs hinni fogru oc hinni kurteisu Helenu konu Menelai. Þviat hann var farinn til Tyrklandz at leita um sættir milli Priami konungs oc Girkia um þat missætti sem þeira i milli var oc adr er af sagt. Alexandr var nu kominn i ʀiki Menelai oc i þat herbergi sem hann sialfr var vanr at sofa i. þetta bref var sva latanda.

---

267 Hyginus (Fabulae, 3), as well as Apollodorus (Bibliotheca I, 9, I, 6) also name Chalciope as Medea's envoy and even explains that it was her who introduced Jason to Medea as an expression of her gratitude for saving her children Argus, Melas, and Cylindrus who had been marooned in the island of Dia. It is highly unlikely, though, that the author of the TS had been acquainted first-hand with Hyginus' or Apollodorus' accounts.

(Louis-Jensen 48)

Letter of Alexander son of King Priam to the courtly Helen.
Alexander son of King Priam sent this inscription to the fair and courtly Helen, wife of Menelaus, because he went to Turkey to make a settlement between King Priam and the Greeks concerning the discord between them, as has earlier been told. Alexander had now arrived in Menelaus' realm and in the quarters where he himself was accustomed to sleep. The letter said: (Eldevik 62)

In spite of this introduction the letter rarely quotes a phrase from the original even though it captures Paris' proud self-description and the account of his merits as a king as opposed to those of Agammemnon. In closing his letter, Paris uses one particular argument that is worth noting:

> eigi ma ek ollu þui male koma à oll þau bokfell sem i heiminum ero er ek villda vid þik tala. Oc ecki mundi heimurin þau hafa mega. oc firir þui verdr nockorr stadar at nema. (Louis-Jensen 50)

> I cannot fully put into words what I want to say to you in all the parchments that are in the world; and the world could not hold them. (Eldevik 63)

Paris never uses this argument in his letter even though, at the beginning, he states that he wishes he were the actual letter he is sending to Helen (Her., XVI, 13-14). This type of alteration shows how the writer of the TS was not interested in being faithful to his source either because he thought his audience did not need to know anything but the gist of it or because he lacked the original source and had to provide a summary based on his own translation or another one he may have found together with the DET.

Helen's letter is also masterfully summarized even though Helen's subtle tone is turned into a much more direct and harsh criticism of Paris' implicit arrogance and lack of courage while she also defends her husband from his false accusations:

> *Quediusending Helenu etc.*
> Helena sendir quediu Alexandro virduligum manni oc gods konungs syni. Mikil dyrfd var þer þat er þu ritadir til min sem til hinnar argskopudustu konu oc margt hefir þu osatt melt oc i morgu þier miok hællt. Heyrt hefir ek þin getit oc þins fodr Priami oc ecki sidr þins fodur fodur Lamedon konungs oc sua miklir konungar sem þeir voro firir ser. þa ero her à Girklandi margir ecki minni . . . þu gatz oc þess at Menelaus bondi minn være litils verdr oc ætti ner engis kosti. En ek segir þier at hann er iafn vid hina rikustu konunga at allri ætt oc sealfr hofut konungr er hans brodir. (Louis-Jensen 50-51)

> *Letter of Helen etc.*
> Helen sends greetings to Alexander, worthy man and son of a good king. It was great impudence, that which you wrote to me, a most wretched woman; and you have said many lies and boasted much of yourself. I have heard tell of you and of your father Priam, and no less

of your grandfather King Laomedon and such great kings as there were before them. They are no less plentiful here in Greece . . . You also observed that my husband Menelaus was of little worth and was not a fitting match; but I tell you that he is equal to the most powerful kings of every race. (Eldevik 63)

The traces of the <u>Her.</u> found in the α version have similarly been adapted from the original even though the degree of transformation they have undergone is much higher. The voices of these heroines are now limited to several short speeches in which the author has synthesized the most salient lyrical aspects of the original letters while providing key information that helps the reader follow the story and fill the gaps Dares' <u>DET</u> may have left. This is an extract from Laodamia's brief dialogue with Protesilaus which, unlike the <u>Her.</u>, is here presented as actual speech and not an epistolary dialogue:

su vitrann þijki mier þar þu drapst vid fæti, ad þu raser firer rắd fram, þvi er mitt rad, þar sem þier leggid skipum j hafner ad þitt skip se hid 9unda hvort, og so þắ lidid geingur ắ land, þắ skal þitt lid vera hid 9unda hvort 100, og mun þắ duga ef eckj er af þessu brugdid, en þu munt mijn rad ei hafa, og þar firer munum vid hiedann af alldre finnast. (Louis-Jensen, "Dares" 25)

She [Laodamia] said: "When you stumbled, I had a revelation that you were rushing forward rashly, so it is my advice that when you anchor your ships in the harbor, your ship should be the ninth, and when the army goes on shore, your band must be the ninth out of a hundred; and you will be safe if none of this is altered. But you will not accept my advice, and therefore we two will never meet again. (Eldevik 72)

The information comes from:

Inter mille rates tua sit millesima puppis / iamque fatigatas ultima verset aquas! / Hoc quoque praemoneo: De nave novissimus exi! / Non est, quo properas, terra paterna tibi.

May your ship be the one thousandth to arrive and may it be the last one to sail the already-sailed-by-many waters [leading the way]. I also warn you that you be the very last man to leave the ship (the land where you will arrive is not your native soil). (<u>Her.</u>, XIII 95-98)

Louis-Jensen has remarked on the oddity of the translation of "novissimus" as "nonissimus" which seems to be the only possible source for the command that Protesilaus should be the ninth man out of one hundred to reach the Trojan shores (<u>TS Dares</u> xli). As a matter of fact, the direct translation of the letters from Paris, Hellen, Medea, and Deianira contained in the β version is also peculiar in the sense that they do not provide a literal and accurate translation of the <u>Her.</u> Alternatively, they focus on those themes with which a lay public versed in saga literature would feel more identified and comfortable such as Hercules' feminine behaviour as denounced by his wife Deyanira (58-60).

It is as well worth-noting how all the mansucripts containing the β redaction

also feature the Breta sögur, an Icelandic translation of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia regum Britannie dating back to ca. 1200 of which also several versions are extant. This conflation of the pseudo-history of the Britons and the legendary version of the pseudo-accounts of Dares and Dyctis' of the Trojan War clearly indicates, as S. Würth has pointed out, that both accounts "were obviously considered parts of a coherent story" (302) which was read as "informative historical information" (321). There is no conclusive research as far as the source of the interpolations is concerned since they could have been made by a translator or transcriber of the common translation used in α and β or could have been copied from an expanded version of the Dares' text. The same problem arises when it comes to the Her. incorporated to the β redaction which could have been deemed interesting by the scribe or could have been found in a more recent version of the Latin (or maybe Old French) original of the Dares' text.

Finally, the α redaction does not contain any direct translation of the Her. but rather long speeches in the voices of heroines based on their respective Ovidian letters of Laodamia and Helen.[268] Ravik has linked this particular recension of the Ovidian letters to the Norse lyrical genre knowas as the Frauenlied, or woman's song. This evidence points towards a parallel influence in the historic and lyrical genres similar to that taking place in continental Europe at the same time. Once again, it is important to not ascribe these coincidences to a causal relationship but rather further analyze how these references evince a complex net of influences that permeated more than one type of literature.

4.6.4 Historical Bibles as Pioneers in Universal History

The first translations of the Bible into French date back to the first years of the twelfth century when the Psalter was translated in Southern England, soon followed the "Book of the Apocalypse" and "Kings". The first complete translation of the Bible, however, was completed in France under the patronage of King Saint Louis. The monarch commissioned this "official" French Bible (the Bible de saint Louis or Bible du xiiie siècle) and entrusted it to the University of Paris after its completion some time between 1226 and 1239 (Berger 150).

Parallel to these "official" translations, authors such as Guyart Desmoulins' started to build upon exclusively biblical material under the influence of the great Latin exegets of the Bible, mainly Peter Comestor. Thus parts of this official translation were eventually collated to Guyart Desmoulins's (1251 -) Bible historiale. The conflation of both works is such that for many centuries it was Guyart's that was considered the first French translation of the Bible. Guyart's Bible historiale (a. k. a. Les histoires escholastres) is, in fact, his own free translation of Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica. Guyart's translation together with three fourths of the original Bible de saint Louis were then collated, less than eighteen years after the original translation was completed, into the Bible historiale complétée. As McGerr has noted,

---

268 Ravik points out that Polixena also pronounces one of these laments even though she is not one of Ovid's Her. (74). It is important to note this exception because it provides a background for the implied historical value of both the Met. and the Her. for the writer of the TS.

the <u>Bible historiale</u>'s most interesting feature is that "it is not so much a translation as a transformation of a Latin schoolbook into a vernacular text" (213) something of great interest to the study of the <u>GE</u> within its Iberian context.

It should be remembered that the Latin historical compilations written by Rada and Tuy were, if not as vast as Comestor's <u>HS</u>, similarly learned and comprehensive in scope. The <u>GE</u>, like the <u>BH</u> must not only be studied, thus, as part of a major shift in the intended audience to whom major historical compilations were intended at a time when not only those fluent in Latin (the cleric "chaste") were losing the power they had accumulated on account of their cultural status over the previous centuries.[269] Guyart even adds material which is not present in the <u>HS</u> such as Josephus' account of the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem or the popular history of Jesus' cross even though he acknowledges it is not accepted as trutfhful by the Holy Church (217).

McGerr has noted the importance of establishing to what audience was the <u>Bible historiale</u> intended in terms that resemble those I pointed out at the beginning of this study: "we need to learn more about . . . the circumstances in which the text was used. Was it read as part of personal devotion, or was it a reference work kept in a library? Was it read by the layperson or by the layperson's chaplain?" (228). E. Mitre Fernández, after B. Guenee, argues that the great French chronicles of the last quarter of the thirteenth century were read with as much devotion and interest as the Bible, specially as a source of guidance in political matters (136).

Another recension of biblical texts with pagan interpolations is Jehan Malkaraume's versified translation of the Bible dates back to the mid-thirteenth century. It has come down to us in only one mansucript, B.N. 903 for which a thorough critical edition still has not been published. Although Malkaraume's historical account is largely a recension of the history found in the Bible, the author included in it many other pagan sources. Malkaraume's Bible can thus be considered the first historical work to seek a comprehensive account of the history of all humankind.

Jehan was well acquainted with Benoît's <u>R. de Tr.</u>, which he adapts to his work in its entirety, although in a rather rudimentay and "patchy" manner.[270]

---

269 "Pour ce que li deables, qui chacun jour empeeche et destourbe et enordit les cuers des hommes par oiseuse et par mil las qu'il a tendus pour nous prendre, entre en nos cuers . . . ai jou, qui suis priestres et chamnonnes de Saint Pierre d'Aire de l'eveschié de Trounne . . . translaté les livres hystoriaus de la Bible de latin en roumans [en la maniere] que li maistres en traite [par] les Histores les escolastes, en laissans des histores ce dont il n'est mie mestiers en traire les histores de translater. Et en faisant plainement le teuxte des livres historiaus de la Bible. . ." (Berger 159-60)

270 Jehan also copies Benoit's self-laudatory verses in which he declares his authorship when he inserts the Trojan matter in his narrative. Beginning in verse 6574 he declares that: "Ceste estoire n'est pas usee / ne an gaires de leu trovee, / ne ancor ne fust elle traite / ne fust Jehans qui l'a refaite, / Malkaraumes dis a sornon, / La r'a mise a itel sermon" which is taken verbatim from Benoit's work: "Ceste estoire n'est pas usee / n'en giares leus n'en est trovee. / Ja retraite ne fu unqore, / Mes Beneeiz de Seinte More / L'a contrové et fait et dit..." (125-8)

Malkaraume's acquaintance with the Her., however, is doubtful since the only verses his adopts to his work are those embedded in the R. de Tr. In spite of the ever-present question of influence and the problems it carries, Smeets has tentatively pointed out that Jeahn could have borrowed a verse from the Her. when he copied material from Egidius Parisiensis' additions to Peter of Riga's Aurora (32)[271]. Jehan's interest in Ovid is not, however, doubtful as proven by his adaptation of a translation of the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe to a historical account which, let us not forget, establishes parallels between the historical authority of the Bible and, among other ancient works, Ovid's Met. (7726-7942). According to critics like J. Bonnard, insertions like this are probably nothing else but "a display of erudition" prompted by the mention of Ovid's name. Evidence like this would not be more than mere literary conventions which happen in other parts of the chronicle as it is the case with the brief references to Homer or Sallust's works (64).

Another of these chronicles that builds on biblical history is Rudolf von Ems' (1254) Weltchronik (Chronicle of the World). The work was written by Rudolph (a German ministerial (serving knight) and man of letters) as a commission from his patron King Conrad IV. Once again, as it was the case with Fernando III and Rada or Jacob van Maerlant and Guido I, the author had tutored Conrad as a child as he also did with Heinrich VII both of whom he later on also advised as kings.[272]

Rudolf's chronicle, in spite of being preceded by the Kaiserchronik (ca. 1150) and the Sächsiche Weltchronik (c. 1230-50), is the first world history book proper in Old German. It is written in rhymed couplets (33,346 verses total) and its general purpose is to devise God's plan for mankind and thus interpret key historical events as God's designs for humankind.[273] According with this view, Conrad IV, and the Hohenstaufen family as a whole, would be the contemporary fullfilment of that design as represented by their just rule. The importance of this renewed interest of the royal houses and the nobility in general for promoting long narratives knit around an ininterrupted genealogy of kings, warriors, and heros has been noted by the German critic J. Bumke. According to him, Rudolf's

---

271 "Heu pudor, heu facinus, bene clamat Naso, quod omni / peius audlterio turpis adulter obest" ("Alas the shame!, Alas the bad deeds! Ovid says it well: "A base adulterer is worse than adultery itself") The last verse corresponding to Her. IV, 34.

272 A third rhymed chronicle in Middle High German is that of Jans Enikel, know as Weltchronik which was written at around the same time when preparations for the EE had begun in Castile, ca. 1272. The most salient feature of Enikel's chronicle is his rather free adaptation of biblical history and his economic and social scope. He emphasizes these aspects in both secular and religious history in which "Old Testament characters appear as merchants defending their trading interests" and "Abraham's tent becomes a townhouse with an inner courtyard" (Graeme Dunphy 18).

273 It comprehends the history of the world from creation up to the death of King Solomon even though it was left unfinished. The work was continued by an anonymous poet up to the "Book of Judges." This version is called Christ-Herre-Chronik and was revisited several times during the following centuries.

world chronicle became the first royal commission of a literary work by a Germanic monarch in four centuries since Louis the Pious supervised the <u>Heliand</u> (ca. 825), and Old Saxon saga-like recount of the life of Jesus written in alliterative verse (106).

Just like Alfonso, Rudolf conceives the history of the world in six separate stages and also like the Castilian monarch, he harmonizes Biblical history with history as written by the gentiles. The <u>translatio imperii</u> is the governing idea in Rudolf's chronological succession as well as in many other contemporary chronicles. The long line of empires that have dominated the different parts of the Earth is presented as the articulating element of history and, as it could not be otherwise, that line culminates in the rule of the Hohenstaufen as heirs to the great tradition of noble Greek, Roman, and Trojan families.

The breadth of Rudolf's literary undertakings is also worth-noting since it bears a resemblance to the variety of genres and literay styles found in the <u>GE</u>. Rudolf wrote <u>Barlaam und Josaphat</u>, a doctrinal work, the story of a prince who converts to Christianity and is largely based on a christianized version of the story of Buddha. He also composed a story of Alexander in which he relates the life of the Greek hero paying special attention to his military exploits. On the other hand, as we saw in the case of Jacob van Maerlant, other literary works by these men of letters do not fall into the category of historical narrative. This is the case with Rudolph's <u>Willehalm von Orlens</u>, a courtly romance of a marked fantastic and chivalric tone in which he narrates the love of Willehalm and princess Amelie. The same case applies to his <u>Der guote Gêrhart</u> a fantastic tale with a strict moral tone in which emperor Otte is told of the exploits of the merchant Gêrhart in order to teach the monarch the value of real humility and his own folly.

Together with other poets and men of letters such as Ulrich von Türheim, Ulrich von Winterstetten and Gottfried von Neiffen, the royal Hoenstaufen court in Swabia found in Rudolf a man capable of undertaking a vast historiographic enterprise. As we saw in the case of Lucas de Tuy, Jiménez de Rada, and Alfonso X's admiration and use of their works, Rudolf also admired his predecessors and sought to improve on their works as it was the case with his much-admired Gottfried von Strassburg. Like his contemporaries, including Rada and Alfonso X, Rudolf found in Peter Comestor's <u>Historia Scholastica</u>, Godfrey of Viterbo's <u>Pantheon</u>, Saint Augustine, Jerome and Isidore valuable models and sources for his historiographic undertakings.[274]

---

274 I haven't dealt with the issue of rhymed vs. prose vernacular history since it escapes the scope of my thesis. According to Blumenfeld-Kosinski,

> rhymed verse affords the author the opportunity to establish his very own voice, a voice that is clearly distinguished from the one that repeats what he found in the "escrits". This distinct, or "second", voice relates more directly and effectively to the audience. It seems, then, that, in the early thirteenth century, verse still remained an acceptable vehicle for the conveyance of moral message, provided – and only with this provis – it avoided any identifcation with the verse employed in romances. (46)

4.6.5 The <u>Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César</u>: Source Elaboration and Transformation

  The first redaction of the <u>HAC</u> was commisionned by Roger IV, châtelain de Lille between 1208 and 1230 and was intended, as stated in its prologue by the compiler, as a comprehensive history of the world from the moment of Creation up to the history of Flanders. None of the manuscripts that we possess, however, goes beyond Caesar's conquest of Gaul, hence its name <u>Ancient History up to Cesar</u>. There are more than seventy manuscripts containing variations on this first redaction, something quite remarkable for a late medieval historical work.

  A later version of this redaction can also be found in some manuscripts, the main difference being the insertion of Benoît <u>R. de Tr.</u> instead for a translation from Dares' <u>DBT</u>. The second redaction has a more secular focus and thus eliminates the Book of Genesis and the stories of Judith and Esther. The third redaction is found in three manuscripts from the fifteenth century and is more comprehensive in its sources. It begins with the story of Creation and it incorporates elements from Baudouin d'Avesnes' <u>Chronica</u>, a historical compilation dating back to the thirteenth century.[275]

---

275 Baudouin's chronicle has been overlooked by critics yet it provides us with another example of how Alfonso's <u>GE</u> was not an isolated project. The first redaction of the work was completed between 1278 and 1281 whereas a second, more-polished version had already been produced by 1284 of which a Latin translation was produced at around 1300. This precedent could help advance the hypothesis that Alfonso X had planned for the <u>GE</u> to eventually be compiled/translated into Latin. The chronicle was intended to comprehend all history since creation up to the year 1278. Given the fragmentary status of those portions which have come down to us, it is hard to establish what the scope of the work was. Among the sources that have been identified with certainty are Beauvais' <u>Speculum Historiale</u>, Gilbert de Mons' <u>Chronicon Hanoniense</u>, Sigebert de Gembloux, William of Tyre's <u>History of the Crusades</u> and the <u>Faits des Romains</u>. As A. Bayot has noted, the authors of Baudouin's chronicle, unlike those of the <u>HAC</u> translated and adapted many of their sources in order to abbreviate the contents and make them easier to understand for their public (428). What sets appart Baudoin's chronicle from Alfonso's and other contemporary historical compilations is the genealogical character of the parts dealing with near-contemporary events. These parts largely consist of long catalogues of noble families from Flanders whose nobility, according to the authors, could be traced back to the heroes of antiquity.

I reproduce Baoudin's prologue in order to show how it resembles that of Alfonso's <u>GE</u>:

> Ki le tresor de sapience veut metre en l'aumaire de sa emoire et l'ensegnement des saiges e tables de sen cuer escrire, sour toutes choses il doit fuir le fardiel de confusion, car elle engenre igorance et est mere d'oubliance. Mais discretions et distinctions enlumine entendement et conferme memoire, car ordenance fait les choses veoir si comme elles sont et les met en retenance et en legier recort. D'un meisme gourle trait bien et apparilliement li cangieres pluiseurs

The HAC is still considered the earliest comprehensive account of ancient European history in vernacular prose and, in this sense, it features several "primitive" characteristics that later compilations such as Alfonso's would have done away with by the end of the very same century. The HAC was conceived to be read aloud and some of the copies dating back to the thirteenth century contain formulae designed to address the public such as "seignors" (Prologue 1 and 67) and to identify the reader as separate from the author as "ci parole le maistres qui traite l'estoire" (91, 32) or "les paroles de celui qui l'estoire traite" (152, 450). Spiegel has established another important feature of two of these thirteenth century copies. These are twenty-one moralizations in which

> the anonymous clerical author engages in a personal appeal to his listeners to hearken to the moral lessons that his history proffers, lessons ranging from the necessity to do good, fear death, and avoid envy and greed, to the benefits of loyal servitors, humility, virtue, and the political advangates of <u>largece</u> as exemplified by Romulus. (108)

Spiegel has downplayed the importance of both the prologue and moralizations of these mansucripts since they are progressively omitted or rewritten and are absent from most manuscripts including those dating back to the thirteenth century (109). However the fact that these moralizations in the form of glosses were found necessary, at least, in a good number of manuscripts reveals that at least a considerable part of the audience for whom they were intended were believed to require textual and discoursive guidance as they were introduced to matters of ancient history. Further analyses of the HAC will reveal whether these considerations were as important as they seem since they could indicate that by the beginning of the thirteenth century, a large portion of the audience interested in historical narrative in the vernacular would still not be equipped with a comprehensive knowledge of ancient history or a critical discoursive apparatus capable of understanding the meaning/s behind these narrations.

The extraordinary amount of surviving manuscripts and the variations among

---

> moanoies sans errer, pour les diviers entrecastres dont il set les angles. Li pourfis de toute doctrine gist en la memoire, car aussi ke riens ne vaut oir la chose a chelui ki ne le puet entendre, tout aussi est la chose perdue se elle n'est retenue. Tant donques vaut oirs ke on entent et tant pourfite entendres ke on en retient Hystoire, si comme dist Tullius el livre de l'Oratour, est tiesmoins des tempoires, lumiere de verite, vie de memoire, anonceresse d'anchienete. Mais pour chou ke memoire s'esleeche en friele et les giestes temporaus sont pries sans fin et sans nombre, et avoc chou les escriptures sont longes, et les hystoires fortes et pesans, et li liseur perecheus et negligent a l'estude, j'ai compille pluiseurs hystoires des fais anchiiens a brief parole, par coi li entendemens de chascun le puist legierement entendre et en memoire retenir, et ai mis trois choses briement et ordenement: che sont les paroles, li tans et li liu, par cui et quant et on les choses furent faites. (Bayot 429)

them has prompted scholars to divide the <u>HAC</u> into three and even four redactions or versions.[276] For the purpose of my research, "Prose 5" as found in BL Royal 20.D.I and described by M. R. Jung is the most interesting of these recensions (<u>Legende</u> 509-26). The nineteen manuscripts that followed the model of "Prose 5" contain thirteen of Ovid's <u>Her.</u> all of which are interpolated in the several narratives of which the <u>HAC</u> is made up according to chronological and thematic paradigms. These are the titles and the description of the letters as found in M. R. Jung:

> *Cenona à Paris* (53c-55c): Oenone sends the letter after Paris and Helen marry.
> Laodami à Prothesilaus (64b-65d): Laodamia sends her letter to Protiselaus before the first Trojan battle.
> *Ariadne to These*us (80d-82a): The letter is sent before the third Trojan battle.
> *Phyllis to Demophon* (84c-86c): It is also sent after the third battle. Demophon receives a letter from Phillis while Ulysses is guarding the camp.
> *Paris to Helen* (91a-93a): Sent before the fifth battle, Paris goes inside his tent and writes his epistle to Helen.
> *Helen to Paris* (96a-98b): After the Greeks meet in council Helen sends the letter. There seems to be no particular reason for this letter to be reproduced at this point.
> *Phaedra to Hippolytus* (103a-104d): The letter is sent before the seventh battle.
> *Briseis to Achilles* (118c-120a): After the ninth battle, Achilles falls in love with Polixena and the letter is inserted.
> *Leander to Hero* (128c-130b): Inserted after the tenth battle.
> *Hero to Leander* (136c-138c): Sent after the twelfth battle. The letter seems to be related to Briseis' monologue as a further example of a female complaint.
> *Canace to Machareus* (142c-143d): The epistle follows Polixena's plaint and is furnished as further example of this type of complaint.
> *Penelope to Ulysses* (183a-184c): The letter follows Ulysses account of his <u>Odyssey</u> to the King of Crete.

---

276 Most of the first redaction manuscripts (Woledge has identified 55, 9 of which date back to the thirteenth century (56-7)) are made up of seven sections: 1) Genesis, 2) Assyria and Greece, 3) Thèbes, 4) the Minotaur-Amazons-Hercules, 5) Troy, 6) Eneas and 7) Rome. The second redaction dates back to 1364-1380 according to Meyer ("Premières" 75). Its main feature is the substitution of the Troy section by Benoît de St. Maure's <u>Roman de Troie</u> and the omission of the <u>Alexandre</u> from the Roman section. Meyer ("Premières") and de Lage ("Ancienne") have identified the sources for each section as being 1) Petrus Comestor's <u>Historia Scholastica</u>, 2) Orosius' <u>Historia adversus paganos</u>, 3) <u>Roman de Thèbes</u>, 4) Orosius, 5) Dares Phyrigius' <u>Exicidio Bello Troiane</u>, 6) Virgil's <u>Aeneid</u> and 7) several sources. According to J. H. Kaimowitz, manuscript 41 in New York Public Library's Spencer Collection contains a copy of what he has named "The fourth redaction" which he dates after 1449 (78).

Hermione to Orestes (187b-188c): After she has become his slave, he leaves and she sends the letter to prevent him from not returning.

Although these letters are the most direct precedent of the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u>, as I will show in the final chapter of my dissertation, a close analysis of their contents evinces that both translations were independent from each other. On the other hand, the fact that the letters were inserted in this Old-French historical compilation with a sense of historical cohesiveness and chronologic accuracy are further proof that the <u>Her.</u> were indeed for Alfonso romance versions of historical documents that belonged to the greatest saga ever told in the history of the ancient poets: the Trojan War. The following two examples illustrate this point. In the first one, the editors add a brief remark after Hypermnestra's final appeal to Lynceus asking him to free her from the prision cell into which her father has thrown her for refusing to murder him on their wedding night:

> Et acaba aqui ypermestra su epistola. Mas si la saco dent Lino o si non: non lo dize Ouidio que cuenta esto al, pero dizen las otras Estorias que la saco dent so padre, el rey Danao, e despues de sos dias que fue ella reyna e so marido rey daquel reyno de Argos, assi como lo contaremos adelant en so logar o conuiene.

> And Hypermnestra ends at this point her epistle. However, Ovid does not tell us whether she was freed by Lynceus although other accounts say that she was freed by her father, Danaus, and that she eventually became queen and her husband king of the kingdom of Argos, as we will explain further [in the story] where it belongs. (Ashton 159)

A similar question is posed by the editor at the end of Hypsipyle's letter to Jason:

> E desta guisa que auedes oydo en esta epistola se razono Ysifile, regna de la ysla de Lepnos, contra su marido Jason de Peloponeso. E despues desto si respondio Jason a la reyna Ysifile o de commo fue su fecho, non lo fallamos mas en las estorias. Agora dexamos aqui las razones de la reyna Ysifile, e tornamos a las de Medea e de Jason e de los sus fechos.

> And Hypsipyle, queen of the island of Lemnos, explained her razones as you have heard them in this epistle, aimed at his husband Jason from the Peloponnesus. And after this, whether Jason replied to queen Hysipyle or what his fecho was, we did not find it in the estorias. At this point we leave queen Hypsipyle's razones and we return to those of Medea and Jason and to their fechos. (Ashton 76)

The <u>HAC</u>, much like the world chronicles based on the Bible, or the early Irish and Icelandic accounts of the history of the world in Pagan times, emerged as comprehensive texts that originated in the necessity to explain current events from a historical perspective as well as a natural consequence of a rapid growth in the amount of historical knowledge at the disposal of these writers. The inclusion of several <u>Her.</u> in the <u>HAC</u> shows that Ovid's works were rapidly included in the emerging historic canon that was created in the thirteenth century. Together with the <u>Met</u>. and the <u>Fast</u>., the <u>Her.</u> were thus fully incorporated to a complex literary

universe in which they acted as a polivalent element capable of adapting itself and influencing almost every literary form and genre possible at the time.

4.6.6 Conclusions

Many are the conclusions that can be extracted from this survey of historical works that incorporated both pagan and Biblical accounts as part of a new global conception of history. First and foremost, it is important to always bear in mind that "Medieval histories of the world are retrospective projections which construct history from histories" (Würth 321). History was indeed a discipline that meant much more to our medieval counterparts than it does to us or our modern and pre-modern predecessors. As Graeme Dunphy has remarked

> The modern reader tends to think of historical writing as a dry, objective form, far removed from the spheres of poetry, imagination and good humor. In the middle Ages there was no such "Chinese Wall" in the thinking of the learned circles. Fine literature and functional literature overlapped in style and in content, and while some history books, such as the monastic annals, were marked by brevity and sobriety, others could soar to the heights of poetic form, or descend to the most scurrilous levels of bawdy wit. All the qualities which we associate with courtly, pious, or popular writing can also be found in the historical writing of this period. In the fullest sense, history was literature. (1)

A contrastive survey of these works shows how a man of letters contemporary of Alfonso could feel comfortable dealing with a variety of subjects in different styles and with different purposes, a fact which is sometimes overlooked in the field of Medieval Studies. Literary actvity in the thirteenth century cannot be characterized in any simple analysis or formula which, in my opinion, tend to be a natural consequence of isolated studies of national, social, or generic typology. In spite of all the similarities I have highlighted among the different literary genres and authors that populate the literary universe of the thirteenth century, much remains to be said.

New analyses are needed in order to provide a comprehensive view of this rich and complex literary period if we want to avoid generalizations or hypotheses which will only prove accurate when applied to a restricted corpus of works, genres, nationalites, etc. Even in my case, in spite of the similarities that I have outlined between, for example, Jacob van Maerlant, Rudolf Von Ems, and Alfonso X's literary and historic scope, those traits become not as similar when these authors and their works are analyzed more closely. E. A. Bernard Gicquel Andersen's remark with regard to the sources used by Rudolf and some of his predecessors and contemporaries are a case in point:

> There is a striking difference in the nature of Rudolf's source material compared with that of the authors of the classical period of courly literature. Where Heinrich von Veldeke, Hartmann von Aue, Gottfried von Strassburg and Wolfram von Eschenbach had all had been engaged in the cultural and linguistic appropriation of vernacular French texts,

Rudolf's sources, with the exception of that for Willehalm von Orléans, were in Latin. He returned to that subject material of the nascent vernacular tradition in the twelfth century that was drawn from the clerical Latin tradition and that had been largely displaced by the vogue for the Arthurian romance. (228)

I hope that my research and contrastive analysis of some of the works that make up this immense literary universe that was the thirteenth century will contribute to expose and scrutinize many more of the components of this cosmos of knowledge. I also hope that the intricate relations that governed what role each one of those works had in maintaining a minimum of cohesion in that universe will become more apparent as more comparative and contrastive work is done among the many disciplines and fields of research that make up Medieval Studies.

CHAPTER 5: THE <u>HEROIDES</u> AS TRANSLATED IN THE <u>GENERAL ESTORIA</u>

5.1 INTRODUCTION: TRANSLATIONAL NORMS AND THE ALFONSINE <u>HEROIDES</u>

> Costume fu as ancïens, / Ceo testimoine Precïens, / Es livres ke jadis feseient / Assez oscurement diseient /Pur ceus ki a venir esteient / E ki aprendre les deveient, / K'i peüssent gloser la lettre / E de lur sen le surplus mettre. / Li philesophe le saveient, / Par eus meïsmes entendeient, / Cum plus trespassereit li tens, / Plus serreient sutil de sens / E plus se savreient garder / De ceo k'i ert a trespasser.

> It was customary among the ancients, (this is Priscian's own testimony), in the books by them written long ago, to say things in an obscure manner so that those who would later read them, and wished to know what they meant, could gloss their text and out of their own sense provide the rest. The men of letters knew this, (they understood it themselves very well) that, as more and more time would pass by, their writings' true meaning would become more apparent, and they [the men of letters] would thus become aware of that which should be preserved. (Marie de France, Lais, Prologue 9-22)[277]

---

277 Scholars have interpreted these verses in a variety of ways and still to this date there is no complete agreement on their definite meaning (I want to believe that this is to the satisfaction of their original writer). In the latest modern translation I have found D. Delcourt translates verses 9-16 as follows: "Les Anciens avaient coutume, comme en témoigne Priscien, de s'exprimer dans leurs livres avec beaucoup d'obscurité a l'intention de ceux qui devaient venir après eux et apprendre leurs œuvres: ils voulaient leur laisser la possibilité de commenter le texte et d'y ajouter le surplus de science qu'ils auraient" (808). A. Cowell translates 19-22 as "As more time passes, the more subtle in intelligence they would be and they would be better able to keep themselves from that which will need to be passed over" (29). A. Cowell translates 19-22 as "As more time passes, the more subtle in intelligence they would be and they would be better able to keep themselves from that which will need to be passed over" (349). According to L. Spitzer, "<u>cels qui a venir esteient</u>," "the generations to come, interpreters" or "just readers," will guard against deviating, in their "glosses," from the true contents (<u>ceo qu'i ert</u>) of the ancient works" (100). K. Brightenback suggests that we interpret "<u>gloser la lettre</u> as the way in which resources are collocated: They are made to (1) call attention to their source; (2) render that source pertinent to a distinct narrative circumstance; and (3) complete or adapt that source by increasing its range of meaning" (175). Unlike it is the case with my translation, A. Foulet suggests that "lur sen" does not refer to the modern interpreters but rather to the Ancients (247). The issue of Marie's intended meaning has not been resolved. For a detailed discussion and review of the interpretations of these verses see S. L Burch's "The Prologue to Marie's <u>Lais</u>: Back to the <u>Littera</u>" (<u>AUMLA</u> 89 (1998): 15-42) and G. Eckard's "Marie de France lue par un maître de la

As I have outlined in the introductory chapter and touched upon in chapters 2, 3, and 4, the task undertaken by the Alfonsine translator/s who adapted the Her. into Old Castilian had precedents throughout Europe during the thirteenth and possibly twelfth centuries. This was a time when clerics who had studied rhetoric in the studia generalia and the newly founded universities had become both eloquent in the art of Latin composition and well versed in the historical and literary background of the ancient Latin authors. A relevant number of these men of letters had direct contact with and were influenced by theology, and rhetoric professors who had been trained in the art of Biblical and, especially by the second half of the thirteenth century, historic texts.

It is important to bear in mind that translation theory and practice in the middle Ages, as K. Pratt has recently reminded us, is by no means an adequately researched field. This is due in great part to the lack of direct evidence with regard to the methods and approaches employed by medieval translators of Classical Latin texts. As I have explained in chapters III and IV, many of those clerics responsible for medieval translations of chronicles or pseudo-chronicles pertaining to the Trojan War in particular and ancient history in general shared in many cases a common cultural background. Among the traits that configured the habitus of these translators, the following could be included: talented man of letters in their youth, highly educated in relevant studia generalia or universities, talented vernacular poets, in close relation with secular power, interested in historiography, acclaimed as a respectable member of the court of an emerging ruler, talented rhetoricians, and belonging to the upper classes.

Even though all these potential translators shared an interest in translation and often had similar life trajectories (Rada, Anders, Konrad...) as K. Pratt has recently remarked, we still lack hard evidence of how the practice of translation in the middle Ages evolved:

> Although remaniement, the reworking of given subject-matter, was a craft widely practiced by vernacular poets in the middle Ages and translation formed a major sub-category of the genre, there is a dearth of precise theoretical pronouncements of this activity in the vernacular literature of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Apart from the very brief references to aims and methods that appear in some prologues and epilogues, there is little material with which a modern critic might arrive at criteria for judging the success or failure of a medieval adaptation on its own terms. (1)

The aim of this final chapter is to carry out some experimental work in the field of DTS in order to contribute to the outlining of some of those criteria. In studies like mine, as S. Halverson has observed, "the consequence of adopting a norm-based theory of translation is that the object of study for historical-descriptive approaches becomes regularities of translation behavior (norms) and the

---

philologie et de la stylistique du texte médiéval" (The Reception and Transmission of the Works of Marie De France, 1774-1974, Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 2003, 271-85.)

situational/cultural features which may account for these regularities" (216). I hope that by analyzing the Her. in the GE, we will be able to better understand the task of translation as a vehicle for information regarding the status of the translator and how meaning was negotiated across systems belonging to separate linguistic, cultural, chronological, social, and dogmatic realms. By doing so, I will demonstrate the usefulness of a method of analysis that focuses on the process of translation in medieval texts as defined by and framed in the "translational gap" within which all translators must operate.

The main body of this chapter is divided into three parts dealing with different sets of norms and conventions. As I explained in chapter one, according to DTS, translation behavior can be explained in terms of norms and conventions. The choices made by translators require that other options be discarded as valid or appropriate. My research inquires into the ways these choices are negotiated in the case of the Alfonsine Her. in order to infer the relations established between specific patterns in the translators' activity (concrete norms or patterns) in terms of their response to cultural and social factors as represented in and regulated by those norms:

> Whereas in actual practice, it is subjugation to norms that breeds norm-governed behavior which then results in regularities of surface realizations, the search for norms within any scholarly program must proceed the other way around.. Thus, it is regularities in the observable results of a particular kind of behavior, assumed to have been governed by norms, which are first noted. Only then does one go on to extract the norms themselves, on the (not all that straightforward) assumption that observed regularities testify to recurrent underlying motives, and in a direct manner, at that. For the researcher norms thus emerge as explanatory hypotheses (of observed [results of] behavior) rather than entities in their own right. ("Handful" 15-16)

In accordance with Toury, I argue that translational norms determine what is translated and how it is translated at a particular time in a particular cultural and social environment. In the first part of my study I will analyze the regularities of behavior in the translation of the Her. (as well as other relevant translations when pertinent) in order to infer the nature of the norms that were at play during the translation process and the compilation of the GE in general. It is important to bear in mind that the term norm can be used when describing abstract attitudes or approaches to translation as well as the specific patterns of translation found in the text and which then can be used to inform those abstract norms. Hermans explains this distinction:

> The term 'norm' refers to both regularity in behavior, i. e. a recurring pattern, and to the underlying mechanism which accounts for this regularity. The mechanism is a psychological and social entity. It mediates between the individual and the collective, between the individual's intentions, choices and actions, and collectively held beliefs, values and preferences. Norms bear on the interaction between

people, more especially on the degree of coordination required for the continued, more or less harmonious coexistence with others in a group . . . Norms contribute to the stability of interpersonal relations by reducing uncertainty. They make behavior more predictable by generalizing from past experience and making projections concerning similar types of situation in the future. (<u>Translation in Systems</u> 80)

In part two of this chapter, I will look into the **preliminary norms** at play in the choice of Ovid's <u>Her.</u> as "translatable" material within the context of the <u>GE</u> from the point of view of the **translation policy** enacted in the <u>GE</u> and the **directness of the translation** of the <u>Her.</u> with regard to other vernacular versions of the <u>Her.</u> In part three, I will discuss the **operational norms** that directed the specific decisions made at a textual level during the inception and production of the target text. These norms regulate what is considered variable or expendable with regard to the general characteristics of the textual unit to be translated. By defining which aspects of the text are subject to transformation and which ones are to remain the same, these norms shed information on how the translators approached their task as well as on how they viewed both the source and target texts within their corresponding literary polysystems.

Toury classifies operational norms into **matricial** and **textual-linguistic norms**. Those operational norms regarded as **matricial** are dependent on the divisions that the translator must make into smaller semiotic units (more or less independent) in order to assimilate and reproduce the meaning found in the source text. The process by which matricial norms (as well as textual-linguistic norms) are studied is called "segmentation."

Segmentation refers to the arrangement, evaluation, and distribution of semiotic units according to cultural, pragmatic, social, syntactic, morphological, or any other linguistic or extra-linguistic consideration. These norms can be recreated through an analysis of the translation since the choice of the semiotic material (of which the text and its linguistic structure is just one part) to be produced in the target language must be made in reference to the source text. These choices will reveal themselves in the form of systematic approaches and repeating patterns of omission, addition, or any other manipulation of the segments identified in the source text.

It is important to emphasize that matricial norms are not concerned with how these semiotic units are negotiated in the target text but whether they are negotiated at all. These norms regulate the adequacy of the target language and its text to host the segments found in the source text. These norms are not only dependent on cultural, social, or linguistic considerations but, especially in the case of the Alfonsine translations, in the didactic purposes of the target text and the image of the intended audience the translators and editors formulate as they negotiate the format and contents of the target text. By analyzing the way meaning is segmented and transposed by the Alfonsine translators, I seek to better understand how they understood the source and target texts in the context of the two literary polysystems across which they sought to negotiate meaning.

The second type of operational norms that I will analyze in section three is **textual-linguistic norms**. These norms regulate how the segments that are found to

be adequate for the purpose of translation are formulated or replaced in the target text. Toury specifies that these norms can be more general or more particular depending on whether they apply to the abstract process of translation or to specific instances, types, or modes of translation.

Finally, I will not discuss the third norm enunciated by Toury, the initial norm, since it is not intended to precede any of the previous norms. Although the initial norm regulates the production and enactment of preliminary and operational norms, it is detached from them to the same extent that translation patterns are in relation to translation norms. Toury explains:

> It has proven useful and enlightening to regard the basic choice which can be made between requirements of the two different sources as constituting an initial norm. Thus, a translator may subject him/herself either to the original text, with the norms it has realized, or to the norms active in the target culture, or, in that section of it which would host the end product. If the first stance is adopted, the translation will tend to subscribe to the norms of the source text, and through them also to the norms of the source language and culture. This tendency; which has often been characterized as the pursuit of adequate translation, may well entail certain incompatibilities with target norms and practices, especially those lying beyond the mere linguistic ones. If, on the other hand, the second stance is adopted, norms systems of the target culture are triggered and set into motion. Shifts from the source text would be an almost inevitable price. Thus, whereas adherence to source norms determines a translation's adequacy as compared to the source text, subscription to norms originating in the target culture determines its acceptability. (Descriptive 56-57)

Before I proceed, I would like to remark that for the purpose of this dissertation, I have considered the eleven translations found in the GE and EE as autonomous literary units or texts. The reason for this distinction is that I regard each translation as a historical document in the eyes of the Alfonsine translators and editors as I explained throughout chapters two, three, and four. Two further examples will help me illustrate this point. The first one, as I explained in chapter four, refers to Hypermnestra's epistle (Her. VII) and explains the procedure followed by Ovid in composing the Her.:

> Empos esto. de como fizo el Rey Danoo con su fija doña ypermestra despues que ella salio dela prision. & de como fallo Ouidio en griego el romanz delas dueñas yl ouo trasladado enel latin. & entre las otras epistolas delas dueñas que fizo dell. como compuso y una por esta ypermestra daquellas razones que ella embio dezir a su marido seyendo en la prision. & aun despues que salio della.

> And after this [we will talk about] how King Danaus and his daughter Hypermnestra after she was released from jail, and about how Ovid got hold of the Greek romance of the ladies [The Her.] and had it translated

273

into Latin together with the other epistles of these ladies which he wrote himself. And how he wrote one for this Hypermnestra based on those razones which she sent to her husbad while she was in prison and even after she got out of it. (GE I, 336r)

The second one explains how auctores and poetae like Ovid wrote their estorias combining in them razones:

> Los auctores de los gentiles que fueron poetas dixieron muchas razones en que desuiaron de estorias. & poetas dizen en el latin por aquello que dezimos nos en castellano enffeñidores & assacadores de nueuas razones & fueron trobadores que trobaron en el latin & fizieron ende sus libros en que pusieron razones estrañas & marauillosas & de solaz mas non que acuerden con estoria menos de allegorias & de otros esponimientos. & assi fizo ouidio que fue poeta en las razones daquel diluuio & daquella quema de que dize mas que otro sabio & eñadio y unos mudamientos dunas cosas en otras que non son estoria por njnguna guisa & dexamos las aqui por ende.

> The men of letters of the gentiles who were poets revealed many razones, which they derived from historical accounts [estorias.] In Latin, a poet stands for someone who interprets and develops new ideas. They were troubadours and they composed lyric poetry and thus wrote their books in which they put remarkable and astonishing as well as entertaining accounts and events all of which are historical except for those which are allegorical or metaphorical. Thus Ovid wrote poetry about the deluge and about that fire of which he speaks more than any other learned man of his time. He interpolated certain metamorphoses of some things into others that by no means can be regarded as historical. We now leave these stories for later on. (GE I, 167v)

As these two excerpts show, the Her. were treated as historical documents upon which Ovid had elaborated in his quality of auctor and poeta. This transformation allowed the author to use his poetic license in order to conceal and more effectively convey the razones he sought to preserve by means of these literary creations, which Alfonso sought to recuperate both in their historical and literary dimensions.

5.2 THE <u>HEROIDES</u> IN THE <u>GENERAL ESTORIA</u>: PRELIMINARY TRANSLATIONAL NORMS

> Two factors basically determine the image of a work of literature as projected by a translation. These two factor are, in order of importance, the translator's ideology (whether he/she willingly embraces it, or whether it is imposed on him/her as a constraint by some form of patronage) and the poetics dominant in the receiving literature at the time the translation is made. The ideology dictates the basic strategy the translator is going to use and therefore also dictates solutions to problems concerned with both the "universe of discourse" expressed in the original (objects, concepts, customs belonging to the world that was familiar to the writer of the original) and the language the original itself is expressed in. (A. Lefevere, <u>Translation</u> 41)

As I have pointed out on several occasions, there are Old-French and Italian translations of the <u>Her.</u> that date back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. I will now compare those translations to Alfonso's in order to introduce the study of preliminary norms of translation at play in the Old Castilian translations. The aim of this contrastive analysis is to establish whether the Alfonsine translations were independent from the French and Italian ones and if so, how they differed from their European counterparts. Moreover, I will speculate on the possibility of a common vernacular precedent that could have been the source for all the translations studied and how that hypothesis is related to the practice of vernacular translation in the schools were the <u>Her.</u> were read and studied.

As I explained in the first chapter of this dissertation, translational norms govern what is acceptable, expected, right or adequate (as opposed to unacceptable, unimaginable, wrong or inadequate) in the choices made by translators. The first set of norms that governs this process are preliminary norms which Toury defined as those regulating the translation strategy to be deployed and the choice and extent of the texts to be translated into the target language. These norms are useful for scholars who seek to gain insight into "the existence and actual nature of a definitive translation policy" (Toury, <u>Descriptive</u> 58), and are therefore of extreme importance in the ongoing debate about the nature, characteristics, and purpose of translation in the Alfonsine scriptorium, and the Thirteenth-century Renaissance at large.

Toury established a bipartite division of preliminary norms according to two "often interconnected" considerations: those pertaining to the nature of the translation policy responsible for the translational act, and those regarding the directness of translation (<u>Descriptive</u> 58-61). Directness of translation deals with the relation established in the translation between the source and the target literary polysystems and languages. In the case of the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u>, the existence of at least three extant vernacular translations (one in Old-French dating back to the late thirteenth-century and two in Florentine Italian from the early fourteenth century) will help me establish the degree of independence among these translations. Once the degree of mediation has been established, I will evaluate the differences among these translations as well as the references to the translation process as an independent system in the case of the Alfonsine translations of Ovid.

The norms concerned specifically with the translation policy under which the adaptation of, in this case, the Her. was executed accounts for the specific features of the text as chosen for translation by the translators. The characteristics of the source text and its evaluation by the translators as well as the target text produced and its relation with both the original text and the specific textual instance chosen by the translators are the focus of this part of my analysis. A search for a specific translation policy implies the choice of a text, a textual variation, a text type, a literary genre, a specific author... from all the choices available to the author.

The position of both the translator and the translation in the literary polysystem of the target language must also be taken into account in this analysis since the role of the translator as well as that of the text also reveal information about the structure of the translation policy at work. In the case of Alfonso's translation of the Her., I will be looking into a) the choice of Ovid as a reliable historical source, b) the choice of Ovid as a poeta and auctor with regard to other ancient and contemporary auctores, c) the choice of the Her. as historical letters in the context of other epistolary narratives in the GE, d) the choice of a non-glossed translation over a simplified or glossed version, e) the choice of a philological translation over a narrative one.

5.2.1 The Alfonsine Her. and Directness of Translation: A Direct and Philological Translation

The first preliminary norm concerning all the historical sources in the GE including the Her. has to do with the independent character of the translation from any other vernacular versions that could have been available to the Alfonsine translators. The first piece of evidence that scholars have taken into account when trying to resolve this question is a letter sent by Alfonso X to the prior of the convent of Santa María de Nájera in 1270:

> Otorgo que tengo de vos el prior e convento de Santa Maria de Najera quince libros de letura antigua que me emprestastes, e los libros son aquestos. Las Editiones de Donato. Statio de Tobas. El Catalogo de los Reyes Godos. E libro juzgo de ellos. Boecio de consolacion. Un libro de justicia. Prudencio, Georgicas de Vergilio. Ovidio, epistolas. La historia de los Reyes de Isidro el menor. Donato el Barbarisio. Vocolicas de Vergilio. Liber illustrum virorum. Preciano maior. Boecio, sobre los diez predicamentos. El comento de Cieron sobre el sueño de Scipion. E otorgo de os los embiar tanto que los aia fecho escrevir.

> I certify that I am in the possession of fifteen books written in Carolingian minuscule which you, the prior in the Convent of Santa María of Nájera, lent me. And these are the books: T. C. Donatus' Interpretationes, Statius' Thebaid, the Catalogue of the Gothic Kings, and their Book of Law, Boethius' Consolatio Philosophiae, a book named De Iustitia, Prudentius, Virgil's Georgics, Ovid's Heroides, St. Isidorus' Historia regum Gothorum, Donatus' De barbarismo et octo partibus orationis, Virgil's Eclogues, Plinius' Liber illustrum virorum, Priscian's Institutiones grammaticae, Boethius' Commentary upon the predicaments, and Cicero's Dream of Scipio. And I certify that I shall

276

have them sent back to you as soon as I have had them copied. (Real Academia, Doc. cxviii)

The fact that almost all of these books were used in the EE and GE has led scholars such as Fernández-Ordóñez to establish 1270 as the terminus ante quem both compilations were written ("Taller"). This is an important piece of evidence since, as I will argue, it proves that the Alfonsine epistles are the earliest extant vernacular translation of Ovid's Her.[278]

The Alfonsine translation of the Her. predates the French version found in the HAC 2. As L. Barbieri explains, the first extant version of the HAC that contains the Her. is version 2 as found in ms. B.L. Royal 20.D.I which he has dated between 1330 and 1340 (Epistole 9). However, since the HAC is a compilation based on previous recensions of several translations (including the R. de Tr. to which the Her. were appended), Barbieri also points out that certain archaic features of the translation of these epistles indicate that the translation could have been produced originally in the last part of the thirteenth century (42). It is important to reinstate the fact that the translations are part of the fifth and final version of the R. de Tr., which was incorporated to an evolving compilation such as the HAC in order to account for the story of Troy and its destruction.

According to Barbieri, the linguistic analysis of the translation found in Prose 5 cannot be conclusive with regard to its sources since most of the translation of classical texts at that time were archaic in their language and tended to look alike (Eroidi 42). Barbieri points out that the Alfonsine translation is indeed earlier than its Old-French counterpart although he does not advance any hypothesis regarding their relation (19, fn. 60). P. Calef, on the other hand, has compared both translations reluctant to believe Calef's hypothesis that the Alfonsine translation was not direct but relied on a twelfth or thirteenth-century now-lost primeval translation from which some of the Italian and the HAC 2 French translations would all derive (187-92).

The third and fourth versions of the Her. that I have studied are those by Filippo Ceffi and the anonymous translation found in ms. Gaddiano rel. 71. The latter is the oldest extant translation into Italian and it contains epistles I, II, III, V, and VI all of which are featured in six Florentine manuscripts. According to Bellorini, epistle VI was also once part of the manuscript but was eventually removed. Bellorini cites Del Lungo's edition in order to confirm his thesis that these epistles were translated using a French original, something somewhat common in Italy in the XIV c. (18). The manuscript also contains a translation of Prose 3 version of R.de Tr. called Istorietta troiana, a translation of the Eneid by Andrea Lancia and the small poem Intelligenza.

---

278 Another very unlikely possibility is the use of a manuscript similar to the one edited by R. de Cesare in Glosse Latine e Antico-Francesi all' Alexandreis di Gautier de Chatîllon. The manuscript dates back to the second half of the thirteenth century and is filled with Latin and Old-French interlinear and marginal glosses to the extent that no other surviving manuscript even compares to this wealth of information. As De Cesare indicates, the glosses offer an insight on a traditional lectio in a grammar class and aim at providing the student with etymological, grammatical, stylistic, rhetorical, scholastic, and historical information or commentaries.

L. Barbieri has established as well that both the French and this Italian translation were independent from one another yet both of them seem to be derived from a now-lost French original. This translation would have contained all of the <u>Her.</u> and would have resembled more closely the Italian version given the accuracy of certain passages in this version (42-51). The basis of Barbieri's argument is the amount of Gallicisms found in the Italian text surpasses that which could be considered normal for an independent translation, a thesis that had already been advanced and demonstrated in detail by E. Bellorini in the nineteenth century (17-25).[279]

The most important difference between the two texts is the glosses contained in the Italian translation which provide the reader with information that L. Barbieri has classified according to three categories: mythological, historical and metaliterary (51). As it is the case with the <u>accessus</u> in the Latin versions, the Italian translation contains a vernacular translation of these introductions, which is lacking in Alfonso's translation.

The fourth version is that attributed to Filippo Ceffi, a master of the <u>ars dictaminis</u> from Florence. Ceffi was, like Alfonso, not only a man of letters, but also, above all, a politician. His <u>Dicerie</u> is a collection of vernacular speeches for public officials to use according to the occasion. It includes several speeches that lay a strong emphasis on the responsibility conferred upon these politicians as well as the citizens of their communes.[280] He prepared his translation around 1325 (Zaggia & Ceriana 1) at the request of a Florentine woman, Lisa, wife of Simone dei Peruzzi.

Ceffi's translation as well as that found in ms. Gaddiano rel. 71 followed a series of Ovidian translations that were produced in the first decades of the fourteenth century when the <u>Ars Am</u>. and the <u>Rem. am</u>. were each translated twice in independent versions (Guthmüller 342-3). It is worth noting that the <u>Met.</u>, on the other hand, were not translated by Arrigo Simintendi da Prato before the turn of the same century (Guthmüller 212). Ceffi's translation into "gramatica in volgare fiorentino" (Bellorini 3) is accurate for the most part but fails to convey many of the subtleties and contextual information contained in the original. Each epistle is preceded by an introductory paragraph that provides the historical context in which the letter was written. Moreover, the codex studied by Bellorini (Ambrosiano I. 69 sup.) contains abundant marginal comments. These two features, once again, set

---

279 Another version contemporary or posterior to the first one is found in manuscript Codd. Ricard. 1579 (VII, X, IV, XI, XIV, XV, XVI and XVII) and 1580 (XII, XIII, VII-XI).

280 Ceffi argues in favor of the commune by providing arguments based on brief <u>sententiae</u>:

> Sì come il devoto figliuolo sicuramente puote e dee ricorrere al suo padre; così noi, che siamo vostri fedeli, liberamente siamo venuti alli vostri piedi, sì come imposto ne fue per lo nostro comune.

> Just like the devout son surely can and must run to his father; thus we, who are your children, have freely come to your feet, as though it had not been imposed by the commune. (4)

Alfonso's translation apart from Ceffi's as well as <u>HAC 2</u>'s and ms. Gaddiano rel. 71's highly glossed versions of the <u>Her.</u>

A brief comparison of two samples taken from these four translations will help me establish that Alfonso's recension of the <u>Her.</u> differs from that contained in the Prose 5 version of the <u>R. de Tr.</u> as well as from the four epistles preserved in Laurenziano Gaddiano rel. 71 and Ceffi's autonomous translation. As I will show, critics rightly point out that the French translation highlights themes such as "long-distance relationships, faithfulness and unfaithfulness, volubility, love sickness and its symptoms, the madness of love, love and fear, and secret and hidden love" (Barbieri 135). All of these themes, while present in the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u>, are not exaggerated or emphasized beyond what is required of a philological translation that aims to convey the same intensity with which Ovid presents those themes at times.

The heavily glossed Italian translation differs from Alfonso's version in that it does not incorporate the glosses as a separate critical apparatus and in the absence of the moralizing introductions either as introductions or conclusions or embedded in the translation. Whereas historical and meta-textual elements are incorporated to the Castilian translation, the moralizing ones are absent. Here is a four-way comparison of the original <u>Her.</u> (H), Filippo Ceffi's fourteenth-century translation (FC), Lauren. Gadd. rel. 71 anonymous fourteenth-century translation (LG), <u>HAC 2</u>'s Old-French, fourteenth-century translation incorporated to the <u>R. de Tr</u>. (HAC), and Alfonso's <u>GE</u> translation (<u>GE</u>):

> **(H)** Quando ego non timui graviora pericula veris? / Res est solliciti plena timoris amor.
>
> When have I not been dreading dangers more grievous than the reality? Love is a thing replete with anxious fears. (<u>Her.</u> I, 11-12)
>
> **(FC)** O dolce amante, quando fu che io non temessi più li gravi pericoli che li veri? L'amore è cosa piena di sollecita paura.
>
> Oh sweet lover! When did I not fear more the great dangers than the truth? Love is a thing full of lonely sorrow. (Bernardoni 2)
>
> **(LG)** Con ciò sia cosa che io vegga il dolce tempo della primavera, il quale ciascuna creatura traie a gioia, che io solea essere secura o in grande sollazzo. Ora sono in pene o in paura, e ò tema della tua persona per lo grande amore che io ò in te.
>
> How I long for the sweet springtime to arrive, which brings joy to all creatures, for I used to feel safe and in great solace [but] now I am in pain and in fear. And I fear for you because of the great love that I feel for you. (Barbieri 314)
>
> **(HAC)** Quant je voi la douceur du printemps, que toute creature doit estre en joie, que je soloie estre a seür et en grant deduit, or sui en pain et en grant paour de ton cors. Pour la grant paour que je ai de toi, or est ma penssee au cruel pueple de Troie.
>
> How I long for the sweetness of the springtime (which makes all creatures joyful) for I used to feel safe and live in happiness whereas

now I live in pain and fearful of your heart. Because of the great fear that I feel for you, now my thoughts are with the cruel Trojan people. (Barbieri 185)

(GE) Vlixes, mi señor, yo non se tienpo en que por ty yo non ouiese miedo, mas diras que non era la verdad, ca el verdadero amor temiendo syenpre esta cuydando.

Ulysses, my sire, I don't know a time when I did not fear for you, but you will say this is not true, that true love fears as long as it cares. (Ashton xv)

Whereas both the HAC and LG versions depart from the original, Alfonso's and Ceffi's translations remain faithful to the sententious tone found in the Latin verses. The introduction of the image of springtime in order to represent Penelope's longing for Ulysses indicates that both the anonymous Italian translation and the HAC French translation share a common tradition or, at least, one of them could have been used when producing the other. Alternatively, as Barbieri has shown, the variations found in both versions and the Gallicism contained in the Italian version point towards a French original version, which the compilers of HAC 2 and the Italian translator would have used (48-51).

In the case of Alfonso's translation, this example shows how the Alfonsine project was not only an independent enterprise but also one that was int the antipodes of the novelesque tone of the HAC 2 and LG versions. At the same time, like Ceffi's translation, the Alfonsine Her. maintain a more solemn attitude when approaching the Latin original and a higher degree of confidence in the audience's ability to follow Ovid's complex interplay of narrative elements and the corresponding reactions and reflections that are reflected in the heroines' internal monologues.

A second comparison will suffice to reaffirm these differences between, on the one hand, LG and HAC and, on the other, GE and FC.

(H) Linquor et ancillis excipienda cado. / Est sinus, adductos modice falcatus in arcus; / ultima praerupta cornua mole rigent. / Hinc mihi suppositas inmittere corpus in undas / mens fuit – et quoniam fallere pergis, erit. / Ad tua me fluctus proiectam litora portent / occurramque oculis intumulata tuis!

And I faint, to be supported by my maids. There is a bay that bends slightly like a drawn bow at the end of which extend two promontories as though they were its extremities, garnished with enormous rocks; It is from these that I intended to hurl my body into the surge: and since you persist in ignoring me, that is what will eventually happen. The tide will thus carry me to your shores so that my unburied body will meet your eyes. (Her. II, 130-34)

(FC) E appena mi ritengo ch'io non mi getti in mare, entrandonell'acqua dove il mare porge prima le sue onde; e quanto più m'appresso, e meno divento utile. Allora tramortisco; e, caggendo, sono ricevuta dalle mie cameriere. Io disperata m'ho posto in cuore di

gittarmi da uno sportato poggio, il quale aspramente, a modo d'arco, cuopre uno nostro porto, nelle tempestose onde: e ciò non fallirà; poichè per ingannarmi te n'andasti. Portinmene dunque li tempestosi cavalli alli tuoi porti, sicch'io mi rappresenti davanti agli occhi tuoi sanza sepoltura.

And as I barely am able to keep myself from plunging into the sea, entering those waves which the sea offers as its first waters [the waves plunging into the cliffs]; and the more I approach [the edge], the more I lose my head and, at that point, I faint, and, as I fall, I am supported by my maids. In my desperation, my heart becomes filled with the impulse to jump off one of the protruding rocks (a steep and abrupt one that, in the shape of a bow, covers one of our harbors) into the tumultuous [stormy] waves. And it [this order of things to come] shall not be prevented for you left me already resolved to deceive me. I wish that the tempestuous horses will carry me to your shores so that I will be brought before your eyes in the absence of any burial. (Bernardoni 13)

(LG) E io più mi dolglio e turbo e più volte caggio tramortita tra·lle braccia delle mie pulcielle. E ben sai, falso Demonfon, che io sono ora in gravosa angoscia per te e in sì grandissima che spesse volte propongho in me di far fare uno grande vaso di lengnio, e intrarvi entro, e·ffarmi gittare in mare, sicché l'onde mi portassono al tuo porto; perciò che io m'aveggio che·ttu m'ài inghannata.

And I pain and suffer even more, and, once again I fall, unconscious, in the arms of my maids. And you know this well, you treacherous Demophoon, that I now live in great distress because of you; and so much distress I feel that I find myself thinking of putting together a big pyre and hurling myself in it, and then [have somebody] throw me into the sea so that the waves shall take me to your harbor; in this way I will [be forced to eventually] realize that you have deceived me. (Barbieri 320)

(HAC) Et quant je voi que ce n'est ta nef je chié pasmé entre les bras de mes pucele. Et se tu, faus Demofon, savoies coment je sui en grant tourment pour toi! Car je pensse souvent et pourpose que je me face metre en .i. grant tomble de fust et puis jeter moi en la haute mer, si que je puisse arriver a ton port pour ce que je m'aperçoif que tu m'as deceüe.

And when I realize that your ship is not within sight I fall unconscious in the arms of my maids. And you know well, treacherous Demophoon, how I find myself greatly distressed because of you! And so much so that I only think of throwing myself into a big pyre and then hurling myself into the high sea so that I will be able to arrive at your shores because I know well that you have deceived me. (Barbieri 197-98)

(GE) E cayome sin toda memoria fasta que me reçiben las mis donzellas

en los braços. E fazeseme un seno con un arco en la ribera de la mar, e tiendese el somo del, e va agudo e luenne contra dentro sobre el agua. E yo vo por aquel pennedo adelante fasta que vengo a somo; e muchas vezes me viene a voluntad de derribar de alli en la mar, e morir y por el enartamiento e el tuerto que me tu vas fazer. E mande Dios que pues que tu non vienes a mi e me as desanparada, que me lieuen las ondas a mi e me echen en las tus riberas, e andes tu por y e veas commo me traen muerta e sin toda onrra de sepoltura.

And I fall unconscious until I am received by my maids in their arms. And before me it appears a bossom with a bow on the seashore, and at its ends stretch out far, and its ends are sharp and elevated as they enter the waters. And I walk up that cliff all the way until I reach the top. And often time I am overwhelmed by a desire to hurl myself into the sea from there, and to die all because of the distress and the wrong that you are to do to me. And may God will it that, since you have not come back to me and have forsaken me, the sea waves will take me to your shore, and that, as you walk along those shores, you see how I am brought to you [by the waves] dead and without the [due] honor of a burial. (Ashton 20)

Once again, <u>HAC</u> and <u>LG</u> resemble each other to the point that it is impossible to deny their common origin. Both misread '<u>intumulata</u>' and interpret Phyllis' threats as a complex suicide formula made up of a funeral pyre, which would, then, be thrown together with her body onto the sea. The <u>HAC</u> version does not even mention explicitly that Phyllis has committed suicide and omits any mention to her dead body. On the other hand, <u>FC</u> and <u>GE</u> follow the Latin original to the extent that they emphasize certain poetic features only apparent to the learned reader.

Both translations are careful to recreate the pathos of Phyllis' syncope and convey the visual representation of a body that collapses inanely on its own two legs while being received (rather than grabbed or sustained) by her maids. The same pathos is conveyed by the image of Phyllis' (decaying) corpse although the Alfonsine translation introduces a supplementary reference to the implications of such death. The addition of '<u>onra</u>' ('honor') and the emphasis brought on this concept by the use of the intensifier '<u>sin toda</u>' (without any) represent the translators' concern with an adequate representation of the social connotations of an improper burial among the ancient Greeks. A third distinctive feature of the Alfonsine translation is the accuracy of the readings made by the translators when compared to contemporary collations of the text. Ceffi seems to have read '<u>portant aequora</u>' where the <u>GE</u> has '<u>proiectam litora</u>' in accordance with contemporary philologists such as Knox (49), Showerman (30), and Dörrie (61).

In conclusion, the dynamic character of both the <u>R. de Tr</u>. and the <u>HAC</u> and the evolution theses compilations underwent in the thirteenth century shows that historiography was rapidly evolving into a very methodic and conscientious discipline aiming to achieve, it seems, no less than totality with respect to the sources compiled. At the same time that this historiographic effort was taking place, vernacular translations gained enough status and authority in the field of history (as

well as in almost every other "scientific" discipline) so as to become the standard medium for compilations. These four recensions of the Her. show how complex was the phenomenon of translation in Europe in the thirteenth century and how many factors influenced the characteristics of any specific vernacular reposition of an ancient text.

These four versions of the Her. display two distinct translation trends which are determined by different preliminary norms. On the one hand, the HAC and LG recensions are regulated by a novelesque, highly domesticated, philologically inaccurate, and poorly contextualized approach. On the other hand, the GE and FC translations feature a balance of the narrative and non-narrative elements found in Ovid's Her. that roughly corresponds (as I will explain in more detail in the following sections of this chapter) to those found in contemporary critical editions of the text. The only exceptions to this rule are the brief introductions found before epistles IV, X, XIV, which, as I will explain in the following section, are mere contextualizations of the story that bear no resemblance to LG's long explanatory glosses or the moral commentaries found in the accessus auctores.

Although the glossed content of the French and Italian vernacular translations is abundant, it is worth noting that Alfonso's philological translation conveys more of the information found in the original letters. The reason for this apparent contradiction is that the glosses and comments found in the other versions abound in issues dealing with the interpretation of the morals contained in the letters. Alfonso's translation, on the other hand, does not include any of those commentaries although, as I will explain in section 5.3.1.2 the didactic purpose of the GE as a whole and not of the Her. in particular called for a minimum of exegetical comment and explanation with regard to the razones found in these estorias.

At this point, I must mention that direct translation was not always the method followed by the Alfonsine compilers. As L. B. Kiddle has shown, in the case of the story of Thebes, the translators chose a version of the R. de Th. over Statius' Thebaid. I concur with Kiddle that the decision was prompted by the "factual rendering" and the inclusion of the prehistory of Thebes in the French version as opposed to Statius' poetic account (120). The translation mistakes highlighted by Kiddle ("de lagarto" for "des les arz", "cuello" for "cors" and "mostraua" for "meust" show that the translators did not take into account the Latin original in their translation (123). Kiddle goes on to demonstrate that in spite of these mistakes, the Alfonsine translators and editors did not follow their French source blindly. He explains how the translators "scarcely had they begun to draw upon their source for the story of Thebes when they came upon an error in the lineage of King Cadmus as presented in the French" (124-25):

> Li rois Cadmus qui premiers fondi Thebes ot .ij. filz qui apres lui tindrent la terre. Li uns ot non Athamas et li autres Penteus et apres ceus regna Laius qui esoit de lor lignies. (f. 50ra)

> King Cadmus, who founded Thebes, had two children who became kings after him. One was Athamas and the other Pentheus and after them reigned Laius who belonged to the same lineage.

> The Spanish collaborators wrote:

> El rey Cadmo de Egipto poblo a Thebas de Grecia ef ue el primero rey que reyno alli, e ouo sus herederos que reynaron y. E dize en la estoria françesa que ouo dos fijos, mas non fue assi ca los fijos que ell e la reyna Hermiones fizieron las quatros fijas fueron de qu auemos dicho ante en esta estoria enlas razones del rey Cadmo.

> King Cadmus of Egypt populated Thebes in Greece and he was the first king there. And he had heirs who reigned after him. And the French story says that he had two more children, but that was not the case since he and Queen Hermione had those four daughters we talked about before in this story when we discussed the <u>razones</u> of King Cadmus.

It is important to mention that, as Kiddle explains, the editors corrected the error by referring to Jerome's <u>Chronicon</u> and Ovid's <u>Met.</u> The only alterations found in the Alfonsine transposition of the Old French text are also found in the <u>Her.</u>: amplifications referring to correlative historical facts, explanations of the characters' behavior and actions, and, stylistically, the preference for the use of direct speech.

The compilers who worked on the <u>Her.</u> and the account of the story of Thebes must therefore be considered as exegetes whose concern with accuracy must be understood in relation to their exegetic role. The French version of the Thebaid, while based on Statius' work, provided additional information to the Alfonsine compilers unlike the hypotheticial French version of the <u>Her.</u>, which had been highly altered. As Kiddle points out in his article, factual accuracy is the premise that the editors have in mind when compiling sources, as evinced by the constant quotation of the sources used.

Whereas Alfonso must have been aware of the historical compilations that existed in France, the alterations to which he subjected vernacular sources like the <u>R. de Th.</u>, and his preference for the use of direct sources prove that the <u>GE</u> was a project with a genesis and purpose of its own. A brief remark found at the end of Medea's letter to Jason reflects on this principle of accuracy and respect for the "original" literary form:

> E aqui se acaba la epistola que Medea enbio a Jason. E non le dixo en ellamas de quanto nos auemos contado aquí, segunt qu elo cuenta Ouidio en el <u>Libro de las Dueñas</u>.

> And at this point ends the epistle that Medea sent Jason. And she did not tell him in it more than that which we have told you here, according to what Ovid tells in the <u>Libro de las Dueñas</u>. (Ashton 146)

Finally, as my analysis of the translation of the <u>Her.</u> (and this excerpt from the <u>R. deTh.</u> corroborates) shows, the thoroughness of the translation and the high philological standards followed by the Alfonsine translators must be taken into account in the field of Historical Linguistics. As C. C. Smith points out "in syntax, translating complex Latin sentences with their wealth of subsidiary clauses introduced by conjunctions fostered imitations and new creations in the receiving vernaculars" (79). It should also be noted that an accurate translation of the <u>Her.</u> as that performed by the Alfonsine scholars is bound to exhibit traits imposed by a

language so rich and complex as Ovid's. J. Booth's definition of Ovid's language demonstrates the complexity of the task faced by these medieval translators:

> Ovid was a linguistic virtuoso. So much, at least, will be clear to even the most casual or selective reader of his work, packed as it is with apparently effortless wit and verbal acrobatics. And yet Ovid's Latin is not obviously idiosyncratic, as is that of Propertius or Tacitus, for example; it seems rather to be simply 'poetic' in the technical sense which that word has come to bear in modern classical scholarship. (2686)

A second consideration for historical linguists is the integration of mythological and socio-cultural lore incorporated from the glosses and the translators' schooling in classical literature. This feature is precisely one of the main differences that set apart the HAC and LG from the GE and FC translations.

The assimilation of a large quantity of cultural items belonging to a centuries-old and long-by-gone literary polysystem had a bearing in these translations. In this sense, R. Cano Aguilar has pointed out after studying several instances of dialogue and non-dialogue text in thirteenth-century Old Castilian, that the syntax of this "primitive" form of Spanish cannot be said to be primeval on account of its inherent primitiveness. Cano explains how there is a wide variety in the syntactic use of Old Castilian which was dependant, primarily, on the communicative necessities and the discursive intentions of each text ("Construcción" 140).

Cano Aguilar's conclusion questions the commonly held belief that vernacular languages experience a "natural" evolution from a paratactic to a hypotactic stage. If we take into account the preliminary norm at play in the translation of the Her. according to which the target text is to convey as much meaning as it can possibly be inferred from the original through philological study, it follows that a high degree of syndectic coordination is required in the target text. From this point of view, paratactic syntax is not to be understood as a natural trait of vernacular discourse but a consequence of a literary period in which a high level of foreignization is taking place.

5.2.2 The Alfonsine Heroides and Translation Policy: Ovid the Auctor and Poeta and the Value of Classical Literature

As I explained in sections 2.1.3 and again throughout chapters three and four, the translation policy that prompted the choice of the Her. as a historical source in the GE took into account Ovid's auctoritas as a poeta and an auctor. This authority translated into three main categories in which the Her. ranked high-enough so as to be chosen for translation, namely: 1) the historical value (fechos) contained in every work of literature written by an ancient auctor; 2) the worth of the ideas, general truths, maxims, guiding principles, and reflections (razones) which all valuable works of literature also contain, and 3) the moral lore contained in the articulation of both fechos and razones into coherent and cohesive historical content (estorias). All of these categories were, at the same time, superseded by the intrinsic value of knowledge and wisdom both of which were understood as cultural capital that was to be preserved and accumulated for the benefit and prosperity of the individual and society.

5.2.2.1 <u>Fechos</u>: Historical Facts as the Basis of the Historiographic Discourse

In my analysis of the use of the <u>Her.</u> as a historical source in the <u>GE</u> (chapter 2), as well as in European lyrical, romance, and proto-historic literature (chapter 3) I demonstrated that Ovid's works were considered, in varying degrees, to be based on historical accounts. Two further examples in which the <u>Her.</u> are specifically referred to as historical and geographic sources of information will suffice at this point in order to connect the research carried out in the previous chapter of my thesis.

In the first of these excerpts, Alfonso cites <u>Her.</u> X in order to furnish geographic data about the island of Crete, which is the focus of this section. As I explained in 2.4.1, Alfonso follows the "natural" historiographic style in which the focus of historiography is not as much the relation of isolated historical events (<u>fechos</u>) but the accounts of the reasons and consequences that relate to those events (<u>estorias</u>). The same approach is here being applied to geography and, thus, all pertinent information with regard to Crete is here compiled and made into a comprehensive geographic "<u>estoria</u>":

> Et desto que pone que auie en aquella ysla de Creta cient cibdades e dize Ouidio estos uiesos por so latin en la epistola que Adria fija del Rey Minos dessa Creta & dela Reyna Pasiphe; enuio a Theseo fijo del Rey Egeo de Athenas. Non ego te Crete centum digesta per vrbes Aspicia[m] puero cognita terra Joui. Et quieren dezir assi en el nuestro lenguage de Castiella estos uiessos. Tierra de Creta que eres departida por cient cibdades: non te uere yo. Et eres tierra coñosçuda de Juppiter quando era Niño. ca fue criado en ti estonçes. Onde esto assi cuemo oydes por las prueuas delos Autores uerdat fue que ouo en la ysla de Creta. cient cibdades buenas.

> And they say here that on that island of Crete there were a hundred cities and Ovid says in these verses written in their Latin in the epistle that Ariadne (the daughter of King Minos from that Crete and queen Pasiphae) sent Theseus (son of King Aegeus of Athens): "Crete, I shall not see you again, comprised of your hundred cities, land that Jupiter knew as a child" [<u>Her.</u> X 67-68]. And these verses mean the following in our Castilian language: "Land of Crete which are divided into a hundred cities: I shall not see you! And you are a land that was familiar to Jupiter when he was a child, since he was raised in you back then." And as you can see [hear], it is through the evidence left by the auctores it was true that there were in Crete once a hundred great cities. (<u>GE</u> I, 23r)

The second instance of an explicit use of the <u>Her.</u> as a historical source is found in the account of the story of King Busiris, the son of Aegyptus:[281]

> La muert deste Rey Busiris fue otrossi esta que uos contaremos aqui.

---

281 The pseudo-historic character of Busiris was the subject of attacks from Isocrates (<u>Busiris</u> 11.30-40) and Lucian (<u>True History</u> 3.23); it is considered a prime example of a legendary account that passed as history in ancient times.

segunt cuenta Ouidio & las sus glosas en el noueno libro de los mandamientos [sic] que el dize delas cosas. Et otrossi enla epistola que Deianira fija del Rey Oeneo de Cali(ndo)[don] & dela Reyna althea. enuio a Hercules so marido. Assi como es escripto en el libro delas epistolas de Ouidio que a nombre el libro delas dueñas. La razon dela muert deste Rey Busiris: fueron las crueldades que fazie en matar assi los ombres estraños por sus lluuias que querie auer. que como una uanidat & contra la natura daquella tierra.

And the death of this King Busiris happend as we shall now explain to you according to what Ovid and the glosses to <u>Met.</u> IX say, as well as [the information] found in the epistle that Deianira (the daughter of King Oeneus of Calydon and Queen Althaea) sent to Hercules, her husband. [And this we shall tell you] as it is written in Ovid's book of the epistles [The <u>Her.</u>] that is called <u>The Book of the Ladies</u>. The reason for King Busiris' death was the cruelties in which he incurred as he sought to kill foreigners in order to make the rain fall, something which was boastful and against the nature of that land.

Based on these two excerpts, and in accordance with what we have seen in the previous chapters regarding Ovid's use throughout Europe, we can conclude that Ovid's <u>Her.</u> were chosen by Alfonso as part of a translation policy which aimed at recovering and preserving <u>fechos</u>. These historical facts would then be presented in order and according to their place in history to form <u>estorias</u>. In this process, as Alfonso himself explained in the <u>GE</u> (cited in 4.4.2), Ovid's works were to be understood as reliable historical sources that had to be subject to a careful process of exegesis:

> Los <u>auctores</u> delos gentiles fueron muy sabios omnes & fablaron de grandes cosas. & en muchos logares en figura & en semeiança duno por al. como lo fazen oy las escripturas dela nuestra sancta eglesia. Et sobre todos los otros <u>auctores</u>. Ouidio. enel so libro mayor. E esto tira ala su Theologia delos gentiles mas que otras razones que ellos ayan. E el Ouidio mayor non es al entrellos. si non la theologia & la biblia dello entre los gentiles.

> The <u>auctores</u> of the Gentiles were very wise men and talked about great things and on many occasions figuratively and in resemblance of one thing instead of another just like the Scriptures of Our Holy Church speak to us today. And above all the other <u>auctores</u>, Ovid [was a wise man] in the <u>Met.</u> [he talked about great things]. And this work represents the theology of the Gentiles better than any other <u>razones</u> that they have and the <u>Met.</u> is not anything else among them but their theology and the Bible of the Gentiles. (<u>GE</u> I, 72v)

Both ancient <u>auctores</u> such as Ovid and modern ones such as Walter of Chatîllon or John of Garland were viewed by Alfonso as custodians of a cultural tradition to be preserved and further developed. In this cosmos of knowledge, the <u>fechos</u> act as catalyzers for the <u>razones</u> through their proper arrangement in the

form of estorias. Two concrete pieces of evidence already cited in my thesis confirm this theory.

The first is the characterization of knowledge (cf. 2.2.1) according to which knowledge is to be searched out, restored, and promoted by rulers and the intellectual elite.[282] The second one is interesting from more than one point of view and thus I will go back to it in the remainder of this chapter. In this excerpt, Alfonso makes the point that although Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada had recorded his father's deeds (fechos) the razon or "deeper meaning" of his father's reign has been left unaccounted for since there are many facts that require an explanation in order to clarify Fernando III's decisions.

The compilers laud Rodrigo for the thoroughness of his work and explain how he had indeed talked about, not only the deeds of all the other monarchs of Iberia, but had actually also represented accurately their estorias or narrative and discursive alter-biographies. Alfonso then goes on to subtly criticize Rada for not going beyond the death of his father in his historical account since that leaves his actions and their estoria "hanging", incomplete, as though it were a pictorial representation missing its final vignettes:

> en cuya Razon el dicho arçobispo don Rodrigo fablo mucho delos fechos delos (delos) Reyes & delas sus uidas & quales fueron. commo acabaron & vsaron de sus poderes departiendolo todo en cuento delas sus coronicas se espide en este logar dela estoria. Por quela Razon delos sus fechos deste Rey don fernando de castiella & de leon se cunpla segunt los Sus fechos todos fueron fasta acabamiento de su uida commo dicho es. Tomad en este logar el seguimiento dela Razon ua aun contando la estoria cabo adelante departiendo los segunt las Razones cabadelante segu[i]ran & començola enel logar ofinco.

---

[282] The compilers write in the prologue to El Libro de las Cruzes (2r):

> Este nostro señor sobredicho que tantos & diuersos dichos de sabios uiera, leyendo que dos cosas en el mundo que mientre son escondidas non prestan nada (Et es la una seso encerrado que non se amostra et la otra thesoro escondido en tierra), El, semeiando a Salamon en buscar & espaladinar los saberes, doliendo se de la perdida & la mengua que auian los ladinos en las sciencias de las significationes sobredichas, fallo el libro de las cruzes que fizieron los sabios antiguos.

> The aforementioned lord of ours (who read and heard so many different sayings from other wise men), after reading that there are two things in the world which while hidden are useless (one is knowledge that is not shown and the other a treasure that is buried), he did as King Solomon had done before him: Seeing that his people were being left behind with regard to the sciences and the knowledge afore mentioned, he searched for knowledge and explained it to all in their own language and in an appropriate manner wherever he found it and that is why Alfonso eventually found the Book of the Crosses which had been compiled by the ancient sages.

Archbishop Rodrigo spoke at length about the fechos of all the monarchs in his razon and about their lives and how they were; and how they ended; how they conducted themselves and how they used their power explaining it all in the accounts of his chronicles and he abandons the estoria at this point. And so that the real meaning of the deeds of King Ferdinand of Castile and Leon should be told according to his deeds they all were related up to his death as we have said. At this point, pick up the narrative while telling the story forward in the future narrating it according to the themes and ideas that will follow ahead and begin to tell it at the point where the king died.

The Her. are also considered part of the historical lore which, much like Fernando III's deeds, must be preserved in their entirety in order to better convey their originally intended meaning. Ovid's Her. contain not only valuable razones, but also fechos and estorias which are part of the larger stories and myths of characters such as Ulysses or event such as the Trojan War.

In conclusion, the complex relation that is enacted in the GE between these three narrative and discursive elements allowed for the Her. to be incorporated into the Alfonsine project as a valuable source of fechos, estorias, and razones. The Her. not only functioned independently as estorias of their own but were also valued for the fechos and razones that they contained and which were eagerly incorporated to the cosmos of classical knowledge that the GE sought to recuperate in the Old Castilian vernacular.

5.2.2.2 Razones, Examples and Narratives about Love: Knowledge as Discursive Thinking, Intellectual Principle, and Meaningful Utterances

Although Alfonso does not offer any classification or definition of razon, I have already outlined the main characteristics of this concept as being the equivalent of sermo or λόγος. The quote with which I opened chapter two defines and frames the concept better than any other definition I could devise: "Gloria de Dios es celar el verbo, e gloria de los reyes buscar e escodriñar la razón"; GE III, P. IV, p. 263) "It is God's honour to conceal the verbum, and it is a king's honour to pursue and scrutinize the ratio").[283] This proverb summarized Alfonso's translation policy in terms of his appreciation of discursive thinking as found in intellectual principles in the form of meaningful utterances (historical or otherwise).

In this section, I will analyze one particular kind of content as represented by the Her. and their inclusion in the GE as part of Alfonso's translation policy. In the following paragraphs, I will focus on the moral substance and the didactic purpose of the Her. as representative of a specific kind of knowledge or sociocultural capital to be preserved and studied. I have divided this analysis into three parts: 1) the role of women in history 2) the presentation of women as victims of social hierarchy, 3) the importance of education and appropriate moral behavior for women, and 4) the representation of youth as an age of folly. I have analyzed the first two focusing on their razones whereas I have focused on the razones in the cases of youth and

---

283 "The honour of God [is] to hide a thing, and the honour of kings to search out a matter"; YLT, Prov. 25:2).

education. These four subjects are intertwined and there is as much to say about razones and estorias and vice versa in the examples I provide. For the sake of clarity, I will just refer to issues that help me define the nature of razones and estorias and its relation to the translation policy at play in the GE.

The first set of razones to be inferred from the reading and understanding of the Her. I will study is that of young age and how adequate moral education (especially among women) is essential to avoid the "follies" of youth. This and many other characterizations of the protagonists of the Her. reveal a gender discourse that is embedded in the GE's descriptions of key female characters in all periods of history. There are plenty of instances when the translators emphasized that the women behind the Her. were not only actual historical figures but also females whose characters and personal circumstances reappear in different periods of history.

These noble women as represented according to two main categories: 1) those whose intellect and good nature have contributed to the good government of their societies, and 2) as suffering heroines whose ability to express and explain the reasons for their folly is perceived by the translators as having been impaired. In both cases, the translators have made it an issue to elaborate on the connections between these women's maturity and their ability to hold a position of power and be successful in their marriage or with their partners.

The first step in this type of analysis is to define the term dueña which is the standard word used to refer to a woman in the GE. The seven definitions that can be found in Lloyd & Kasten's Diccionario de la prosa castellana del Rey Alfonso X (357) seemed like a good place to start my inquiry:

> 1 Mujer que tienen el dominio de una finca o de otra cosa ("Woman who is in possession of land or other property.")
> 2 Monja o beata ("Nun or woman belonging to a religious order.")
> 3 Mujer no doncella ("Woman who is not a lady.")
> 4 Señora o mujer principal ("Grown woman with a position of responsibility.")
> 5 Dama en palacio que acompaña y sirve a la reina, a la princesa o las infantas ("Female assistant who escorts and attends to the queen, princes, or princesses in the palace.")
> 6 Mujer ("Woman.")
> 7 Doncella ("Damsel.")

As we can see these definitions are not exclusive or belong to the same semantic categories. Furthermore, their meaning is invariably related to more or less complex socio-cultural notions making them even more difficult to translate accurately sometimes. In any case, the fact is that a dueña is understood to be a woman with a relevant social presence unless otherwise indicated by being referred to as, for example, mançeba (which, again, to complicate things further, can be translated as both 'concubine' and 'young lady').

I will now proceed to provide some examples of the positive descriptions I mentioned earlier. I have chosen female characters from different cultural backgrounds to help offer a wider picture of the pattern I have observed:

> **Venus:** Esta dueña era muy enseñada & mucho apuesta & fue muy

fermosa, de guisa que vençie desto a todas las mugieres del su tiempo ("This lady was very learned and very attractive and she was very beautiful to the extent that she was even more so (in all these categories) than the rest of her female contemporary counterparts"; GE I, 93r).

Minerva: Desta dueña dizen todos que salio muy sotil & de grand engeño en muchas cosas ("Everyone says about this lady that she became very subtle and had a great aptitude for many things"; GE I, 84r).

Pallas: Era dueña muy sabia ("She was a very wise lady"; GE I, 94r).

Ceres: Enviaron le a Ceçilia a una dueña de grand seso que moraua y auie nombre Ceres ("They sent to Sicily a lady of great intelligence who lived there and was called Cere"; GE I, 119r).

Termuth: Era dueña muy entenduda & libre & muy poderosa ("She was a very learned, and free, and very powerful lady"; GE I, 138r).

Munene: Era buena dueña & muy entenduda & de muy buen sentido ("She was a very good lady and very learned and of very good sense"; GE I, 163r).

Doña Doluca: Era muy buena dueña & sesuda & sabia & muy buena de su cuerpo de su Ley & muy diuina & de dios toda" ("She was a very good, and intelligent, and wise lady and very respectful of the law and customs and very devout and entirely committed to God"; GE I, 172v).

María (fija de Amran y Jocabel): Era dueña muy onrrada "She was a very honorable lady"; GE I, 296r).

Asterie: Dueña muy grant & muy fermosa & de muy bueñas costumbres & de beuir muy casta ("A very great and very beautiful lady, and with very good habits and who lead a very chaste life"; GE II, 75v).

Doña Urraca: Fue dueña muy denderençada de costumbres & de bondad ("She was a very righteous lady in her customs and in her good character"; EE II, 130v).

As we can observe in these examples, the compilers insist on several positive traits in a consecutive manner that is all too familiar to medievalists. However, as I will argue in the remainder of this section, I believe that such positive characterizations stem for a particularly keen interest in 1) demonstrating the moral virtues of female characters in order to provide young and noble female readers with role models of appropriate and virtuous behavior, and 2) provide female historical characters with a "voice" where they would otherwise would have just been silent or flat characters.

The portrayal of women featured in the GE as role models for young female rulers and members of the aristocracy is in conflict with currently accepted criticisms of Alfonso as a moraliser of Ovid. The Her. featured in the GE do not correspond to a particular set of moral standards as critics such as Lida have suggested ("Notas II" 123-25) while acknowledging that, to a large extent, the dramatics and lyricism found in the original Latin text transpire what C. Fraker has recently termed the "drama and eloquence" ("Rhetoric" 89) of the Old Castilian

translation. Similarly, I dispute the opinion that the Her., as translated by Alfonso, are filled with more passion and pain than Ovid's original epistles as Tudorica-Impey has suggested ("Ovid" 285), and are anachronistic since their protagonists "are medieval women in love who, thanks to the treatment of the Alfonsine School, are preparing themselves for their future re-incarnation in the sentimental Spanish novel" (Garrido 196).[284]

As I explained in 2.1.4, Haahr has proposed the existence of a symbiotic relation between the treatment received by venereal themes in rhetorical manuals and the literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries ("Eros" 892) whereas Glendinning has demonstrated the close relation between the themes of love and the discourse of private feeling in the thirteenth century (55-56). In order to prove that such relation also exists in the GE, I have chosen three examples of historical narrative (two ancient and one contemporary) in which this association of love and personal relationships with worldly affairs and the social responsibilities of those in government appear intertwined. As I shall have the opportunity to show, the depiction of the women involved in these narratives as well as the link between their moral traits and social behavior do not vary from one historical era to another.

The first example is from an excursus in GE VI dealing with the Roman civil war of 49 BC. It is 54 BC and Pompey's fourth wife (Julius Caesar's daughter by his first wife Cornelia Cinna) Julia Caesaris has just died:

> Mas era Julia cuemo dixiemos dueña de tan grand bondat e tan entenduda en todo bien. que atodos los tenie enpaz deguisa que ningunos dellos no se mouien contra los otros. ni se atreuien aun a descobrir se a ello; nin fue mientre ella uisco. E desuiaua otrossi crasso en este desamor quanto el podie. e era como medianero entrellos. segund cuenta lucano. Mas enuiaran a Crasso a Asia & mataron le alla los turcos en torquia assi cuemo es ya dicho. E murio otro si Julia. E saliendo desta guisa de medio los desuiadores del mal. e podiendo los malos conseieros. fue Julio contra ponpeyo descubierta mientre.

> Yet Julia was, as we said already, a very fine lady who did much good in many different ways. And she had them all at peace so that none of them would move against the others or [even] speak in public about doing it. And this was so as long as she was in charge. And Crassus also mediated their animadversion as much as he could according to what Lucan says. But Crassus was sent to Asia and the was killed by the Turks in Turkey as we have already explained. And Julia died as well

---

284 Since Alfonso's knowledge of Latin is, according to the methodology followed in my literary and historical research, irrelevant to the purpose of this paper I have overlooked the issue of Alfonso's alleged competence in the Latin language. In the most recent biography of the Castilian king, H. Salvador Martínez categorically states: "Alfonso's capability to understand Latin is beyond reasonable doubt" (83). Martínez argues that Alfonso's sources (both direct and secondary) are so profuse and so meticulously translated that it would be almost impossible for somebody to supervise a work like the GE without knowing how to read Latin.

and thus both mediators were no longer there to prevent discord and since the evil advisers prevailed, Julius went after Pompey openly. (EE I, 43v)

Julia is, according to the GE, responsible for the period of stability that preceded the Roman Civil War. Her influence is opposed to the negative forces of strife caused by Caesar and Pompey's mutual aggressiveness and the meddling of the "bad advisers".

The second fragment I would like to use an example of this trend comes from Estoria de España (EE) and was adapted from Josephus's account (Antiquitates 18.66-80) during the reign of Tiberius involving the virtuous Roman matron Paulina who was seduced by the noble Decius Mundus:

> A aquella sazon contescio otrossi en Roma ell escarnio de paulina una dueña de muy grand linage que era muy fermosa a grand marauilla. & enamorosse della un señor de caualleros que auie nombre Mundo. & no la podie auer por falagos ni por algo ni por cosa quel prometiesse. E tanto andaua perdudo & coytado por ende que ouo a assacar un fecho much estraño. & fuesse pora los sacerdotes del templo de ysis. & dio les tanto de su auer. quel otorgaron que farien quanto el quisiesse. E el dixo les que fuessen a paulina & quel dixiessen. que el dios Añubis la uiera en el templo de ysis & mandaua que fuesse uelar y aquella noche. catanto se pagara de la su castidat. quel auie y adezir en poridat algunas cosas.

> And at the same time took place the evil deed of Paulina in Rome. She was a lady of a noble family who was astonishingly beautiful. And a lord of knights (a man of equestrian rank) called Mundo fell in love with her but he was not able to get to her either through his kind words and gestures or through anything that he could promise to her. And he was so lost and worried that he conceived a very strange plan. He went to the priests of the temple of Isis and he gave them so much wealth that they agreed to give him anything he wanted. And he told them to go to Paulina and to tell her that the god Anubis wanted to see her at the temple of Isis and he commanded that she spend the night [at the temple] praying. This was because the god was very impressed by her chastity and wanted to tell her a few things. (EE I, 70r)

Alfonso goes on to narrate how Mundus had Paulina believe that he was the god himself. After spending the night together at the temple, Mundus revealed to Paulina his ensnare and, in spite of her appeal to Tiberius, she had to live with the shame caused by her naive actions. Alfonso, as we have seen in this excerpt, is unambiguous about the victim's virtuosity and naivety. Paulina's brief characterization contrasts with the long description of Mundo's toils to try to win her favor and eventually take advantage of her: she is not but an innocent young lady who is exposed to the machinations of a conniving man who does not fall short of resorting to magic to get his way with her.

The third and last example refers to a relatively recent event at the time the

GE was compiled. Sancho III of Navarre (? – 1035) decides to end his confrontation with Vermudo of León by marrying his son, Count Fernando of Castile (Ferdinand I of León) (1017-1065), to Vermudo's sister Doña Sancha of León (1013-1067). This marriage had been arranged after a frustrated engagement to the heir to the throne of Castile (García Sánchez) who had been assassinated in 1029:

> Los altos omnes conseiaron a este Rey don Vermudo que diesse su hermana doña Sancha que era dueña muy fermosa por mugier a don fernando fijo deste Rey don Sancho. Et por el debdo que auie entrellos estonces; aurien paz unos con otros. Et fueron al Rey don Vermudo & fablaron le en este casamiento. & como serie carrera de paz & de amor por aqui; entrel & el Rey don Sancho de Castiella. El Rey don Vermudo teniendo quel conseiauan bien plogol. & otorgo gelo. & cumpliolo.

> The nobles advised King Vermudo to give his sister Lady Sancha (who was a very beautiful woman) to Don Fernando, son of King Don Sancho, as his wife. [This was done] so that they could have peace and put an end to the feud they had. And they went to King Vermudo and told him about this marriage and how it would bring peace and love from now on between him and King Don Sancho of Castile. King Don Vermudo, deeming the advice good, agreed and granted their wish to the nobles and kept his word. (GE IV, 128r)

The young princess is described as the source of political stability between Navarre and Leon in the same sense that Julia was perceived: they both are virtuous women whose qualities are needed to maintain peace and good government if the kingdom or the republic are to live in prosperity. The resemblance between the two descriptions is remarkable: "La Reyna doña Sancha su mugier nonf fazie de obras buenas menos que el Rey. Ca era dueña muy entenduda & muy prouechosa & acuciosa pora enderençar el Regno" ("Queen Sancha, his wife, did not trail behind her husband in good deeds. She was a very capable lady and very competent and skilled as a leader of the kingdom"; GE IV, 138v).

The second factor that makes the razones found in the Her. compatible with Alfonso's translation policy is the presentation of these women as "sufferers" whose voice has been displaced. My findings with regard to the presentation of the Ovidian heroines in the GE (chapter 2) and in European literature (chapter 3), combined with specific instances of exemplary women who are victimized by their lovers, confirm Haahr's opinion that this rhetorical and narrative strategy allowed authors such as Alfonso, his translators, and his editors, to express "their political and moral insurgency" (56).

I will firstly mention Phyllis' deception at the hands of his beloved Demophoon as an illustration of the gender discourse embedded in the Alfonsine Her. as well as in the rest of the GE. Alfonso does not introduce the story of Phyllis by means of a moral preface, this being, an important point of departure from the glossed Latin texts and the vernacular translations with which he must have been acquainted. Alternatively, he briefly explains how Semele (the daughter of Cadmus and Harmonia) after having become pregnant with Zeus' child, was befriended by Hera. The goddess planted the seed of doubt in Semele's mind so that she would ask

Zeus to reveal himself as a god in order to find out if her child was, in fact, the son of a god. Even though Zeus pleaded with her that she would not request this of him, he eventually acceded and Semele died like all those mortals who before her had beheld a god in all their glory.

This is Alfonso's conclusion to his recounting of the myth, which I already introduced in 1.5.1 when I discussed the topic of the speculum princeps character of Alfonsine historiography:

> Desta guisa que auemos dicho conseio Juno a Semele. Ca puede aprender qui quisiere de cuemo se deue guardar de conseio de enemigo a enemigo.en como Juno maguer que era de tan alta sangre & Reyna que non cato lealtat en dar conseio con grant uoluntad de matar su enemigo. Et crouo Semele a Juno & cuemo era Semele Niña et de poca edat & non sabie aun delos males del mundo. Ca por seer guisado & bien las jnfantes fijas de los Reyes & de las Reynas cuemo era Semele menos deuen saber de las rebueltas & delos males del mundo: que las otras dueñas nin las otras mugieres & mas simples deuen seer. Et mas sin engaño deuen otrossi seer los ombres contra ellas que non contra otras mugieres assi cuemo cuenta Ouidio en la epistola que Philles señora de Rodope enuio a Demophoon fijo de Theseo Rey de Athenas que non es nobleza nin grant sotilez enartar el uaron ala donzella quelo cree.

> And thus Juno advised Semele. Here those who may, can learn how one should not take advice from an enemy. Since Juno, in spite of being of noble stock and a queen, was not bothered by the wrongdoing involved in giving advice to Semele with the sole intention of killing her enemy. Semele believed Juno and since she was a girl and young and she was not aware of the evils of the world (something which is right, by the way, since the daughters of kings and queens such as Semele should be less aware of political discord and the evils of the world than all the other ladies and women and should be more naïve than them and men should be even less deceitful towards them than towards any other woman). That is what Ovid says in the epistle that Phyllis (Queen of Rhodope) sent to Demophoon (son of Theseus and king of Athens): that it is neither a noble achievement nor a lofty skill for a man to deceive a woman who believes his lies. (GE II, 115v)

Demophoon's lies are presented as an example of why women should not trust men and why men should not deceive women who, like Phyllis, are noble and thus naturally inclined to be gullible.

The Alfonsine interpretation of the "intended" meaning of the Her. is again in accordance with that of contemporary editors and translators of Ovid. This is part of the introduction to Phyllis' espistle to Demophoon in H. Isobell's Penguin English translation:

> But the transgression of Demophoon is not merely against ordinary decency. Phyllis is a princess, the daughter of a rich and powerful king,

and on her actions depend the lives and fortunes of her subjects. In introducing dynastic considerations of the utmost gravity Phyllis becomes very much more than a woman realizing to her shame that she has indulged in a foolish affair. As she writes this letter Phyllis is at last convinced that though she has – at least by her own lights – loved well, she has in fact loved most unwisely because she failed to recognize the possible consequences. Yet as she here presents herself as a simple woman swept off her feet by an experienced man of the world, the reader cannot help remembering that love is blind. The fault is not, however, entirely that of Demophoon. His deceit has its counterpart in the eagernesss of Phyllis to be deceived and finally to deceive herself. By the end of the letter, as she recognizes the horror of her folly, she is reduced to the absurdity of finding the world of nature, the wind and the waves, agents of trust and security. Indeed she finds them the agents of beneficent deities, while human-kind, especially Demophoon and her own subjects, are traitors to her needs and desires. If Phyllis can be said to have a dominant vice, it is the vice of credulity too easily adopted. She has not merely loved unwisely, she has in fact contrived her own downfall. The predictable treachery of Demophoon has been matched by her own foolish generosity. (10-11)

This emphasis on the gullibility of good-hearted women is present any time a hero takes advantage of the woman that is in love with him. This weakness of character is explained as a flaw inherent in the character of women whose good nature is taken for granted. This weakness is introduced as an excess of zeal, passion or dedication to the person loved. In the case of Penelope:

(O) Usque metu micuere sinus, dum victor amicum / dictus es Ismariis isse per agmen equis.

My heart throbbed with fear until you were said to have proceeded victoriously through the allied ranks riding on Ismarian steeds. (Her. I, 45-46)

(GE) Todo el coraçon me salto y me tremieron las entrañas quando me contaron como vençieras al rrey Reso y syenpre me temi la tu muerte fasta que me dixeron como te vieran con aquellos cauallos ysmarios del rey Reso de Traçia andar con tus conpañas en nuestras huestes.

All of my heart fluttered and my entrails trembled when they told me how you defeated King Rhesus and I always fear your death until they told me that they saw you riding with your men those Ismarian horses belonging to King Rhesus of Thrace together with our soldiers. (Ashton 4)

If we take into account the lenghty prologues that modern editions such as Isobell's feature, Alfonso's additions in the form of interpolated information that an informed reader would derive from the original do not appear to be as invasive.

These alterations have been carefully intespersed in order to account for the cultural gap that the translators sought to bridge. Although they are presented in a

variety of creative ways, most of them are concise. As the following example shows, the translators were careful to not alter the original beyond their philological concern. This is apparent in how the additions conform to the literary concerns of the translation as a whole:

> **(O)** Penelope coniun semper Ulixis ero.
>
> The wife of Ulysses will I ever be. (<u>Her.</u> I, 84)
>
> **(GE)** Y yo Penelope, syenpre sere muger de Vlixes y tal sallire de este mundo.
>
> And I, Penelope, will always remain Ulysses' wife and as such I shall depart this world. (Ashton 6)

The final example I have taken from the epistle of Penelope summarizes that which, based on the previous examples, could only be inferred. The following addition to the last two verses of the letter confirms what the individual instances of amplification just pointed out:

> **(O)** Certe ego, quae fueram te discedente puella, / protinus ut venias, facta videbor anus.
>
> I, no doubt, who was but a girl when you left, will now appear an old woman to you, this unless you should [haste your return] and come back at once. (<u>Her.</u> I, 115-16)
>
> **(GE)** Otrosy te enbio dezir de mi, ca yo, a quien tu dexeste donzella quando tu fueste asy como tu sabes, maguer que luego agora te vengas, semejar te ha que de otra hedad soy ya fecha, por que me non deues tu por eso desdeñar nin despreçiar, ca seyendo yo tan niña como tu me dexeste y podiera casar despues mucho alta mente, non lo quise fazer nin presçie ninguna cosa a par de ty nin del tu amor, y cuydando en ty en la tu salud, so yo tal qual querria me vieses, y sy quier luego me muriese, lo que sera muy ayna sy non vienes.
>
> I also send you word that I, whom, as you know, was a girl when you left, (so that if you were to come back now you would think that I am at a different stage in my life) and you are not to disdain or snub me. Because being a young girl as I was when you left me, I could have entered another more-convenient marriage. And I did not want to do it just like I did not ever think of anything else but you and your love, and how much I wished that you would be in good health. And in such state I am in that I wish that you could see me and after that, if need be, that I die, which is bound to happen soon if you don't return. (Ashton 7)

The translators' references to Penelope's young age echo in Hermione's letter to Orestes. After being betrothed to both Orestes and Neoptolemus, Hermione is forced to stay with Achilles' son. She soon resents Achilles' concubine, Andromache, whom she accuses of her unhappiness. Hermione is eventually rescued by Orestes in a particularly moving scene in the <u>GE</u>. The translators make sure to explain in detail

Hermione's feelings towards her mother (Helen) as she recalls how she did not recognize her as she came out to meet her when she returned to Sparta:

> **(O)** Obvia prodieram reduci tibi – vera fatebor – / nec facies nobis nota parentis erat.

> I came out to meet you at your return and (if truth be told), the face of my spouse was not familiar to me. (Her. VIII, 98-99)

> **(GE)** Quando quiso Dios que tu tornases del rrobo en que fueste lleuado a Troya e yo oy como vinies, tanto fuy alegre que el alegria non me cabie en el coraçon nin en el cuerpo, y salli muy alegre y la mas apuesta que yo pude a rresçebirte. Y verdad te dire: quando te vi que descubriste la tu cara para abraçarme y besarme como a tu fija y que avie tanto tienpo que nos non vieramos, verdad te digo que te non podia conosçer bien que tu fueses, tan pequeña me dexeste quando a ty lleuaron y despues cresçi yo lo que estonçes era.

> When God willed that you returned from the kidnapping as part of which you were taking to Troy, and when I heard that you were coming, I became so joyful that my heart and my whole body overflowed with joy. And I came out very joyful and dressed as beautifully as I could to greet you. And I will tell you the truth: when I saw that you revealed your face to embrace me and kiss me as though I were your daughter, and since it had been so long since we had seen each other for the last time, I tell you the truth when I say that I could not recognize very well who you were. That is how little I was when you left me, when you were taken away, and eventually I grew up from what I was back then. (Ashton 92)

Once again, far from being extemporaneous, the additions are in line with those found in the footnotes and prologues of modern editions. This excerpt is from Isobell's preface to Hermione's letter:

> Hermione contrasts her present situation as a young woman with her position as a child heartlessly abandoned by her mother. Later on, when her mother has returned to Sparta, Helen fails to recognize Hermione and Hermione realizes that indeed her childhood is over and her helpless, childlike passivity has been transferred to her adult life. (68)

In the case of Ariadne, the anguish she experiences while she awaits Theseus' return is explained through a comparison with the Bacchanals. The translation shows that the writer has captured the meaning in the original and has adapted into a rather pathetic representation emphasizing the emotional state of the protagonist:

> **(O)** Aut ego diffusis erravi sola capillis / Qualis ab Ogygio concita Baccha deo.

> Either I wandered alone, with disheveled locks, just as a Bacchanal inspired by the Ogygian deity. (Her. X, 48)

(GE) Estonces ya quando me ui de tod en todo desamparada & sola messe me mucho & bolui mios cabellos & començe a andar como loca a las unas & a las otras partes.

And then when I saw myself totally abandoned and alone I pulled and tore my hair and started to walk aimlessly all over the place like a deranged woman. (Ashton 117)

Similarly, Medea reproaches Jason for his forgetfulness and lack of respect for her. Again, the translation serves as an internal monologue:

(O) Vir meus hinc ieras: cur non meus inde redisti?

And as my husband you departed; how come that you did not return, though, as my husband? (<u>Her.</u> VI, 111)

(GE) Ca quando fuste de mi tierra e de mi casa, fuste por mi marido e muy pagado por muchos de algo que yo te fiz, ca a ty e a todas tus conpañas de quanto menester ouistes de todo vos conpli yo muy abondada mientre, que vos non fallesçio cosa que en el mundo fuese. E de aquellos nobles omnes e avn de los que se contigo vinieron, si mas quisieron de lo que menester auian e lo pidieron, mas ouieron, ca gelo di yo. E fiz lo: lo vno por conplir a ty en ello; lo al, por ganar los para mi en ello e fazer los mis adebdados.

When you departed my land and my house, you did it as my husband, and very satisfied with the treatment I dispensed you. I gave you and your cohort everything that you requested and I took care of you in every way so that there was nothing in the world of which you were short. And those nobles who came with you, if they wanted anything else on top of that which they had already had (and they asked for more of it) they had it in even a greater quantity since I gave it to them. And I did this both to do good by you and to win them over to my side and have them owe me something. (Ashton 66)

Deianira's epistle to Hercules is also filled with dramatic scenes in which the protagonist expresses her remorse for having caused her husband's death:

(O) Deprecor hoc unum per iura sacerrima lecti, /ne videar fatis insidiata tuis. / Nessus, ut est avidum percussus arundine pectus, / "Hic" dixit "vires sanguis amoris habet".

I only wish to plead in my own behalf, by the most hallowed ties of our union, that I may not be portrayed as having planned your death. It was Nessus who, having been wounded in the chest with an arrow, said "This blood is capable of conquering over love" (<u>Her.</u> IX, 146-50)

(GE) Mas mio marido e mio señor Ercules, por los santos derechos del nuestro casamiento que vos yo guarde muy fiel e muy casta mientre, vos ruego y vos pido merçed que si asi es que vos asi morides por el don que vos yo enbie, que vos non tengades que lo yo fiz por el vuestro casamiento que vos fazides con otra –pero que era la cosa deste mundo

que mas me pesaua—ni por ninguna otra razon yo lo sabiendo. Mas quando me vos encomendaste a Neso, el sagitario, a pasar del rio quando vos yuades de casa de mio padre conmigo e me leuauades a vuestra tierra, e se yua conmigo aquel traydor e le feristes vos con la vuestra saeta que enpoçoñaredes vos en el venino de la serpiente de Lerne, donde le salio tanta sangre por que cayo de muerte, dixo por que lo oyese yo e murieses tu por esta razon si verdad es: "En esta mi sangre a muy grand fuerça de cobrar amor."

Husband and Lord of mine, Hercules, in the name of the holy vows of our marriage which I very faithfully and chastely have kept: I beg you and I ask of you that if you should die as a consequence of the present that I sent you, that you do not think that I did it because of your wedding to another [woman] (although this was the one thing in this world that pained me the most) or for any other reason of which I was aware. Quite the opposite, when you entrusted me to Nessus, the sagittarius [centaur], as we were crossing the river (when you were going with me from my father's house and to you land) and that liar was with me, and you wounded him with your arrow (which you poisoned with the venom of Lerne the serpent [the Lernaean Hydra]) he bled so much (he had been mortally wounded) that he said (so that I would hear it and you would die) the following razon if it be true: "This blood of mine carries with it a great power to conquer over love." (Ashton 105)

The additions by the translator/editor point to a special interest in providing the audience with a contextualized excuse for Deianira's behavior. Again, in spite of her virtuosity, she has acted out of passion:

(O) Illita Nesseo misi tibi texta veneno. / Impia quid dubitas Deianira mori?

I sent to you a robe stained with Nessus' poison! Immoral Deianira, why do you hesitate to die? (Her. IX, 163-64)

(GE) Yo, quando lo oy temiendo lo que veya ya que teme toldrie otra, seyendo tu la cosa deste mundo que yo mas amo, tome vna camisa que traya, e metila en aquella sangre del sagitario enponçonando de la serpiente de Lerne que tu mataste e metiste en ella tus saetas. E non metiendo yo mientes a esto nin me guardando dello, quando vy que te casauas con otra de tan trand guisa –ca por las otras yo non daua ninguna cosa por que eran amigas e non mugeres casadas sinon esta sola--, enbiete aquella camisa. O cruel Daynira, ¿por que dubdas morir?

And I, fearing what I saw (that another woman would have you), being you the thing in this world that I love the most, took a robe that I had and soaked it in the blood of the sagittarius, thus poisoning it with the [blood of] the Lernaean Hydra whom you had killed and [whose poison] you had put in your arrows. And without thinking about this or even being aware of it, when I saw that you were getting married to another

[woman] with such public display (I didn't care about the other [women] since they were "friends" and not women married to you), I sent you this robe. Oh cruel Deianira, why do you hesitate to die? (Ashton 105)

Hypermnestra expresses a similar trend of thought to that of Deianira when she tries to explain to Lynceus how she felt on the night she was meant to kill him. The translators, again, fill in the narrative gaps with several dramatic scenes that provide a particularly visual description of the whole event:

> **(O)** Aut sic aut etiam tremui magis. Ipse iacebas / Quaeque tibi dederam vina, soporis erant. / Excussere metum violenti iussa parentis.

> Like this, or even more so, did I tremble. You were laying there quiet, and the wine you had been given had left you in a heavy-eyed mood. The orders of a violent father had left no place for fear. (Her. XIV, 41-43)

> **(GE)** Et tu yazies quedado durmiendo con los beueres de que te yo diera assaz por que durmiesses bien. & pudiesse yo contigo cuemo mis hermanas con los suyos lo que yo pudiera muy bien fazer si quisies. Mas pues que ati ui yazer aquedado. eche me yo. & yazie me otrossi queda. Et pues que pense en el fecho. & me uino en miente lo que mis hermanas fizieran en sos maridos & los auien ya muertos & me menbre otrossi delo que nuestro padre nos mandara & menazara que dese[re]darie & matarie alas que so mandado non compliessen alli aquella noche. perdi el miedo.

> And you lay asleep on account of the drink I had given to you so that you would be in a deep sleep and I could do to you as my sisters were to do to their husbands (and I could perfectly have done this if I had wanted to). But once I saw you lay there quiet I laid down, also quiet, next to you. And after thinking about my actions, and after I realized what my sisters had done to their husbands, and that they had already killed them (I remembered what our father had commanded us to do and his threat that he would disown and kill those of us who would not fulfill his command that night) I lost my fear. (Ashton 149)

We can conclude that the GE systematically establishes a relation between the editors and translators and the audience according to which the former arrange the estorias according to razones that are deemed pertinent and accurate. Both the fechos and the estorias must be told in accordance with and without altering the ultimate meaning of the razon that is sought by the original author. In the case of the Her., the razones about the human condition, morals, ethics, and love are, at all times, the focus of the translators who seek to reenact those semantic dimensions in the translation. The razon does not require, however, an excessive amount of exegetical work or moralization but is carried out, almost exclusively, in the poetic and literary realms. The readers are presented, thus, with a literary artifact that has been polished, assembled, and restored in order to shine with its intended (obviously

assumedly) original splendor.

5.2.2.3 <u>Estorias</u>, Folly, and Youth: Historical Narrative as Didactic and Philosphical Literature

Hypermnestra's epistle features several more of the explanations in the form of dramatic and introspective additions that I just mentioned. There is, however, one unique feature to this epistle and that is the inclusion of an explanation of <u>el fecho</u> or the whole story as found in some other narratives in the <u>GE</u>.

(O) Non faciunt molles ad fera tela manus.

Gentle hands are not suited to cruel weapons. (<u>Her.</u> XVI, 56)

(GE) Et las manos daquella que es aun cuemo uirgen & niña mansas & blandas; non pertenesçen pora crueles fechos.

De cuemo descrube ypermestra a lino so marido la razon del so casamiento & de sus hermanas & los otros hermanos del.
Diz ypermestra a Lino Agora te quiero descubrir todo el fecho. Et digo te que estos nuestros casamientos non se fizieran si non por razon desta uuestra muert. que por ninguña carrera non fallo nuestra padre cuemo pudiesse. con el uuestro & conuusco si non matando nos auos. Et nos por ninguña otra manera; guisar non lo pudieramos si non por esta. que fuemos nos ca(n)sadas conuusco. Et por ende dix yo ante desto que era yo aun cuemo uirgen por que aquella era la primera noche & la primera hora que yo nunqua a uaron llegara. Et tu eres aquell uaron que me ouo primero. & bien lo sabes tu; Et assi lo ordeno nuestro padre & lo puso & lo firmo conuusco que en la primera noche delas nuestras bodas. Uos matassemos. Desi torne a mi misma & razonando me cuemo quis razona con otra persona dix assi. ypermestra.

And the hands that are like those of a virgin-like lady or a girl (soft and tender), are not suited for cruel acts.

On how Hypermnestra explained to her husband Lynceus the <u>razon</u> of their marriage and also those of her sisters and his brothers.
Hypermnestra says to Lynceus "Now I want to relate to you the whole <u>fecho</u>." Let me tell you that [all] these marriages were arranged with no other purpose [in mind] than the slaying of you and your brothers. Our father could not find any way to defend himself from your father other than for us to kill all of you. And we were not able to achieve this by any other means than by marrying you. And thus I said before this happened that I had never been with a man and you were the man who had me first and you know that very well. And this is what my father commanded and had decreed [that we were to marry you] so that in our first night as husband and wife we were to kill you. After this, I came to my senses and reasoning with myself, as one would do with someone else I said to me the following things. (Ashton 150)

On this and many other instances the <u>Her.</u>, as well as any other part of this

world history involving women as protagonists, seems to have been intended as a speculum princeps for women as I anticipated in 2.5.1. As I argued then, the GE's translation of the Pyramus and Thysbe story addresses its protagonists as mancebiello and mancebiella ("young man" and "young woman") and expounds the story's moral dimension.

As I explained at the beginning of this section, the presentation of women as victims of social hierarchy is linked to both the representation of youth as an age of folly, and the importance of education and appropriate moral behavior for women. There are plenty of other instances in the GE and the EE where the protagonists' lack of maturity is responsible for their folly and further education as well as a careful study of history are recommended by the editors and compilers. I will now present two examples that symbolize this characterization of youth. The first one is a short literary biography of Horace:

> Et fueron estos çinco los libros que el conpuso. las odas . los sermones . las epistolas . las poetrias. otro libro que fue el qujnto de su obra. Et fizolos en esta manera & a esta entençion cato las hedades delos omnes. Et vio commo el omne des que viene A hedat de entender bien & mal & esto es en el comjenço de su mançebia. Conpuso ally libro de las odas en que fablo de las cosas & de las costunbres que conujenen a aquella hedat. Et por que pertenesçen alegrias & cosas alegres a esta hedat mas que a otra que omne aya puso le nonbre odas. Et esta palabra odas qujere dezjr tanto commo alegrias & tomola oraçio del griego que dize oda por canto o por cantar.

> And these were the five works that Horace composed: the odes [Odes], the sermons [Satirae], the epistles [Epistularum I and II], the poetics [Ars Poetica], and another book which was the fifth in his opus [Carmen Saeculare?]. And he wrote them in this manner and with this intention, as he comprehended the ages of man. And he realized how the man who begins to discern between good and evil was in the beginning of his youth. He wrote at that point the book of the Odes in which he spoke of the things and the customs that are pertinent to that age. And because joy and joyful things pertain to this age more than to any other, he named them 'odes.' And this word means the same as 'joys' and Horace took it from the Greek [language] in which 'ode' stands for song of for the act of singing. (GE Vr, 215v)

The compilers seem to echo Petronius' renowned remark on the Odes as displaying "curiosa felicitas" in his poetic diction (Satyricon 118).[285] They explain the

---

285 W. C. Firebaugh translates as "exquisite propriety" (123). De Quincey remarked on the meaning of Petronius' words in his comments on John Keats' poetry:

> The curiosa felicitas of Horace in his lyric compositions, the elaborate delicacy of workmanship in his thoughts and in his style, argue a scale of labor that, as against any equal number of lines in Lucretius, would measure itself by months against days. There are single odes in Horace that must have cost him a six-weeks' seclusion from the wickedness of

correspondence between Horace's age and his literary evolution. Horace's age determined the moral aspects of his poetry and thus his compositions reflect the interests and concerns imposed on him by his lack of maturity.

The next example comes from Cadmus' story. The young hero is characterized, precisely, by being an exceptionally mature young man, a fact that is specially lauded since he is also a prince responsible for the well-being of his people:

> Et departe sobre aquello que dixo ell Autor. que Cadmo non quiso yr contral conseio de Phebo o de Apollo o del sol. & diz. Que por qual quier destos tres nombres que se da a entender sapiencia. & que todos tres aquellos nombres del sol. que son dichos por una cosa. Et por aqui que se entiende el so saber & la su sciencia de Cadmo. Ca maguer que era en el comienço de su mançebia auie muy grant seso. & era muy apercebido en todos auenimientos & en todas cosas quel acaesciessen como deuie seer endereçado fijo de Rey & heredero. Et que con el so buen sentido fizo la cibdat Boecia o Thebas ca estos dos nombres ouo en aquellos campos o fallo yaziendo la uaca de que dixiemos.

> And he [the exegete] explains regarding the story of Cadmus that he did not wish to act against Phoebus', or Apollo's or the Sun's advice. And he explains that by any of these three names 'Wisdom' is meant, and that they are all three names of the sun which are meant instead of another thing, and in this case, it is understood [that they mean] Cadmus' aptitude. Because although he was in the early stage of his youth, he had great understanding, and was very aware of the consequences and implications of things and knew that no matter what the situation he had to behave as a responsible and consequent son of a monarch and heir [to the throne]. And he used his good sense to found the city of Boeotia or Thebes, both of which names it had in those fields where he found that cow grazing as we told you already. (GE II, 48v)

5.2.3 Conclusions

Both male and female protagonists, including heroes and heroines in the GE and the EE are, thus, portrayed differently according to their age and maturity. Whereas mancebiellas are almost always associated with folly or innocence, those traits are only shown in some particular dueñas in the Her. and elsewhere in the GE and the EE. In the Her. (also known as El libro de las dueñas) the protagonists are invariably referred to as dueña ("adult noble woman") thus emphasizing both their noble origin as well as their supposedly mature intellect which can only be altered by an abusive or irresponsible partner.

The inclusion of the Her. in the GE must be approached taking into account the special care that the translators took to explain anomalous situations in which women were either abused by malevolent men or in a position of power and responsibility. Women are warned of the folly of youth and the dangers on innocence in similar terms to those used when a man (usually an immature prince or regent). Unlike their male counterparts, however, women are portrayed as being naturally

---

Rome. (271)

304

inclined to persist in their innocent or irresponsible behavior.

5.3 THE <u>HEROIDES</u> IN THE <u>GENERAL ESTORIA</u>: OPERATIONAL NORMS

As I explained in 1.1.2, operational norms are enacted every time a translation is performed. When these decisions can be identified as following a particular pattern among many other possible we say we have identified a translation norm. As Hermans points out, norms "act as constraints on behavior, foreclosing certain options while suggesting others" ("Translational" 161).

In 5.2 I analyzed the existence of several preliminary translational norms at play in the translation of the <u>Her.</u> in the <u>GE</u>. With regard to directness of translation, I argued that the Old Castilian translation is independent from any other extant vernacular translations and was carried out directly from the Latin original. Moreover, the contrastive analysis of four of these translations showed that the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u> were the most accurate and most reliable of all of them. This rigorous, philological translation was next analyzed with regard to the translation policy at work in the <u>GE</u>. I linked the choice of the <u>Her.</u> as a work containing, <u>fechos</u>, <u>estorias</u>, and <u>razones</u> found in <u>auctores</u> and <u>poetae</u> worth incorporating to the <u>GE</u>. The major component of this policy was identified as the appreciation of cultural capital and its representation in the Alfonsine opus.

The first indication of a set of norms at work is the choice made by the translators to transpose one (among many other available texts) from one language to another (preliminary norms.) These rules reveal how certain authors, schools, genres, and literary movements were perceived by the translators as well as how those concepts and categories were understood by those in charge of the translation process. As we will see in the case of the <u>GE</u>, Ovid's depiction as a <u>poeta</u> first and an <u>auctor</u> second is an example of the usefulness of this method since the compilers described <u>poetae</u> such as Ovid by comparing them to contemporary troubadours:

> E trobaron del [Hercules] sus sabios, commo fazen avn agora en el nuestro tienpo que troban de los que son buenos e de los que non, de commo fazen agora cad vnos segunt que fazen e lo meresçen. E los sus clerigos sabios de los gentiles contaronlo despues en latin, e pusieronlo en libros que fizieron deso e de otras cosas; mas dixeronlo tan encubierta mente, e por tales razones e tan estrañas que semeja fablilla.

> And their wise men made verses about Hercules, as it is still done in our time when they sing about those who are good and those who are not, according to what each one does and what each deserves. And the men of letters of the Gentiles told it in Latin afterwards, and they set it into writing in the books that they made about those and other things. But they said it all in disguise and according to such <u>razones</u> and so wondrous that they resemble <u>fablillas</u>. (<u>GE</u> II, 2, 37a)

Norms "act as constraints on behavior, foreclosing certain options while suggesting others" (Hermans, 1991, 161)

5.3.1 Matricial Norms: Selecting <u>Heroides</u> and Translating More than the "Text"

Matricial norms as those operational norms which govern the fullness of the translation. In order to account for these norms, we must take for granted the

existence of segmentation as a contingent act in the process of translation. The concept of segmentation assumes that the translators approach the source text as a unit that is made up of smaller semiotic units with a specific semantic or semiotic function in the structure of meaning enacted in the text.

Since the organization of the text in the target language is contingent on that found in the source text, matricial norms regulate to what extent and how material in the source text is transposed to the target text. Matricial norms study the omission or inclusion of semiotic material with regard to its: 1) **existence** (whether that material is present); 2) **textual segmentation** (how that material is segmented); 3) **location** (how those segments are arranged, and 4) how much **information** (as well as its intended and actual purpose) is provided by the translator/translation with regard to all these norms (i. e. the translation is literal, free, abridged, etc.)[286]

5.3.1.1 The Heroides and the Canones Chronici ("Phaedra Hippolytum amat"): The Place of the Ancient Hero(ine) in Medieval History

As I showed in 2.4.2, Jerome's translation of Eusebius of Caesarea's Chronici canones constitutes the structural basis of the events compiled in the GE. There is, however, a total lack of consideration for this work in the literature that has focused on Ovid and his works as featured in the GE. In this section of chapter 5.3.1, I will look into Eusebius' and Jerome's treatment of the heroines as historical characters whose deeds were synchronized with those of Biblical characters in their account of the history of the world. The following is Jerome's translation of Eusebius prologue in which he explains the nature and purpose of his compendium. I quote at length in order to emphasize the similarities in the historical approach of Eusebius and Alfonso:

> Mosen gentis Hebraeae, qui primus omnium prophetarum ante adventum Domini Salvatoris divin as leges sacris litteris explicavit, Inachi fuisse temporibus, eruditissimi viri tradiderunt: ex nostris, Clemens, et Africanus, et Tatianus; ex Judaeis, Josephus, et Justus, veteris historiae monimenta replicantes. Porro Inachus quingentis annis Trojanum bellum antecedit. Ex ethnicis vero, impius ille Porphyrius in quarto sui operis libro, quod adversum nos casso labore contexuit, post Mosen Semiramim fuisse affirmat, quae apud Assyrios CL ante Inachum regnavit annis. Itaque juxta eum DCCC pene et L annis Trojano bello Moses senior reperitur. Cum haec ita se habeant, necessarium duxi veritatem diligentius persequi. Et ob id in priori libello quasi quamdam materiam futuro operi omnium mihi regum tempora praenotavi, Chaldaeorum, Assyriorum, Medorum, Persarum, Lydorum, Hebraeorum, Aegyptiorum, Atheniensium, Argivorum, Sicyoniorum, Lacedaemoniorum, Corinthiorum, Thessalorum, Macedonum, Latinorum, qui postea Romani nuncupati sunt. In praesenti autem, stylo eadem tempora contra se invicem ponens, et

---

286 As Shuttleworth & Cowie point out "these categories are of course not clear-cut, as for example the moving of a section of text from one location to another is tantamount to an omission in one place and addition in another (103).

singularum gentium annos dinumerans, ut quid cuique coaetaneum fuit, ita curioso ordine coaptavi. Neque me fugit, in Hebraeis codicibus dissonos aetatum annos inveniri, plusque vel minus, prout interpretibus visum est, lectitari: sequendumque illud potius, quod exemplariorum multitudo in fidem traxit.Verum utcumque quis volet computet, et reperiet Inachi temporibus, quem primum Argis regnasse aiunt, patriarcham Hebraeorum fuisse Israelem, a quo duodecim Judaeorum tribus Israelis vocabulum sortitae sunt: Semiramin autem et Abraham contemporales fuisse, manifestum est. Nam Moses, licet junior supradictis sit, omnibus tamen, quos Graeci antiquissimos putant, senior deprehenditur, Homero scilicet et Hesiodo, Trojanoque bello, ac multo superior, Hercule, Musaeo, Lino, Chirone, Orpheo, Castore, Polluce, Aesculapio, Libero, Mercurio, Apolline, et caeteris diis gentium, sacrisque, vel vatibus, ipsius quoque Jovis gestis, quem Graecia in arce divinitatis collocavit. Hos, inquam, omnes quos enumeravimus, etiam post Cecropem Diphyem primum Atticae regem fuisse convincimus. Cecropem autem praesens historia Mosi coaetaneum ostendit, et antecedere Trojanum bellum annis CCCLXXV. (PL XXVII, 33C)

The most learned men – Clement, and Africanus, and Tatian from among ourselves, and Josephus and Justus from among the Jews, all while compiling books of ancient history – have related that Moses, of the Hebrew nation, who first of all the prophets before the advent of the Lord Savior expounded the divine laws in the sacred texts, lived in the time of Inachus. Again, Inachus precedes the Trojan War by 500 years: indeed from among the pagans, that impious man Porphyry in the fourth book of his work which he with pointless labour concocted against us, affirms that Semiramis, who reigned over the Assyrians 150 years before Inachus, lived after Moses. And so, according to him, Moses is discovered to be older than the Trojan War by almost 850 years. When these things are taken into consideration, I have considered that it is necessary to search after the truth more diligently, and on account of this in a prior book I have noted in advance for myself, as a sort of source for a future work, all the dates of kings, of the Chaldeans, Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Lydians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Athenians, Argives, Sicyonians, Lacedaemonians, Corinthians, Thessalians, Macedonians, and Latins who afterwards were called Romans. In the present book, however, putting each set of dates in turn in a column side by side, and counting the years of each of the nations, in order that this was contemporary with that, I have thus joined them together in careful order. Nor has it escaped me that differing numbers of years are to be found in the Hebrew books, either more or less, depending on how it seemed to the translators; and I would rather follow that which a great number of copies have guaranteed. But let anyone who wishes calculate it: he will find that, in the time of Inachus who they say first ruled at Argos, Israel was

patriarch of the Hebrews, from whom the twelve tribes of the Jews drew the name of Israel. Morever, it is clear that Semiramis and Abraham were contemporaries: for Moses, although he might be younger than the aforementioned, nevertheless is understood to be older than all of those whom the Greeks consider most ancient: that is, Homer and Hesiod, and the Trojan War, and much older than Hercules, Musaeus, Lynceus, Chiron, Orpheus, Castor, Pollux, Aesculapius, Liber, Mercury, Apollo, and all the other gods of the nations, and sacred figures, and oracles, even the deeds of Jupiter, whom Greece placed at the summit of divinity. I say that all of these whom we have enumerated, we prove that they also lived after Cecrops Diphyes, the first king of Attica. Moreover the present history shows that Cecrops is coeval with Moses and precedes the Trojan War by 350 years. (R. Pearse)

Eusebius and Jerome (as well as Alfonso) considered all the characters and stories contained in this excerpt as historical albeit room was made for elaboration on the part of the "pagan" historians.[287] At any rate, the three authors understand Abraham and Semiramis, or Moses and Hercules, as characters belonging to the same realm of historical reality.

The characterization of ancient mythological heroes as historical figures whose deeds were transformed into fantastic events is essential to understand Alfonso's approach to the Her. A search for the heroes and heroines featured in the Her. thus becomes necessary in order to establish whether they also fell into the category of historical or, at least, semi-historical characters.

This analysis sheds light on the process of selection of the Her. as a whole, and the 11 translated epistles in particular. Since the operation of matricial norms determines the extent to which material is omitted (and therefore incorporated), to a translation, this approach can allow us to further understand the criteria applied by the translators and compilers in their reenactment of the history of the world.

This is a list of the heroes and heroines featured in Jerome's Canones:

1574 BC: "Hercules primus fertur Antaeum luctae vicisse certamine" ("Hercules is said to have defeated Antaeus for the first time in a wrestling contest"; 57).

1467 BC: "Danaus per L filias L filios Aegypti fratris interfecit, evadente solo Lynceo, qui post eum regnavit. Neque vero multitudo filiorum incredibilis videri debet in Barbaris, cum tam innumerabiles habeant concubinas" ("Danaus carried out the slaughter of Aegyptus' fifty sons through his fifty daughters, from which only Lynceus escaped, who would later on become king. Nobody should think that it was

---

287 Jerome uses expressions such as "ut dicitur" in instances where he seems to depart from the historical character of a particular deed. Thus he writes that in 618 BC "Arion Methymnaeus clarus habetur, qui a Delphino in [portum] Taenarum dicitur transportatus" ("Arion the illustrious Dionysiac poet lived; he was taken to Cape Tainaron by a dolphin according to what they say"; 171).

impossible for the Barbarians to have so many children since they had just as many concubines"; 69).

1443 BC: "Apud Argos sacerdotio functa est Hypermnestra Danai filia" ("Hypermnestra, Danaus' daughter, was appointed to the office of priesthood among the Argives"; 71).

1270 BC: "Argonaturaum historia" ("The story of the Argonauts"; 87).

1262 BC: "Ea quae de Hypsipyle memorantur in Lemno" ("Those things happened which are narrated of Hypsipyle in Lemnos"; 89).

1261 BC: "Ea quae de Sphinge et Oedipode et Argonautis dicuntur, in quibus fuerunt Hercules, Asclepius, Castor et Pollux" ("Those things happened which are narrated of the Sphynx and Oedipus, and the Argonauts (among whom Hercules, Asclepius, Castor, and Pollux were counted)"; 89).

1246 BC: "Hercules consummat certamina, Antaeum interficit, Ilium vastat" ("Hercules completed all his labours; he killed Antaeus and laid Troy to waste"; 91)

1235 BC: "Medaea Colchensis ab Aegeo discedit" ("Medea, the Queen of Colchis, departed from Aegeus"; 91).

1232 BC: Tandem factum est, ut a Theseo in palaestra vinceretur, ob quod Athenienses pueri tributaria poena liberati sunt" ("Finally it happened that the Minotaur was defeated by Theseus so that the Athenians were released from their forced tribute of young men and women"; 93).

1222 BC: "Theseus Helenam rapuit, quam rursus fratres receperunt, capta matre Thesei" ("Theseus carried off Helen, and her brothers [Castor and Pollux] rescued her taking with them Theseus' mother [Aethra]"; 93).

1219: Theseus cum Athenienses prius per regionem dispersos in unam civitatem congregasset" ("Theseus unified all the dispersed Athenian tribes for the first time" 93).

1210 BC: "Theseus Athenas profugus derelinquit" ("Theseus abandons Athens as aoutlaw"; 95).

1200 BC: "Phaedra Hippolytum amat" ("Phaedra loves Hippolytum"; 95).

1199 BC: "Hercules in Libya occidit Antaeum" ("Hercules killed Antaeum in Libia"; 95).

1196 BC: "Hercules cum in morbum incidisset pestilentem, ob remedium dolorum se jecit in flammas" ("Hercules falls sick from poisoning and in order to relieve the pain he throws himself into the fire"; 97).

1191 BC: "Alexander Helenam rapuit" ("Paris carried off Helen"; 97).

1182 BC: "Menestheus moritur in Melo regrediens a capta Troja, post quem Athenis regnavit Demophoon" ("Menestheus died in Melos, where he had ended up after the fall of Troy. [In his stead], Demophoon became king of Athens"; 97).

1178 BC: "Ante Aeneam, Janus, Saturnus, Picus, Faunus, Latinus in Italia

regnaverunt annis circiter CL" ("Before Eneas, Janus, Saturnus, Picus, Faunus, and Latinus had been kings in Italia for some one hundred and fifty years"; 101).

1175 BC: Mycenis post necem Aegisthi Orestes regnavit annis XV" ("Orestes reigned over Mycenae for fifteen years after he killed Aegisthus"; 101)

1172 BC: Ea quae de Ulysse fabulae ferunt . . . scribit Palaephatus in _Incredibilium_ libro I, Sirenas quoque fuisse meretrices, quae deciperent navigantes" ("In which the fables of Ulysses took place . . . Palaephatus the Egyptian wrote in book I of the Incredibilium [Περὶ Ἀπίστων] that the syrens were prostitutes who lured sailors"; 101).

The list of characters mentioned in the Canones bears some resemblance to the list of Her. included in the GE. When arranged in accordance with Jerome's chronology the list looks like this:

XIV (Hypermnestra to Lynceus) (GE II, 99a) (BETA Manid 1067)

X (Ariadne to Theseus) (GE II, fol. 319a) (BETA Manid 1067)

IV (Phaedra to Hippolytus) (GE II, fol. 337b) (BETA Manid 1067)

IX (Deianira to Hercules) (GE II, 226r) (BETA Manid 1064)

VI (Hypsipyle to Jason) (GE II, fol. 241r) (BETA Manid 1064)

XII (Medea to Jason) (GE II, fol. 246r) (BETA Manid 1064)

V (Oenone to Paris) (GE II, fol. 266v) (BETA Manid 1064)

II (Phyllis to Demophoon) (GE II, fol. 323r) (BETA Manid 1064)

VIII (Hermione to Orestes) (GE IIIS, 74c) (BETA Manid 1074)

I (Penelope to Ulysses) (GE IIIS, 80d) (BETA Manid 1074)[288]

If we take into account the compilatory method followed by Alfonso according to which the cohesiveness of the story takes precedence over chronological matters, the order of the epistles as found in the Chronicon and the Her. appears to be very similar. Hercules, Jason, Hypermnestra, Lynceus, Deianira, Hypsipyle and Medea are

---

288 Each epistle is found in the following manuscripts:

Epistle I: (S) and T, GE III, Epistle II: (N), P, R, and 0, GEII, Epistle IV: (K), I, L, M, N, and 0, GE II; Epistle V: (N), P, and 0, GE II; Epistle VI: (N), P, and 0, GE II; Epistle VIII: (S) and T, GE III; Epistle IX: (N), P, and 0, GE II; Epistle X: (K), I, J, L, M, N, O, and 0, GE II; Epistle XII: (N), P, and 0, GE II; Epistle XIV: (K), I, J, M, O, and 0, GE II.) (Ashton x-xi).

Ashton's 'K' corresponds to BNM 10237 (BETA Manid 1067), copied 1300 – 1400; 'N' corresponds to San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Monasterio, O.I.11 (BETA Manid 1064), and 'S' corresponds to San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Monasterio, Y.I.8 (BETA Manid 1074) copied 1400 – 1500. I have followed Brancaforte's reviewed foliation of the manuscripts.

the most archaic characters and thus are featured in the first three epistles. Paris, Oenone, Phyllis, and Demophoon also appear, almost in the same ordered as featured in Jerome's account. Finally, Ariadne, Theseus, Phaedra, Hippolytus, Penelope, Ulysses, Hermione, and Orestes are featured last, also in correspondence with the chronological tables. Epistles I and VIII, which clearly belong to the characters believed to have lived after all the others by Jerome, only appeared in a fifteenth-century version of <u>GE</u> III.

In conclusion, the <u>Her.</u> featured in the <u>GE</u> correspond exactly to the "historical" characters described by Jerome. The authority of one of the four Latin Fathers or Doctors of the Western Church is thus paralleled in the <u>GE</u> with Ovid's account of the <u>Her.</u> Both sources provided information regarding these characters and their place in the history of the world that the Alfonsine scholars sought to piece together. None of the characters featured in the 11 <u>Her.</u> translated or mentioned by Alfonso is absent from Jerome's <u>Chronicon</u> while Briseis, Achilles, Canace, Macareus, Laodamia, Protesilaus, Leander, and Hero coincidentally are not mentioned by Jerome. This does not mean that the Alfonsine scholars only featured those epistles found in the <u>Chronicon</u> but rather that both authors shared a view of history according to which, as Eusebius explains in Jerome's translation, Apollo was as much of a historical character as Moses or any of the characters featured in the <u>Her.</u>

In terms of the matricial norms governing the adaptation, selection, and segmentation of Ovid's work, I argue that the <u>Her.</u> found in the <u>GE</u> were chosen, as opposed to those left out, with regard to their historical relevance in Alfonso' project for a comprehensive reenactment of the historical past of the world. Moreover, the omission of epistle III (featured in the <u>HAC</u> and therefore accessible to Alfonso) and double epistles XVI, XVII, XVIII, and XIX (all mentioned explicitly in the <u>GE</u>) shows that not every source available to Alfonso was deemed fit for the <u>GE</u>. Since the work was abandoned before its completion and we ignore the extent to which it was completed, it is difficult to pose a hypothesis regarding these omissions. Whatever the case, those <u>estorias</u> and <u>razones</u> which were thoroughly researched and documented, such as Hercules' or Medea's, featured the corresponding <u>Her.</u> which was seen as a reliable historical source in its essence.

5.3.1.2 The <u>Heroides</u>: Information Gone Missing?

The second factor that has to be studied with regard to the <u>Her.</u> as independent texts is that of what parts of the letters were considered historical facts. As we saw in 5.2.2, historic sources were regarded by the Alfonsine compilers as self-contained <u>estorias</u> with a varying degree of poetic and rhetorical elaboration. I also argued that Ovid is not any <u>auctor</u> but a <u>poeta</u> whose method for the preservation of knowledge required its codification (<u>razones</u>) in a literary manner (mainly allegory.) However, as I have pointed out on several occasions, unlike the contemporary Latin originals and some of the early vernacular translations of the <u>Her.</u>,

Alfonso's letters contain minimal commentary with the exception of a few introductory remarks.[289] In this section, I will continue to discuss how each letter

---

289 The translators and compilers introduce commentary in other ways including two large interpolations, and several amplifications incorporated intradiegetically as

constitutes a textual segment for the Alfonsine translators. Moreover, I will also be looking into the paratextual information found in other vernacular translations (5.2.1) as well as in the Latin glosses and paraphrases found in contemporary Latin manuscripts in order to explain Alfonso's omission of this information as an enactment of a matricial norm.

The three types of omitted information I will be looking into are 1) commentaries in the form of introductions or summaries of the moral and historical contents of the epistles; 2) <u>accessus</u> both in Latin and the vernacular that provide a systematic explanation of the nature and purpose of the <u>Her.</u>, and 3) editorial comments regarding the process of adaptation and translation of the <u>Her.</u> and other translations. Since all of these processes are interconnected in the articulation of matricial norms, I will first provide the data regarding all the patterns found in these three categories in order to offer my conclusions in 5.3.1.2.3b y making use of all the data collected in these sections.

5.3.1.2.1 Omitted Commentaries and <u>Accessus</u>

As I pointed out in 5.3.1 and 2, matricial norms address the omission of material found in the source text (existence), the rearrangement of sections of text (location), the actual fragmentation of those textual subunits (segmentation), as well as any authorial reflection on this process. In the case of the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u>, as I have mentioned on several occasions, glosses, <u>accessus</u> and other commentaries found in contemporary vernacular translations such as those analyzed in 5.2.1 have been omitted. Here are several paradigmatic cases of the type of exegetical information found in those commentaries. The first one consists of two side-comments found in LG's Italian translation of <u>Her.</u> I ("Penelope Ulixi"):

> Dicesi che gelosia viene da amore; e altri dicono che viene da follia. E al ver dire, gelosia viene da amore; ma tuttavia, secondo cio che questo libro dice nel cominciamento, egli é leale e diritto amore, e si è uno folle amore; e dell'uno e dell'altro amore può venire gelosia. E se alcuni sono gelosi di folle amore, a dritto riguardo tale gelosia viene tutto d'amore: ma per ciò che l'amore viene tutto da follia, sì si dice che gelosia ne viene simigliantemente. Ma a ciò non consento io; ma d'amore vienci la gelosia, e l'amore dalla follia. Ciò intendo del folle amore. Alcuno dice che gelosia viene da follia, per ciò che gelosia è follia; però che l'uomo non vuole lasciare avere altrui quello che non puote avere. E perciò dice Penelope che, quando le ricorda della 'nferma castitá del suo marito, si ne viene in gelosia. Questa gelosia viene di buono amore, quando la donna ama il suo diritto segnore, siccome Penelope fece Ulixes, con ciò sia cosa che assai ci si puote assegnare di buone ragioni, siccome diremo.

> Some say that jealousy is born out of love; and yet others say that it comes from madness. But, if truth be told, jealousy comes from love

part of the translation. I will discuss now just the implications of the lack of prologues or epilogues and will refer to the other features later on in this chapter.

although, as this books says at the beginning of it, that is a loyal and righteous love, as well as it is a crazy love. And from either type of love jealousy can arise. And if someone is jealous because of mad love, it is rightly said that that jealousy comes from love: but when all love arises from madness, then similarly jealousy comes. But I disagree with this: for it is from love that jealousy comes, and love comes from madness. This is what I think about mad love. Some say that jealousy comes from madness because jealousy is a type of madness. on account of which men do not want to let others have what they can't. And because of this, Penelope, when she recalls her husband's frail chastity, she is overwhelmed with jealousy. This jealousy arises from good love, when the woman loves her rightful man [lord], as it is the case with Penelope's love for Ulysses, in which circumstance one can indeed provide good arguments, as we will show. (Del Lungo 420)

Here is a second comment even farther removed from the text:

Femina crucciata non à senno, femina crucciata è diavolo, femina è più che tigro o altro serpente, femina non á alcuno temperamento, femina é sanza senno, femina per natura é cagione dógni male. E peró diremo come la piue nobile cittade del mondo a quel tempo fue distrutta per femina; siccome conta al cominciamento di questo libro dinanzi [Perchè Troia fue distrutta].

A woman who is tormented does not reason, she is a devil; women are worse than a tiger or a serpent; women have no emotional balance; women do not possess reason; women are, by nature, the source of all evil. And thus we will explain how the most remarkable city in the world at that time was destroyed because of a woman as it is told at the beginning of the book that follows [Why Was Troy Destroyed]. (Del Lungo 421-22 fn. 5)

These should be compared with Filippo Ceffi's less intrusive, and yet moralizing, editorial and exegetic comments. This is the prologue to his translation:

Incomincia il Prologo sopra le Pistole d'Ovidio Nasone di Campagna, il quale fu sottilissimo ed ottimo poeta.
Acciò che tu intendi e sappi apertamente l'arte e la scientia di questo libro, sappi che Ovidio il fece per correggere e ammaestrare li giovani uomini e le giovani pulzelle che lascino il disonesto amare. Epperò induce e racconta molti esempli d'amore, onesti e disonesti: gli onesti, perchè si seguiscano; li disonesti, perchè si scifino. Comincia adunque da Penelope, figliuola del Re Icaro, la quale fue esempio di castitade, e scrisse questa lettera a Ulisse suo marito, il quale fu il più savio Principe di tutta l'oste di Troja, confortandolo che tornasse a lei, sua legittima sposa e leale amante. Ma poco le valse; perchè il savio e desideroso Principe, vogliendo divenire sperimentato del mare, anni dieci dopo la distruzione della famosa Troja andò per lo mare navicando, e, senza tornare, finìo sua vita.

Here begins the prologue to the epistles of Ovid Naso from Campagna, who was a very subtle and optimal poet.

In order for you to understand and openly know the art and the science in this book, know that Ovid made it in order to reprimand and teach young men and young women about the perniciousness of dishonest love. And thus he proceeds to tell the stories of many examples of honest and dishonest love: the honest ones so that we may follow them, the dishonest ones, so that we will avoid them. He begins with Penelope, the daughter of King Icarus, who was an example of chastity, and she writes this letter to her husband Ulysses, who was the wisest ruler in the whole Trojan War, comforting him so that he will return to her, his lawful wife and loyal lover. However, it did not avail her much since the wise and whimsical ruler, seeking to become experienced in the sea, spent ten years after the destruction of Troy sailing the seas, and, [eventually] ended his life without ever returning [home]. (Bernardoni 1)

These historic contextualizations and moralizing comments stem from the accessus tradition that I introduced in 4.1.3. The following is a typical instance of an intentio and utilitas accessus found in a manuscript of the Her. as edited by G. Przychocki in "Accessus Ovidiani":

Actoris [sic] intentio restat condemnare / Amores illicitos, fatuos culpare / Et recte ferventium mentes condemnare [commendare]: / Utilitas nostra sit iustum pignus amare.

The intention of the auctor is to condemn illicit loves by blaming those who are foolish and commending those whose minds are rightly inflamed. The usefulness resides for us in loving those contracts that are fair. (117)

This is a more thorough summary of the intention or purpose (intentio) of the author. Again, it should be contrasted against the use of the Her. in the GE, not only as moral "tales", but as historical documents:

intentio sua est legitium commendare conubium vel amorem, et secundum hoc triplici modo tractat de ipso amore, scilicet de legitimo, de illicito et stulto, de legitimo per penelopen, de illicito per Canacen, de stulto per Phillidem.

Ovid's intention is to laud legitimate conjugal life and love and thus he considers three types of love that are legitimate love, illicit love, and foolish love. [And Ovid discusses] legitimate love through Penelope, illicit love through Canace, and foolish love through Phyllis. (Huygens 30)

The third and final Latin accessus sample I want to present is found in Hexter's compilation. The source manuscript is Clm. 19475 and it dates back to the twelfth century. Hexter highlights the testimonial value of the paratextual information found in the manuscript in spite of its low philological quality. He

explains that some of the annotations have been made by inexpert students who plagued them with errors that were then subject to the deletions, and corrections of more-expert hands (sometimes in the form of additional parchment "proto-post-it notes" sewn in to the original commentary) (143-44). Hexter argues, and very rightly so, that "it is precisely these aspects of the manuscript and commentary that provide the best evidence for its place in the medieval schoolroom and which give us new insights into the ways the Epistulae heroidum were studied" (144).

I have already provided similar examples in other sections of my dissertation but this one is particularly relevant to our current discussion. It deals with Orestes' and Hermione's background information and it serves as an introduction (more than as a moral comment or interpretation) to Her. VIII:

> Horestes fuit filius Agamemnonis et Clitmnestre, qui duxuit uxorem Hermionem filiam Menelai et Helen desponsam sibi a Tindaro auo ipsius suo dum pater in obsidione Troie moraretur. Pater uero ipsius Menelaus hoc nesciens in expeditione pepigit illam Pirro filio Achillis et Deidamie, eamque postquam ab obsidione rediit, Horesti ablatam Pirro tradidit. Que cum a Pirro teneretur, mandauit Horesti in hac epistula ut eam liberaret a potestate Pirri. Vnde commendatur quia legitimum affectabat uirum, et ostendat auctor non esse mirum si male contigit illicite amanti, cum male contigisset legitimum uirum affectanti.

> Orestes was the son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra to whom Hermione, (the daughter of Menelaus and Helen) was betrothed by their grandfather Tyndareus while her father was away taking part in the siege of Troy. Menelaus was unaware of this and, while he was fighting in the war, he promised her in marriage to Pyrrhus, the son of Achilles and Deidamia. After the siege ended, she was fetched by Pyrrhus, and then abducted by Orestes and bequeathed by Pyrrhus. And while she still was being held by Pyrrhus, she sent Orestes this epistle asking to be freed from his dominion. In this letter the auctor shows and reveals how Hermione desired her legitimate husband and how it is no wonder if bad things befall illegitimate lovers when bad things can happen even to those whose love is legitimate. (Hexter 261)

The didactic method followed in the compilation of the GE shares many traits, in principle, with the aim of those commentaries and notes. These notations offer us evidence of a dialogue between different echelons of the medieval intellectual ladder in a way that resembles the dialogue established in the GE between the ladinos (unschooled) and the clerigos (scholars) who seek to espaladinar (explain, relate) the fechos, razones, estorias, and esponimientos found in the accounts of the Jews and the Gentiles.

Although these moralizing comments and introductory accessus have been omitted in the Alfonsine Her., there are some remnants of their accompanying paratextual apparatus that can help us infer the matricial norm at work behind these omissions. As C. Fraker has argued, other than aetiologia and transitio, the Alphonsine histories lack a marked rhetorical character and focused more on

explaining (sometimes with the help of etymology) and expounding their sources than in making them appear rhetorically articulate ("Rhetoric" 100-102). The only exceptions are four extra-diegetic interpolations found in epistles IV, X, VIII, IX, and XIV. Firstly, in Phaedra's letter to Hippolytus,

> Fabla aqui Phedra a Ypolito en razon de los grados de los parentescos sobre los casamientos por dar le carrera que non dubde de fazer ell lo que ella quisiere; e dizle assi.

> Here Phaedra tells Hippolytus about the degrees by affinity and consanguinity to egg him on to not hesitate to do what she wishes him to do; and she says as follows. (Ashton 41)

This brief comment does not add to the meaning or possible interpretations of the content it precedes. There are two other instances in which the interpolations can be considered marginal or irrelevant: those of epistles X and VIII. The first of these two is a series of three brief remarks found in <u>Her.</u> X before v. 111 "Aqui torna Adriagna a mal traer el lecho & al sueño que la tuo presa & dixo" ("Here Ariadne goes back to cursing her bed and relates the dream that overcame her"); v. 113: "Desi dixo a los vientos" ("And afterwards she spoke to the winds"), and v. 115: "Despues desto dixo otrossi contra la su mano" ("After this she said this to her other hand") (Ashton 15-16). A final editorial interpolation is found in Oenone's letter to Paris, v. 135: "Oenone, por que la non pudiese Paris contrallar a las razones de las maldades de Elena que ella mostraua, dixo desta guisa de si misma" ("Oenone, so that Paris would not be able to refute Helen's wrongdoings as she had exposed them, said the following about herself"; Ashton 57).

The fourth note also seems to be an editorial remark left behind in the translation or revision process. In it, the editor summarizes Deyanira's case as being an apologia of her faithfulness in which she denounces Hercules' behavior. She blames their different status and her husband's fame for the troubles in which she finds herself:

> E agora en esta razon por que dixo Daynira que era bien casada fabla a Ercules en razon de casamiento diziendole o el vno es alto e el otro baxo, que el casamiento desigual quando se faze no es bueno; e otrosi la fermosura que daño tiene a las veze a la fermosa.

> And now in this <u>razon</u>, since Deianira argued that she was properly married, she talks to Hercules about marriage and explains to him that when one [of the spouses] is of high [stature] and the other one is not, that a marriage that is not well-matched, when it is consummated, it is not a good thing; and, also, beauty has in it the ability to harm that who [like me] has it. (Ashton 100)

Since all these extradiegetic interventions add little or no meaning to the text it is difficult to establish what was their intended purpose. The fifth and final case, however, offers us valuable insight into the habitus of the translators and their

understanding of literature and poetics.[290] It is an interpolation located between verses 55 and 56 of Hypermnestra's letter to Lynceus. This is the only instance of a substantial addition that is made part of the original letter:

> *De cuemo descrube ypermestra a lino so marido la razon del so casamiento & de sus hermanas & los otros hermanos del.*
> Diz ypermestra a Lino Agora te quiero descubrir todo el fecho. Et digo te que estos nuestros casamientos non se fizieran si non por razon desta uuestra muert. que por ninguña carrera non fallo nuestra padre cuemo pudiesse. con el uuestro & conuusco si non matando nos auos. Et nos por ninguña otra manera; guisar non lo pudieramos si non por esta. que fuemos nos cansadas conuusco. Et por ende dix yo ante desto que era yo aun cuemo uirgen por que aquella era la primera noche & la primera hora que yo nunqua a uaron llegara. Et tu eres aquell uaron que me ouo primero. & bien lo sabes tu; Et assi lo ordeno nuestro padre & lo puso & lo firmo conuusco que en la primera noche delas nuestras bodas. Uos matassemos. Desi torne a mi misma & razonando me cuemo quis razona con otra persona;. dix assi. ypermestra.

> *On how Hypermnestra describe to her husband Lynceus the <u>razon</u> of their marriage and that of her sisters and that of his other brothers.*
> Hypermnestra says to Lynceus "Now I want to explain to you the whole truth about what happened. Let me tell you that [all] these marriages were arranged with no other purpose [in mind] than the slaying of you and your brothers. Our father could not find any other way to defend himself from your father other than for us to kill all of you. And we were not able to achieve this by any other means than by marrying you. Thus, I said before this happened that I had never been with a man, and you were the man who had me first and you know that very well. And this is what my father commanded and had decreed [that we were to marry you] so that in our first night as husband and wife we were to kill you. After this, I came to my senses and reasoning with myself as one would do with someone else I said to me the following things. (Ashton 150)

If we take into account that Alfonso states on several occasions that the <u>poetae</u> take <u>fechos</u> and <u>estorias</u> in order to conceal <u>razones</u> (which could themselves arise from the <u>fechos</u> and the <u>estorias</u>), this unique addition becomes even more important. The translators take on the role of Hypermnestra and provide an additional segment to the estoria they believe has already been altered by Ovid.

The implications of this and other acts of literary appropriation in the Alfonsine <u>Her</u>. with regard to our understanding of the character and evolution of

---

290 A small editorial annotation is also found in verse 72 of this epistle. It introduces the next part of the letter although no elaboration, introduction or summary follows: "De cuemo muestra ypermestra aso marido Lino que muriera el si lo ella quisiesse" ("On how Hypermnestra shows her husband Lynceus that he would have died if she had willed it; Ashton 102").

the "medieval mind" are enormous. Firstly, it confirms my argument that the translators were capable of understanding the full poetic, psychological, and even philosophical extent of the Ovidian letters. This interpolation, as well as all the other acts of translation analyzed in this chapter, shows that these medieval translators understood Ovid more thoroughly than we would be willing to accept. If we take this act of appropriation and we put it in the context of all the other translation norms that I have analyzed, the translators' approach to the Her. emerges as a highly developed one in terms of the understanding of Ovidian poetics:

> The poetics of the Heroides suggest, more simply, that new windows can be opened on stories already completed. Ovid's narrative prowess is evident in the respect he shows for the traditional script. Each epistle is written in the 'blank space' of a narration already fully and densely composed, sometimes also dramatically fast-paced, and action-packed. The spectacular ability of the poet has something surgical about it. It selects the most favorable point, cuts into it, then closes it back up without leaving a trace. Much is achieved by playing on the distance between the single witness, the author of the letter, on the one hand, and the wider points of view traditionally associated with a particular plot on the other. By manipulating the gap between the two, one can induce ironic side-effects in the reader's consciousness, which can, for instance, target the limitations of the witness, or even ironically undermine the values connected with the tradition, or do both at the same time. (Barchiesi, Speaking 31)

As acts of translation like this interpolation show, the Alfonsine translators understood Ovidian poetics almost in the same way that Alessandro Barchiesi, one of the leading contemporary critics of Ovid's works, characterizes it.

The second implication of this small act of appropriation is a corollary of the first one. If we accept a developed poetic conscience as part of the translators' habitus, we must also be willing to re-think some of our preconceptions with regard to the "medieval mind." One example will be sufficient to illustrate my point:

> Medieval humanism was the God-directed humanism of the naïve human subject whose consciousness had not passed through the stages in its evolution which led to its present stage of self-awareness. The medieval mind had little or no acquaintance with the multiplicity of highly developed cognitional signs through which modern man thematizes his experience of himself and his world in art, science, and history. Medieval man responded to God directly on the religious level. He had not yet become aware of the richness, diversity, and relative autonomy of God's created world and of the aesthetic and intellectual response demanded by its created goodness and beauty (G. A. McCool 151).

This and other instances in which the Alfonsine translators show awareness of Ovid's complex and masterful literary art imply that their understanding of literature, intertextuality, and subjectivity was highly developed. As I will show in

the following section of this chapter, the translators rejected contemporary exegetical methods and discarded moralizing interpretations of the Her. in yet another act of literary and poetic fidelity to the Ovidian epistles.

5.3.1.2.2 Omitted Introductions and Summaries

The summaries that are featured in the vernacular translations and in the original Latin manuscripts are similar in style and content to the glosses and accessus analyzed in the previous section. As I have already shown, the accessus, commentaries, prologues and epilogues are not exclusive entities and often, for example, an accessus summarizes the content of the epistle before analyzing its moral or historical meaning. One example from FC's prologue to Her. II, will suffice at this point to show how the remnants of these summaries that are found in the Alfonsine Her. are distant relatives of these convoluted amalgamations:

> Incomincia il Prolago sopra la Pistola che Filis, figliuola del Re Ligurgo, mandoe a Demofonte. Ovidio racconta in questa Pistola come Filis, figliuola del Re Ligurgo di Tracia, amoe per amore Demofonte, Duca d' Atene, il quale, vegnendo dalla vinta città di Troja, arrivoe ne' suoi porti col suo navilio, e fecegli grande onore; concedendo a lui liberamente le sue ricchezze; facendogli ancora lieta cortesia della sua propria persona: ed egli le promise di tornare a lei siccome a sua ligittima sposa innanzi che la luna rinovellasse più che una volta. Ma già era la luna rinovellata quattro volte, quando Filis gli mandò questa lettera. E certo invano; imperciò che prima fue visitata dalla crudele morte, che'l vano amante Demofonte la tornasse a vedere.

> Here begins the prologue to the epistle that Phyllis, the daughter Lycurgus, King of Thrace, sent to Demophoon. In this epistle, Ovid tells the story of how Phyllis, the daughter of the King of Thrace, Lycurgus, loved Demophoon, Prince of Athens, passionately. And this Demophoon, upon his return from the defeated city of Troy, arrived in her harbor with his ships, and was greeted with great honors. She offered him all her wealth without any limit and even offered him the pleasure of her own person. And he promised her that he would return to her as though she were his legitimate wife before the moon cycle were once completed. However, four moon cycles had passed already when Phyllis sent this letter. And it was indeed all in vain since she would be visited by cruel death before the vain lover Demophoon would ever set eyes on her again. (Bernardoni 9)

I have chosen this particular prologue because it features all of the characteristics of which remnants can be found in the editorial notes that accompany some of the Alfonsine Her. These notes are featured in epistles VI, XII, V, X, IV, and XIV and they are presented according to their order of appearance in the GE with the exception of XIV which constitues, as I will explain, an especially interesting case.[291]

---

291 Dido's epistle (only found in the EE) does not contain any comments, accessus, glosses, or summaries.

The first remark is an epilogue at the end of Hypsipile's letter to Jason already mentioned in 4.6.5:

> E desta guisa que auedes oydo en esta epistola se razono Ysifile, regna de la ysla de Lepnos, contra su marido Jason de Peloponeso. E despues desto si respondio Jason a la reyna Ysifile o de commo fue su fecho, non lo fallamos mas en las estorias. Agora dexamos aqui las razones de la reyna Ysifile, e tornamos a las de Medea e de Jason e de los sus fechos.

> And thus, as you have heard, did Hypsipile (Queen of the Island of Lemnos) explain her <u>razones</u> against her husband Jason from the Peloponnesus. And after this, whether Jason replied to Queen Hypsipile or how her <u>fecho</u> ended up, we could not find in any other <u>estorias</u>. At this point, we leave Queen Hypsipile's <u>razones</u> and we return to those of Jason and Medea and their <u>fechos</u>.[292] (Ashton 76)

This notice confirms what has been said about the historical character of the original letters. It also emphasized the <u>fecho</u>-<u>estoria</u>-<u>razon</u> structure that I explained in detail in 5.2.2. The most important feature of the commentary, however, is, again, the absence of any type of editorial interference or explanation of the original text. The editors introduced a similar, shorter note at the end of epistle XII that mentions this attitude explicitly:

> E aqui se acaba la epistola que Medea enbio a Jason. E non le dixo en ellamas de quanto nos auemos contado aquí, segunt qu elo cuenta Ouidio en el <u>Libro de las Dueñas</u>.

> And at this point ends the epistle that Medea sent Jason. And she did not tell him in it anything else but that which we have told you here, according to what Ovid writes in the <u>Book of the Ladies</u>. (Ashton 137)

Again, the contrast between the vernacular introductions and commentaries as show in FC's introduction to Phyllis' epistle are remarkable. The Alfonsine compilers not only omit those paratextual <u>additamenta</u> but seem to be making a statement with regard to the independence of the "text." Here is a further example, in this case, from Ariadne's epistle, that reinforces this philological approach to the letters:

> Estas de fasta aqui son quantas razones la Infante Adriagna enuio dezir

---

292 Other than in Ovid, Hypsipyle's story is found in Hyginus (<u>Fabulae</u> 15, 74), Valerius Flaccus (<u>Argonautica</u> II, 72-427), Appollodorus (<u>Bibliotheca</u> I, ix, 17; II, vi, 4) Apollonius Rhodius (<u>Argonautica</u> I, 609-909) and, more interestingly, Statius (<u>Thebaid</u> V, 28-721) and Lactantius Placidus (<u>Commentarii in Statii Thebaida</u> IV, 717 and V, 613-675). We can infer that the Alfonsine compilers did not have access to any of these sources although Statius' <u>Thebaid</u> was used, as Kiddle has shown, in the case of the story of Thebes ("Prose Thebes"). The amount of information involved in the GE undoubtedly called for several translators and editors to work separately and, as this case shows, sometimes even in isolation from one another's translations editions, and revisions.

daquellas riberas en su epistola al Infant Theseo fijo del Rey Egeo de Athenas. Et acabasse aqui aquella su epistola.

And at this point end the <u>razones</u> that Princess Ariadne sent from those shores in her epistle to Prince Theseus, son of King Aegeus of Athens. And here ends her epistle. (Ashton 121)

The comment found at the end of <u>Her.</u> V is even shorter: "E aqui se acaba la epistola que la dueña Oenone enbio al infante Paris" ("And here ends the epistle that Lady Oenone sent Prince Paris"; Ashton 52).

A fifth case is that of Phaedra's letter to Hippolytus, which is preceded by the first of the two long introductory summaries found in the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u>:

Et en esta sazon enamoros Phedra de ypolito so añado dont fizo Ouidio una epistola que sie en el libro de las dueñas. que enuio Phedra a esse ypolito sobre razon desos amores. Et la epistola dize en esta guisa. & la razon que deue y uenir primero: es esta.

De las razones que Phedra enuia dezir a Ypolito so añado en su epistola.
La Infante Phedra fue fija del Rey Minos de Creta. & leuola de casa de so padre theseo quando mato al Minotauro como es contado todo esto. Et Theseo ante desso fuera casado con la reyna de las almazonas segunt que ellos casauan. Et essa reyna ouo nonbre Ypolita. & fizo en ella theseo un fijo & dixieron le ypolito. Et pues que theseo & la reyna ouieron fecho este fijo. Murio la reyna. Et ypolito finco en casa de so padre. & crios y con ell. & salio grant mançebo & fremoso. & de buenas mañas. Et aquella reyna Phedra su madrastra enamoros del. & tanto era quexada ende que lo non podie sufrir assi que ouo dello a fazer su epistola en que se le enuio descrubir & dezir gelo. Et en esta epistola dize ouidio desta guisa.

And it was then that Phaedra fell in love with her husband's son Hippolytus and Ovid composed an epistle about this story in the Heroides which Phaedra sends to Hippolytus about the <u>razones</u> for their love. And the epistle says as follows and the <u>razon</u> that should come first is also as follows:

On the <u>razones</u> that Phaedra sent to Hippolytus (her husband's son) in her epistle.
Princess Phaedra was the daughter of King Minos of Crete. Theseus took her from her father's home when he killed the Minotaur as we have already explained. And Theseus, before that, was married to the queen of the Amazons in accordance to their laws of marriage. And this queen was called Hippolyte and Theseus bore her a child and they named him Hippolytus. And after Theseus and the queen had this child the queen died and Hippolytus came to live with his father. And he grew up under his care and became a fine, handsome young man with many skills. And that queen Phaedra, his stepmother, fell in love with him and so much so that she could not bear it any longer and decided to write a letter in which she told Theseus all about her love and

described it to him. And in this epistle Ovid says as follows.

The fact that Phaedra's letter was considered among the most reproachable by medieval moralizers adds to the importance of this strictly historical and philological commentary. Here is an excerpt from <u>FC</u>'s prologue and the introductory summary found in Clm 19475 (twelfth century):

> **(FC)** Ovidio racconta in questa Pistola che Fedra mandò a Ippolito; nella quale intende d'ammaestrare gli amanti che non amino disonestamente siccome fece Fedra: ov'egli induce molti esempli non liciti; tra i quali induce l'amore d'Europa, del cui parentado fue la detta Fedra.

> Ovid recounts in this epistle that Phaedra sent to Hippolytus in which he intends to instruct the lovers on how they ought not love dishonestly as Phaedra did. In it, Ovid provides many examples of illicit love among which can be counted that of Europa's love affair, with whom Phaedra was related by blood. (Bernardoni 30)

> **(CLM)** Phedra filia Minois coniunx Thesei fuit. Que priuignum suum Ypolitum filium Thesei et Ypolite Amazonum regine adamauit. Qui cum causa uenandi assidue in siluis, raro domum rediens moraretur illique tandem regresso prae pudore palam loqui non auderet, mittit ei hanc epistulam orans eum ut consenciat sibi quam Venus and amorem incitat.

> Phaedra, the daughter of Minos was Theseus' wife. She loved Hippolytus, her stepson, the son of Theseus and Hippolyte, the queen of the Amazons. Since Theseus spent so much time hunting in the woods he rarely stayed at home until finally, one day, he returned and Phaedra, since she did not dare speak to him in public, sent him this epistle beseeching him to join her in sharing the love that Venus had aroused in her. (Hexter 242)

Each of these examples exhibits a distinct feature that is found in most of these commentaries. Whereas the first example contains information that is absent in the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u>, the second offers an example of the approach adopted by Alfonso in deeming the <u>Her.</u> historical letters although the moralizing element makes it appearance at the end of the introduction.

The last example (<u>Her.</u> XIV) is even more telling one when it comes to the differences featured by these four vernacular translations and their Latin counterpart source texts. Again, despite its length, the prologue does not include any moral guidance. Moreover, as it was the case in Phaedra's epistle, in spite of the moral questions posed by the content of the story, Alfonso does not remark on the crimes committed by the daughters of Danaus but introduces the story to the audience in brief and concise terms:

> Andados diez años del señorio de Othoniel, juyz de Israhel, andauan los fechos de la infant Ypermestra, fija del rey Danao de Argos de Grescia; onde es dicho ante desto, en las <u>razones</u> del libro Numero, que fue en

tiempo de Moysen en el cabo de quando el fue cabdiello del pueblo de Israhel, como Danao, rey de Argos de Grescia, ouiera cinquaenta fijas e Egisto, so hermano, cinquaenta fijos otrossi. E cuemo casaran estos todos en uno, e mataran las dueñas todas a sos maridos en una noche por mandado de so padre, saluo ende Ypermestra sola que non mato al suyo, e cuemo la prisiera el padre por que non fiziera cuemo las otras lo quel el mandara, e la echara en fuertes prisiones; e yaziendo ella alli en la prision conpuso su carta e su epistola que enuio a su marido Lino a que ella non quiso matar.

Ten years into Othniel's (Judge of Israel) [First judge after Joshua's death, "Judges" 3:7-11] reign, the deeds of princess Hypermnestra (the daughter of King Danaus of Argos in Greece) took place. It is said in "The Book of Numbers" that, before this event, that it was in the era of Moses, at the end of his time in power as chief of the people of Israel, when Danaus, king of Argos in Greece, had fifty daughters and Aegistus, his brother, another fifty sons. And all of them married each other, and the princesses killed all their husbands on the same night as commanded by their father, with the exception of Hypermnestra who was the only one who did not kill her spouse. And since her father imprisoned her for not following his orders as her sisters had, he put her in an isolated cell. And while she languished in that prison she wrote her letter and her epistle which she sent to her husband Lynceus whom she chose not to kill. (Ashton 106)

And then remarks at the end:

Et acaba aqui ypermestra su epistola. Mas si la saco dent Lino o si non: non lo dize Ouidio que cuenta esto al, pero dizen las otras Estorias que la saco dent so padre, el rey Danao, e despues de sos dias que fue ella reyna e so marido rey daquel reyno de Argos, assi como lo contaremos adelant en so logar o conuiene.

And at this point ends Hypermnestra her letter. Whether Lynceus freed her Ovid does not tell, but other estorias say that her father, King Danaus, freed her. And after this incident she became queen and her husband king of the kingdom of Argos, as we will tell you further in the GE where it is appropriate. (Ashton 108)

When contrasted with Hypsipile's commentary, these final remarks shows how, in both instances, the editors looked for additional sources to continue the story although in the case of Hypsipyle, as they remarked, no further information could be gathered.

5.3.1.2.3 Editorial Testimonies and Conclusions

There is no question in this case that among factors that influenced the choice of Her. as part of the GE, the didactic purpose of the Alfonsine historiographic enterprise was key. I have already provided enough evidence of how Alfonso conceived the GE as a compilation aimed at preserving historic knowledge so that it could be used by his contemporaries and successors.

The interest and admiration for Rome and Greece and, in the case of Alfonso, many other civilizations, is in direct relation with the "renaissance" character of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries as famously depicted in Bernard of Chartres' (ca. 1080 – ca. 1130) dictum that, in relation to their ancient counterparts, medieval scholars were nothing but "nanos gigantium humeris insidentes" ("dwarves perched onto the shoulders of giants"; John of Salisbury, Metalogicon, III, 4). Alfonso explains in detail in the prologue to the EE:

> Los sabios antigos que fueron en los tiempos primeros & fallaron los saberes & las otras cosas; touieron que menguarien en sos fechos & en su lealtad. si tan bien nolo quisiessen pora los que auien de uenir; como pora si mismos. o pora los otros que eran en so tiempo. E entendiendo por los fechos de dios que son espiritales. que los saberes se perderien muriendo aquellos que lo sabien & no dexando remenbrança. por que no cayessen en oluido. mostraron manera por que los sopiessen los que auien de uenir empos ellos. & por buen entendimiento coñoscieron las cosas que eran estonces. & buscando & escodriñando con grand estudio; sopieron las que auien de uenir. Mas el desden de non querer los omnes saber las cosas. & la oluidança en que las echan depues que las saben; fazen perder mala mientre lo que fue muy bien fallado & con grand estudio. & otrosi por la pereza que es enemiga del saber & faz alos omnes que non lleguen a el. ni busquen las carreras por quel coñoscan; ouieron los entendudos & quel preciaron sobre todas las otras cosas. el touieron por luz pora alumbrar los sos entendimientos & de todos los otros que lo sopiessen; abuscar carreras poro llegassen a el yl aprendiessen. & despues quel ouiessen fallado que nol oluidassen. E enbuscando aquesto; fallaron las figuras de las letras. & ayuntando las fizieron dellas sillabas & de sillabas ayuntadas fizieron dellas partes. E ayuntando otrosi las partes fizieron razon. & por la razon que uiniessen a entender los saberes. & se sopiessen ayudar dellos. & saber tan bien contar lo que fuera en los tiempos dantes; cuemo si fuesse en la su sazon. & por que pudiessen saber otro si los que depues dellos uiniessen los fechos que ellos fizieran. tan bien como si ellos se acertassen en ello. & por que las artes de las sciencias & los otros saberes que fueron fallados pora pro de los omnes fuessen guardados en escripto por que non cayessen en oluido & los sopiessen los que auien de uenir.

> The wise men from antiquity who lived in the beginning of times discovered knowledge and everything else: they were afraid that they would shrink in their deeds and their loftiness and this they did not want for either those who were to follow, or themselves, or their contemporaries. And thus, they became aware (under God's spiritual guidance) that knowledge would die with those who possessed it and no memory of it would then be left by which it could be salvaged from oblivion. [The wise men of antiquity] devised a way by which those who were to come after them would acquire this knowledge. And out of

their great sense of comprehension they understood the things that were taking place then and, by searching and investigating zealously, they [eventually] devised those [things] which were [also] to come. However man's disdain for acquiring knowledge (and the oblivion into which they throw it after they have acquired it) erased (with bad consequences) that which was discovered (for a good purpose) with great toil. Moreover, laziness (that enemy of Knowledge that stops men from reaching him and striving to find a way to know him) was the reason why wise men and those who held knowledge in high regard above everything else decided to use light to lighten up the ways of Knowledge so that everybody else could find the way to get to know him and not forget after having done so. And as they pursued this goal, they discovered the figures of the letters, and by putting them together they made syllables, and by joining syllables they came up with parts, and by joining parts they made up razones. And it is through the razon that they came to understand all knowledge so that they could use it in all its variations to their advantage, and so that they could tell what happened in times of old as though they had lived then, and so that they could also know what deeds would those coming after them perform as though they were certain of them. And so the techniques of the sciences and all other forms of knowledge were kept in writing so that they could be preserved for the good of mankind and thus not be forgotten and allow those who were to come to be aware of them. (EE I, 1v)

From this perspective, the Her. constitute part of that cultural lore that Alfonso wanted to preserve. The historical content of the Her., once devoid from the integumentum, allegory, and other interpretatio applied to it by Ovid the poeta, provided Alfonso with a unique opportunity to explore the history of these characters and their role in the stories of the past he so much valued.[293] It is similarly important to note that the discipline of history is understood by Alfonso as a science and as such it can be defined as the pursuit of knowledge in a specific field of nature in order to better comprehend the forces at work in the world and in society. Within this context, the absence of any mentions to Christian eschatology presupposes an essentially secular character in the workings of history.

In the GE God is the designer and ultimate overseer of nature and history and

---

293 J. A. Dane has described integumentum in the following terms in the case of William of Conches' Commentary on Macrobius:

> The purpose of integumentum, then, is not to disguise heretical opinions nor to save the pagan authors in the interest of aesthetics. It serves, rather, an epistemological function. Like Scriptural allegoria, the exegetical integumentum coordinates related fields of thought but defines them as systems of language . . . Integumentum is a logical tool for describing those relations and for exploring the dichotomy true/false on the basis of language itself (215).

the other sciences are humankind's tools to understand and better interact with the forces that govern nature. Alfonso explains himself when he clarifies the difference between the disciplines of physics and metaphysics:

> Onde este nombre Metafisica segund este esponimiento tanto quiere dezir como saber de las cosas que son sobre la natura. & este es el saber de la teologia de dios & de todas las cosas quel pertenecen en su natura. Aun dan los sabios otro esponimiento a este nombre. Metafisica de que dize assi que Meta es en el griego tanto como .de. en el latin & aun en el lenguage de Castiella. & fisis otrossi en el griego tanto otrossi como fisica en el latin. & fisica en el lenguage de castiella. Ende segund este desponimiento Metafisica tanto quiere dezir como el saber de la natura & de las naturas. & deste saber esto es de las naturas de las cosas; fue aristotil el mas sabio clerigo deste mundo.

> By metaphysics it is here meant the knowledge of anything that is above the natural world and these are the disciplines of the theology of god [sic] and of all the things that belong to his nature. And the wise men provide yet another explanation of this name. Metaphysics comes from the Greek word 'meta' meaning 'de' in Latin and also in the language of Castile, and 'fisis', also a Greek word, meaning 'fisica' in Latin and 'fisica' in Castilian. And this second explanation of metaphysics says that it consists of the knowledge of nature and the natures of different things. And Aristotle was the wisest man of letters that there ever was in this world in this discipline of knowledge, this is, in the nature of things. (GE IV, 193r)

We can conclude that the choice of the Her. is mainly, as we have seen Alfonso explain himself, due to Ovid's auctoritas as an auctor and poeta who was part of those ancient wise men who sought to use literature as a vehicle through which knowledge could be preserved, transmitted, decoded, and used by distant members of different societies. As I shall explain with regard to the following preliminary norm, Alfonso's didactism is philological in essence since it strives to provide his audience with literary texts which in themselves will provide the reader with enough information to make the razones contained in them apparent.

In conclusion, neither the lengthy moral accessus nor the extended glosses found in ms. Gaddiano rel. 71 as a paratextual explanation of the characters involved in the Her. are featured in the Alfonsine translation. This fact, coupled with the accuracy and thoroughness of the Alfonsine translation (which I will examine next) are evidence of the advanced degree of translation deployed by those men of letters responsible for these adaptations . Moreover, the integration of a whole paratextual apparatus in the intradiegetic level of the Her. indicates not only advanced narrative skills in one of the first vernacular translations of a classical poetic text but also a deep understanding of the exegetic work involved in the translation and interpretation of texts with a literary value. The translators not only sought to convey the information found in the original but also strove to do it in a manner that would be consistent with the poetic content of the Latin original. Their translation techniques are all but invasive and seek to offer a thorough translation while

preserving the fluidity and poetic content of the original.

Alfonso's introduction to the estorias of the heroines does not include any moral condemnation of the story or any para-textual alterations that may disguise or alter the contents of the story as found in Ovid. This faithfulness to the original content and meaning of the story contrasts with that found in the accessus printed and commented on, among others by B. Nogara ("Di alcuni"), Gustavus Przychocki (Accessus), Heinrich Sedlmayer ("Beiträge"), R. B. C. Huygens (Accessus), E. H. Alton ("Ovid"), F. Ghisalberti ("Mediaeval"), J. B. Allen ("Commentary" and "Eleven"), and R. J. Hexter (Ovid).

In order to contextualize the importance of this matricial norm at play in the GE, I would like to quote an excerpt that explains the issue at stake in the words of the Alfonsine compilers. The discussion deals with the five books of Esdras (Ezra) and explains in detail the nature and extent of editorial intervention in the GE. The compilers argue that their role is that of neutral literary agents in the transposition of meaning from one language to another:

> Otrossi ensayamos de coger en vn libro las cosas que fallamos de jason cireneo en los cinco libros Et aujemos cuydado desto asmada la muchedumbre delos trabaios & la graueza que aujen los que querien acometer los cuentos delas estorjas por la muchedumbre delas cosas por que los del grant estudio que lo pudiessen aprender de cuer mas ligera mjentre & ayan ende desta guisa prouecho todos los que por y leyeren. Et otrossi a nos que esta obra começamos por razon de encortarla en que tomamos trabaio non ligero mas estudio de uelares & de sudor. Et nos fuemos a estos lazerios de grado assi como los que buscan el manjar que buscan como uayan enpos la uoluntad delos otros por auer la gracia de muchos otorgando por cierto la uerdat de cada vnos dellos auctores. Et nos otrossi estudiaremos de yr en pos la forma dada de encoger las razones. Ca assi como viene el maestro que faze la casa auer cuydado de toda la fechura. Et al que prueua de buscar otrossi todas las cosas que son conujnjentes a fermosamjento assi son todas estas cosas de asmar & catar en nos. Ca el coger & el entendimjento & ordenar & egualar las razones & buscar las partes delas quales deuen seer al ayuntar dela estoria conujene & yr el encoger empos el encogimjento delas palabras & escusar algo delo que se puede seguir en las cosas. esto al que razon quiere ementar conujene. Et daqui adelante começaremos a contar nuestras razones. & del prologo abonde lo que auemos dicho. Ca loca cosa es de tener se en el prologo & tener se en la estorja ante que llegue omne a la hystoria abondar en palabras & en razones ademas en el prologo & encoger se en la estoria diziendo menos de su derecho.

> We also attempted to compile in one book the writings of Jason of Cyrene that we found [originally] in five [books]. And we have procured to do so by dividing up the great amount of work involved and the gravity of those who wanted to condense the accounts found in the estorias given the enormity of the things [comprehended] so that

those in the great schools (the <u>studia generalia</u>) would be able to learn it by heart in a more lightly manner and thus all those who could read it may benefit from it. And also so that we could benefit from it since we began this task in order to abridge it, and it took us not a small amount of work but rather many sleepless nights and much sweat. And we undertook this pain willingly like those who seek the reward of a meal strive to act according to the will of others so that they will be regarded favorably by agreeing with what each one of them [the auctores] says [?]. And we will thus strive to find the proper way to abridge the <u>razones</u> found in the text [and in doing so] we will act just like an architect who builds a house and watches over the whole process. And the things we are in charge of summarizing and organizing are like those which are entrusted to those responsible for finding the things that are needed to embellish the house. [In our case these things are] to find the real meaning and to put in order and level the <u>razones</u>; to look for all those parts of which each <u>estoria</u> should be made up, and to choose those things which ought to be abridged, and to leave out anything which can be understood from the context; all of these things are part of the work of anyone who intends to amend <u>razones</u>. And from this point forward we will begin to tell our <u>razones</u> and let the prologue provide for that which we have said. Because it is a senseless thing to have both in the prologue and in the narration many words and <u>razones</u> for the audience to read before they get to the story and then to have to abridge the narration per se thus saying less about it than we ought to have said. (<u>GE</u> V, 125r)[294]

Since this is a case in which not only translation but abbreviation is sought, the explanations of the compilers help us understand less prolific explanations of the compilation methods followed in the <u>GE</u>. Another case in point:

Et por ende quanto es en la estoria dela biblia. en quanto pudieremos queremos dezir como moysen dixo. Et dezimos uos esto por que non seamos temidos que de nuestro somos dobladores dela razon. Et sabed aqui otrossi sobresto. Que como quier que uos digamos que este libro lieua el nombre dela salida delos fijos de israhel de egipto. & assi es la uerdad & lo dizen otrossi las estorias. Pero antes fabla dela entrada dellos alla. & despues cuenta dela su salida. Mas entended otrossi que fabla aqui dela entrada como por mostrar razon et materia dela salida. por que si la su entrada non fuesse antes la su salida non pudiera seer despues. Aqui se acaba el prologo & comiença se el libro. & dezir uos emos aqui de como moysen dixo. Saluo ende que pornemos y de mas. las cuentas delos años delos fechos delas estorias.

And thus all that can be found in the Bible, in as much as we will be able to, we want to say it as Moses did. And we tell you this so that we will not be accused of having altered the <u>razones</u> on purpose. And also

---

294 The prologue resembles that of Jerome's translation of the "Book of Ezra."

know that, as we have told you before, this book has the name of "The exit of Israel's children from Egypt" ["Exodus"] and this is the truth, and so say it the estorias. But [in spite of its title] it first narrates how [the Jews] got there and only after that does it talk about their exit. An you should also understand that the book talks about the entrance so as to show the reason and the precedents of the exit since there would be no exit if there had been no entrance in the beginning. Here ends the prologue and begins the book and we shall tell you things as Moses said them except wherever indicated or when we tell you the dates on which the events in the estorias took place. (GE I, 131r)

In the case of the Her., the fact that the prologues and epilogues featured in the translations coupled with the absence of more than a few extra-diegetic interpolations clearly indicates that the compilers considered the target language versions of the text as a unit capable of conveying all the meaning found in the original Latin letters. This translation as well as all the others found in the GE follow a pattern of careful integration of all that information that may be lost in the translation process. Given the fragmentary status of the GE, and the continuous corrections to which the manuscripts were subject in the Alfonsine scriptorium (as well as in successive reigns) we can conclude that these interpolations are exceptional. These extra-diegetic forms must be interpreted as isolated events caused by scribes who were not engaged in the initial translation effort that prompted the philological translation of the Her.

The matricial norm at stake in the compilation of the Her. as part of the GE is therefore clear: historical sources are to be adopted in their entirety and must undergo a careful philological process. The original letters (independent historical documents in essence) are not to be expounded according to the prevalent moralizing exegetic tradition but, on the other hand, are to be integrated in the Classical cultural lore (fechos, estorias, and razones) that the GE sought to reenact through, among other texts, the Her.

5.3.2 Textual Norms in the Alfonsine Heroides

As I just showed it was the case with para-textual commentaries, glosses, and accessus, information about the Her. that could not be obtained through a close-reading of the text was not provided by the translators in any other form. However, at a textual level, a huge amount of information had to be negotiated in the form of additions, expansions, correlations, or suppressions of meaning found in the original. The Her. were erudite even for Ovid's contemporaries, and, as K. L. McKinley has remarked in her study of medieval commentaries to the Met., that is not the only problem they posed to a conscious medieval reader:

> Ovid's efforts to develop feminine subjectivity require both the rhetoric of their elaborate interior monologues and the more flesh-and-blood aspect of characterization (actions and physical responses). Ovid's astute portrayals of the multiple, and complicated character's profound inner conflicts, he also, unwittingly or not, contributed to traditions linking the feminine to the emotional. Ovid's astute portrayals of the multiple, and complicated, emotional states of his

female characters are indeed a rich heirloom for medieval poets; and yet . . . the very nature of Ovid's contribution on this score is complex and at times troubling, both a blessing and a curse. (xx)

A second set of philological considerations to be born in mind when studying the Her. has to do with the hermeneutics of the texts. There are instances in which both fields of criticism intersect but the latter tend to be approached systematically as features of the text independently from its pragmatics:

Literary studies of the Heroides tend to concentrate on three aspects of the poetry. The first seeks to explore the intertexts of the corpus, to find verbal or situational parallels in other poems outside the collection. The second approach consists of genre studies, explorations of the epistolary or elegiac aspects of the poems. The third approach . . . discusses individual poems within their mythological context and explores the ensuing results. Each of these three methods is fruitful, but in order to be most useful, they are best integrated. (Fulkerson 9)

In the following section of my final chapter, I will argue that the Alfonsine translators interpreted the Her. in a very similar way to those presented by contemporary scholars such as McKinley as well as Fulkerson. I will contrast my finding with regard to the renunciation to the para-textual apparatus that plagued all the vernacular translations and most of the Latin manuscripts, with the careful source-oriented translation carried out by the Alfonsine scholars.

The study of matricial norms involves the analysis of information that has been displaced by means of additions, omissions, or relocations, as we have seen throughout our discussion of matricial norms. In the case of the information studied at the textual level, I have decided to present first the acts of addition and relocation since they largely outnumber the omissions. Once again, we must bear in mind that any relocation involves an addition or omission (if not both) and vice versa.

I will be studying the information feature in the translation at two levels: 1) Cultural: the translators add information pertinent to the stories of the heroines as well to any other estorias worth-preserving in order to contribute to the re-enactment of ancient knowledge at work in the GE. and 2) Meta-textual: the translation elaborates on information provided in the text from the point of view of a scholarly reader. The translators actively engage the text by providing additional interpretations where they believe the readership lack the cultural and literary background to fully appreciate "Ovid's astute portrayals of the multiple, and complicated character's profound inner conflicts." Again, it is important to bear in mind that these categories are intertwined in the translation since, for example, an explanation of the heroine's emotions will involve the elucidation of the implications of the actions narrated in the text in a mythological context.

5.3.2.1 Cultural Additions: A Primitive Form of "Close-Reading"
I begin by quoting two consecutive examples from Medea's letter that show a remarkable effort by the translator to abide by the "philological" norm in two different ways at the textual level. Ovid's translations are taken from contemporary editions of the Her. in order to make a point with regard to the adequacy of the

translation:

> **(O)** Compressos utinam Symplegades elisissent. (XII, 123)

> Now I wish the Symplegades had found us / and crushed our bones together. (Isbell 110)

> **(GE)** E agora lo plugiese a Dios e serie de mio grado que los peligros de la mar que son tenpesta que bueue las aguas de la mar muy apoderada mientre e toman quantas cosas alcançan e ayuntan las e dan con elas so sy e matan las y e estas ouiesen muerto a mi e a ty.

> And that now it may be pleasing to God (and I would rejoice in it) that the dangers of the sea (which are tempests that shake the waters of the sea violently, and take [with them] anything that they can reach, and then bring these things together, and crush them against one another, and kill them) and [that these tempests] would have crushed and killed you and I. (Ashton 133)

and

> **(O)** Aut nos Scylla rapax canibus mersisset edendos. (XII, 125)

> Or that / Scylla had drawn us into her chambers where we might be consumed by her fierce dogs. (Isbell 110)

> **(GE)** O sinon el periglo de la mar a que en el latin llaman Çilla de quien dizen los nuestros abtores gentiles que trae consigo canes biuos-aquella alla nos ouiese muertos e dados a comer a aquellos sus canes.

> Or else that the danger that lies in the sea which in Latin they call Scylla, of whom our Gentile <u>auctores</u> say that she brings with her ravenous dogs, that she had had us killed there and had fed as to those dogs of hers. (Ashton 133)

In the first example, any references to the name or location of the Symplegades (or Cyanean Rocks) are circumvented in order to avoid a lengthy explanation. Instead, since the Greek myth speaks of two rocks at the Bosporus that would randomly clash, a sea storm is produced in the translation. The effect in terms of the perception of the audience parallels that caused by the myth among a learned Latin readership with a minimum level of intrusion in the target text. A comparison with H. Isbell's annotated modern edition shows how much information the Old Castilian translator faced in these two verses:

> The Symplegades or the Clashing Rocks were two rocks on opposite sides of the channel at the northern entrance to the Bosporus. It was said that in a very high wind they clashed together with a terrifying and exceptionally dangerous force. After the Argonauts had passed through, assisted by Athena, the rocks became fixed in place and ceased to be a hazard.

> Scylla was a monster who captured and ate seamen as they made passage through the Strait of Messina, a narrow channel separating the

island of Sicily from the Italian mainland. Her lair was on a high place overlooking the whirlpool, Charybdis. Scylla was usually depicted as having the head of a woman and a body composed of the bodies of six dogs to give her mobility. The Argonauts sailed through the strait safely because they had divine protection. (114-15, fn. 11)

The second example epitomizes an alternative method by which Scylla is introduced to the audience by a brief explanatory sentence. This addition is not only embedded in the narrative, but is actually seamlessly connected to a subordinate phrase. This additional clause serves the purposes of what otherwise would require a lengthy explanatory gloss in terms of content and exegesis. Scylla is referred to as a 'periglo' ('danger') without recurring to a euhemeristic interpretation of the myth. The same level of deference is shown in the brief mention to the auctores from whom the explanation has been obtained in an act of translation that could not be described but as extremely "hygienic" and concise: Medea's voice is not overridden by the translator's while the information needed to understand the role of Scylla is provided in as much as it does not alter the flow of the narration or its pleading tone.

These two excerpts exemplify another norm that is at play in the Alfonsine Her.: the flow of the narration, especially in the case of the female protagonists, is not to be altered or overridden by the translator's either directly (through prologues, epilogues, glosses, clarifications, etc) or indirectly (through lengthy explanations or tedious parenthetical commentaries, be they relevant or not to "sense" featured in the original text).

This preconception of the target text as an autonomous unit capable of containing most of the meaning enacted in the source text through a careful and rigorous translation was considered a preliminary norm in the election of the Ovidian epistles. Here we can also appreciate how the same type of norm is in effect at the textual level. If the epistles were considered autonomous poetic elaborations from the point of view of their reliability as historical documents, the message and poetic allusions to the heroines' inner-thoughts and feelings are equally considered to rely on historical fechos that must be appropriately and thoroughly incorporated to the translation. As F. Percival explains

> The Heroides were profoundly intertextual, and exploited the audience's knowledge of other literary versions of the stories. This in itself caused difficulties for medieval readers because the narrative aspect of each Heroidian letter was frequently deficient, and one of the functions of the medieval accessus or introductions which accompanied Latin texts of the Heroides was to supply elements of the story needed to understand Ovid's witty allusions. (174)

As we saw in the previous section of this chapter, and as we will continue to prove throughout the reminder of my analysis of matricial norms, the omission of paratextual commentary was directly related to the careful philological translation featured at the textual level.

5.3.2.2 Meta-Textual Additions: The Heroines Explain Themselves

A second preliminary norm at stake is that of the moral world of reference

that is enacted in the Her. This point was already discussed in section 5.2 when I explained how the translation policy at work in the GE called for a recollection of as many fechos, razones, and estorias as available to the compilators. While the translations do not excise or alter the meaning found in the original due to moral considerations, they do contain an array of particular instances in which the voices of the protagonists are not only successfully recreated but amplified. The task, as A. C. Spearing explains is anything but simple:

> The past recounted in a letter, and made so vivid that it seems to be present; the present in which the letter is being written, which will be past for the reader; and the future, in which the recipient and subsequent readers will look back over a complex layering of different pasts-these effects give the Heroides some of their distinctive flavor. Ovid also evokes vividly the interplay of presence and absence: the presence of the fictional writer to herself, her sense of absence from the recipient and his absence from her, and also the absence of both from the very words that evoke their absences and presences. (213)

The relevance of the Alfonsine translators and their habitus in this regard is enormous in our understanding of subjectivity in the High Middle Ages. The Alfonsine Her., as I will explain in my analysis of paratextual and textual translation norms, challenge some of the assumptions made by contemporary critics such as Susan Bordo with regard to the genesis of the subjective mode of thinking. The argument that the Medieval world and the Renaissance constituted an "organic, finite, maternal universe" ignorant to categories of experience such as individuation, separation anxiety, or object permanence clashes with the deep understanding of the literary, social, and cultural dimension of the Her. as translated in the GE.

I rely once more on A. C. Spearing in order to enumerate the implications that an accurate translation of the Her. carries within the context of individual subjectivity. In his discussion of subjectivity in medieval narratives and lyrics, he argues that the importance of subjectivity in the Her. demonstrates that medieval audiences were aware of the bearing of subjectivity in literature and its different modes of expression:

> In the Heroides there is much that falls within the scope of psychology, but psychology cannot fully accommodate the absences that are so clamorously insistent in these letters-the absence of the signatories, the absence of what the letters' words refer to, and, indeed, the absence of the recipients from the moments of writing and from the written texts. Some part of those accumulated absences can doubtless be recuperated as elements in the pathos of the human situations represented; but no account of the Heroides can be adequate that fails to focus on the absences whose name is writing, those inherent to the very form of the fictional epistle, writing as representation of writing. (220-21).

If the Her. were accurately translated into Old Castilian as I argue in this dissertation, then Bordo's main argument that "the separate self, conscious of itself

and of its own distinctness from a world "outside" it, is born in the Cartesian era" (7) would not apply to this late thirteenth-century translation.

Bordo characterizes this new awareness as "a psychological birth – of "inwardness," of "subjectivity," of "locatedness" in space and time – generating new anxieties, and ultimately, new strategies for maintaining equilibrium in an utterly changed and alien world" (7). As I will now demonstrate, these anxieties, this sense of inwardness (whose existence I already emphasized in the case of Baudri's letters to Constance and neo-Heroides) are featured in the Alfonsine Her.

The ability of the Alfonsine translators to produce a rendering of the Her. that accounted for the original complexity must be approached from the point of view of a complex literary quest. The GE seeks to, above any other consideration, reenact ancient texts in all their dimensions. It is precisely the successful reenactment of the Her. that provides evidence in the form of translational norms that allow us to argue for a developed sense of subjectivity in the translators' habitus. The distance that the translators had to cover between Ovid's complex and elaborate poetic language and mythological allusions was not only a cultural one. As A. C. Spearing's remarks explain, psychology and subjectivity are contingent forming elements in the textual tissue of the Her.

The best way to demonstrate that the translation process can account for complex understanding of human psychology and subjectivity is to explore the moral concerns and motivations of the characters as expounded by the translators. Once more, I already discussed this issue briefly in section 5.2 but it is worth analyzing in detail here, once again. One example of each one of these instances will suffice to start this discussion. Again I use a contemporary translation of the Her. in order to compare pragmatically two texts with similar audiences and purposes:

> **(O)** Perfidiae poenas exigit ille locus, / praecipue cum laesus amor, quia mater Amorum / nuda Cytheriacis edita fertur aquis. (VII, 58-60)
>
> Ejecuta el castigo a la perfidia aquel lugar, / sobre todo cuando Amor fue herido, pues la madre de Amores dicen nació desnuda en Citereas aguas. (Herrera Zapién 36bis)
>
> It inflicts the punishment to perfidy that place, even more so when it is Love who was wounded, since, they say, the mother of the Loves was born naked in Cytherean waters.
>
> 57: La fe haber violado: La idea de que el mar castiga la mala fe y sobre todo los perjurios es muy frecuente en la poesía clásica latina ("Having violated faith: The idea that the sea punishes bad faith and, even more so, those who lie is commonplace in Classical Latin poetry.")
>
> 58: Aquel lugar: es decir, el mar ("That place: the sea is meant.")
>
> 60: Nació en Citereas aguas: Afrodita, según la Teogonía de Hesíodo, nació de la espuma del mar cercano a Citera, a raíz de la castración de su padre Cronos-Saturno ("She was born in Cytherean waters: Aphrodite, according to Hesiod's Theogony, was born out of the foam from the sea close to Cythera, as a consequence of the castration of his father Saturn-Chronos.") (Herrera Zapién ccxiv)

(GE) Deslealtança es la cosa del mundo que mas destorua a los omnes que la fazen, quanto mas sobre el fecho damor que se mueue todo sobre fiança e de uoluntad. Demas tu sabes qu Uenus, que tenemos por deesa damor, en el mar nacio, e a y grand poder, e muchas uezes toma alli uengança de los falsos amadores e daquellos que la desonran, quales quier que sean.

Unfaithfulness is the one thing in the world that most perturbs those who commit it, and even more so in matters of love which are always dependent on trust and good will. Moreover, you know that Venus, the one we consider the goddess of love, was born from the sea, and she holds a great power, and many times she claims her vengeance there against false lovers and those who dishonor her whoever those may be.

Dido is here warning Eneas of the dangers that the sea holds for him after not having fulfilled his promise to her that he would remain in Carthage. The translation carefully re-arranges the units into which the meaning inferred from the Latin has been divided and reallocates them as in the case of the locus (58) which appears only at the end of the sentence as an apostrophe explaining that Venus holds sway over the seas on account of having been born in Cythera. The important aspect of this translation is, however, the explanations that are provided to account for "laesus amor" (59) and Ovid's prosopopeic depiction of the sea whose ability to exact vengeance on Eneas is transposed to Venus in the translation. The point that I want to highlight is that Venus reasons to inflict pain on Eneas as well as the description of Eneas' wrongdoing against Dido as perceived by the writer of the epistle are the foci around which the translation is structured and towards which it is oriented.

The letters are approached in the translation, essentially, as a display of behaviors and the complex relations that prompt them as evinced by the words and actions of the characters. In this sense, the choice of the Her. on account of the moral lore they contain is directly related to the previous two preliminary norms I mentioned. The following example takes this approach one step further and introduces a whole sentence in addition to an amplification of the Latin verses:

(O) Mille procis placui, qui me coiere querentes / nescio quem thalamis praeposuisse suis. (VII, 125-26)

I have a thousand suitors, each one eyeing / me with fondness and all complaining / because I prefer a foreigner. (Isbell 62)

(GE) Grand cosa fue, Eneas, duna muger poder se deffender contra tantos enemigos, e non se poder deffender a la tu lengua sola. Mil omnes de much alta guisa se pagaron de mi e demandaron me por casamiento e non quis a ninguno dellos tornar cabeça, de que so oy muy desamada, e mayor mientre por que escogi a ti entre todos ellos e te tome por marido, omne estraño, que non sabia quier era.

It was a remarkable feat, Eneas, for a woman to be able to defend herself against so many enemies, and not be able to defend herself from your tongue alone. A thousand men of very high standing took heed of me and asked me to marry them and I refused to consider their

offers. And this is why today I am detested, and more even so because I chose you among their lot and took you for a husband, you being a foreigner whom I did not even know. (EE I, 28v)

The first sentence has been added in order to enhance the feeling of abandonment that Dido experiences as she recalls Eneas' betrayal. Dido's shame is presented in the original as the focus of these verses and yet the Alfonsine addition cannot be considered extemporaneous. Dido is indeed reproaching Eneas for his cowardice while setting an example of firmness by recounting all the obstacles that she has overcome in order to become a queen an her lover.

At this point a summary of these additions in the specific case of the last verses of the Her. will suffice to realize the extent of this translation norm at play in the Alfonsine Her. Epistles XIV, X, IV, XII, and I contain this distinct feature.
The first case in order of appearance is that of Hypermnestra:

> **(O)** Scribere plura libet, sed pondere lassa catenae / est manus, et vires subtrahit ipse timor.

> I would write more but the weight of the chains has made my hands weary and fear itself has deprived me of all my strenght. (Her. XIV, 131-32)

> **(GE)** Lino mio marido & mio hermano, mas te quisiera enuiar dezir por mio escripto. mas lo uno canasua me la mano con el peso dela cadena en que la tengo presa. Lo al tuelle me la fuerça. & enflaquesce me el temor en que esto de seer dañada un dia destos. Et acabo te aqui mi razon: que si uees que lo meresco & te dueles de mi que me ayas merced & te trabaies cuemo me saques daqui.

> Husband and brother of mine, my Lynceus! I should like to tell you more in this letter but the fact that, on the one hand, my hand grew tired with the weight of the chain with which it is held, and, on the other, the fear that I feel that one of these days I will be harmed, prevented me from doing so. And at this point I end my razon. If you think that I deserve it, and if you pity me [I ask you that] you succour me and try to find a way to get me out of here. (Ashton 154)

The Alfonsine Hypermnestra explains in detail the reasons why she cannot write any further. She mentions explicitly not only the chains but also her imprisonment in the same way she not only mentions her fear but also the reason why she is afraid. Ovid does not mention any of those two reasons in the same way he does not mention that Hypermnestra is asking Lynceus to come to her rescue. The translators add the final sentence in order to make explicit that which otherwise could have gone unnoticed: Hypermnestra's reproach to Lynceus which in the original is disguised behind the pulchritudo of the epistolary style.

Ariadne's final words, on the other hand, include a direct plea almost in the form of a command:

> **(O)** Per lacrimas oro, quas tua facta movent; / Flecte ratem, Theseu, versoque relabere vento; / Si prius occider, tu tamen ossa feres.

Byt the same tears that your deeds have caused: Turn the course of your ship around, Theseus, and return with the wind blowing in the opposite direction [of your current course]; Should I die before you do so, you will still be able to collect my bones. (<u>Her.</u> X, 148-150)

(GE) Et ruego te por las llagrimas que los tus fechos mueuen & fazen salir de los mios oios; que tu Theseo tornes la naue. Et tornado el uiento que te tornes por mi a esta ribera o me dexeste. Et si yo antes muriere, si mas non, codras tu los mios huessos: & dar les as sepultura.

I beg of you by the tears that your deeds have caused (and which they make flow from my eyes) that you turn around your ship. And once the wind has turned, that you come back to get me here at this shore where you left me. And if I should die before, if nothing else, you shall [at least] collect my bones and bury them. (Ashton 121)

Although the addition in this case is minimal, it conveys a lot of information regarding the translators' approach to literary translation. 'Relabere' is translated as 'tornar' although 'o me dexeste' is added in order to compensate for the intended meaning in the Latin original in which Ariadne implies that he must return to where he once belonged.

A second case of concise compensation is produced when 'tamen' is translated into the periphrasis 'si mas non.' The translators interpreted accurately the reproach being made by Ariadne's sarcastic comment that Theseus would at least be able to collect her bones if he should wait too long to come back to her. The third and final addition on which I want to comment is '& darles sepultura.' The translators add the burial of the bones to the act of collecting them in order to, it seems, emphasize the fact that the burial of the dead was a particularly important ritual in ancient Greek society. Without explicitly saying it, the text conveys the information that the gathering of the bones is performed as a final tribute, a fact which, could have gone unnoticed if Ovid's final remark had not been expounded. Similarly, Ariadne's mix of hostility and endearment towards Theseus is also sought in the translation. Ariadne's firm tone in her request that Theseus return to her is combined with the desolation she feels by the end of the letter. Both feelings are taken into account in the translation, as these additions demonstrate.

A third case of a final remark is found in Phaedra's letter to Hippolytus:

(O) Addimus his precibus lacrimas quoque. Verba precantis / Qui legis, et lacrimas finge videre meas!

I add to these entreaties tears as well. As you read the words of one who is begging, think also of the tears she is shedding as though you were seeing them! (<u>Her.</u> IV 174-75)

(GE) Et pues que leyeres las palabras de mi que te ruego. enfiñe & pon que uees las mis lagrimas. Et cumple lo que te ruego si te cumplan de sos bienes aquellos por qui te yo e coniurado. Et commo tu fizieres

contra mi assi faga dios contra ti.[295]

> And once you should have read the words by which I implore you, pretend that you can also see my tears. And do as I ask you to if those good things that I have prayed for in your name should become true. And may God do onto you as you will do onto me. (Ashton 37)

If we take into account that the translators had at their disposal glosses such as "cum legas uerba finge uidere me flere, et miserere mei" ("pretend that you are looking at me as you read these words and have pity on me"; Hexter 246, 4.176), the translation not only displays remarkable accuracy but also a high degree of poetic elaboration.

Firstly, the translators do not simply state what the implied content of Phaedra's words is in terms of what she hopes Hippolytus will do: instead, they put a premonitory final sentence in the mouth of the protagonist that compensates for the pathos in Ovid's original.

Secondly, Phaedra's wish that her prayers will be answered (167-173) is summarized and characterized as what it is: a subtle extortion. She foretells Hippolytus' future and implicitly warns him that should he despise Venus' entreats (for which she alone is responsible) he will not enjoy Artemis protection (thus presenting it as a benefit to be obtained by loving her).

Lastly, the entrapment enacted by Phaedra is also referred to by the final warning. Phaedra explains her love to Theseus as having been instilled by Venus (167-68) and the translators add (by means of a neutral reference to Venus as "God") a premonitory allusion to Hippolytus tragic death at the hands of the goddess of love (described in Met. XV).

The main implication of these additions in the translation is that the translators possessed an advanced concept of subjectivity as shown by the translational norms at play. The target text is to maintain alive the different dimensions of allusion found in the original while allowing for the readership to not lack any literary element with which to reenact those allusions. A. Barchiesi has termed this special kind of literary allusion in Ovid "future reflexive":

> The idea that the characters can have a future that has already been written down is much less natural, and calls for constant negotiation between author and reader. A certain alignment is now broken. The literary tradition – a source of power, control and anxiety, a perfect analogy for the past in everyone's life – is now displaced, and a potential for irony opens up. Unless the characters are gifted with a second sight, the effect approaches what we usually call dramatic irony: the information that the author shares with the audience tends to create a sort of complicity between them directed against the characters. ("Future" 334)

---

295 It is not clear whether Ovid meant to imply that the letter has tear blots in it. The translation allows for that possibility but there is no clear indication that the translators were aware of it.

The fact that Phaedra (above) and Medea (below) implicitly allude to events that are meant to be part of the readership's habitus became a main concern for the translators and can be rightly said to be a translational norm at play in their translations. The evidence in the case of Medea is even more compelling:

> **(O)** Et piget infido consuluisse viro. / viderit ista deus, qui nunc mea pectora versat! / nescio quid certe mens mea maius agit!

> I regret that I brought solace to an unfaithful man. Let that god who is now swaying my breast bear witness to it all! I do not know what is it but my mind is undoubtedly disturbed with some great event!

> **(GE)** E me pesa por que he dado consejo a uaron falso e desleal. E vea estas cosas aquel dios que trastorna los mios pechos. E non se quien se es çierta mientre, mas la mi mente mayor cosa asma. E non te digo agora mas.

> And it pains me to have assisted such a treacherous and unfaithful man. And may that god who is causing distress in my breast(s) see all these things. And I do not know what is it exactly, but my mind is concerned with greater things. And I will not tell you anything else for now. (Ashton 137)

The colloquialism and directness of Medea's final sentence in Old Castilian is presented as an alternative to Ovid's premonitory "certe." Although "nescio quid certe mens mea maius agit!" is accurately translated, the addition of the final statement "E non digo agora mas" demonstrates that the translators were aware of the implied meaning in Medea's words. Moreover, the fact that the amplification is made as though it were part of Medea's speech confirms the theory that Barchiesi's complicity between the author, the text, and the reader directed against the characters is also present in the Alfonsine Her. and acts as a key element in the implementation of translation norms.

Hermione's final plight also conforms to these norms although it is even more elaborate:

> **(O)** Aut ego praemoriar primoque exstinguar in aevo, / aut ego Tantalidae Tantalis uxor ero!

> Either I will die before my time, and be cut off in my youth, or I, a descendant of Tantalus, shall become the wife of a man descended from Tantalus.

> **(GE)** Que o yo morre antes y saldre de medio en la primera hedad, o yo, reyna que vengo del linage de Tantalo, sere muger del mi buen marido, rey Orestes, que vienes otrosy del linage de ese Tantalo. O sy por ninguna guisa non se estorçera, que yo muy ayna non muera dela guisa que he dicho; y de aqui adelante otra cosa ninguna no espero nin quiero esperar sy non la vna destas dos: o que me saques tu de aqui muy ayna, o que me mate yo misma; y quieran los nuestros dioses que veamos yo y tu muy ayna y con salut y en nuestro estado bueno como lo eramos primero.

[I wish that] I shall either die before [my time] (and thus be out of your way before the end of my "middle" age) or, I, the queen that comes from Tantalus' line, shall become the wife of my good husband, king Orestes, who is as well descended from Tantalus. And if none of these two could be prevented from happening, that I should not die soon as I said before; and from now on I do not or wish not to expect anything but one of these two: either that you will get me out of here as soon as possible, or that I kill myself. And may our gods will it that you and I be soon reunited in good health and in such a good state as we were before. (Ashton 93)

Once again, the translators are aware of the textual interplay in the Latin original and seek to reenact in the translation. Hermione's words are written while she is in captivity in Epirus. Ovid conjures up Hermione's desperation by deliberately making her unaware of her future life with Orestes. The translators introduce the sentence "o por si ninguna guisa..." in order to account for a third probability, which they know, is the one that other <u>estorias</u> mention. In fact, the translation contains a further elaboration of this interplay in which Hermione does subtly imply that she will live a happy life with Orestes. The complex device of literary allusion articulated by Ovid in Phaedra and Medea's last words is internalized by the translators who added these final remarks in imitation of those written by Ovid himself.

The last case of amplification found in the closing remarks of the <u>Her.</u> is that of Penelope. Her final words recreate Ovid's allusions in a similar way to that reenacted by the translators in the previously analyzed letters:

> **(O)** Certe ego, quae fueram te discedente puella, / protinus ut venias, facta videbor anus.
>
> I who, indeed, was but a girl when you left, will have the appearance of an old woman if you do not return soon (<u>Her.</u> I, 115-16)
>
> **(GE)** Otrosy te enbio dezir de mi, ca yo, a quien tu dexeste donzella quando tu fueste asy como tu sabes, maguer que luego agora te vengas, semejar te ha que de otra hedad soy ya fecha, por que me non deues tu por eso desdeñar nin despreçiar, ca seyendo yo tan niña como tu me dexeste y podiera casar despues mucho alta mente, non lo quise fazer nin presçie ninguna cosa a par de ty nin del tu amor, y cuydando en ty en la tu salud, so yo tal qual querria me vieses, y sy quier luego me muriese, lo que sera muy ayna sy non vienes.
>
> I also send you word that I, whom, as you know, was a girl when you left, (so that if you were to come back now you would think that I am at a different stage in my life) and you are not to disdain or snub me. Because being a young girl as I was when you left me, I could have entered another more-convenient marriage. And I did not want to do it just like I did not ever think of anything else but you and your love, and how much I wished that you would be in good health. And in such state I am in that I wish that you could see me and after that, if need be, that I die, which is bound to happen soon if you don't return.

341

(Ashton 7)

The translators clarified what the literal content of Penelope's remark mean with regard to the relation established by Ovid between the passing of time, age, and married life. Similarly, they elaborate on Penelope's feeling of solitude and abandonment. In both cases the fact that Penelope, in spite of being a young and attractive young woman refused to re-marry, and also that she has conducted herself admirably (as any reader of Ovid would know) are emphasized in the translation as key components in the structure of the protagonist's final plea.

We can conclude that the complexities of the allusive remarks made by the heroines (in this case the final remarks) are evidence of the translators' awareness of the distinction between Ovid's literary art and the original letters. When these translations are paired with the remarks made by the editors of the GE on the craft of literature, the picture of the Alfonsine translators and editors that emerges is a complex one. They were not only aware of the mythographic and cultural habitus to be expected in an accurate and thorough reading of the <u>Her.</u> but they also implemented translation methods that would allow the vernacular text to engage in allusions pertaining to past and future events. Moreover, these allusions reenacted the original textual interplay and the performative character of the language employed by the heroines.

All of these elements gave shape to the textual norms at play in the translation according to which the testimonial value of the letters (<u>fechos</u>) were deemed as important as the stories to which they contributed (<u>estorias</u>). Finally, among the <u>razones</u> that the <u>fechos</u> and the <u>estorias</u> articulated, we must also consider that which sought to preserve and reenact complex issues dealing with subjectivity and the text as performance. As I have shown through these examples, the translations were carried out in the belief that a "constant negotiation between author and reader" was required in order to fully reenact these ancient texts in their full capacity.

5.3.2.3 Omissions: The Reenactment of the Text

The omissions featured in the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u> are relevant to our understanding of the translators' habitus. They provide us with information regarding the segmentation of the text by the translators which we can then apply in order to infer translation norms at, in this case, a textual level. The few omissions found in the translation corroborate our findings in the previous section dealing with additions and alterations. I will use the two most significant exclusions found in the translation in order to prove that they were due to corollaries to the translation method described in the previous sections.

The most remarkable feature of the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u> is precisely that there are no perceptible omissions on accounts other than the complexity of the source text from the point of view of its mythographic content. Only a few difficult and remote mythographic allusions were removed from the letters and, as I will show, these were, in all cases, of minimum relevance to the understanding of the <u>Her.</u>
The first example is from Hermione's letter to Orestes:

> **(O)** Sit socer exemplo nuptae repetitor ademptae, / cui pia militiae causa puella fuit; / si socer ignavus vidua plorasset in aula, / nupta

foret Paridi mater uter ante fuit.

Let your father-in-law be an example to you: He claimed his wife back when she was taken from him because of his love for a girl like her. If your father-in-law had just sat waiting in his desolate house, my mother would still be Paris' wife as she once was. (Her. VIII, 19-22)

(GE) Y, señor, el rrey Menalao, vuestro suegro, sea enxenplo a vos, que fue demandar y cobrar su muger que le tollieran. Y la mi madre casada serie oy con Paris como lo era atnes, sy mi padre esto non ouiese fecho.

Let, my lord, King Meneleus, your father-in-law, be an example to you: he went to claim back and to retake her wife whom was stolen from him. And my mother would now be married to Paris as she were before if my father had not done this. (Ashton 87)

The second translation on which I would like to comment consists of a list of Hercules' labors from which much information has been excluded. I indicate the missing verses in parentheses. The English translation is J. M. Hunter's:

(O) Crassaque robusto deducis pollice fila / aequaque formosae pensa rependis erae?/ A! quotiens, digitis dum torques stamina duris, / praevalidae fusos comminuere manus! / [Crederis infelix scuticae tremefactus habenis / ante pedes dominae pertimuisse minas... / Eximiis pompis, immania semina laudum] / factaque narrabas dissimulanda tibi: / Scilicet: immanes elisis faucibus hydros / infantem caudis involuisse manum; / ut Tegeaeus aper cupressifero Erymantho / incubet et vasto pndere laedat humum;/ non tibi Threiciis adfixa pernatibus ora, / non hominum pingues caede tacentur equae, / prodigiumque triplex, armenti dives Hiberi / Geryones, quamvis in tribus unus erat, / inque canes totidem trunco digestus ab uno / Cerberos implicitis angue minante comis, / quaeque redundabat fecundo vulnere serpens / fertilis et damnis dives ab ipsa suis, / quique inter laevumque latus laevumque lacertum / praegrave conpressa fauce pependit onus, / et male confisum pedibus formaque bimembri / pulsum Thessalicis agmen equestre iugis.

And do you draw the coarse threads with your strong thumb, / And do you weigh back an equal weight of wool to your notorious mistress? / Ah, how many times while you twisted the threads with your hard fingers, / Have you broken the spindles with your powerful hands? / Before the feet of your mistress, . . . / You spoke of the deeds which you should have kept silent about-- / No doubt you spoke of huge serpents, their throats crushed, / Coiling their tails around your childish hand; / How the Tegeaean boar dwells in cypress-bearing Erymanthus / And wounds the earth with his immense weight. / You are not silent about the heads mounted over Thracian homes, / Nor the horses fattened by the slaughter of men; / And the triple monster, rich with Iberian cattle, / Geryon, who was one in three, / And Cerberus, spreading into three dogs from one trunk, / With the menacing serpent entangled in his

343

hair; / And the fertile serpent, multiplying from its productive wound, / And rich from its own injuries; / And he who, between your left side and left arm, / Hung as a great weight, his throat squeezed; / And the equine mob, trusting unsuccessfully in their feet and double form, / Driven away on the Thessalian ridges.

(GE) E avn dizen al que te mete a mayor escarnio: que filas quando te lo ella manda, e que pesas el filado quando te lo manda otrosi; (79-82) e seyendo antella entre sus donzellas que le contauas los grandes fechos que fizieras: (84) commo astragaras las serpientes seyendo niñuelo yaziendo en la cuna, e commo mataras a manos el puerco en el monte Erimanto, (88) commo a Busiris, commo a Diomedes, commo a Gerion, rey de España de tres regnos, commo al can Çerbero, (94) commo a la serpyente de Lerne, (96) commo a Anteo, rey de Libia, (98) commo a Neso, el sagitario, en Tesalia.

And they even say that she makes an even greater fool of you: that you thread and she tells you, and that you weigh the wool and then give it back to her; and while you were before her, among her maids, that you told her about all your great deeds: how you strangled the snakes when you were a small child still in your cradle, and how you killed the pig [boar] at Mount Erymanthos with your bare hands, and how Busiris, how Diomedes, how Gerion, king of the Hispania of the three kingdoms, how Cerberus the dog, how Lerne the serpent [Hydra], how Antheus, king of Lybia, how Nessus, the sagittarius [centaur], in Thessaly. (Ashton 103)

Several hypotheses can explain this omission of information. First of all, there is no doubt that the text was not translated on purpose and not because of a deficient manuscript since the lines are alternate. Moreover, the fact that the translators inferred the protagonist of the stories evoked (not mentioned) by Ovid shows that they were aware of these stories (with or without the help of glosses). This means that the translation process required that the translation be revised on occasions in which the original text posed difficulties such as this.

The translators chose not to circumvent their lack of knowledge of the source text by providing brief mentions to each episode or summarizing them. It appears that an eventual interpretation from a more expert translator was expected, a method which corroborates what has been said with regard to the philological approach to translation of the Alfonsine Her. The omission at the beginning of the excerpt of five verses in which spinning is described according to ancient Roman custom could indicate that the translators who were in charge of epistle XIV were less prepared than the rest to successfully carry out their translation. This lack of expertise would account for the complex mythographic allusions to Hercules' labors as well as a particularly intricate allusion to a scene set in a private space at a very remote time.

It is plausible that one translator completed a first preliminary translation expecting a review that never took place. In any case, the information contained in those verses was not considered irrelevant since it was not totally excised from the

translation. This practice is in accordance with what has been said in our discussion of meta-textual additions: the translators sought to provide an as accurate as possible translation that would aim at restoring the original meaning/s of the <u>Her.</u>

This translation norm at the textual level was also observed in the only omission at a large scale found in the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u> In XIV 87-109, the whole episode of Zeus' abduction of Io (87-109) as told by Hypermnestra was omitted. However, as we have seen in previous instances, the omission is not without a trace; the following two verses precede the omission and they have been accordingly modified:

> **(O)** Sicilicet ex illo Iunonia permanet ira, / Quo bos ex homine est, ex bove facta dea -- / Et razonasse aqui ypermestra con los echados & diz.

> Juno's wrath endures ever since that time, when a cow was made out of a human being, and a goddess from a cow. (<u>Her.</u>XIV 85-87)

> **(GE)** Si non serie esto que la saña dela deessa Juno que dura contra los deste liñage; quando la Jnfant de mugier fue fecha uaca & de uaca deessa. Et esta fue yo fija del Rey ynaco que fue Rey deste Reyno de Argos dont nos uenimos todos & heredamos. Et aquella deessa Yo dont nos uenimos fue combluça dela deessa Juno: dont nos uenimos otrossi por cuya razon es este mal & esta saña tan luenga & tan crua contra nos. Et razonasse aqui ypermestra con los echados & diz.

> And this is no other than Juno's ill-will towards the members of this ancestry which still endures [from the time] when the princess was turned from woman into cow, and from cow into goddess. And this was Io, the daughter of King Inachus who was king of this kingdom of Argos from which we all come and to which we all are heirs. And that goddess Io from whom we all come was a concubine [who shared Zeus' favor] with Juno. And this is where we come from and this is therefore the reason for this evil and this so great and so cruel ill-will that she bears against us. And at this point Hypermnestra enters in dialogue with those who have been banished [by Juno] and says.

which is almost seamlessly rejoined with:

> **(O)** Bella pater patruusque gerunt; regnoque domoque / pellimur; eiectos ultimus orbis habet.

> My father and my uncle are at war; and we have been driven out from both our kingdom and our home, and now find ourselves banished to the confines of the world. (<u>Her.</u> XIV, 111-12)

> **(GE)** Et somos nos los otros echados & maltrechos & estamos cuemo en cabo del mundo fuyendo antel.

> And we are likewise the banished and the distressed and find ourselves as though we were in the end of the world running away like he did [Io as a heifer].

It is possible that, as it was the case in the previous example, a second translation was expected for the verses omitted which, once again, could have posed

an obstacle to a translator lacking the adequate mythographic information. In this case, however, the transition is consciously designed to leave no trace of the verses that have not been translated and there is no indication that the editor intended to eventually incorporate those verses.

The use of the deictic '<u>el</u>' ("he") at the very end in allusion to the heifer (and not to Io, feminine) as well as the introductory remark ending with '<u>diz</u>' ("she says") could be a remnant from a previous translation that would have been edited by a scribe who was unaware of the missing verses. In any case, whether the omission is due to a lack of understanding of the original or to an abbreviation of information that could be found in a different section of the GE, it is clear that there are no other reasons but philological ones to account for this exclusion.

5.3.2.4 Conclusions: <u>Fechos</u>, <u>Estorias</u> and <u>Razones</u> as History and Literature

In conclusion, I argue that the textual norms that regulated the choice of the <u>Her.</u> as a reliable historic source in the <u>GE</u> are all dependent on Alfonso's concept of history as a vault of knowledge from which great understanding of the rules governing the social and natural world can be obtained.

The key that gives access to that wealth of knowledge is literature which is conceived as the discipline of the <u>poetae</u>. It is absolutely necessary to point out that, in this sense, the <u>integumentum</u> (the code that has been applied to the <u>estorias</u> and <u>razones</u> found in the books of the Gentiles) is not perceived as an obstacle to gain access to that knowledge. On the contrary, it is considered an actual device that stimulates the intelligence of the audience in the pursuit of that source knowledge.

The task of the translator is thus presented as that of an experienced artisan who is capable of transmitting, with only a minimal intervention, as much as the original source knowledge as necessary while assisting the audience only in those cases where an expert an authoritative voice is needed. In this excerpt, Alfonso explains, in the case of the <u>Met.</u>, how the transformations narrated by Ovid are to be understood in their allegorical, moral and historical dimensions:

> Sobre las razones delos mudamientos delas cosas que fabla ouidio en el primero libro del su libro mayor. Et assi se entienda otrossi delas otras mudaciones de que Ouidio dize en aquel libro. Et departe el frayre que las razones dessos mudamientos que las unas se esponen segunt allegoria: que es dezir uno & dar al a entender: las otras segunt las costumbres dessas cosas de que son dichas las razones. Las otras segunt la estoria. Et por estas tres maneras. Allegoria. Costumbres. Estoria. se esponen todos los mudamientos de que Ouidio fabla.

> On the <u>razones</u> of the mutations in things of which Ovid speaks in book one of the <u>Met.</u> Let the mutations described by Ovid in that book be understood as follows: The Friar explains that the <u>razones</u> of those mutations can be explained according to allegory: which means to say one thing when another is meant. Others [can be explained] according to the morals found in those things through which <u>razones</u> are said. [And] the others can be explained historically. And in these three ways: allegory, morals, and estoria, all of Ovid's mutations can be explained.

(<u>GE</u> II, 199r)[296]

Whereas allegory is the preferred method of interpretation in the case of the <u>Met.</u>, the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u> were translated according to a methodology that resembles more that implemented in the analysis of <u>fechos</u> and <u>estorias</u> than <u>razones</u>.

Alfonso's textual (as well as matricial) norms, however are also concerned with the literary value of the letters which they ascribed to Ovid's mastery as a <u>poeta</u>. The translation of the source text did not only imply a transliteration of the poetic, mythological, or dialogic aspects of the <u>Her.</u> but actually called for an active reflection on the side of the translators and editors who took the necessary steps to ensure that all these layers and dimensions of meaning were restituted in the GE. As we have seen in the case of Hercules' labors, there are instances in which the translators ignored or chose to omit information found in the original. However, these omissions were not only a few but were due to a lack of literary knowledge that the editors strove to overcome when possible.

In conclusion, this analysis of the translation patterns at work in the textual level of the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u> proves the acquaintance of the translators with a complex array of grammatical, rhetorical, and literary devices which helped them to achieve the most successive translation of Ovid's <u>Her.</u> in a thirteenth century vernacular language that is extant today. My analysis refutes claims made by Alfonsine scholars such as R. Schevill for whom the translation of Dido's epistle in the <u>EE</u> seems, at times, "very difficult" to understand given the absence of a literal correspondence with the original text and the translation set down by the author (260).

Moreover, Schevill's conclusion that "it is evident, too, that the translator was not a Latinist, and that his understanding of classical antiquity was the usual medieval one" (260) is also debatable. The translator's aim, as I have clearly demonstrated, was not as much to produce a vernacular version that was "faithful" to the original (which him and those who like him understood Latin would have rather read and enjoyed in the source language). Alternatively, the translators sought to assimilate into the language and literary culture of the Castilian vernacular all the contextual information that was to be derived from the texts' many dimensions and layers of meaning. Glosses, explanations, amplifications and other grammatical, literary, historical, and rhetorical devices helped the translators reenact the <u>Her.</u> to the point that, as their translations show, they fully understood the complexities of issues such as psychology and subjectivity within the context of literary discourse.

From this analysis emerges the picture of a translator or group of translators that closely resembles R. Cormier's characterization of the translator of the Old French <u>P&T</u> as "trained in and imbued with the Latin classics" and well-versed in "Latin and vernacular composition, versification and thematics" (3). The cases of Baudri of Bourgueil, the anonymous Laodamia to Protesilaus letter, the correspondence between Heloise and Abelard and the widespread use of citations from the <u>Her.</u> as well as many other instances of imitation or direct influences of the <u>Her.</u> in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries prove that the Alfonsine translators could have perfectly been well acquainted with the rhetorical, historical, and literary dimensions of the <u>Her.</u> The analysis of the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u> within the

---

296 Alfonso paraphrases Arnulf of Orléans' <u>Allegoriae</u>.

framework of DTS confirms this possibility as a fact.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS: AND FINALLY THE INITIAL NORM

6.1 HISTORY IN THE <u>GENERAL ESTORIA</u>

As I have shown, translation from Latin into the vernacular languages provides us with a unique opportunity to understand better how medieval texts meant what they meant and what the hermeneutic concerns of the audience and the authors of those translations were. In this sense, translation studies share the potential of medieval glosses to become a gateway to medieval modes of approaching and interpreting the text as proposed, among others, by S. Reynolds.

> If we are prepared to shift the ground, to move from a study of philology to a study of strategies, Latin glosses can reveal an enormous amount about reading and pedagogic practice . . . they are firmly grounded in the <u>trivium</u> arts of grammar and rhetoric, and demonstrate forcibly the need to see our form of medieval reading as one manifestation of a wider set of textual disciplines and concerns. (<u>Medieval Reading</u> 73)

Historical discourse is one of the fields of research that can benefit from this type of inquiry as shown by my study of Alfonso's <u>GE</u> in the context of his translation of Ovid's <u>Her.</u> P. Damian-Grint's <u>The New Historians of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance</u> focuses, precisely, on the first historians who wrote in Old French (Geffrei Gaimar, Benoît de Sainte-Maure, Wace, Jordan Fantosme, and Ambroise) also in the High Middle Ages. According to Damian-Grint, there is a need on the part of the authorial voices to invest their chronicles with authority by combining features of the popular vernacular genres and the authoritative Latin tradition. He argues that "the vernacular historians borrowed elements from both the learned and the popular traditions to produce their own successful and vigorous hybrid, one which was still producing new shoots as late as the fifteenth century and which was widely copied and imitated both by writers of courtly romance and by writers of prose history" (xii).

Alfonso's <u>GE</u>, indeed, features the encyclopedic character of the Latin works of Peter Comestor and Beauvais as well as the didactic character of many other narrative genres that Damian-Grint attributes to the new historians of the Twelfth-century Renaissance:

> Vernacular historians . . . give their justification for their works in terms of arguments found in the Latin histories. History is presented by both as exemplary, providing the listener with the good example of the actions of good men for imitation, and the bad example of the fate of wicked men to be shunned. Like the Bible (taken during the period as a model for history), a primary purpose of history is to teach moral, rather than literal, truth. It is important not so much for what it can teach us about what 'really happened', as for the instruction and moral <u>exempla</u> it can provide for the edification of the devout reader. Nevertheless, this concern for the exemplary or moral nature of historiography, extremely common in the Latin historians, is a less

important argument in the vernacular histories, and the emphasis varies considerably from one writer to another – some authors do not mention it at all. (304)

The Alfonsine project should be understood not as a personal, private, and politically-driven enterprise but rather as a complex cosmos of cultural, political, ideological, religious, and moral elements that stretched beyond the reach of the Wise King. Categorical interpretations of this vast project a historical scam or an ideological plan to introduce propaganda as a particular interpretation of history fail to take into account the complexity of the literary and cultural world of the thirteenth century. J. Kabatake's argument (in line with those by G. Martin or L. Funes commented upon in chapter 2) that "the Alfonsine "fraud" is based on the presentation of that which belongs to another cultural lore as being part Alfonso's own tradition" and that "the King set out to take over a Classical tradition which, at the time, seemed favorable to the advancement of his own interests (the implementation of a centralized legal system in detriment of the judicial diversity of the periphery)" (480) do not account for the complex exegetic process behind Classical translations such as that of the Her.

However, as I have shown throughout this dissertation, history does matter for Alfonso. Damian-Grint's portrayal of history as a discipline relegated to its moral usefulness or, in the case of romance literature, Bruckner's similar argument that in romance narratives historical figures are "elaborated and transformed by the power of fiction in order to experiment with the present through the "model" of a fictive, yet historical past" (213) do not convey the full picture of how history is approached in the Alfonsine Her.

The GE provides a unique insight into the complexity of the concepts of truth and verisimilitude since it bridges the gap between the author/s and their intended audience by providing systematic hermeneutic commentaries on the intended meaning of the stories it contains. The GE is, above any other consideration, a didactic work and its authors must, therefore, strive to convey the appropriate meaning of the stories they narrate to an audience who is meant to be ladina (uneducated). Unlike most contemporary historical works, the GE is, therefore, a work that seeks to bridge the gap between an audience far removed from the social and cultural stratum of its authors.

A first consideration must be adopted when looking into how the GE differentiates between what is true and what is false: the Alfonsine compilers display on many occasions different degrees of certainty. By no means do they feel like they must be exhaustive in their enactment of historical facts or in the search for the "true" meaning behind those stories. Thus, for example, when discussing the story of Lot, Alfonso states the Josephus claims to have seen the statue of salt into which Lot's wife turned and then goes on to explain the differences between an estoria and a fabliella o "tale":

> fue luego fecha [Lot's wife] quamaña era una ymagen de piedra sal & fincos en esse logar mismo o fue tornada como si fuesse otra piedra que nasciesse alli dela tierra. Et diz Josepho que el mismo uio aquella piedra

& que y estido fastal su tiempo.[297] Sobresta razon cuenta un auctor en un libro que conpuso delas estorias dela nuestra ley. & delas fabliellas delos gentiles. & aduze las estorias contra las fabliellas como desputan las unas contra las otras. & uençen las estorias alas fabliellas. & el liblo a nombre Teos que dize el griego por dios. & dolus que dize en latin por engaño. & quiere esto seer tanto como libro o razones que fablan de dios & delos engaños delos ydolos delos gentiles.

And then Lot's wife was turned into a salt statue and remained there were she was transformed as though she were just another rock that was part of the terrain. And Josephus says that he saw that rock himself in his own time. An auctor discusses this <u>razon</u> in a book he wrote about the story of the law of our religion and the tales of the gentiles. And he puts one against the other the stories and the tales and shows how they compare to one another and, eventually, the stories are victorious over the tales. And the book is called "Theos" which means god in Greek and "Dolus" which means trickery in Latin. And it is so called because its intent is to speak of the truth found in the stories of god and of the deceptions of the idols of the pagans. (<u>GE</u> I, 59r)

A similar case is presented in the discussion of the tent that God commanded Moses to erect for him. Alfonso quotes Flavius Josephus in <u>Antiquities</u> III, 6 regarding the tabernacle that Moses built in the wilderness in God's honor and contrasts the information with that found in <u>Exod. </u> 36-38. Alfonso explains the differences found in the descriptions and does not care to provide for an explanation since he concedes room for variation in the historical sources that have kept a record of such important events. It is just as interesting to note that, after he has accounted for all the differences in the materials, the sizes, and the shapes of the parts of the tabernacle he provides us with a comparison that is paramount of his concern for the purpose of historiography:

& aquellos pilares segund dize Josepho. que eran tablas fechas a manera de puertas. &' el uelo que colgaua antellos. fue todo fecho mas apuesto & mas fermoso que todo lo al de aderredor dela claustra. por la entrada que auie aseer por alli a ella & ala tienda. & esto mismo ueemos fazer aun agora en las entradas delas nuestras eglesias. que ponen sobre las puertas figuras de muchas cosas & pintan y estorias por quelas fagan mas fermosas & parescan meior alos omnes que an de entrar por y que se paguen dello. & ayan mayor sabor de uenir ala eglesia.

And those were, according to Josephus, wooden pillars made with boards in the shape of doors and the veil that was hanging in front of them was more beautiful and delicate than everything else that could

---

297 This could well be the salt pillar known as "Lot's Wife" located in Mount Sodom, Israel.

351

be found in the room since that part of the tabernacle was the entry to both the room and the temple. And nowadays we see how the same thing is done at the entrance of our churches on which doors they add many different figurines and paint stories so as to make them more beautiful and more appealing to the people who will enter through them, and so that they will notice them and thus become more eager to come to church. (GE I, 204r)

An estoria is thus a sequence of logical facts be abstract or concrete, real or fictional which has a coherent sense and is entitled with discursive meaning of moral, religious, or doctrinal character. In the case of the paintings here described, estoria acquires a very specific meaning directly related to a sequence of images used to make a pictorial representation of a story as discussed by Jules Piccus in the case of Alfonso's nephew, Juan Manuel of Peñafiel an his El Conde Lucanor (464).

Although an estoria is described as a narrative entity, it is important to consider its concept/s as diverse and, oftentimes, overlapping. Whereas an estoria is indeed a narrative with a strong discursive significance, it is just as important for the Alfonsine scribes to highlight how that significance, the actual power that the estorias have, must be understood. Once again, Alfonso quotes the cultural superiority of the Romans to help him define the true character of historiography:

Empos esso pusieron conseieros de los principes. & priuados & mandaderos con qui fiziessen saber por las tierras lo que ellos querien. & por quien sopiessen las respuestas dalla. Et otrossi fizieron cogedores & recabdadores de los sos derechos & de los tributos & de los aueres que auien a auer por las tierras. Et por que los buenos fechos tan bien de las otras yentes cuemo los suyos dellos. & las marauillas que contescien por las tierras se non perdiessen por mingua de escreuir los; dieron pora ello escriuanos que los escriuiessen & los ayuntassen alas estorias romanas. Et llamaron a todos estos en latin necessarios. Et alos conseieros de los reyes & de los otros principes; llamauan assecretis. E por mandaderos dizien Arresponsis & aun legados. Et alos cogedores & recabdadores de los sos pechos; questores. Et alos escriuidores de las estorias ystoriographos. Et nescessarios alos que eran priuados de los Reyes & de los otros principes.

And they appointed advisors to their rulers and assistants and representatives so that they could spread their message all over the land and to obtain answers to those questions they rulers had for their people. And so that the good deeds (both those of their own people as well as those of other peoples) and the admirable things that took place in all lands would not be lost as a consequence of not writing them down; because of this they appointed scribes who could write them down and merge them to the stories of the romans. And they called all of these people necessarios in Latin. And they called the advisers to the monarchs and all the other rulers assecretis; And their representatives arresponsis or legados. And the tax-collectors questores and the writers of stories ystoriographos and nescessarios to

352

those who were assistants to the monarchs an all other rulers. (<u>EE</u> I, 55r)

Alfonso's description of the origin of historians in the Roman world shows how his key role in the development of Iberian historiography was not only a personal desire or a consequence of a quest for power: it also was part of a strategy of the reenactment of the Classical cultures he so much admired.

Just as Alfonso is compared to the rulers of the ancient world, as the previous paragraph shows, the relationships that are established between the monarchs and their cultural, political, and economic advisors are all part of a broad project of nation building. At this point, history becomes not only the recollection of past deeds with a moral content to be interpreted and imitated. These stories also become key elements in deciding what the future should be like and how decisions should be made by those in power in order to be consequent with the "natural" course of history.

A good example of this inextricable relation is the Alfonsine explanation so as to how it is important to pick up the history of Spain where his predecessor, Jiménez de Rada had left off: the death of Alfonso's father, Fernando III of Castile. Alfonso introduces the account of his father's reign by pointing out that he is following in the steps of Rodrigo who had put an end to his account at the point where Fernando III had died. Alfonso makes the point that although Rodrigo had recorded his father's deeds (fechos) the razon or "deeper meaning" of his father reign has been left unaccounted for since there are many facts that require an explanation in order to clarify his father's decisions.

The compilers laud Rodrigo for the thoroughness of his work and explain how he had indeed talked about not only the deeds of all the other monarchs of Iberia but had actually accurately represented their <u>estorias</u> or narrative and discursive alter-biographies. Alfonso then goes on to subtly criticize Rada for not going beyond the death of his father in his historical account since that leaves his actions and their <u>estoria</u> "hanging", incomplete, as though it were a pictorial representation missing its final vignettes:

> en cuya Razon el dicho arçobispo don Rodrigo fablo mucho delos fechos delos (delos) Reyes & delas sus uidas & quales fueron & commo acabaron & vsaron de sus poderes departiendolo todo en cuento delas sus coronicas se espide en este logar dela estoria % Por quela Razon delos sus fechos deste Rey don fernando de castiella & de leon se cunpla segunt los Sus fechos todos fueron fasta acabamiento de su uida commo dicho es. Tomad en este logar el seguimiento dela Razon ua aun contando la estoria cabo adelante departiendo los segunt las Razones cabadelante segu[i]ran & començola enel logar ofinco.

> Archbishop Rodrigo spoke at length about the deeds of all the monarchs in his narrative and about their lives and how they were; and how they ended; how they conducted themselves and how they used their power explaining it all in the accounts of his chronicles and he abandons the narrative at this point. And so that the real meaning of the deeds of King Ferdinand of Castile and Leon should be told

according to his deeds they all were related up to his death as we have said. At this point, pick up the narrative while telling the story forward in the future narrating it according to the themes and ideas that will follow ahead and begin to tell it at the point where the king died. (EE II, 333r)

The compilers show here in intent to define what the limits of an estoria are and they make it very clear that the "reason" or main set of abstract ideas that give a narrative its character do not end where the estoria or narration of the fechos (deeds) does. In the case of Alfonso's father, a chapter must be added in order to complete the razon that prompted the historical inquiry into his life so that the estoria and the fechos are not left to the arbitrary or mislead interpretation of the reader. At this point, a chapter on how the ideas and themes of the chronicle developed even beyond the death of King Ferdinand seems to have been added at the request of a reviewer and, again, the compiler is sure to explain to his audience what the reasons behind the addition are:

> *Capitulo de commo siguieron las Razones dela coronica cabadelante fasta en acabamiento dela muerte del Rey don fernando.*
> Manera delos estudiadores & de todos quantos començadores de Razones & de grandes fechos estorialmiente quisieron departir de emendar sienpre enlas Razones pasadas que fallaron daquellos que ante que ellos dixieron sy les vino apunto de fallar en aquella misma Razon alguna mengua & de escatimar y & conplir lo que enlas dichas Razones menguado fue & por que el dicho arçobispo non departio enla estoria por qual Razon el Rey don fernando atan arrebatada miente torno ala frontera oel arçobispo en la Razon desa tornada dexo la estoria.

> *Chapter on how the ideas and themes of the chronicle developed even beyond the death of King Ferdinand.*
> All men of letters and all those who have been faced with the task of recounting truthful ideas and great deeds in the historical manner always sought to talk about how they wanted to set straight the past razones they had found and which had been told before their time if they found something missing to amend and write down whatever had been left out in those razones. And since the aforementioned bishop did not mention in his history why was it that King Ferdinand went back so suddenly to the frontier, he left that story at the point of that sudden return without finishing the razon. (EE II, 333r)

The compilers now proceed to explain how Rodrigo had indeed told the account according to a linear, temporal approach. However, they insist that history is not a discipline that has set rules and that is why they must elaborate on the reasons that prompted Ferdinand to make this decision and on the consequences it had in the history of the kingdom:

> Que fue la primera vegada que al Rey don fernando despues que acordoua ouo presa fue tornado acastiella & casado con doña Johana

vino & fue a esa frontera. Quiere lo aqui la estoria contar por yr derecha & egual miente. mas por las Razones & por contar quales ayudas y el Rey don fernando desa uez perdio por aquel a el y por ssy de commo fue queremos de aqui adelante yr contando desto & de todos los otros fechos.

Capitulo del acorro que el Rey don ffernando enbio acordoua ala grant fanbre que y auie.

Cuenta el quela Razon desta estoria de aqui adelante sigue que ese Rey don fernando de qui el arçobispo don Rodrigo de suso enla su estoria a contado & de qui la estoria otrosi de aqui adelante contara andando por sus uillas & por sus çipdades por castiella & por leon endereçandolas & parandolas bien que sse fue veniendo su paso contra toledo & el en toledo estando oyo nueuas de cordoua en commo estauan coytados de fanbre & que sufrien muy grant lazerio & el Rey tomo ende muy grant pesar & saco y luego su manlieua & enbioles luego veynte & cinco mill morauedis & otros tantos alos otros castiellos dalla dela frontera quelos partiesen entre ellos segunt fue la Retenencia de cada castiello de si tornose para castiella.

On the first occasion that King Ferdinand, after having captured Cordoba, and having returned to Castile, and having married Queen Juana he had gone to and come to that border. And the story talks about this deed because it must follow a straight path although the razones and the alliances that King Ferdinand lost on that occasion because of that action and how it happened we will tell you from this point forward with regard to all the fechos and razones.

Chapter on the aid that King Ferdinand sent to Cordoba to alleviate a great famine.

The one who takes on the razon behind this estoria from this point forward tells us that King Ferdinand (of whom Rodrigo speaks in his history book up until this point and of whom another one will speak henceforth) travelled to all his towns and cities all over Castile and Leon and he improved them all and did good things for them. And he travelled in this manner all the way to Toledo. And while he was there word arrived that there was a famine in Cordoba and that it was a catastrophe. And the king felt great distress and he contributed out of his own pocket 25,000 maravedies to the people of the city and gave the same amount to all the castles along the frontier for them to distribute accordingly among themselves. (EE II, 333r)

Although Alfonso is more prone to interpret historical inaccuracies as omissions or mere formal deficiencies, he is also very keen on explaining falsehoods on the basis on misinterpretation by an ignorant or poorly educated audience, or harmful leaders eager to deceive their followers. In the next case, the compilers explain how the author quoted addresses the Nile in order to get his point across without any evil intent or without seeking to let in the readership, which is precisely

why the term <u>fabliella</u> (tale) is not used:

> EL Obispo acoreo dexa a Julio cesar & torna a razonar se con el Nilo mismo como omne bueno. maguer que el nilo era cosa que non auie razon. & traen muchas uezes los omnes buenos esta manera de fablar. & dize le assi. Et fabliella mintrosa non oso fablar dela tu fuente o tu Nilo. o que quier que te ueen los sabios & las yentes preguntan de ti. & esta gloria de saber el tu fecho. non acaescio aun a ninguna yente que la aya. nin que essa yente se falle aun. que sea alegre por seer tu el su nilo. que por ella sepa el su nascimiento.

> Bishop Acoreus leaves Julius Caesar aside and goes back to arguing with the Nile himself as though it were a good man in spite of the Nile not being an entity with reason. And often good men speak in this manner and says to him: "I will not dare speak a lying tale about your source or you Nile, wherever the wise men and the rest of the people find you they inquire about you. And this glory of knowing your <u>fecho</u> (the truth of what you are) nobody has attained it and no one is to be found who can be happy about having made you their Nile after having found out what your source is. (<u>GE</u> I, 51r)

The role of Ovid in the <u>GE</u> is directly linked to the interpretation of truth by medieval authors in their readings of ancient literature. Thus, Ovid based his <u>razones</u> and <u>estorias</u> on facts (<u>fechos</u>) when he composed them into literature. The <u>estoria</u> would be the most basic narrative arrangement of a sequence of events that are related in their nature or their ultimate consequences.

This view was widely spread among medieval scholars like John of Garland (<u>Poetria parisiana</u>) and Geoffrey of Vinsauf (<u>Poetria Nova</u>) for whom history is not but a narrative expression embedded in the discourse of comedy, tragedy, and even the church. Finally, the <u>razones</u> are presented as some sort of λόγος or abstract and general idea; some sort of myth that provides truthful insight into the nature of reality by revealing the great laws and forces operating behind the human mind and the natural world.

In conclusion, medieval historiography as represented by the <u>GE</u> was not as convoluted and chaotic as we sometimes make it to be. On the other hand, it would not be fair to accuse medieval historians of bias in a discipline which, to one extent or another, must always bear the traces of that society from which it emerged. As B. Schneidmüller has explained:

> The Capetian yearning for a direct, dynastic line of kings; the Welfs' yearning to establish roots in their own land; the Frisian yearning for Charlemagne, for his freedom and knightly order; and finally the urban yearning for a historically valid place within the world of knights – none of these are "true" in the sense of the diplomatic discrimen veri ac falsi. Yet the practice of staging history by means of the present is as much a part of the medieval reality as the remaining diplomatic sources that we celebrate as monuments of the age. By getting a sense of the agility and flexibility with which medieval chroniclers drew a

contemporary argument out of the past, we may become more sensitive to our own working methods. We ought then to assess with greater equanimity the relative merit that today's efforts will enjoy in the eyes of posterity. (B. Schneidmüller 192)

Even the most seeming <u>fabliellas</u> are subject to interpretation in the <u>GE</u>. Most of the times the compilers reproduce verbatim what a Christian author had to say about the "fantastic" story. It is interesting to notice how in this case the danger of misinterpretation is not only ascribed to the uneducated but much more specifically to those acquainted with Roman literature and Latin and, most probably, with those with access to any type of education:

> Mas por que esto non semeie fabliella alos buenos et entendudos. departen sobrello Eusebio & Jheronimo & los otros sabios que dend fablan. & dizen que esta razon quiere seer. que tanto era este Phrometheo sabio. & enseñaua bien los saberes alos omnes. que delos nescios & sin todo saber que eran fascas como muertos. o bestias en los entendimientos. fazie sabios & enseñados. tanto quelos sacaua dela muer te dela nesciedad. & los tornaua auida de saber. & por esta semeiança & esplanamiento sale de fabliella esta razon.

> And so this may not look like a <u>fabliella</u> to the well-intentioned and educated, Eusebius and Jerome and all the other wise men who talk about it say that this is the <u>razon</u> behind the story: Prometheus was such a wise man and he taught men so well that he made out of those who were ignorant and uneducated (those who did not know they resembled dead men or beasts in their understanding) wise and educated thus saving them from that death that ignorance is. And he brought them to the life that is having knowledge. And this is how by means of resemblance and proximity this <u>fabliella</u> is the source of a <u>razon</u>. (<u>GE</u> I, 120r)

Some <u>fabliellas</u> do not come from misunderstanding the real meaning of a <u>razon</u> but actually from popular hearsay. These are the inventions of ignorant or uneducated people albeit Alfonso concedes that they are based on real facts such as the story of Scylla and Charybdis:

> Daqui diz que se leuanto la fabliella de Cilla. & de Caripdis. de quien auemos nos contado enla tercera parte desta estoria. como son periglos de la mar. & que fueron cosas uiuas. & lo semeian que lo son aun oy en dia en aquella mar. & esto semeia como fabliella. & pero esse grand uerdad. ca todas aquellas cosas que en aquellas sierras del mont ethña & de regio. & en aquella mar de Seziella. se ayuntan. & se fazen marauillas son & estrañezas de las poridades de la natura. aqui oyen ladridos. alli parecen ymagenes de montes.

> And this is how they say that the fable of Scylla and Charybdis was propagated. We have already told you in the third book of this history that they are sea perils and that they seemed to be alive and that they most probably still do to this day in that sea. And that this resemble a <u>fabliella</u> although it is a great truth since all those things found in Mount Etna y Regio and in that sea of Sicily come together and

wonders take place and they are indeed strange acts performed by nature's powers. Here people hear barks, there images of mountains appear. (GE IV, 181r)

There is, as we can see, plenty of room in Alfonso's view of the world for the fantastic and inexplicable although the hermeneutic influence of the long patristic tradition. Another important trend of historical interpretation is, as we have seen in the previous excerpts, that of the preaching orders. Their exegetical and philological works was at its peak during the thirteenth century and Alfonso relied on the authority just as much as he did on that of Augustine or Jerome.

A third force that influences Alfonso's view of historical explanations is the Aristotelian wave that was sweeping Europe in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The Alfonsine compilers see the natural world as God's creation. In this sense, God does not control these inexplicable phenomena but rather lets nature take its own course according to the rules he has set forth.

Most of the times, when a seemingly wondrous event takes place, however, Alfonso explains it by showing how the uneducated make up stories out of fear and awe for natural phenomena they do not comprehend; again the case of Charybdis and Scylla is paradigmatic:

> & assi diz que se ayuntauan aquellas dos montañas en si. & se partien de cabo. que semeiaua que por uayna entrauan & salien. & cuenta aqui la estoria. que esto non fue compuesto de los antigos por dulcedumbre de fabliella. mas por miedo & marauilla & fazaña de los que passauan. Ca tal es la natura de aquell logar a los que la ueen de alueñe. que dize el que lo uee quel semeia como seno de la mar. & non que aya y passada de otra guisa. ca assi como se ua omne llegando alla. assi ua ueyendo como se uan abriendo aquellos montes.

> And so they say that those two mountains stood together and that they were separated only at the top and it looked like they came and go through that canal. And the story says that this was not made up by the ancients because they were fond of <u>fabliellas</u> but because they were afraid and at awe and in admiration of those who crossed the strait since such is the nature of that place that those who have seen it from a close distance say that what can be seen resembles a sea breast. And since there is no other way to cross as men get closer to that location they see how those mountains appear to open up. (GE IV, 181r)

<u>Fabliellas</u> are essentially mouth-to-mouth popular tales that are appealing to the uneducated masses and are rapidly spread; they are oral and rich in gossip. They have terrible consequences and must therefore be avoided in order to safeguard truth:

> en este logar pone Ouidio un mudamiento estraño daquellos mudamientos que el trexo en costumbre de poner en las otras razones ante destas. & en las de despues en el so libro mayor. Et por que es como fablilla non lo queremos aqui dezir todo de cuemo lo el dize. Saluo ende tanto que por que se non pierda la razon de tod en todo;

> que diremos ende aquellas razones que el diz. en aquellas menos palabras que nos pudieremos

> And here Ovid describes a strange transformation; one of those transformations which he was in the habit of describing in his <u>razones</u> before these ones and then, afterwards, in the <u>razones</u> of his main book [<u>Met</u>.]. And since it is a <u>fabliella</u> we do not want to tell it here as he has it written. That unless the <u>razon</u> in the whole account should be lost; thus we will relate those <u>razones</u> which he speaks of in as few words as we can. (<u>GE</u> II, 46r)

Actually Alfonso acknowledges sometimes it is hard to tell what is true and what is a tale since, precisely, the effect of the <u>fabliellas</u> is to confuse that which is true with that which is only speculation:

> Et por que rrazon fue que el agua de libia aduze tantas pestilençias & es tan plantio para muertes o por que mezclo la natura aquella tierra poridades de dezjr nos por nuestro cuydado & nuestro trabajo que y posimos non lo podemos saber sy non si la fablilla que andado por el mundo enarto los siglos & alos omnes en ellos fablandole en el logar de verdadera rrazon & aquella rrazon es desta gujsa.

> And what is the cause that makes water in Libia be so pestilent and prone to cause death or why did nature confuse its properties in that land we put our attention and work to the matter but could not find out why except for that <u>fabliella</u> which has been around for many centuries and has been told to men instead of the true cause and that cause is as follows. (<u>GE</u> Vr, 143r)

The ancient authors mixed truth with <u>fabliella</u> and in spite of Alfonso's efforts, sometimes the truth gets lost in the maze of fantastic additions made to the original story:

> Mas ante queremos uos contar. unas razones que leuantaron los Autores de los Gentiles en este lugar sobresta razon et estoria de Persseo. & daquellas fijas del rey phorco. Et pero que es razon estraña. & semeia como fablilla conuieñe que lo digamos por que entre todos los sabios que llamamos autores non fallamos ningun clerigo grant. que grant hobra & bueña aya compuesta; que desta razon non tenga. & non faga emiente en algun lugar por alguña guisa; Et en cabo dezir uos emos lo que dan alguños delos nuestros sabios a entender.

> But first we want to tell you about the <u>razones</u> that the Gentile auctores inferred from this <u>razon</u> and <u>estoria</u> of Perseus and the daughters of King Phorcys. But this is a strange <u>razon</u> and it resembles a <u>fabliella</u> and it is appropriate that we say so since among all the wise men that we now call auctores we cannot find any great man of letters who wrote a great and good work without using at least part of this <u>razon</u> or making reference to it. And now we will tell you what is it that some of our own wise men infer from this <u>estoria</u>. (<u>GE</u> II, 208v)

Alfonso warns here the audience about the fantastic nature of the story of Perseus and explains how it is important to be acquainted with it since it is an essential part of most Latin Classical writers' lore. This warning could also be interpreted as an act of self-censorship or doctrinal clarification aimed at avoiding any type of accusation related to misuse of Church doctrine. It should not be forgotten that that in the thirteenth century the preaching orders had become the main force in the papal effort to put an end to paganism in Europe and the GE is not an exception to that cultural context of orthodox religious fervor.

The ultimate example of false writing is the Koran although the prophet Mohammed is not depicted as a liar; it is the book that is filled with falsities and not Mohammed who is a deceiver:

> E despues que se leuantaua dalli. predigaua les & daua les leys que touiessen las que ellos llaman por su arauigo zoharas que son tanto como mandamientos. & destas zoaras les fizo ell un grand libro departido por capitulos al que ellos llaman alcoran. E tanta nemiga & tanta falsedad escriuio ell en aquellas zoharas. esto es mandamientos; que uerguença es a omne de dezir lo. nin de oyr lo. & mucho mas ya de seguir lo. E pero estas zoharas le recebieron aquellos pueblos mal auenturados. seyendo beldo de la ponçon del diablo. & adormidos en el peccado de la luxuria. E oy en dia los tienen & estan muy firmes en su porfia. E non se quieren llegar nin acoger a la carrera de la uerdadera fe. nin auer en si la ley de dios nin el su enseñamiento.

> And after waking up he [Mohammed] preached and gave them laws for them to keep which in Arabic they call zoharas which are the same as commandments. And with these zoharas he made them a large [great?] book divided into chapter which they call The Koran. And so much evil and falsehood did he write in those zoharas (this is commandments) that it is shameful for a man to say it, or to hear it, and not to mention to follow it. Nevertheless, these wretched peoples received these zoharas while being imbued with poison from the Devil and while they were in the slumber that the sin of lust arises in men. And to this day they uphold those laws and they do it with much devotion. And they do not wish to accept or understand the true faith nor to have in them the law of God or his teachings. (EE I, 170v)

Estoria is, therefore, any narration that conveys a coherent series of events, ideas, and convictions. Historical accounts (estorias) are thus narrative arrangements composed of a series of facts (fechos) as Alfonso clearly explains: "Moraua en tierra de palestina Julio affricano omne muy letrado & muy sabidor & que fizo muchas buenas hystorias de los fechos que acaecieron por tod el mundo" ("Julius Africanus lived in Palestine. He was a well-read and very wise man who "made" many good estorias out of the deeds that took place all over the world" EE I, 98r.) Razones, on the other hand, are the coherent, abstract concatenations of facts and/or ideas that are to be gathered from the reading of any narrative, as well as their subsequent abstract organization as sound ideological, behavioral, or moral patterns used to interpret reality.

6.3 DIDACTISM IN THE GENERAL ESTORIA

I have argued that the distinction between fact and fiction is not only relevant but crucial in Alfonso's historiographic works. Alfonso explains in detail his exegetic method and insists on the close relation that exists between ancient auctores and poetae and contemporary historians and troubadours. The accumulation of knowledge in the form of estorias, fechos, razones, or esponimientos in Alfonso X was not conditioned by an exotic or refined literary taste. These sources (like all others included in the GE and the EE) furnished Alfonso's razones with practical examples of how the truths of the natural, moral, and social worlds revealed themselves at work regardless of time, place, or customs. Alfonso, again, remarks, in this case with regard to the story of Dionysus and Pentheus:

> Onde castigo es esto & enxienplo pora todo omne bueño que se deue guardar dela so uena. del uino. Et en estos mudamientos de Ouidio: qui los bien catare bueños son & prouechosos segunt aquello que dan a entender. Ca muestran y buenos castigos & bueños enxiemplos & que contescieron en principes & en Reynas & en otros altos omnes.

> And this is an example and a warning for all good men so that they will learn to stay away from wine. And in these mutations of Ovid's, those who should comprehend them well will find them good and advantageous in accordance to what they actually mean. Because they give good warning and show good examples, all of which happened to rulers and queens and other individuals of high standing (GE II, 142r)

The morals that are transmitted through these stories and their female protagonists should be understood as a corollary of the overarching principle that razones govern the natural world, individual behavior, and social relations. While the actions and words of Ovid's heroines could correspond grosso modo with a particular set of morals, this correlations does not imply that Alfonso sought to promote or declare his admiration for sentimental expression. He envisioned these characters and their emotions (as well as the act of reading) as natural elements in the evolution of the human condition. The editors do not instruct their readership as the absence of significant alterations to "reprehensible" patterns of behavior in the Alfonsine Her. demonstrates.

This and many other characterizations of the protagonists of the Her. reveal a gender discourse that is embedded in the GE's descriptions of key female characters in all periods of history. There are plenty of instances when the translators emphasized that the women behind the Her. were not only actual historical figures but also females whose characters and personal circumstances reappear in different periods of history.

These noble women as represented according to two main categories: those whose intellect and good nature have contributed to the good government of their societies and 2) as suffering heroines whose ability to express and explain the reasons for their folly is perceived by the translators as having been impaired. In both cases, the translators have made it an issue to elaborate on the connections between these women's maturity and their ability to hold a position of power and be successful in

their marriage or with their partners.

The last verses in Penelope's letter to Ulysses (already cited when textual norms were discussed in 5.3.2.2) illustrate this point. They both represent the differences established in the GE between mature and young women and the consequences of their follies. The ultimate fate of these heroines is indeed a warning to a segment of the audience who could identify with the protagonists and for whom the translators and editors would have provided extra guidance by means of these additions in the form of discrete translations.

Alternatively, or–why not–concurrently, these amplifications could have also explored the minds of the heroines and allow them to have the last word in their own stories; an opportunity which they did not seem to have had in the original Latin epistles according to the translators who decided to give them a voice (another one) of their own:

> **(O)** Certe ego, quae fueram te discedente puella, / protinus ut venias, facta videbor anus.
>
> I who, indeed, was but a girl when you left, will have the appearance of an old woman if you do not return soon (Her. I, 115-16)
>
> **(GE)** Otrosy te enbio dezir de mi, ca yo, a quien tu dexeste donzella quando tu fueste asy como tu sabes, maguer que luego agora te vengas, semejar te ha que de otra hedad soy ya fecha, por que me non deues tu por eso desdeñar nin despreçiar, ca seyendo yo tan niña como tu me dexeste y podiera casar despues mucho alta mente, non lo quise fazer nin presçie ninguna cosa a par de ty nin del tu amor, y cuydando en ty en la tu salud, so yo tal qual querria me vieses, y sy quier luego me muriese, lo que sera muy ayna sy non vienes.
>
> I also send you word that I, whom, as you know, was a girl when you left, (so that if you were to come back now you would think that I am at a different stage in my life) and you are not to disdain or snub me. Because being a young girl as I was when you left me, I could have entered another more-convenient marriage. And I did not want to do it just like I did not ever think of anything else but you and your love, and how much I wished that you would be in good health. And in such state I am in that I wish that you could see me and after that, if need be, that I die, which is bound to happen soon if you don't return. (Ashton 7)

Penelope emphasizes that she has remained loyal to her husband in spite of her young age. Her good judgment and her love for Ulysses are equally responsible for her behavior and her list of reproaches can also be understood as one of virtues that are an exception for her age. By emphasizing Penelope's maturity, the translators also downplay the protagonist's female condition since her loyalty is not only seen as an exception given her gender but also her individual character.

The translators, compilers, and editors in charge of the GE did not intervene in the narration of the events they sought to reenact unless they thought that the "original" meaning of the source text could be compromised. This feature of

363

Alfonso's historical works is omnipresent whenever a pagan fable is being explained and points towards the main reason behind Alfonso's historiographic enterprise: the education of his subjects. A good case in point is that of Atlas who is said by Ovid to have turned into the Atlas Mountains:

> Et segunt departe el frayre; que escogiera por meior de nol esperar. que esperar le. & seer uençudo. & muerto; o preso. Et fuxiera & que subiera en aquel mont que era mucho alto. & fuert sin guisa. & ques podrie alli defender del. con aquel poderio que el tenie. Et que duro alli en aquel mont tan luengo tienpo; que dixieron las yentes como por fabliella. ques tornara en mont por la tardança que fiziera el alli. Sobresto que aquel mont que non ouiera nonbre coñoscido fasta alli quel dixieron el mont Athlant.

> And according to the friar's [John of Garland] explanations he chose to not wait rather than wait for him and be defeated, or killed, or captured. And he climbed to the top of that high mountain so that he could defend himself more easily. And since he remained there for such a long time the people began to say a fabliella that he had turned into the mountain because of the long wait. This is why that mountain didn't have any known name until it was called Mount Athlas.

The fundamental difference between the estorias of the gentiles and those of the Judeo-Christian history is that the former have been made up as a consequence of ignorance of lack of guidance by the divine power whereas the latter are consistently backed up with facts. Ovid is a prime example of this distinction since his accounts are not fables because he intended them to be but because they can be misunderstood and also because they were composed at a time and in a culture that was ignorant of revelation. The story of Europa (as told by Ovid in Met. II) is recounted by Alfonso to the detail including magic transformations and transmutations only to warn his audience at the end of the story:

> Non lo tenga njnguno por fabliella por que es delas razones de Ouidio. Ca el que las sus razones bien catare & las entendiere fallara que non ay fabliella njnguna Nin freyres predigadores & los menores que se trabaian de tornar lo enla nuestro Theologia. non lo farien. si assi fuesse. Mas todo es dicho en figura & en semeiança de al.

> Let no one think of this as a fabliella because it is one of Ovid's razones. And that who understands well and reads in his razones will see that there are no fabliellas in them. Nor would the Preaching Friars and the Minors [Benedictines and Franciscans] take the trouble to adapt them into our theology it they were true. In them, everything is said in representation and resemblance of something else. (GE I, 73r)

Alfonso implies that men and women in their youth are mainly concerned with enjoying the pleasures of life and developing their senses as they develop an awareness of the world around them. I argue that the transition from this stage of initial awe and awakening of the senses is presented in the GE in close relation to innocence and purity. Both young men and women are characterized as victims of an

excess of this type of youthful joy and the <u>estorias</u> and <u>razones</u> found in the <u>Her.</u> are part of the moral lore that is intended to warn and educate young readers. Moreover, the relation between youth, innocence, purity, and naiveté, while ascribed to young men and women alike, is also present in many of the adult female characters found in the <u>GE</u>. As we saw in chapter 3, this tendency to ascribe the tragic end of female romance characters to their folly is recurrent in thirteenth-century European literature.

Whereas the glosses and <u>accessus</u> interpret this folly in a negative light (i. e. "stultus amor" in the case of Dido (Hexter 183)), most of the romance and poetic literature of the time shares Alfonso's view that this is a special and admirable condition in female historic and fictional characters. As I explained in 5.2.2.2 when I introduced the definition of <u>dueña</u> in the <u>GE</u>, many of the admirable historical figures that are represented in a positive light (which is almost all of them) are defined in terms of features that are an exception to this rule such as intelligence, cautiousness, good sense, etc.

Just like Doña Sancha or Berenguela, the protagonists of the <u>Her.</u> also confirm this norm to present women as especially sensible individuals. Their noble intentions make them liable to deceit and treachery like they would in the case of any young man or woman. The most compelling piece of evidence in this argument is the preoccupations shown by the translators to fix into writing all the elements of judgment and sensations experienced by the Ovidian heroines, most of which could have gone unnoticed if they had not been properly integrated in the translation.

6.4 LITERATURE IN THE GENERAL ESTORIA

As M. A. Parker ("Juan" 16) and Saquero & González ("Mito" 229) have remarked, the influence of the Ovidian translations contained in the GE and the EE were key in the development of the cultural milieu of those men of letters like Juan de Mena. Authors like him stand in between Alfonso's cultural enterprise and the Renaissance in a period of rapid literary evolution. Mena and many others counted on the GE's translations as a dependable source on which to rely when faced with such complex authors as Ovid.

A 1503 edition of the Gran Conquista can help us understand the relevance of translation in the transmission of knowledge within a reduced group of individuals with great control over the intellectual context of their society. R. Harris-Northall's lexicographic analysis of the early sixteenth-century version of the Gran Conquista shows how this particular text exercised a great influence in the development of Old Castilian. The Gran Conquista uses the vernacular language as an adequate vehicle for the transmission of knowledge otherwise reserved to the Latin language. Harris-Northall describes the process of lexical standardization by which Latinized or re-Latinized variants of words were systematically chosen by the editors who prepared the text for the printing press. These alterations consisted of

> a selection and suppression of variation, typical of codifying a written standard. And it was this standard that would continue to be used and elaborated by the intellectual élite. The misinterpretation that has been common in histories of the language has been that this wa a variety that replaced medieval Spanish in a chronological progression, when in fact it simply drove variation underground by stigmatizing the unselected variants as rustic and uncouth. Outside of the literary standard, these variants lived on, in some cases for several centuries, before the standard was widely imposed. (100)

Alfonso X's Her. are not a retranslation but rather an original and independent version directly translated from a Latin text. If by active retranslations we understand recensions of a same text located within the same cultural environment and generation in which "disagreements over translation strategies" can be found (Pym, Method 82), Alfonso's Her. do not match this category. It is interesting to note that active retranslations will almost invariably have a specific aim in the target culture, one that has not been realized by previous translations (Cf. Pym 83). However, the Old Castilian, Old French, and Italian translations are indeed "passive retranslations" since they are separated by geographical distance although they occurred at the same time (Pym 82).

This circumstance must be taken into account when comparing Alfonso's translation to its contemporaries since judgments like the following one do not represent accurately the Alfonsine Her.:

> The "pathetization" and dramatization of the female character as developed from certain psychological features destined to become an intrinsic part of French and European literature, is [sic] the first element that characterizes the vernacular version of the Heroides"

(Perugi 5).

The role of Ovid in the <u>GE</u> is directly linked to the interpretation of truth by medieval authors in their readings of ancient literature. Although Ovid based his <u>razones</u> and <u>estorias</u> on facts, it is these two abstract categories of thinking that the compilers must focus on since, and this is their firm belief, Ovid did use nothing but actual facts when composing them.

The <u>estoria</u> would be the most basic narrative arrangement of a sequence of events that are related in their nature or their ultimate consequences. This view was widely spread among medieval scholars like John of Garland (<u>Poetria parisiana</u>) and Geoffrey of Vinsauf (<u>Poetria nova</u>) for whom history is not but a narrative expression embedded in the discourse of comedy, tragedy, or even the Church. Finally, the <u>razones</u> are presented as a λόγος or abstract and general idea; some sort of myth that provides truthful insight into the nature of reality by revealing the great laws and forces operating behind the human mind and the natural world.

According to R. A. Smith, there levels of text can be found in the <u>Her.</u>: 1) mythical, 2) fantastic/psychological, and 3) contextual/generic (247). All of these dimensions are characterized by their high degree of metatextuality within a genre, the lyrical epistle, which although existed in Greek literature, had not been fully exploited in Latin until Ovid. If we compare the extant fictional Greek epistles to the <u>Her.</u>, it becomes apparent that Ovid's mastery of the complexities of this genre allowed him to create a series of letters, which, once detached of their metaliterary dimensions, became attainable as historical documents by the thirteenth century Alfonsine translators.

It is important to bear in mind that some doubt remains so as to the nature of these first-century epistles attributed to, for example, Heraclitus, Chion, Diogenes, Zeno or even Euripides. Ronsemeyer explains: "Most of the pseudonymous letter collections are later literary inventions, even if they may include some original material or may be based on genuine collections no longer extant" (15).

The thirteenth-century adaptation of the <u>Her.</u> into Old Castilian thus, bears witness to the value of the metaliterary dimension of all texts as an effective means of re-creating a discourse (in this case the love epistle). This is so in the case of the <u>GE</u> that in spite of more than 1,000 years after Ovid had created these letters, a similar cultural and literary context coupled with a lack of understanding of some meta-literary dimensions of an original text resulted in Ovid's <u>Her.</u> being taken as reliable historical documents. In this sense, the Alfonsine translators' understanding of Ovid's <u>Her.</u> was remarkable when compared to analyses of modern critics such as this one by A. Barchiesi:

> In the <u>Heroides</u> Ovid imposes upon himself an apparent law of composition: that each individual epistle be autonomous. This law of autonomy consists in the fact that each epistle must provide by itself all the necessary information (along with all the implicit signals that it can supply . . .) Above all, the epistles are shaped in such a way as not to call for any response or supplement. (Speaking 29)

The Alfonsine translators understood the rules that governed the <u>Her.</u> as a complex and multidimensional literary work and they sought to abide by them in

their translation process. In this sense, the difference between this Renaissance and that which took place two centuries later throughout Europe could well be defined in terms of what was missed of the Her. by the Alfonsine translators: some of the metaliterary dimensions of a text which had yet to be fully understood as a literary product.

In conclusion, most if not all of the literary dimensions comprehended in the Her. were understood by the translators and were reenacted by them in their Old Castilian translation. In order to emphasize the implications that this Late Medieval translation has in our understanding of the history of the evolution of ideas I would like to contrast to excerpts. The first one is from S. Bordo's The Flight of Objectivity and it is quoted as an example of how sixteenth and seventeenth-century men of letters started to become aware of the impossibility of a "neutral" view of the object. The text is from Montaigne and it is offered as evidence of a "new awareness" of the problem of subjectivity:

> . . . who shall be fit to judge these differences? . . . If he is old, he cannot judge the sense perception of old age, being himself a party in this dispute; if he is young, likewise; healthy, likewise; likewise sick, asleep, or awake. We would need someone exempt from all these qualities, so that with an unprejudiced judgment he might judge of these prepositions as of things indifferent to him; and by that score we would need a judge that never was. (52)

The second excerpt is from L. S. Kauffman's Discourses of Desire: Gender, Genre, and Epistolary Fictions. She argues that in the Her.

> each subsequent heroine sustains the fiction of a conversation with the beloved in her letters, while simultaneously revealing her awareness of the fictiveness of the endeavor. The inscription of desire is alternately rhetorical, erotic, spontaneous, calculated. It is a consciously staged utterance, addressed to the absent beloved; yet (paradoxically), it simultaneously dramatizes his silence, the heroine's alienation, and the metonymic displacement of desire. Each amorous discourse draws on the same tropes and figures of rhetoric to persuade the beloved to return, and in each the performative aspects of rhetoric dramatize the similarities in situation and context. (25)

There is a contradiction between the ability to possess a deep understanding of the Her. as the Alfonsine translators did, and our vision of the Middle Ages as an era of primitive intellectualism. On the contrary, they constitute a rather unique case, the first case indeed, of a Neo-Ovidian interpretation of the Her. in the post-classical era of Western civilization.

6.5 THE INITIAL NORM IN THE <u>HEROIDES</u> AND THE <u>GENERAL ESTORIA</u>

The <u>Piramus et Tisbé</u> (<u>P&T</u>) (mid. twelfth century) adaptation/translation of Ovid's rendering of the ancient Greek myth (<u>Met</u>. IV, 55-166) can be considered the first in the long series of vernacular adaptations of Ovid which would ensue in the following centuries. Alfonso's translation of the <u>Her.</u> can be considered a distant descendent of this tradition which, as we observed in chapter IV, spans more than two centuries across almost every literary genre.

The earliest extant Old French translation of Ovid has been the object a thorough study by K. S.-J. Murray who has called the <u>P&T</u> "a carefully and artfully crafted piece" (80). Accordingly, the translation could only have been produced by a scholar who had a considerable background in Latin rhetoric and literature which he applied to what can be considered not only as a translation but "a sort of poet commentary (or gloss) on Ovid" (80). This brief poem does indeed hold great value in that it reveals the intricacies involved in the art of translation from Latin into newly emerging vernacular European languages such as Old French and Old Castilian.

In the case of the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u>, I have studied the norms that regulated the translation from the point of view of DTS and classified them according to their nature into preliminary and operational norms. We saw how operational norms regulate the decisions made during the act of translating whereas operational norms govern the extent to which the "text" is divided into units of meaning (segmentation) and how those units are transposed into the target text and language. The final norm that remains to be discussed (explictly) is that which Toury termed "initial norm."

Toury defined the initial norm as the orientation that is followed in a translation towards the norms of either the source text and language or the target text and language. The former type of translation is defined as "adequate" whereas the former would be considered "acceptable" (<u>Descriptive</u> 56-57). Van Leuve-Zwart proposes an additional definition in broader terms according to which "the translator's (conscious or unconscious) choice as to the main objective of his translation, the objective which governs all decisions made during the translation process" (154).

The initial form is, therefore, concerned with the translators' attempt to integrate the new text into the polysystem from which the original came, or to adapt the preliminary and operational norms to linguistic, literary, and sociocultural parameters of the target polysystem. As it was the case with preliminary and operational norms, the initial norm does not have a specific blueprint but remains to be inferred from patterns in the shifts observed in the target text. Of course this norm does not only involve linguistic parameters.

As S. Bagge has cleverly suggested, "medieval historiography is useful, not despite its bias but because of it" ("How" 33) since in the evolution and transformation of historical information (specially in translation) we can identify the traces left behind by the attitudes, ideas, expectations, etc., of those, whom like Alfonso, had in their hands the responsibility of shaping history.

Chapter five in this thesis looked in a similar way into the rhetorical, grammatical, and literary devices deployed by the Alfonsine translator/s of Ovid's <u>Her.</u> in the <u>GE</u> in order to gain a better understanding of 1) how Latin classical works,

and Ovid as an <u>auctor</u>, <u>poeta</u> and historian were understood; 2) to what extent the <u>Her.</u> were believed to be actual letters and their writers actual historical characters and what traces of, as G. Martin has termed them "Didactic-Propapagandist Determinations" ("Determinaciones" 1) can be found in the translation through the omission, addition or adaptation of the original Latin text;[298] 3) how translation theory and practice were applied to the <u>Her.</u> and other Latin sources in the <u>GE</u> and to what extent and in what specific ways that theory evolved from the practice of Latin rhetoric and literary study; 4) what is the characterization of these women as spouses, lovers, nobles and regents and to what extent, as Mencé-Caster has suggested in the case of Dido in the <u>EE</u>, does their female condition (and not their concupiscence or intellectual inferiority) prevent them from being good politicians in the long term as opposed to their excellent qualities as both temporary rulers and aides and advisors to their kings (12-14).

The <u>P&T</u> and, as I have shown in the previous chapter, the <u>Her.</u> were used in advanced rhetorical and grammatical instruction because of their Ovidian quality. They were incorporated onto historical compilations such as the GE because of their protagonists' key role in the Trojan War and other ancient "historical" narratives. These incorporations propitiated a series of translations (French archetype, <u>RdeT.</u>, Gaddiano, Ceffi...) all of which were carried out by the increasingly more abundant Latin scholars with an interest in the newly emerging vernacular literatures.

One of the few pioneering works in the field of early vernacular translation is H. U. Gumbrecht's analysis of the Old Castilian translations of the <u>Knight of the Swan</u> story (in the first edition of the <u>Gran conquista de ultramar</u>), Benoît's <u>R. de Tr.</u>, the <u>Alexander Romance</u> and the <u>Apollonius of Tyre</u> story. The <u>Gran Conquista</u> is a recension in Old Castilian of William of Tyre's <u>Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum</u> (cas. 1130-1184) written in the last decade of the thirteenth century that was reworked successively over the following centuries.[299] William's popular account of the conquest of Jerusalem appears to have been initially translated as part of the <u>GE</u> (González, <u>Tercera crónica</u>).[300]

Gumbrecht notes in his study how the absence of an extensive romance genre in the Iberian vernaculars could have prompted the adoption of "a part of the communicative functions which characterize the social role of the courtly romance—entertainment and the transmission of social norms—" (216), and accordingly analyzes these four translations looking for signs of this transposition. It is

---

298 G. Martin synthesizes decades of research by stating that "Alfonso X's historians understood that the control and administration of historical knowledge by the monarchy as well as the "proper" regulation of the historical cultural background to be acquired by the elites were key in enhancing the governability of the realm" (21-22).

299 The original version contains translations of the <u>Chanson d'Antioche</u>, <u>Conquête de Jérusalem</u>, <u>Les Chétifs</u>, <u>Helias</u>, and the <u>Enfances</u> de Godefroid de Bouillon (which includes a version of the <u>Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne</u>), <u>Berthe aux grands pies</u>, and <u>Mainete</u>.

300 In their reviews of <u>La tercera crónica</u>, J. F. Burke and C. A. Vega argue that González's hypothesis needs further research before it can be validated.

interesting to note how Gumbrecht concludes that all these translations (which were carried out, just like that of the Her., in the second half of the thirteenth century) feature three shared "tendencies in modification": "the introduction of astonishing and entertaining information, the emphasis on social virtues, and the references to inevitable fate" (216-7).

Ovid's Her. are, in the light of Gumbrecht's conclusions, indeed, a most-appropriate source to be used in a historical compilation that sought to reenact ancient literature. This would be specially the case at a time when the interest in the epistolary genre could well be related to the importance of the compilation of historical sources arranged in a manner that appeals to the reader. Alfonso explains himself this process in the GE with regard to the Met. in this specific instance:

> Los auctores de los gentiles que fueron poetas dixieron muchas razones en que desuiaron de estorias. & poetas dizen en el latin por aquello que dezimos nos en castellano enffeñidores & assacadores de nueuas razones & fueron trobadores que trobaron en el latin & fizieron ende sus libros en que pusieron razones estrañas & marauillosas & de solaz mas non que acuerden con estoria menos de allegorias & de otros esponimientos. & assi fizo ouidio que fue poeta en las razones daquel diluuio & daquella quema de que dize mas que otro sabio & eñadio y unos mudamientos dunas cosas en otras que non son estoria por njnguna guisa.

> The auctores of the gentiles, who were poetae, told many truths while writing without factual accuracy. In Latin, a poet stands for someone whom in Castilian we refer to as the one who conceives and develops new razones. They were troubadours and they composed versified stories in Latin. And thus they wrote their books in which they put razones which were out of the ordinary and wondrous and just for the enjoyment [of the readership]. And these [razones] do not match up with real events unless allegory and other types of expositio are taken into account. And this is what Ovid (who was a poet) did in the cases of the razones argued in the deluge and the big fire to which he added mutations of some things into others none of which are, by any means, factual. (GE I, 167v)

These letters, however, are not just fantastic or sentimental accounts being used as history but fechos and razones intertwined in the form of estoria. The stories behind the heroines are just as important as the imbrication of the letters in the larger narrative to which they belong. Similarly, "the emphasis on social virtues" could have found no better resource than the Her. The private lives of ancient members of the nobility presented the translators with prime examples of the complex relations that exist between the private lives of those in power and the master historical narratives of betrayal, defeat, loss, etc in these letters.

The consequences that those events have on the people and states that those rulers are supposed to govern are a mix of fechos and estorias that reveal the razones to be apprehended. Lastly and most importantly, the recurrence of the inevitability of fate (Gumbrecht exemplifies precisely with pleas and direct addresses from the

protagonists of the French romances) would have also found in the Her. an invaluable source of pathos and how it operates in the lives of these noble heroines who, in their own words, bear witness to the complexities of love, death, existence, the passing of time…

Once again, however, pathos was not all that which the Alfonsine translators were after in these translations. The scrupulously philological translation of the Her. shows that there is not more sentimentalism in the Alfonsine Her. that could be found in the original Ovidian letters. The amplifications made in the translation were not exclusive to particularly expressive passages but were part of a comprehensive effort to incorporate to the vernacular translation as much of the Her. as possible.

TheAlfonsine Her. are not as much of a literary text as say, for example, the Old-French, Italian, Catalan, or the Bursario translations. The differences are not in content but in approach to translation. The Alfonsine translators operated under unique preliminary norms that strictly precluded any type of intervention or alteration of the source text that could not be justified in philological terms. The relation between the source cultural product (including the text) and the target product differed from that present in the other translations.

The norms at work in this translation could be formulated as 1) the Latin language provides access to cultural goods that can be accessed with more difficulty in Old Castilian; 2) Latin literature is, in essence, more complex than any vernacular literature and must therefore be approached carefully when translated since the cultural and social polysystem in which it developed varies from that in the target polysystem. and 3) All historical texts are made up of fechos, estorias, and razones that are articulated in a literary manner by the author.

In this context, it is important to take into account that the concept of translation varied according to the genealogical and cultural distance between the source and target language. It should be remembered that, still in the thirteenth century, most of the Western romance languages were intelligible amongst themselves. As Wright has argued, it was precisely the increase in the production of written language that lead to a change in pronunciation that helped increase the gap between linguistic variations of otherwise compatible linguistic modes:

> At a time like the thirteenth century–when the bond between the Romance languages was still strong and when, moreover, the cultural and commercial exchange with France blurred the sense of a frontier– the linguistic structures of the French and Italian vernaculars were not considered in opposition; speaking of translation in this context can hardly be considered an option. (C. Segre 22)

The differences among vernacular translations of the Her. are, thus, not due to linguistic or cultural barriers but to the distinct Alfonsine approach to literature in general and to history and translation in particular.

I have argued that the preliminary norms that regulated the choice of the Her. as a reliable historic source in the GE are all dependent on Alfonso's concept of history as a vault of knowledge from which great understanding of the rules governing the social and natural world can be obtained. The key that gives access to that wealth of wisdom is literature, which is conceived as the discipline of the poetae.

It is necessary to point out that the code that has been applied to the estorias and razones found in the books of the Gentiles (i. e. integumentum) is not perceived as an obstacle to gain access to those razones but as an actual device that stimulates the intelligence of the audience in the pursuit of that source knowledge.

The task of the translators is, therefore, presented as that of an experienced artisan who is capable of transmitting (with only a minimal intervention) as much as the original source knowledge as necessary. Simultaneously, the editors, compilers, and translators must assist the readership only in those cases where an expert an authoritative voice is required. In this excerpt, Alfonso explains, in the case of the Met., how the transformations narrated by Ovid are to be understood in their allegorical, moral, and historical dimensions:

> *Sobre las razones delos mudamientos delas cosas que fabla ouidio en el primero libro del su libro mayor.*
> Et assi se entienda otrossi delas otras mudaciones de que Ouidio dize en aquel libro. Et departe el frayre que las razones dessos mudamientos que las unas se esponen segunt allegoria: que es dezir uno & dar al a entender: las otras segunt las costumbres dessas cosas de que son dichas las razones. Las otras segunt la estoria. Et por estas tres maneras. Allegoria. Costumbres. Estoria. se esponen todos los mudamientos de que Ouidio fabla.

> *On the razones of the mutations in things of which Ovid speaks in book one of the Met.*
> Let the mutations described by Ovid in that book be understood as follows: The Friar explains that the razones for those mutations can be explained according to allegory: which means to say one thing when another is meant. Others [can be explained] according to the morals found in those things through which razones are said. [And] the others can be explained historically. And in these three ways: allegory, morals, and estoria, all of Ovid's mutations can be explained. (GE II, 199r)[301]

The fact that, as I mentioned in the previous chapter, the Her. are considered to be a rendering of historic letters reworked by a poeta of the maximum auctoritas like Ovid, made the Her. a suitable candidate for translation in the GE. Once we understand that these epistles were believed to have a historical document as it source, it becomes apparent that the emotions expressed in them, as well as their textual interplay, were conceived as standard features of the epistolary genre. Far from being an impediment, the complexity of the emotions and interactions expressed by their protagonists served as an ideal expression of the talent of a poeta like Ovid to embed razones in historical events.

I conclude my dissertation by quoting a contemporary auctor from whom I have borrowed several razones throughout these five chapters. Alessandro Barchiesi remarks in his study of the use of the future reflexive as a mode of allusion in the Her.:

---

301 Alfonso paraphrases Arnulf of Orléans' Allegoriae.

In recognizing an allusion the reader moves backwards in time from the text she is reading towards an earlier tradition, already familiar . . . There is a particular fascination in this process because it repeats and-simultaneously-reverses the original direction of the stream of literary 'creation'. Where the writer has worked from the old towards the new, the reader finds his way by means of clues that send him back from the new towards the old. In other words, allusion and literary self-consciousness are not easily detachable entities. In some texts, often narrative or dramatic works, this use of allusion has certain self-referential characteristics that enhance its effect on the reader. ("Future" 333)

This is precisely the case in the Alfonsine <u>Her.</u> The translators sought to recreate the literary tradition of the ancient authors by working from the old towards the new. The translators provided their readers with plenty of clues to be able to navigate their way through that transition. The fact that the translators were able to stand on the other side of that literary journey implies that they had already managed to master the world of subjectivity through the re-enactment of the literary self-consciousness of Ovid's <u>Her.</u>

WORKS CITED

Abad, Francisco. "El español primitivo: concepto y algunas cuestiones que plantea." <u>Actas del II congreso internacional de historia de la lengua española</u>. Vol. 2. Madrid: Pabellón de España, 1992. 519-28.

Abrahams, Phyllis, ed. <u>Les oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil (1046-1130)</u>. Paris: H. Champion, 1926.

Adams, A. "<u>The Roman d'Yder</u>: The Individual and Society." <u>The Legacy of Chrétien de Troyes</u>. Ed. Norris J. Lacy, Douglas Kelly and Keith Busby. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1988. 71-77.

Adams, J. N. "A Type of Sexual Euphemism in Latin" <u>Phoenix</u> 35:2 (1981): 120-128.

Alarcos Llorach, Emilio. <u>El español, lengua milenaria (y otros escritos castellanos)</u>. Colección Ambito Castilla y León, 5. Valladolid: Ámbito, 1982.

Albertano, and Thor Sundby. <u>Albertani Brixiensis Liber consolationis et consilii ex quo hausta est fabula de Melibeo et Prudentia: quam anglice redditam et The Tale of Melibe inscriptam, Galfridus Chaucer inter Canterbury tales recepit</u>. Chaucer Society, no. 8. London: Pro Societate chauceriana, N. Trübner & co, 1873.

Albrecht, Michael Von. "La correspondance de Paris et d'Hélène." <u>Colloque Présence d'Ovide</u>. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1982. 189-93.

Albrecht von Scharfenberg. <u>Albrechts von Scharfenberg Jüngerer Titurel</u>. Vol. 1. Ed. W. Woldf & K. Nyholm. Berlin: Verlag, 1955.

---. <u>Albrechts von Scharfenberg Jüngerer Titurel</u>. Vol. 2.1. Ed. W. Woldf & K. Nyholm. Berlin: Verlag, 1964.

---. <u>Albrechts von Scharfenberg Jüngerer Titurel</u>. Vol. 3.1. Ed. W. Woldf & K. Nyholm. Berlin: Verlag, 1985.

Alexander of Hales, and Bernardinus Klumper. <u>Doctoris irrefragabilis Alexandri de Hales Ordinis Minorum Summa theologica</u>. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) prope Florentiam: Ex Typographia Collegii S. Bonaventurae, 1924.

Alfonso X, King of Castile. <u>Cantigas profanas</u>. Ed. J. Paredes Núñez. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 1988.

---. El libro de los doze sabios. Ed. J. K. Walsh. <u>Anejos del boletín de la Real Academia Española</u> 29 (1975): 1-179.

---. <u>Estoria de España (Primera Crónica General de España)</u>. 2 Vols. Ed. R. Menéndez Pidal. Madrid: Gredos, 1955.

---. <u>General Estoria I</u>. Ed. A. G. Solalinde. Madrid: J. Molina, 1930.

---. <u>General Estoria I</u>. Vol. 1 (Génesis). Ed. P. Sánchez-Prieto Borja. Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 2001.

---. <u>General Estoria I</u>. Vol. 2 (Éxodo, Levítico, Números, Deuteronomio). Madrid: Fundación José Antonio de Castro, 2001.

---. <u>General Estoria II</u>. Madrid: CSIC, 1957.

---. <u>General Estoria IV</u>. CD-ROM. Madison, Wis.: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1997.

---. <u>General Estoria V</u>. CD-ROM. Madison, Wis.: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1997.

---. <u>General Estoria Vr</u>. CD-ROM. Madison, Wis.: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1997.

---. <u>General Estoria VI</u>. CD-ROM. Madison, Wis.: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1997.

---. <u>Judizios de las estrellas</u>. CD-ROM. Madison, Wis.: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1997.

---. <u>Lapidario</u>. CD-ROM. Madison, Wis.: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1997.

---. <u>Libro de las leyes</u>. CD-ROM. Madison, Wis.: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1997.

---. <u>Libro de las tablas</u>. CD-ROM. Madison, Wis.: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1997.

---. <u>Libros de ajedrez, dados y tablas</u>. CD-ROM. Madison, Wis.: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1997.Alfred, King of England. "A New Beginning (Alfred's Preface to His Translation of Gregory's <u>Cura Pastoralis</u>)." <u>The Cambridge Old English Reader</u>. Ed. R. C. J. Marsden. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. 30-37.

Alighieri, Dante. <u>La divina commedia</u>. Ed. K. Witte. Berlin: R. Decker, 1862.

Allen, J. B. "Commentary as Criticism: Formal Cuase, Discrusive Form, and the Later Medieval <u>Accessus</u>." <u>Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Lovaniensis</u>. Munich: Humanistische Bibliothek, 1973. 29-48.

---. "Eleven Unpublished Commentaries on Ovid's Metamorphoses and Two Other Texts Of Mythographic Interest: Some Comments on a Bibliography." <u>The Mythographic Art: Classical Fable and the Rise of the Vernacular in Early France and England</u>. Ed. J. Chance. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1990. 281-9.

---. <u>The Friar as Critic. Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages</u>. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1971.

Allen, Prudence. <u>The Concept of Woman</u>. Vol. 2: The Early Humanist Reformation, 1250-1500. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2002.

Allen, Stephen H. <u>The Evolution Of Governments and Laws, Exhibiting the Governmental Structures of Ancient and Modern States, Their Growth and Decay and the Leading Principles of Their Laws</u>. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1922.

Allmand, C. T. Ed. <u>War, Literature, and Politics in the Late Middle Ages</u>. New York:

Barnes & Noble, 1976.

Alton, E. H. "Ovid in the Medieval Schoolroom." <u>Hermathena</u> 94 (1960): 21-38.

Amador de los Ríos, José. <u>Historia crítica de la literatura española</u>. 7 vols. Madrid: J. Rodríguez, 1861-1865.

Ampère, Jean Jacques. <u>Histoire littéraire de la France sous Charlemagne et durant les Xe et XIe siècles</u>. Paris: Dodoer, 1868.

Andersen, E. A. "Rudolf von Ems." Ed. Will Hasty. <u>Camden House History of German Literature: German Literature of the Middle Ages</u>. Elizabethtown, NY: Camden House, 2005. 225-33.

Anderson, M. "Ethnography as Translation." <u>La Traduzione</u>. Roma: Melterni, 2000. 181-87.

Anderson, W. S. "The <u>Heroides</u>." <u>Ovid</u>. Ed. J. W. Binns. London: Routledge, 1973.

Andersson, Theodore Murdock. <u>A Preface to the Nibelungenlied</u>. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1987.

Andreadis, Harriette. "Sappho in Early Modern England: A Study in Sexual Reputation." <u>Re-Reading Sappho. Reception and Transmission</u>. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996. 105-21.

Andreotti Saibene, M. G. "Le <u>Metamorfosi</u> di Ovidio nella traduzione di Albrecht Von Halberstadt." <u>L'antichita nella cultura europea del medioevo</u>. Greifswald: Reineke-Verlag, 1998. 21-30.

---. <u>Rapporti fra l'Eneide di Virgilio e l'Eneide di Heinrich von Veldeke</u>. Florence: La nuova Italia, 1973.

Angeletti, L. R. and V. Gazzaniga. "Theophilus' <u>Auctoritas</u>: the Role of <u>De urinis</u> in the Medical Curriculum of the 12th-13th Centuries." <u>American Journal of Nephrology</u> 19:2 (1999): 165-71.

Anonymous. <u>Der Altfranzösische Yderroman</u>. Ed. Heinrich Gelzer. Dresden: Max Niemeyer, 1913.

---. <u>The Romance of Yder</u>. Ed. Alison Adams. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983.

Anonymous. <u>Histoire ancienne. The Heard Word: A Moralized History. The Genesis Section of the Histoire Ancienne in a Text from Saint-Jean d'Acre</u>. Ed. M. C. Joslin. Mississipi: Romance Monographs, 1986.

Anonymous. <u>Le Roman de Flamenca: nouvelle occitane du 13e siècle</u>. Ed. Ulrich Gschwind. 2 Vols. Berne: A. Francke, 1976.

Anonymous. <u>Reinfried von Braunschweig</u>. Ed. Karl Bartsch. Stuttgart: Litterararischer Verein, 1871.

Anonymous. <u>Vitis mystica seu tractatus de passione domini. Patrologiae tomus CLXXXIV. S. Bernardus Abbas Clarae-Vallensis</u>. Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1854.

Apollodorus. <u>Apollodori Bibliotheca</u> (Ἀπολλόδωρος Βιβλιοθήκη). Ed. R.

Hercher.Berlin: Weidmann, 1874.

Aristotle. Περί Ποιητικής. Poetics. Ed. S. Halliwell. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995.

---. Τὰ μετὰ τὰ φύσικα. Metaphysics. Ed. W. D. Ross. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924.

Arizaleta, A. "Las "estorias" de Alexandre: Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, historiador de Alejandro Magno." Actas del IX Congreso Internacional de la Asociacion Hispánica de Literatura Medieval, A Coruña, 18-22 de septiembre de 2001. Ed. Carmen Parrilla & Antonio Chas. La Coruña: Toxosoutos, 2005. 343-59.

---. ""Ut lector agnosceret": discurso y recepción en la obra de Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (primera mitad del siglo xiii)." Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales 26 (2003): 163-86.

Arnaut de Mareuil. Les poésies lyriques du troubadour Arnaut de Mareuil. Ed. R. C. Johnston. Genève: Slatkine Reprints, 1973.

Arnulf of Orléans. Allegoriae super Ovidii Metamorphosin. Ed. F. Ghisalberti. Arnolfo d'Orléans; un cultore di Ovidio nel secolo XII. Milan: Hoepli, 1932. 158-234.

---. Lidia. Ed. I. Gualandri. Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo. Vol. 6. Gallizi: Università di Genova, 1998. 111-318.

---. Miles gloriosus. Ed. S. Pareto. Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo. Vol. 4. Genova: Università di Genova, 1983. 11-94.

Ashton, J. R. "Ovid's Heroides As Translated by Alphonso the Wise: An Experiment in Source Study." Diss. University of Wisconsin: Madison, 1944.

---. "Putative Heroides Codex AX as a Source of Alfonsine Literature." Romance Philology 3:4 (1950): 275-89.

Auerbach, Erich. Literary Language & Its Public in Late Latin Antiquity and in the Middle Ages. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

Badia, Lola. "Per la presència d'Ovidi a l'edat mitjana catalana amb notes sobre les traduccions de les Heroides i de les Metamorfosis al vulgar." Studia in honorem prof. M. de Riquer. Vol. 1. Barcelona: Edicions dels Quaderns Crema, 1986. 79-110.

Baebius Italicus. Babii Italici Ilias Latina. Ed. M. Scaffai. Bologna: Pàtron, 1982.

Bagge, Sverre. "How Can We Use Medieval Historiography?" International Scandinavian and Medieval Studies in Memory of Gerd Wolfang Weber. Ed. Dallapiazza et al. Trieste: Parnaso, 2000. 29-42.

---. "Medieval and Renaissance Historiography: Break or Continuity?" The European Legacy 2 (1997): 1336-71.

Bagnall, Nigel. The Peloponnesian War: Athens, Sparta and the Struggle for Greece. New York: Thomas Dunne Books. 2006.

Baker, Mona. "Linguistics and Cultural Studies. Complimentary of Competing Paradigms in Translation Studies?" Übersetzungswissenschaft im Umbruch

Festschrift für Wolfram Wilss zum 70. Geburtstag. Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1996. 9-19.

---. "Corpus Linguistics and Translation Studies: Implications and Applications." Text and Technology: In Honour of John Sinclair. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1993. 233-50.

---., ed. The Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies. London: Routledge, 1997.

Balaguèr, Víctor. Historia política y literaria de los trovadores. Madrid: Fontanet, 1878.

Baldwin, John W. "Masters at Paris from 1179 to 1215: A Social Perspective." Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century. Ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable. Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1982. 615-36.

---. The Language of Sex: Five Voices from Northern France Around 1200. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994.

Ballesteros Beretta, Antonio. Alfonso X el Sabio. Barcelona: Salvat, 1963.

Bandia, P. F. "The Impact of Postmodern Discourse on the History of Translation." Charting the Future of Translation Theory. Ottawa: University of Ottowa Press, 2006. 45-58.

Barbieri, Luca, and Ovid. Le "epistole delle dame di Grecia" nel Roman de Troie in prosa: la prima traduzione francese delle Eroidi di Ovidio. Romanica Helvetica, v. 123. Tübingen: Francke, 2005.

Barchiesi, A. "Voci e istanze narrative nelle Metamorfosi di Ovidio." MD 23 (1989): 55-97.

---. "Future Reflexive: Two Modes of Allusion and Ovid's Heroides." Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 95 (1993): 333-65.

Barnicle, M. E. ed. The Seege or Batayle of Troye: A Middle English Metrical Romance. London: Oxford University Press, 1927.

Barrero García, A. M. "Un formulario de cancillería episcopal castellano-leonés del siglo XIII." Anuario de historia del derecho español 46 (1976): 671-711.

Barrow, S. F. The Medieval Society Romances. New York: Columbia University Press, 1924.

Bartsch, Karl. Albrecht von Haberstadt und Ovid im Mittelalter. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1965.

Bassnett, Susan and André Lefevere. Constructing Cultures: Essays on Literary Translation. Clevedon: Philadelphia Multilingual Matters, 1998.

---. "The Meek or the Mighty: Reappraising the Role of the Translator." Translation, Power, Subversion. Topics in Translation; 8. Clevedon: Philadelphia Multilingual Matters, 1996. 10-23.

---. "The Translation Turn in Cultural Studies." Constructing Cultures Essays on Literary Translation. Topics in translation, 11. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters,

1998. 123-40.

Bastin, Georges L. Charting the Future of Translation History. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2006.

Bately, Janet. "Those Books That Are Most Necessary for All Men to Know: The Classics and Late Ninth-Century England, A Reappraisal. The Classics in the Middle Ages. Ed. A. S. Bernardo and S. Levin. Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1990. 45-78.

Battelli, Giulio. Lezioni di Paleografia. Vatican City: So. Carti G. e F. Sansaini & Co., 1949.

Battles, Dominique. The Medieval Traditon of Thebes. History and Narrative in the OF Roman de Thèbes, Boccaccio, Chaucer and Lydgate. New York: Routledge, 2004.

Baudri of Bourgueil. Les oeuvres poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil (1046-1130). Ed. P. Abrahams. Paris: H. Champion, 1926.

Bautista, Francisco. "La tradición épica de las Enfances de Carlomagno y el Cantar de Mainete perdido." Revista de filología española 83 (2003): 223-47.

Bayot, Alphonse. "La première partie de la Chronique Dite de Baudouin d'Avesnes." Revue des bibliothèques et archives de Belgique 2 (1904): 419-32.

Beach, A. I. "Voices from a Distant Land: Fragments of a Twelfth-Century Nuns' Letter Collection." Speculum 77 (2002): 34-54.

Beaton, Roderick. The Medieval Greek Romance. 3rd edition. London: Routledge, 1996.

Beer, J. M. A. "Antiquity's Heroes in the Court of Philip Augustus." Journal of the AUMLA 78 (1992): 77-97.

---. "Auctores and Auctoritas in Li Fet des Romains." Proceedings of the Medieval Association of the Midwest 1 (1991): 14-26.

Bellorini, Egidio. Note sulle traduzioni italiane delle "Eroidi" d'Ovidio, anteriori al rinascimento. Torino: E. Loescher, 1900.

Berger, Samuel. La Bible française au moyen age: étude sur les plus anciennes versions de la Bible écrites en prose de langue d'Oïl. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884.

Bernard of Clairvaux. S. Bernardus Abbas Clarae-Vallensis. Patrologiae tomus CLXXXII. Paris: Excudabat Migne, 1854.

---. S. Bernardus Abbas Clarae-Vallensis. Patrologiae tomus CLXXXIII. Paris: Excudabat Migne, 1854.

Bernardoni, Giuseppe, ed. Epistole eroiche di Ovidio Nasone volgarizzate. Milan: Bernardoni, 1842.

Berrigan, J. R., ed. The Chronicles of the Trevisan March. Rolandino Patavino. Lawrence, KA: Coronado Press, 1980.

Berrio, Pilar. "Historia y ficción: el tratamiento alfonsí del mito de Orfeo." <u>Actas Irvine-92</u>. Ed. J. Villegas. Irvine, CA: University of California, 1994. 11-19.

Bertolucci Pizzorusso, V. "Un tratatto de <u>ars dictandi</u> dedicato ad Alfonso X." <u>Studio mediolatino e volgari</u> 15 (1967): 3-82.

Bessone, Federica. "Saffo, la lirica, l'elegia: su Ovidio, <u>Heroides</u> 15." <u>Materiali e discussioni per l'analisi dei testi classici</u> 51 (2003): 209-44.

Biglieri, A. <u>Medea en la literatura española medieval</u>. La Plata: Decus, 2005.

Birkhan, Helmut. "Quelques remarques sur La Guerre de Troie conservee a Göttweig." <u>La Représentation de l'antiquité au Moyen Age actes du colloque des 26, 27 et 28 mars 1981, Université de Picardie, Centre d'études médiévales</u>. Wiener Arbeiten zur germanischen Altertumskunde und Philologie, 20. Vienna: K.M. Halosar, 1982. 103-20.

Bischoff, Bernhard. "Eine mittelalterliche Ovid-Legende." <u>Historisches Jahrbuch</u> 71 (1952): 268-73.

---. <u>Latin Paleography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.

Black, Robert. <u>Humanism and Education in Medieval and Renaissance Italy</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Blakeslee, Merritt R. "La 'Chanson de femme', les <u>Héroïdes</u>, et la 'Canso occitane' a voix de femme." <u>Hommage à Jean-Charles Payen: farai chansoneta novele. Essais sur la liberté créatrice au Moyen Age</u>. Caen: Centre de Publications de l'Université de Caen, 1989. 67-75.

Bleumer, Hartmut. <u>Die Crône Heinrichs von dem Türlin. Form-Erfahrung und Konzeption eines späten Artusromans</u>. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1997.

Bloch, Herbert. "The New Fascination with Ancient Rome." <u>Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century</u>. Ed. Robert L. Benson and Giles Constable. Cambridge, MA: Harvard, 1982. 615-36.

Blumenfeld-Kosinski, R. E. "Moralization and History: Verse and Prose in the <u>Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César</u> (in BN f. fr. 20125)." <u>Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie</u> 97 (1981): 41-46.

---. <u>Reading Myth: Classical Mythology and Its Interpretations in Medieval French Literature</u>. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997.

Bogin, Magda. <u>The Women Troubadours</u>. New York: Paddington Press, 1976.

Böhme, G. "Midwifery as Science: An Essay on the Relation between Scientific and Everyday Knowledge." <u>Society & Knowledge. Contemporary Perspectives in the Sociology of Knowledge & Science</u>. 2nd revised edition. Ed. N. Stehr and V. Meja. New Brunswick, U.S.A.: Transaction, 2005. 373-92.

Bolgar, R. R. <u>The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries</u>. Cambridge: University Press, 1954.

Bolton, M. Catherine. "The Isolating Effect of 'sola' in Heroides 10." Phoenix 48:1 (1994): 42-50.

Bonacina, M., ed. De Lombardo et lumaca. Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo. Vol. 4. Gallizi: Università di Genova, 1976-2000.

Bond, Gerald A. "Iocus amoris: The Poetry of Baudri of Bourgueil and the Formation of the Ovidian Subculture." Traditio 42 (1986): 143-95.

---. "Origins." Akehurst, F. R. P., and Judith M. Davis. A Handbook of the Troubadours. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995. 237-54.

---. The Loving Subject: Desire, Eloquence, and Power in Romanesque France. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995.

Bonnard, Jean. Les traductions de la Bible en vers français au Moyen Age. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1884.

Booth, Joan. "Aspects of Ovid's Language." Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung. II, Einunddreissigster Band. 1. Teilband-4. Teilband, Principat. Sprache und Literatur (Literatur der Augusteischen Zeit: einzelne Autoren, forts. [Vergil, Horaz, Ovid]). Berlin: De Gruyter, 1980. 2686-2870.

Bordo, Susan. The Flight to Objectivity: Essays on Cartesianism and Culture. SUNY series in philosophy. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1987.

Born, L. K. "An Analysis of the Quotations and Citations in the Compendium grammatice of John of Garland." Classical Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies in Honor of Berthold Louis Ullman. Vol. 2. Ed. C. Henderson, jr. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1964. 51-83.

Bourdieu, Pierre. Homo Academicus. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1988.

---. Outline of a Theory of Practice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.

---. and Randal Johnson. The Field of Cultural Production Essays on Art and Literature. European Perspectives. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.

---. The Logic of Practice. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1990.

Boutemy, A. "Autour de Godefroid de Reims." Latomus 6 (1947): 233-55.

---. "Le poème Pergama flere volo... et ses imitateurs du XIIe siécle." Latomus 5 (1946): 233-44.

---. "Odon d'Orléans." Mélanges dédiés a la mémoire de Félix Grat. Vol. 2. Paris: Pecqueur-Grat, 1949. 179-222.

---. "Trois oeuvres de Godefroid de Reims." Revue du Moyen Age Latin 3:4 (1947): 335-66.

Boyd, B. W. Ovid's Literary Loves: Influence and Innovation in the Amores. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.

Bradley, E. M. "Ovid's Heroides V: Reality and Illusion." The Classical Journal 64:4

(1969): 158-62.

Brancaforte, Benito, ed. <u>Las Metamorfosis y las Heroidas de Ovidio en la General Estoria de Alfonso el Sabio</u>. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1990.

Brightenback, Kristine. "Remarks on the "Prologue" to Marie de France's <u>Lais</u>." <u>Romance Philology</u> 30:1 (1976): 168-177.

Brinkmann, Hennig. <u>Entstehungsgeschichte des minnesangs</u>. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1926.

Brisson, Luc. <u>How Philosophers Saved Myths: Allegorical Interpretation and Classical Mythology</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.

Brook, L. C. "The Translator and his Reader: Jean de Meun and the Abelard-Heloise Correspondence." <u>The Medieval Translator II</u>. Ed. R. Ellis. London: CMSQMWC, 1991. 99-122.

Brown, A. C. L. "Arthur's Loss of Queen and Kingdom." <u>Speculum</u> 15:1 (1940): 3-11.

Brown, P. R, and J. C. Peiffer II. "Heloise, Dialectic, and the <u>Heroides</u>." <u>Listening to Heloise: The Voice of a Twelfth-century Woman</u>. Ed. Bonnie Wheeler. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000. 143-60.

Brownlee, M. S. <u>The Severed Word. Ovid's Heroides and the Novela Sentimental</u>. Princeton: University Press, 1990.

Bruckner, M. T<u>. Shaping Romance: Interpretation, Truth, and Closure in Twelfth-Century French Fictions</u>. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006.

Bruni, Francesco. "Boncompagno da Signa, Guido delle Colonne, Jean de Meung: metamorfosi dei classici nel Duecento." <u>Retorica e poetica tra i secoli XII e XIV</u>. Ed. C. Leonardi. Perugia: Regione dell'Umbria, 1988.

Bumke, Joachim. <u>Geschichte der deutschen Literatur im hohen Mittelalter</u>. Munich: DTV, 2000.

Burke, J. F. "Authority and Influence – Vocation and Anxiety: The Sense of a Literary Career in the Sentimental Novel and Celestina." Cheney, P. G., and Frederick A. De A. <u>European Literary Careers: The Author from Antiquity to the Renaissance</u>. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002. 129-45.

---. "La tercera crónica de Alfonso X: <u>La Gran Conquista de Ultramar</u> by Cristina González. <u>The Modern Language Review</u> 89:3 (1994): 782-83.

Burke, P<u>. The Renaissance Sense of the Past</u>. London: Arnold, 1969.

---. "Cultures of Translation in Early Modern Europe." <u>Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Burns, Robert I. "Alfonso X of Castile, the Learned: 'Stupor Mundi.'" <u>Thought</u> 60 (1985): 375-87.

---. Emperor of Culture: <u>Alfonso X of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance</u>. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990.

Burton, J. <u>Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Burton, R<u>. Classical Poets in the Florilegium Gallicum</u>. Bern: Peter Lang, 1983.

Buttenwieser, H. "Manuscripts of Ovid's <u>Fasti</u>: the Ovidian Tradition in the Middle Ages." <u>TAPA</u> 71 (1940): 45-51.

Byock, Jesse, ed. & trans. <u>The Prose Edda</u>. New York: Penguin Books, 2005.

Caesarius of Heisterbach. <u>Caesarii Heisterbacensis monachi ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus miraculorum</u>. Ed. Joseph Strange. Cologne: J. M. Heberle, 1851.

Cahoon, L. "The Anxieties of Influence: Ovid's Reception by the Early Troubadours." <u>Mediaevalia</u> 13 (1987): 119-55.

Calder III, W. M. "Welcker's Sapphobild and its Reception in Willamowitz." <u>Friedrich Gottlieb Welcker, Werk und Wirkung: Vorträge, gehalten auf der Welcker-Tagung in der Werner-Reimers-Stiftung in Bad Homburg vom 5.-7. November 1984</u>. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag Wiesbaden, 1986. 131-56.

Calef, P. "Le <u>Eroidi</u> di Ovidio nei volgarizzamenti castigliano e antico-francese." <u>Le letteratura romanze del Medioevo: testi, storia, intersezioni</u>. Atti del V Convengo Nazionale della Società Italiana di Filologia Romanza (SIFR) (Roma, 23-25 ottobre, 1997). Ed. A. Pioletti. Soberia Mannelli: Rubbettino, 2000. 177-94.

Cano Aguilar, Rafael. "La construcción del discurso en el siglo XIII." <u>Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Hispaniques Médiévales</u> 24 (2001): 124-41.

Cantor, Norman F. <u>Civilization of the Middle Ages</u>. London: Harper Collins, 1994.

Cárdenas, A. J. "Alfonso's Scriptorium and Chancery: Role of the Prologue in Bonding the <u>Translatio Studii</u> to the <u>Translatio Potestatis</u>" in <u>Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X...</u> Ed. R. I Burns. Philadelphia: University of Penssylvania Press, 1990.

---. "Alfonso X's Appropriation of the Perseus Myth." <u>Medievalia et Humanistica</u> 25 (1998): 15-30.

Carlos, Helena de. "Poetry and Parody: Boethius, Dreams, and Gestures in the Letters of Godfrey of Rheims." <u>Essays in Medieval Studies</u> 18 (2001): 18-30.

Carroll, W. F. "Latin Education and Secular German Literature: An analysis of Latin Grammar Instruction and its Influence on Middle High Geman Poets." Diss. Harvard University, Cambridge, 1995.

Casagrande, J. B. "The Ends of Translation." <u>International Journal of American Linguistics</u> 20:4 (1954): 335-40.

Castro, Américo. <u>España en su historia; cristianos, moros y judíos</u>. 1st edition. Buenos Aires: Losada, 1948.

---. <u>España en su historia: Cristianos, moros y judíos</u>. 2nd edition. Barcelona: Editorial Crítica, 1983.

Castro, Manuel de. "Las ideas políticas y la formación del príncipe en el <u>De preconiis</u>

Hispanie de Fr. Juan Gil de Zamora." Hispania: Revista española de historia 88 (1962): 507-41.

Catalán, Diego. La Estoria de España de Alfonso X: creación y evolución. Madrid: Unversidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1992.

---. De Alfonso X al conde de Barcelos; cuatro estudios sobre el nacimiento de la historiografía romance en Castilla y Portugal. Madrid: Gredos, 1962.

---. De la silva textual al taller historiográfico alfonsí: códices, crónicas, versiones y cuadernos de trabajo. Madrid: Universidad Autónoma, 1997.

---. "Monarquía aristocrática y manipulación de las fuentes: Rodrigo en la Crónica de Castilla." La historia alfonsí: el modelo y sus destinos (siglos XIII-XV). Colección de la Casa Velázquez (68). Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2000. 75-94.

Catford, J. C. A Linguistic Theory of Translation. Oxford: Oxford Unviersity Press, 1965.

Caviness, Madeline H. Art in the Medieval West and its Audience. Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2001.

Ceffi, Filippo. Le dicerie. Ed. Luigi Biondi. Turin: Tipografia Chirio e Mina, 1825.

Cela, C. J. Mrs. Caldwell habla con su hijo. Barcelona: Destino, 1955.

Cerralbo, Enrique Aguilera y Gamboa, Marqués de. Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de la historia: en la recepción pública del Excmo. Sr. D. Enrique de Aguilera y Gamboa. Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, 1908.

Cesareo, Francesco C. "The Centrality of the King in the Thought of Alfonso X of Leon-Castile." Acta Vol. XI; Kings and Kingship. Ed. Joel Rosenthal. The Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies: State University of New York, 1986. 121-32.

Chardri. La Vie des Set Dormans. The Anglo-Norman Dialect: a Manual of Its Phonology and Morphology, with Illustrative Specimens of the Literature. Ed. Emil Menger. London: Macmillan & Co., 1904. 154-56.

Charlesworth, M. P. "Some Observations on Ruler-Cult Especially in Rome." The Harvard Theological Review 28:1 (1935): 5-44.

Chenu, Marie-Dominique. Nature, Man, and Society in the Twelfth Century; Essays on New Theological Perspectives in the Latin West. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968.

Cherewatuk, K. "Radegund and Epistolary Tradition." Dear Sister: Medieval Women and the Epistolary Genre. Ed. K. Cherewatuk and Ulrike Wiethaus. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993. 20-45.

Chesterman, A. Memes of Translation. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1997.

---. "Questions in the Sociology of Translation." Translation Studies at the Interface of Disciplines. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2006. 9-27.

Chinca, Mark. Gottfried von Strassburg: Tristan. Cambridge: Cambride University

Press, 1997.

Chrétien de Troyes. Cliges. Ed. W. Foerster. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1965.

---. Yvain. Ed. W. Foerster. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1965.

Christiansen, Eric. The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and the Catholic Frontier, 1100-1525. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1980.

Cian, Vittorio, Bartolomeo Cavassico and Carlo Salvioni. Le rime di Bartolomeo Cavassico, notaio belunese della prima metà del secolo XVI. Bolonia: Romagnoli DallʹAcqua, 1893.

Clanchy, M. T. From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307. Oxford: Blackwell, 1993.

---. "Parchment and Paper: Manuscript Culture 1100-1500." A Companion to the History of the Book. Ed. S. Eliot. Oxford: Blackwell, 2007. 194-206.

Classen, A. "Spain in Medieval German Courtly Romances and Travel Accounts." Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft 11 (1999): 153-71.

Classon, C. R. "A Good Tale, and Reading It Well: Truth, Fiction and a Future Critical Perspective on Gottfried's Tristan." Courtly Arts acorlissnd the Art of Courtliness. Ed. K. Busby. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2006. 309-20.

Classen, A. "Emergence from the Dark: Female Epistolarity Literature in the Middle Ages." JRMMRA 10 (1989): 1-15.

---. "Female Explorations of Literacy: Epistolary Challenges to the Literary Canon in the Late Middle Ages." Disputatio 1 (1996): 89-121.

Coleman, Janet. Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past. Cambridge: University Press, 1992.

Colonne, Guido delle. Historia destructionis Troiae. Ed. N. E. Griffin. Cambridge, Mass: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1936.

Comes, Mercè. "The Possible Scientific Exchange between the Courts of Hūlāgū and Alfonso X." Sciences, techniques et instruments dans le monde iranien (Xᵉ – XIXᵉ siècle). Ed. N. Pourjavady and Ž. Vesel. Teheran: Presses Universitaires d'Iran, 2004. 29-50.

Conrad of Hirsau. Conradi Hirsaugiensis Dialogus super auctores sive Didascalon. Würzburg: Druck der kgl. Universitätsdruckerei von H. Stürtz, 1889.

Constable, G. Typologie des sources du Moyen Age occidental. 17 Letters and letter-collections. Turnhout: Brepols, 1976.

Contini, G., ed. Proverbia que dicuntur super natura feminarum. La letteratura italiana. Vol. 2.2. Milan: Ricciardi, 1960, 173-85.

Cooke, J. D. "Ehumerism: A Mediaeval Interpretation of Classical Paganism." Speculum 2:4 (1927): 396-410.

Copeland, Rita. Rhetoric, Hermeneutics, and Translation in the Middle Ages.

Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Cormier, R. ed. <u>Three Ovidian Tales of Love (Piramus et Tisbé, Narcisus et Dane, and Philomena et Procné)</u>.New York: Garland, 1986.

Coulson, Frank T., ed. <u>The Vulgate Commentary on Ovid's Metamorphoses: The Creation Myth and the Story of Orpheus</u>. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1991.

Coulson, F. T. and Krzysztof Nawotka. "The Rediscovery of Arnulf of Orléans' Glosses to Ovid's Creation Myth." <u>Classica et Medievalia</u> 44 (1993): 267-99.

Cowell, A. "Deadly Letters: 'Deus amanz,' Marie's Prologue to the <u>Lais</u> and the Dangerous Nature of the Gloss." <u>Romanic Review</u> 88:3 (1997): 337-56.

Coxon, Sebastian. <u>The Presentation of Authorship in Medieval German Narrative Literature (1220-1290).</u> Oxford: Clarendon, 2001.

Cristóbal, Vicente, ed. <u>Heroidas</u>. Madrid: Alianza, 1994.

Croizy-Naquet, Catherine. "César et le romanz au XIIe siècle." <u>Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales</u> 13 Sp. (2006): 39-58.

---. <u>Écrire l'histoire romaine au début du XIIIe siècle:'l'Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César' et les 'Faits des Romains.'</u>" Paris: Champion, 1999.

---. "Insertion et réécriture: l'exemple du <u>Roman de Troie</u> dans la deuxième rédaction de <u>l'Histoire ancienne jusq'à César</u>." <u>Traduction, dérimation, compilation, la phraséologie: actes du colloque international, Université McGill, Montréal, 2-3-4 octobre 2000</u>. Ed. G. Di Stefano. Montréal: CERES, 2002. 177-91.

---. "Un modèle de réception de la tradition antique, les amours d'Achille et de Polyxène dans le <u>Roman de Troie</u>**.**" <u>L'antichita nella cultura europea del medioevo</u>. Ed. R. Brusegan. Greifswald: Reineke-Verlag, 1998. 31-41.

Crossland, Jessie. "Lucan in the Middle Ages: With Special Reference to the Old French Epic." <u>The Modern Language Review</u> 25:1 (1930): 32-51.

---. "Ovid's Contribution to 'L'Amour Courtois.'" <u>Modern Language Review</u> 42 (1947): 199-206.

Culler, Johnathan. "Literary History, Allegory and Semiology." <u>New Literary History</u> 7:2 (1976): 259-270.

Curran, Leo C. "Rape and Rape Victims in the <u>Metamorphoses</u>." <u>Arethusa</u> 11 (1978): 213-41.

Dales, Richard C. <u>The Intellectual Life of Western Europe in the Middle Ages</u>. Washington: University Press of America, 1980.

Dane, J. A. "<u>Integumentum</u> as Interpretation: Note on William of Conches's <u>Commentary on Macrobius</u> (I, 2, 10-11)." <u>Classical Folia</u> 32 (1978): 201-15.

D'Arcier, L. F. "Sur les traces d'un 'éditeur' médiéval. À propos d'une famille anglaise ou galloise des manuscrits de <u>Darès le Phrygien</u>." <u>Troianalexandrina</u> 2 (2002): 7-30.

Dares the Phrygian. <u>Daretis Phrygii De excidio Troiae historia</u>. Ed. F. O. Meister. Leipzig: Teubner, 1873.

Davenport, Tony. <u>Medieval Narrative: an Introduction</u>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Davis, A. J. "The Formation of Thirteenth Century Ecclesiastical Reformer at the Franciscan <u>Studium</u> in Paris: The Case of Eude Rigaud." Ed. Begley, Ronald B., and Joseph W. Koterski. <u>Medieval Education</u>. New York: Fordham University Press, 2005. 99-122.

Davis, J. "Social creativity." <u>When History Accelerates: Essays on Rapid Social Change, Complexity and Creativity</u>. London: The Athlone Press, 1994. 95-110.

Debord, Guy. <u>The Society of the Spectacle</u> (<u>La socieété du spectacle</u>). Trans. D. Nicholson-Smith. New York: Zone Books, 1994.

De Cesare, Raffaele. <u>Glosse Latine e Antico-Francesi all' Alexandreis di Gautier de Châtillon</u>. Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1951.

De la Fuente, Vicente. <u>Historia eclesiástica de España</u>. Vol. 4. Madrid: Compañía de impresores del Reino, 1873-75.

Delcourt, D. "Oiseaux, ombre, désir: Écrire dans les <u>Lais</u> de Marie de France." <u>MLN</u> 120:4 (2005): 807-24.

Delhaye, Philippe. <u>L'organisation scolaire au XIIe siècle</u>. New York: Cosmopolitan Science & Art Service Co., 1950.

---. "Une adaptation du <u>De Officiis</u> au XII siecle." <u>Recherches de theologie ancienne et medievale</u> 16 (1949): 227-58.

Delisle, Leópold. "Notes sur les poesies de Baudri, Abbé de Bourgueil." <u>Romania</u> 1 (1872): 23-50.

Del Lungo, Isidoro. <u>Dino Compagni e la sua Cronica</u>. Florence: [n. p.], 1879.

De los Ríos, J. A. <u>Historia crítica de la literatura española</u>. 7 Vols. Madrid: Impr. De J. Rodríguez, 1861-5.

Demetrius of Phaleros. Περὶ ἑρμηνείας (<u>On Style</u>). Ed. & Trans. W. R. Roberts. Cambridge: University Press, 1902.

Derrida, Jacques. <u>Of Grammatology</u>. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

---. <u>Writing and difference</u>. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

---. <u>Dissemination</u>. Chicago: University Press, 1981.

Desmond, Marilynn. <u>Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval Aeneid</u>. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Pres, 1994.

De Quincey, Thomas. <u>De Quincey's Works</u>. Vol. 5. Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black, 1863.

De Vries, Scato Gocko. <u>Epistula Sapphus ad Phaonem: apparatu critico instructa, commentario illustrata et Ovidio vindicata</u>. Liden: Van Doesburgh, 1885.

D'haen, T. "Review of Translation, History, and Culture by Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere." Target 3:1 (1991): 114-16.

Diane-Myrick, Leslie. From the De Excidio Troiae Historia to the Togail Troí: Literary-Cultural Synthesis in a Medieval Irish Adaptation of Dares' Troy Tale. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1993.

Dictys the Cretan. Dictys Cretensis Ephemeridos belli troiani libri sex. Ed. F. O. Meister. Leipzig: Teubner, 1872.

Díez Echarry, Emiliano and J. M. Roca Franquesa. Historia de la literatura española e hispanoamericana. Madrid: Aguilar, 1966.

Dittrich-Orlovius, G. Zum Verhältnis von Erzählung und Reflexion im Reinfried von Braunschweig. Göppingen: A. Kümmerle, 1971.

Doane, A. N., ed. Vox Intexta: Orality and Textuality in the Middle Ages. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991.

Domínguez, Ana, and J. M. Montoya. El scriptorium alfonsí: de los libros de astrología a las Cantigas de Santa María. Madrid: Complutense, 1999.

Domínguez, C. "Vincent of Beauvais and Alfonso the Learned." Notes and Queries 45 (1998): 172-3.

Domínguez García, Avelino, and L. García Ballester, eds. Historia Naturalis. Vol. 1. Johannis Aegidii Zamorensis. Salamanca: Junta de Castilla y León, 1994.

Donald, D. "Suetonius in the Primera crónica general through the Speculum historiale." Hispanic Review 11:2 (1943): 95-115.

Dörrie, Heinrich. Der heroische Brief: Bestandsaufnahme, Geschichte, Kritik einer humanistisch-barocken Literaturgattung. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1968.

---.. P. Ovidius Naso. Der Brief der Sappho an Phaon. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1975.

Dreher, P. "Enclosed Letters in Middle High German Narratives." Diss. U of California Riverside, 1979.

---. "Letters as a Structural Element in Reinfried Von Braunschweig." Select; journal of the PNCFL 1 (1980): 45-8.

Dronke, Peter. Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-lyric. 2 Vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968.

---. Women Writers of the Middle Ages. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Duby, Geroges. Women of the Twelfth Century. Vol. 3. Tr. Jean Birrell. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Dunger, Hermann. Die Sage vom trojanischen Kriege in den Bearbeitungen des Mittelalters und ihren antiken Quellen. Leipzig: Vogel, 1869.

Dupuis, M. "Esquisse d'une histoire de l'enseignement philosophique à Lille." Mémoires de la Société Impériale des Sciences, de l'Agriculture et des Arts de

Lille 2:3 (1856): 289-317.

Dutton, B. "French Influences in the Spanish mester de clerecía." Medieval Studies in Honor of Robert White Linker. Madrid: Castalia, 1973. 73-93.

Dyer, Nancy J. "Alfonsine Historiography: The Literary Narrative." Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X... Ed. R. I. Burns. Philadelphia: University of Penssylvania Press, 1990.

Echeverría, Ana. "Eschatology or Biography? Alfonso X, Muhammad's Ladder and a Jewish Go-Between." Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile. The medieval and early modern Iberian World, v. 22. Leiden: Brill, 2005. 133-51.

Eco, Umberto. On Literature. Orlando: Harcourt, 2004.

Egilsdóttir, Ásdís. Jóns Biskups Saga. Biskupa sögur, gefnar út af hin Íslenzka bókemntafèlagi. Vol. 1. Ed. Jón Sigurðsson and Vigfússon Guðbrandur. Kaupmannahöfn: Möllers, 1858. 149-202.

Eisenberg, Daniel. The General Estoria: Sources and Source Treatment." Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie 89 (1973): 206-27.

Eldevik, Randi. "Women's Voices in Old Norse Literature: The Case of Trójumanna saga." Cold Counsel: Women in Old Norse Literature and Mythology. New York: Routledge, 2002. 55-80.

Eley, Geoff. A Crooked Line: From Cultural History to the History of Society. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2005.

"Epeisodion"(ἐπεισόδιον). Def. II. A Greek-English Lexicon. revised and augmented throughout by Sir Henry Stuart Jones with the assistance of Roderick McKenzie. 1940.

Estella, Eduardo. El fundador de la Catedral de Toledo: estudio histórico del pontificado de D. Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada en la sede toledana, con la documentación original del Archivo Capitular 1208-1247. Toledo: A. Medina, 1926.

Eulgheri, A. D., ed. Babio. Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo. Vol. 1. Gallizi: Università di Genova, 1976-2000.

Evans, G. R. The Thought of Gregory the Great. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Evans, Joan. Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, Particularly in England. Oxford: Clarendon, 1922.

Even-Zohar, Itamar. Polysystem Studies. A Special Issue of Poetics Today. Durham: Duke University Press, 1990.

---. "The Making of Cultural Repertoire and the Role of Transfer." Target 9:2 (1997): 373-81.

---. "The Position of Translated Literature within the Literary Polysystem." The

Translation Studies Reader. Ed. Lawrence Venuti. London: Routledge, 2000. 192-97.

Faral, Edmond. Les Artes Poétiques du XIIᵉ et du XIIIᵉ Siècle. Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1924.

---. "Ovide et quelques autres sources du Roman D'Eneas." Recherches su les sources latines de contes et romans courtois du Moyen Age. Paris: H. Champion, 1967. 73-157.

Faulhaber, C. B.. ed. Dictaminis Epithalamium. Juan Gil de Zamora. Pisa: Pacini, 1978.

---. Latin Rhetorical Theory in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Castile. Berkeley: University of California, 1972.

---. "Rhetoric in Medieval Catalonia: The Evidence of the Library Catalogs." Studies in Honor of Gustavo Correa. Ed. R. P. Kinkade. Potomac, MA: Scripta Humanistica, 1986. 92-126.

Fauriel, Claude Charles. Histoire de la poésie provençale: cours fait à la faculté des lettres de Paris par M. Fauriel. Paris: J. Labitte, 1846.

Feliciano, María Judith. "Muslim shrouds for Chrsitian Kings? A Reassessment of Andalusi Textiles in Thirteenth-Century Castilian Life and Ritual." Under the Influence Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile. The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, v. 22. Leiden: Brill, 2005. 101-31.

Fernández-Ordóñez, Inés. "De la historiografía fernandina a la alfonsí." Alcanate 3 (2002-3): 93-133.

---. "La abbreviatio en nuestra literatura medieval. Reflexiones a la luz de la labor historiográfica alfonsí." Actas del II congreso internacional de historia de la lengua española. Vol. 2. Madrid: Pabellón de España, 1992. 631-40.

---. "La Estoria de España, la General Estoria y los diferentes criterios compilatorios." Revista de Literatura 50 (1988): 15-37.

---. Las Estorias de Alfonso el Sabio. Madrid: Istmo, 1992.

---. "La técnica historiográfica del Toledano. Procedimientos de organización del relato." Cahiers de Linguistique et de Civilisation Médiévales 26 (2003): 187-221.

---. "Novedades y perspectivas en el estudio de la historiografía alfonsí." Alcanate 2 (2001-2): 283-300.

Ferrairo, Luigi. Memoria intorno ai Palinsesti. Milan: Tipografia di Giuseppe Bernardoni, 1853.

Ferrante, J. M. "Beyond the Borders of Nation and Discipline." The Future of the Middle Ages. Medieval Literature in the 1990s. Ed. W. D. Paden. Gainseville: UP of Florida, 1994. 145-63.

---. Woman as Image in Medieval Literature from the Twelfth Century to Dante. New York: Columbia University Press, 1975.

Ferrero Hernández, C. "Estudio preliminar, edición crítica y traducción del <u>Liber contra venena et animalia venenosa</u>." Diss. Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona, 2002.

Fidalgo, Elvira. "Los elementos de los <u>Regimientos de príncipes</u> en las epístolas de Guiraut Riquer a Alfonso X." <u>Incipit</u> 18 (1998): 187-203.

Fita, Fidel. "La Guardia, villa del partido de Lillo, provincia de Toledo. Datos históricos." <u>Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia</u> 11 (1887): 373-431.

Fleck, Konrad, and Emil Friedrich Julius Sommer. <u>Flore und Blanschefleur, eine Erzählung</u>. Quedlinburg: G. Basse, 1846.

Fleischman, Suzanne. "On the Representation of History and Fiction in the Middle Ages." <u>History and Theory</u> 22 (1983): 278-306.

Flutre, L.-F. and M. Sneyders de Vogel eds. <u>Li fet des romains: compilé ensemble de Saluste et de Suetoine et de Lucan</u>. 2 Vols. Paris: E. Droz, 1938.

Foote, P. "Latin Rhetoric and Icelandic Poetry: Some Contacts." <u>Saga och sed</u> (1982): 107–27.

Foulet, Alfred. "The Prologue to the <u>Lais</u> of Marie de France: A Reconsideration." <u>Romance Philology</u> 35:1 (1981): 242-9.

Fournier, J. <u>Le registre d'inquisition de Jacques Fournier (1318-1325)</u>. Ed. J. Duvernoy. 3 Vols. Toulouse: Édouard Privat, 1965.

Foz, Clara. <u>Le traducteur, l'église et le roi (Espagne, XIIe et XIIIe siècle)</u>. Ottawa: Artois Presses Université, 1998.

---. "Practique de la traduction en Espagne au Moyen Age: les travaux tolédans." <u>The Medieval Translator II</u>. Ed. R. Ellis. London: CMSQMEC, 1991. 29-43.

Fraker, Charles F. "Alfonso X, the Empire and the <u>Primera crónica</u>." <u>BHS</u> 55 (1978): 95-102.

---. ""Dios" y "dioses" en el <u>Libro de Alexandre</u>. <u>Salina</u> 13 (199): 29-36.

---. "Rhetoric in the <u>Estoria de Espanna</u> of Alfonso el Sabio." <u>Talia dixit</u> 1 (2006): 81-104.

---. <u>The Scope of History. Studies on the Historiography of Alfonso el Sabio</u>. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996.

Fränkel, Hermann. <u>Ovid: A Poet between Two Worlds</u>. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1945.

Frappier, Jean. "Remarques sur la peinture de la vie et des héros antiques dans la littérature française du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle." <u>L'hunanisme médiéval dans les littératures romanes du xiie au xive siècle</u>. Ed. A. Fourrier. Paris: Klincksieck, 1964. 13-54.

Fritz, J.-M. "L'image des écrivains et philosophes de l'anitquité dans les encyclopédies de langue française du xiiie siècle." <u>L'antichita nella cultura europea del medioevo</u>. Ed. R. Brusegan. Greifswald: Reineke-Verlag, 1998. 173-82.

Fulcoius of Beauvais. "Fvlcoii Belvacensis epistvlae." Ed. M. L. Colker. <u>Traditio</u> 10 (1954): 191-273.

Fulgheri, A. D., ed. <u>Babio</u>. <u>Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo</u>. Vol. 2. Gallizi: Università di Genova, 1980. 129-302.

Fulkerson, Laurel. <u>The Ovidian Heroine As Author: Reading, Writing, and Community in the Heroides</u>. Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Funes, Leonardo. "Alfonso el Sabio, su obra histórica y el 'Fecho del Imperio.'" <u>Exemplaria Hispanica</u> 1 (1992-93): 76-91.

---. "La crónica como hecho ideológico: el caso de la <u>Estoria de España</u> de Alfonso X." <u>La corónica</u> 32:3 (2004) 69-89.

Ganz, Peter: "Tristan, Isolde und Ovid: Zu Gottfrieds <u>Tristan</u> Z. 17182ff." <u>Mediaevalia litteraria: Festschrift fur Helmut de Boor zum 80</u>. Ed. U. Henning. Munich: Beck, 1971. 397-412.

García Avilés, Alejandro. "Alfonso X y el <u>Liber Razielis</u>: imágenes de la magia astral judía en el scriptorium alfonsí. <u>BHS</u> 74 (1997): 21-39.

Garrido, R. María. "Lectura alfonsí de las <u>Heroidas</u> de Ovidio." <u>Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos</u> 15 (1991): 285-99.

Garrido i Vals, J.-D. "La traducció catalana medieval de les <u>Heroides</u> d'Ovidi." <u>Faventia</u> 24:2 (2002): 37-53.

Gaunt, Simon. <u>Love and Death in Medieval French and Occitan Courtly Literature: Martyrs to Love</u>. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

Gauthier, R. A. "Pour l'attribution à Gauthier de Chatillon du <u>Moralium Dogma Philosophorum</u>." <u>Revue du Moyen Age Latin</u> 7 (1951): 19-64.

Gehl, Paul F. <u>A Moral Art: Grammar, Society, and Culture in Trecento Florence</u>. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993.

Gentry, F. G., ed. <u>Tristan and Isolde</u>. Gottfried von Strassburg. New York: Continuum,1988.

Gentzler, E. <u>Contemporary Translation Theories</u>. London: Routledge, 1993.

Gertz, Sunhee Kim. <u>Poetic Prologues: Medieval Conversations with the Literary Past</u>. Analecta romanica, Heft 56. Frankfurt am Main: Klostermann, 1996.

Ghazzālī, and Michael E. Marmura. <u>The Incoherence of the Philosophers = Tahāfut Al-Falāsifah: a Parallel English-Arabic Text</u>. Islamic translation series. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1997.

Ghellinck, J. de. <u>L'essor de la littérature latine au xiie siècle</u>. Vol 2. Brussels: L'édition universelle, 1946.

Ghera, Deborah. <u>Warrior Women: The Anonymous Tractatus de Mulieribus</u>. Leiden: Brill, 1997.

Ghisalberti, Fausto. "Mediaeval Biographies of Ovid." <u>Journal of the Warburg and</u>

Courtauld Institutes 9 (1946): 10-59.

Giannardi, G. "Le Dicerie di Filippo Ceffi." Studi di Filologia Italiana 6 (1942): 5-63.

Ginsberg, W. "Ovid's Metamorphoses and the Politics of Interpretation." Classical Journal 84:3 (1989): 222-31.

Glendinning, R. "Eros, Agape, and Rhetoric around 1200: Gervase of Melkley's Ars poetica and Gottfried von Strassburg's Tristan." Speculum 67:4 (1992): 892-925.

---. "Pyramus and Thisbe in the Medieval Classroom." Speculum 61:1 (1986): 51-78.

Glorieux, P. "Le Moralium dogma philosophorum et son auteur." RTAM 15 (1948): 360-66.

Godden, M. "King Alfred's Preface and the Teaching of Latin in Anglo-Saxon England." English Historical Review 117 (2002): 596-604.

Goetz, Hans-Werner. "The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." Medieval Concepts of the Past. Ritual, Memory, Historiography. Ed. G. Althoff. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 139-65.

Golther, Wolfgang. Die deutsche Dichtung im Mittelalter: 800 bis 1500. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler, 1922.

Gómez-Bravo, A. M. "El latín de la clerecía; Edición y estudio del Ars dictandi Palentina." Euphrosyne 18 (1990): 99-144.

Gómez-Martínez, José Luis. Américo Castro y el origen de los españoles: Historia de una polémica. Madrid: Gredos, 1975.

Gómez Redondo, Fernando. Historia de la prosa castellana medieval. 3 vols. Madrid: Cátedra, 1998-2002.

Gonsette, J. Pierre Damien et la Culture Profane. Louvain: Publications Universitaires, 1956.

González, Cristina. La tercera crónica de Alfonso X, "La gran conquista de ultramar." London: Támesis Books, 1992.

González-Casanovas, Roberto. "Alfonso X's Concept of Hispania: Cultural Politics in the Histories." Concepts of National Identity in the Middle Ages. Leeds: Leeds Texts and Monographs, 1995. 155-70.

González Rolán, T. "San Isidoro de Sevilla como Fuente de Alfonso X el Sabio: Un Nuevo Texto de las Etimologías (L. XIV) en la General Estoria (4ª Parte)." Revista de Filología Española 61 (1981): 225-33.

Goold, G. P., ed. Ovid, Heroides and Amores. 2nd ed. Cambirdge: Loeb, 1977.

Gorosterratzu, Javier. Don Rodríguez Jiménez de Rada, gran estadista, escritor y prelado. Pamplona: Viuda de T. Bescansa, 1925.

Gosman, M. La légende d'Alexandre le Grand dans la littérature française du 12e

siècle. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997.

Gottfried von Strassburg. <u>Tristan and Isolde</u>. Trans. A. T. Hatto. Ed. Francis G. Gentry. New York: Continuum, 1988.

---. <u>Tristan</u>. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1977.

Gouanvic, Jean-Marc. "Objectivation, réflexivité et traduction: Pour une re-lecture bourdieusienne de la traduction." <u>Constructing a Sociology of Translation</u>. Ed. M. Wolf. Graz: University of Graz, 2007.

Gouraige, Ghislain. <u>Amour, révolution de la femme: la femme et l'amour, de l'antiquité à nos jours</u>. Sherbrooke: Naaman, 1976.

Gracia, P. "Hacia el modelo de la <u>General Estoria</u>: París, la <u>translatio imperii et studii</u> y la <u>Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César</u>," <u>Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie</u> 122 (2006): 17-27.

Graeme Dunphy, R., ed<u>. History as Literature: German World Chronicles of the Thirteenth Century in Verse</u>. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2003.

Grassotti, Hilda. "Don Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada, gran señor y hombre de negocios en la Castilla del siglo XIII." <u>Cuadernos de Historia de España</u> 55-56 (1972): 1-302.

Grayzel, Solomon, ed<u>. The Church and the Jews in the Thirteenth Century</u>. New York: Jewish Theological Seminary in America, 1966.

Green, D. H. <u>Medieval Listening and Reading: The Primary Reception of German Literature 800-1300</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Greene, Ellen, ed<u>. Re-reading Sappho: Reception and Transmission</u>. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Gregory of Tours<u>. Patrologiae tomus LXXI. S. Gregorii Turonensis</u>. Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1849.

Gregory, T. <u>Anima mundi</u>. Florence: Sansoni, 1955.

Griffin, N. E. "The Definition of Romance." <u>PMLA</u> 38:1 (1923): 50-70.

Gualandri I., and G. Orlandi, eds. <u>Lidia</u>. <u>Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo</u>. Vol. 6. Gallizi: Università di Genova, 1976-2000.

Guenée, B. "L'historien et la compilation au XIIIe siécle." <u>Journal des Savants</u> (1985): 119-35.

Guibert of Nogent. <u>De vita sua</u>. Patrologia Latina CLVI. Ed. Jacques-Paul Migne, 1844-855.

---. Patrologiae tomus CLVI. Ven<u> Guibertus Abbass; Mariae de Novigento</u>. Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1853.

Gumbrecht, H. U. "Literary Translation and its Social Conditioning in the Middle Ages: Four Spanish Romance Texts of the 13th Century." <u>Yale French Studies</u> 51 (1974): 205-22.

Gunn, A. M. F. The Mirror of Love; a Reinterpretation of The Romance of the Rose. Lubbock: Texas Tech Press, 1952.

Gutas, Dimitri. Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbāsid Society (2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries). Routledge: London, 1998.

Guthmüller, Bodo. "Die Volgarizzmenti." Die Italienische Literatur im Zeitalter Dantes und am Ubergang vom Mittelalter zur Renaissance. Ed. A. Buck. Vol. 2. Heidelberg: C. Winter, 1987. 333-48.

Gutman, Oliver. Pseudo-Avicenna, Liber Celi Et Mundi A Critical Edition. Aristoteles Semitico-latinus, v. 14. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Guyer, F. E. Chrétien de Troyes: Inventor of the Modern Novel. New York: Bookman Associates, 1957.

---. Romance in the Making: Chrétien de Troyes and Earliest French Romances. New York: S. F. Vanni, 1954.

---. "The Influence of Ovid on Crestien de Troyes." Romanic Review 12 (1921): 97-134.

Haahr, Joan G. "Justifying Love: The Classical Recusatio in Medieval Love Literature." Desiring Discourse: The Literature of Love, Ovid through Chaucer. Ed. J. J. Paxson. London: Associated University Presses, 1998. 39-61.

Hatim, B., and I. Mason. The Translator as Communicator. London: Routledge, 1997.

Heinrich von Veldeke, and J. W. Thomas. Eneit. New York: Garland Pub, 1985.

---., Gabriele Schieb, and Theodor Frings. Eneide. Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, Bd. 58-59, 62. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1964.

Hagedorn, Suzanne C. Abandoned Women: Rewriting the Classics in Dante, Bocaccio, & Chaucer. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2004.

Haines, K. "Attitudes and Impediments to Pacifism in Medieval Europe." Journal of Medieval History 7 (1981): 369–88.

Hall, A. "Reading Realism: Audiences' Evaluations of the Reality of Media Texts." Journal of Communication 53:4 (2003): 624-41.

Halverson, Sandra. "The Concept of Equivalence in Translation Studies: Much Ado About Something." Target 9:2 (1997): 207-33.

Hanna, Ralph, Traugott Lawler, Karl Young, Robert A. Pratt, Walter Map, Theophrastus, and Jerome. Jankyn's book of wikked wyves. The Chaucer library. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1997.

Hardwick, Lorna. Translating Words, Translating Cultures. Classical inter/faces. London: Duckworth, 2000.

Hariulphus, abbot of Saint Pierre d'Oudenbourg. Patrologiae tomus CLXXIV. Ven. Godefridus abbas adomontensis. / Hariulfus abbas aldenburgensis. / Lisiardus turonensis clericus. Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1854.

Harris-Northall, Ray. "Reduction of Variation as a Feature of the Standardization of Castilian Spanish around 1500." <u>Variation and Reconstruction</u>. Amsterdam studies in the theory and history of linguistic science, v. 268. Amsterdam: Johns Benjamins, 2006. 89-101.

Hartmann, Albert Leitzmann, and Ludwig Wolff. <u>Erec</u>. Tübingen: M. Niemayer, 1963.

Haskins, C. H. "A List of Text-Books from the Close of the Twelfth Century." <u>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</u> 20 (1909): 75-94.

---. <u>The Renaissance of the Twelfth Century</u>. Harvard: Harvard University Press, 1927.

Heinrich von dem Türlin. <u>Diu Crône</u>. Ed. G. H. F. Scholl. Stuttgart: Gedruckt auf kosten des literarischen vereins, 1852.

Heinzle, Joachim. <u>Das Nibelungenlied: Eine Einführung</u>. Munich: Artemis, 1987.

---. <u>Wandlungen und Neuansätze im 13. Jahrhundert</u>. Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn der Neuzeit. Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1994.

Heller, Edmund Kurt. "A Vindication of Heinrich von dem Türlin, Based on a Survey of His Sources." <u>Modern Language Quarterly</u> 3:1 (1942): 67-83.

Heng, Geraldine. <u>Empire of Magic Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy</u>. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003.

Hermans, Theo. "Norms and the Determination of Translation. A Theoretical Framework." <u>Translation, Power, Subversion</u>. Topics in translation, 8. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1996. 25-50.

---. "Translational Norms and Correct Translations." <u>Translation Studies: The State of the Art</u>. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1991. 155-69.

---. "Translation and Normativity." <u>Translation and Norms</u>. Clevedon: Philadelphia Multilingual Matters, 1999. 50-70.

---. <u>Translation in Systems</u>. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1999.

Herrera Zapién, Tarsicio, trans. <u>Publio Ovidio Nasón: Heroidas</u>. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma de México, 1979.

Hexter, Ralph. <u>Ovid and Medieval Schooling: Studies in Medieval School Commentaries on Ovid's Ars amatoria, Epistulae ex Ponto, and Epistulae heroidum</u>. Münich: Bei der Arbeo-Gesellschaft, 1986.

Hilbert, Karlheinz, ed. <u>Baldricus Burgulianus, Carmina</u>. Heidelberg: Winter, 1979.

Hildebert de Lavardin. <u>Patrologiae tomus CLXXI. Ven. Hildebertus; Marbodus</u>. Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1854.

Hilty, Gerold, ed. <u>El libro conplido en los iudizios de las estrellas</u>. Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1954.

Holdenried, Ankie. <u>The Sibyl and Her Scribes: Manuscripts and Interpretation of the Latin Sibylla Tiburtina c. 1050-1500</u>. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006.

Holmes, George. <u>The Later Middle Ages: 1272-1485</u>. New York: Norton, 1966.

Hualde, José Ignacio, and Jon Ortiz de Urbina. <u>A Grammar of Basque</u>. Mouton grammar library, 26. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003.

Hubert, Merton Jerome and Marion E. Porter Eds. <u>The Romance of Flamenca: A Provençal Poem of the Thirteenth Century</u>. New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1962.

Hunt, Tony. <u>Teaching and Learning Latin in Thirteenth-Century England</u>. 3 Vols. Rochester, N.Y.: Boydell, 1991.

Huygens, R. R. C., ed. <u>Accessus ad auctores</u>. Leiden: Brill, 1970.

Hyginus. <u>Hygini Fabvlae</u>. Ed. H. I. Rose. Leyden: W. W. Sythoff, 1933.

Imelmann, R. H. R. <u>Forschungen zur altenglischen Poesie</u>. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1920.

Inghilleri, Moira. "Habitus, Field and Discourse: Interpreting as a Socially Situated Activity." <u>Target</u> 15:2 (2003): 243-68.

---. "The Sociology of Bourdieu and the Construction of the 'Object' in Translation and Interpreting Studies." <u>The Translator</u> 11:2 (2005): 125-145.

Isbell, Harold, ed. <u>Heroides</u>. London: Penguin Books, 1990.

Isidore of Seville. <u>Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX</u>. Ed. W.M. Lindsay. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.

Isocrates, David C. Mirhady, and Yun Lee Too. <u>Isocrates I</u>. The Oratory of Classical Greece, v. 4. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000.

Jaaware, Aniket. <u>Simplifications: An Introduction to Structuralism and Post-Structuralism</u>. New Delhi: Orient Longman, 2001.

Jauss, H. R. "Theorie der Gattungen und Literatur des Mittelalters." <u>Poétique</u> 1 (1970): 79-101.

Jackson, Timothy R. "Konrad von Würzburg." <u>German Writers and Works of the High Middle Ages: 1170-1280</u>. Ed. James Hardin & Will Hasty. Detroit: Gale, 1994. 58-71.

---. <u>The Anatomy of Love; The Tristan of Gottfried Von Strassburg</u>. New York: Columbia University Press, 1971.

---. <u>The Legends of Konrad von Würzburg: Form, content, function</u>. Erlangen: Palm & Enke, 1983.

Jacobson, Howard. <u>Ovid's Heroides</u>. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974.

Jaeger, C. S. <u>The Envy of Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Medieval Europe, 950-1200</u>. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994.

James I, King of Aragon. <u>El Llibre dels feyts</u>. Ed. V. García Edo. Valencia: Vicent García editores, 1990.

Janni, Pietro. <u>Miti e falsi miti luoghi comuni, leggende, errori sui greci e sui romani</u>.

Storia e civiltà, 55. Bari: Dedalo, 2004.

Jauss, Hans-Robert. "Littérature médiévale et théorie des genres." <u>Poétique</u> 1 (1970): 79-101.

Jean de Meun and Guillaume de Lorris. <u>Le Roman de la Rose. Édition d'après les manuscrits BN 12786 et BN 378, traduction, présentation et notes par Armand Strubel</u>. Paris: Libraire Générale Française, 1992.

Jensson, Gottskálk. "The Lost Latin Literature of Medieval Iceland: The Fragments of the <u>Vita Sancti Thorlaci</u> and Other Evidence." <u>Symbolae Osloenses</u> 79 (2004): 150-70.

Jerome, Saint. <u>S. Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis presbyteri adversus Jovinianum libri duo</u>. Patrologia Latina Tomus XXIII. Paris: Excudebat Vrayet, 1845. Cols. 211-337.

Jillins, Lewis. <u>Diu Crone of Heinrich von dem Türlein: The Attempted Emancipation of Secular Narrative</u>. Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1980.

Jiménez de Rada, Rodrigo. <u>Historia de los hechos de España</u>. Ed. J. Fernández Valverde. Madrid: Alianza, 1989.

---. <u>Roderici Ximenii de Rada Breviarium historie catholice</u>. 2 vols. Ed. J. Fernández Valverde. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992.

---. <u>Roderici Ximenii de Rada Historiae minores; Dialogus libri vite</u>. Ed. J. Fernández Valverde and J. A. Estévez Sola. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.

---. <u>Roderici Ximenii de Rada historia de rebus hispanie sive historia gothica</u>. Ed. J. Fernández Valverde. Turnhout: Brepols, 1987.

Johann von Würzburg, Ernst Regel, and Karl Regel. <u>Wilhelm von Österreich</u>. Zürich: Weidmann, 1906.

John of Salisbury. <u>Joannes Saresberiensis Carnot. Episc.; Petrus S. R. E. Card.; Guichardus Lugdun. Archiep.; Gualterus Prior. S. Vict. Paris.; Rogerus Abbas S. Evurt. Aurel.; Joannes Cornubiensis</u>. Patrologiae tomus CXCIX. Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1855.

---. <u>The Historia Pontificalis of John of Salisbury</u>. Ed. And Tr. Marjorie Chibnall. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986.

Johnson, J. W. "Chronological Writing: Its Concepts and Development." <u>History and Theory</u> 2:2 (1962): 124-45.

Johnson, Samuel. <u>The Letters of Samuel Johnson</u>. Ed. Bruce Redford. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.

Jones, P. J. <u>Prologue and Epilogue in Old French Lives of Saints before 1400</u>. Philadelphia: n.p., 1933.

Jongen, Ludo. "And the Winner is...: The Contest over the Arms of Achilles in a Middle Dutch Troy Romance." <u>Neophilologus</u> 87 (2003): 501-15.

---. "A Thirteenth-Century Middle Dutch View of the Fall of Troy." <u>ABäG</u> 40 (1994):

111-29.

Jonxis-Henkemans, Wilhelmine. "Alexander the Great in <u>General Estoria</u> I, II, IV, V and VI. A discussion on his image." <u>Revista de filología románica</u> 3 (1985): 245-56.

---. "The Last Days of Alexander in <u>General Estoria</u> IV." <u>Alexander the Great in the Middle Ages. Ten Studies on the Last Days of Alexander in Literary and Historical Writing</u>. Ed. W.J. Aerts, Jos. M.M. Hermans, and Elizabeth Visser Nijmegen: Alfa, 1978. 142-69.

Jourdain, Amable. <u>Recherches critiques sur l'âge et l'origine des traductions latines d'Aristote, et sur des commentaires grecs ou arabes employés par les docteurs scholastiques</u>. Paris: Fantin, 1819.

Juan Manuel, Infante of Castile. <u>Crónica abreviada</u>. Ed. R. L. Grismer. Minneapolis: Burges, 1958.

Jung, M.-R<u>. La légende de Troie en France au moyen âge: Analyse des versions françaises et bibliographie raisonnée des manuscrits</u>. Tübingen: Francke, 1996.

---. "Le <u>Roman de Troie</u> en prose du manuscrit Rouen, Bibl. Mun. O. 33." <u>Romania</u> 108:4 (1987): 433-60.

Juvenal. D. <u>Iunii Iuvenalis Saturae sedecim</u>. Ed. Jacob Willis. Stutgart: Teubner, 1997.

Kahane, Henry & Renée. "Language: Vehicle of the Classical Heritage." <u>The Classics in the Middle Ages</u>. Ed. A. S. Bernardo and S. Levin. Binghamton, NY: Center for Medieval & Early Renaissance Studies, 1990. 199-206.

Kaimowitz, J. H. "A Fourth Redaction of the <u>Histoire Ancienne Jusqu'à César</u>." <u>Classical Texts and Traditions: Studies in Honor of C. R. Trahman</u>. Ed. D. F. Bright and E. S. Ramage. Chico, CA: Scholars Press, 1984.

Kantorowicz, E. H. <u>Kaiser Friedrich der Zweite</u>. 2 Vols. Düsseldorf: Verlag Helmut Kupper, 1964.

Kauffman, Linda S. <u>Discourses of Desire: Gender, Genre, and Epistolary Fictions</u>. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986.

Kelly, Douglas. "<u>Translatio studii</u>: Translation, Adaptation, and Allegory in Medieval French Literature." <u>Philological Quarterly</u> 57 (1978): 287-310.

Kenney, E. J., ed. <u>Her. XVI-XXI</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Ker, William Paton. <u>Epic and Romance: Essays on Medieval Literature</u>. London: Macmillan, 1926.

Keynes, Simon. "The Power of the Written Word: Alfredian England 871-899." <u>Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences</u>. Ed. Timothy Reuter. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2003. 175-98.

Kibler, W. W., ed. <u>Arthurian Romances</u>. Chrétien de Troyes. London: Penquin Books, 1991.

Kiddle, L. B. "The <u>Prose Thebes</u> and the <u>General Estoria</u>: An Illustration of the

Alphonsine Method of Using Source Material." <u>Hispanic Review</u> 6:2 (1938): 120-32.

Kittel, H. "Inclusions and Exclusions: The "Göttingen Approach" to Translation Studies and Inter-Literary History. <u>Translating Literatures, Translating Cultures: New Vistas and Approaches in Literary Studies</u>. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1998. 3-13.

Klinck, A. L. <u>The Old English Elegies</u>. London: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.

Kluge, Reinhold. <u>Lancelot; nach der Heidelberger Pergamenthandschrift Pal. Germ. 147 hrsg. von Reinhold Kluge</u>. Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, Bd. 42, 47, 63. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1948.

Klungervik Greenall, Annjo. "Translation as Dialogue." <u>Translation Studies at the Interface of Disciplines</u>. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2006. 67-81.

Knapp, Gerhard Peter. <u>Hector und Achill die Rezeption des Trojastoffes im deutschen Mittelalter: Personenbild und struktureller Wandel</u>. Utah Studies in Literature and Linguistics, nr. 1. Bern: Herbert Lang, 1974.

Knox, Peter E. <u>Heroides, Select Epistles</u>. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

---. "Ovid's Medea and the Authenticity of <u>Heroides</u> 12." <u>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</u> 90 (1986): 207-23.

Kokott, Hartmut. <u>Konrad von Würzburg: Ein Autor zwischen Auftrag und Autonomie</u>. Stuttgart: S. Hirzel, 1989.

Kopitar, B. <u>Hesychii glossographi discipulus et ἐπιγλωσσιστὴς russus in ipsa Constantinopoli sec. XII-XIII</u>. Vienna: C. Gerold, 1839.

Lachaud, F. "L'idée de noblesse dans le <u>Policraticus</u> de Jean de Salisbury (1159)." <u>Cahiers de Recherches Médiévales</u> 13 (2006): 3-20.

Lachmann, Karl. <u>Kleinere Schriften</u>. 2 vols. Berlin: G. Reimer, 1876.

Lacroix, Benoît. <u>L'Historien au Moyen Âge</u>. Montreal: Institut d'études médiévales, 1971.

Lactantius. <u>Divinae institutiones. Institutions divines</u>. Ed. P. Monat. Paris: Editions du Cerf, 1973.

Lage, G. Raynaud de. "<u>Histoire anciene Jusqu'a César</u>." <u>Dictionnaire des lettres françaises</u>. Paris: Arthème Fayard, 1994.

Lambert, Elie. <u>L'art gothique en Espagne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles</u>. Paris: H. Laurens, 1931.

Lambert of Ardres. <u>Lamberti ardensis ecclesiae presbyteri chronicon ghisnense et ardense (918-1203)</u>. Ed. Godefroy Menilglaise. Paris: Jules Renouard, 1855.

Langfors, A., ed. <u>Recueil général des jeux-partis français</u>. Paris: Champion, 1926.

Lantley, Michael. "Practice Makes Knowledge?". <u>Inquiry</u> 35 (1992): 447-61.

Latini, Brunetto. <u>Il Tesoretto e il Favoletto</u>. Ed. Gio. Batista Zannoni. Florence:

Guiseppe Molini, 1824.

The Leningrad Codex: a facsimile edition. Ed. D. N. Freedman, A. B. Beck, & J. A. Sanders. Grand Rapids, Mich: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1998.

Lefevere, André. Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame. London: Routledge, 1992.

LePan, Don. The Cognitive Revolution in Western Culture. Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989.

Leuven-Zwart, Kitty M. van. "Translation and Original: Similarities and Dissimilarities, I." Target 1:2 (1989): 151-81.

Levi, J., ed. Text and Concordance of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vatican, MS. 8174. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1993.

Lida de Malkiel, María Rosa. "La General estoria: notas literarias y filológicas (I)". Romance Philology 12 (1958-1959): 111-142.

---. "La General estoria: notas literarias y filológicas (II)". Romance Philology, 13 (1959), 1-30.

Linehan, P. History and the Historians of Medieval Spain. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.

Linton, C. M. From Eudoxus to Einstein A History of Mathematical Astronomy. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Loffredo, Eugenia, and Manuela Perteghella. Translation and Creativity Perspectives on Creative Writing and Translation Studies. London: Continuum, 2006.

London, G. H. "A Thirteenth-Century Spanish Version of Ovid's Pyramus and Thisbe." Modern Language Review 50 (1955): 147-55.

Lotman, Y. M. Universe of the Mind: A Semiotic Theory of Culture. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

Lowie, Robert Harry. The Crow Indians. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

Lucas, Bishop of Tuy. Lucae Tudensis chronicon mundi. Ed. Emma Falque. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

Lucian, and Paul Turner. True History; And Lucius, or the Ass. London: J. Calder, 1958.

Llull, Ramon. Obras rimadas. Escritas en idioma Catalán-Provenzal. Ed. G. Rosselló. Palma: P. J. Gelabert, 1859.

López, A. "La familia real de Castilla y los franciscanos." El Eco Franciscano 50 (1933): 563-4.

Louis-Jensen, J., ed. Trójumanna Saga. The Dares Phrygius Version. Copenhagen: Reitzels Boghandel, 1981.

Lucas de Tuy. Lucae Tudensis Chronicon mundi. Ed. E. Falque. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

Lynch, Hannah. Toledo: The Story of an Old Spanish Capital. London: J. M. Dent & co.,

1898.

Lynde-Recchia, Molly. <u>Prose, Verse and Truth-Telling in the Thirteenth Century: An Essay on Form and Function in Selected Texts, Accompanied by an Edition of the Prose Thèbes as Found in the Histoire ancienne jusq'à César</u>. Lexington, KY: French Forum, 2000.

Macrobius, Ambrosius Theodosius. <u>Saturnalia</u>. Ed. Jacob Willis. New York: Columbia University, 1963.

Malkaraume, Jehan. <u>La Bible de Jehan Malkaraume (M: Paris, Bibl. Nat. f. fr. 903) (XIIIe/XIVe siècle)</u>. Ed. J. R. Smeets. 2 Vols. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1978.

Mansi, G. D., Catholic Church, and Philippe Labbe. <u>Sacrorum conciliorum, nova et amplissima collectio</u>. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1960.

Manzalaoui, M. A. "Tragic Ends of Lovers: Medieval Islam and the Latin West." <u>Comparative Criticism: A Yearbook</u>. Vol. 1. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979. 37-52.

Maravall, J. A. <u>El concepto de España en la Edad Media</u>. 2nd edition. Madrid: Instituto de Estudios Políticos, 1964.

Marbode de Rennes. <u>Liber decem capitulorum</u>. Ed. Walther Bulst. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1947.

---. <u>Ven. Hildebertus; Marbodus</u>. Patrologiae tomus CLXXI. Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1854.

Marchand, J. W. and Spurgeon W. Baldwin. "A Maculist at the Court of Alfonso el Sabio: Gil de Zamora's Lost <u>Treatise on the Immaculate Conception</u>." <u>Franciscan Studies</u> 47 (1987): 171-80.

Mariana, Juan De. <u>De rege et regis institutione libri III</u>. 1st ed. 1599. Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1969.

Marías, Julián. <u>Circunstancia y vocación</u>. Madrid: Revista de Occidente, 1973.

---, ed. <u>Meditations on Quixote</u>. José Ortega y Gasset. New York: Norton, 1961.

Marie de France. <u>Les Lais</u>. Ed. J. Rychner. Paris: Champion, 1981.

Marlowe, Christopher. <u>The Complete Works of Christopher Marlowe</u>. Ed. Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.

Márquez Villanueva, F. <u>El concepto cultural alfonsí</u>. Madrid: MAPFRE, 1994.

---. "In lingua tholetana." <u>La escuela de traductores de Toledo</u>. Ed. A. M López Álvarez. Toledo: Diputación Provincial, 1996.

---. "La magia erótica del <u>Lapidario</u> alfonsí." <u>Anuario de letras</u> 35 (1997): 349-69.

Marshall, Miriam Helene. "Thirteenth-Century Culture as Illustrated by Matthew Paris." <u>Speculum</u> 14:4 (1939): 465-77.

Martin, Ged. <u>Past futures: The Impossible Necessity of History</u>. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Martin, Georges. "Control regio de la violencia nobiliaria. La caballería según Alfonso X de Castila (comentario al título XXI de la Segunda partida)." Séminaire interdisciplinaire de recherches sur l'Espagne médiévale, 2004. 14 May 2007. <http://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00116339/en/>.

---. "Dans l'atelier du faussaire. Luc de Túy, Rodrigue de Tolède, Alphonse X le Sage, Sanche IV: trois exemples de manipulations historiques." Cahiers de linguistique et de civilisation hispaniques médiévales 24 (2001): 279-309.

---. "Determinaciones didáctico-propagandísticas en la historiografía de Alfonso X el Sabio." La construcción de los Estados Europeos en la Edad Media: la propaganda política. University of Alicante, Benissa. 10-12 Apr. 2003. 7 May 2007. <http://eprints.enslsh.fr/archive/00000075/ 01/Benissa.pdf>.

---. "El modelo historiográfico alfonsí y sus antecedentes." La historia alfonsí: el modelo y sus destinos (siglos XIII-XIV). Ed. Georges Martin. Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2000. 9-40.

---. "La contribution de Jean d'Osma à la pensée politique castillane sous le règne de Ferdinand III," E-Spania 2 (2006). Jun 26, 2007. <http://e-spania.revues.org/ document280.html>.

---. "La invención de Castilla (Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Historia de rebus Hispaniae, V). Identidad patria y mentalidades políticas." Colloque Identidades y mentalidades en el Occidente europeo (siglos XI-XV) Universidad de Alicante, La Nucía. 11-13 Nov 2004. 1/10/2008. <http://halshs.archivesouvertes.fr/ docs/00/11/32/84/PDF/LA_INVEnCI%D3N_DE_CASTILLA.pdf>.

---. "Los intelectuales en la corte alfonsí. El saber y la literatura al servicio de la monarquía." Alfonso y su época. Ed. M. Rodríguez Llopis. Murcia: Carroggio, 2002. 259-85.

Martínez, H. S. "Paideia y filantropía. Sentido y alcance del humanismo alfonsí." Clarines de pluma: homenaje a Antonio Regalado. Ed. Vicent T. Martin. Madrid: Síntesis, 2004. 75-96.

Martínez, Purificación. "Dos reyes sabios: Alfonso X y Alfonso XI y la evolución de la crónica general a la crónica real." Ed. W. Moheno. Propuestas teórico-metodológicas para el estudio de la literatura hispánica medieval. Mexico City: Publicaciones de Medievalia 27, 2003. 193-210.

Matthew Paris. Matthæi Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica majora. 7 vols. Ed. H. Richards Luard. London: Longman, 1872-3.

Mayer, L. S. Worlds Made Flesh: Reading Medieval Manuscript Culture. New York: Routledge, 2004.

McCall, Jeremiah B. The Cavalry of the Roman Republic: Cavalry Combat and Elite Reputations in the Middle and Late Republic. London: Routledge, 2002.

McCool, Gerald A. From Unity to Pluralism: The Internal Evolution of Thomism. New York: Fordham University Press, 1989.

McDonald, W. C. "Gottfried von Strassburg: Tristan and the Arthurian Tradition."

Tristan and Isolde: A Casebook. Ed. J. T. Grimbert. New York: Garland, 1995. 147-186.

McDougall, I. "Foreigners and Foreign Languages in Medieval Iceland." Saga Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research 22 (1987): 180-233.

McGerr, Rosemarie Potz. "Guyart Desmoulins, the Vernacular Master of Histories, and his Bible Historiale." Viator 14 (1983): 211-44.

McGregor, James. "Ovid at School: From the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century." Classical Folia 32 (1978): 29-51.

McKinley, K. L. Reading the Ovidian Heroine: Metamorphoses Commentaries, 1100-1618. Mnemosyne, bibliotheca classica Batava, 220. Leiden: Brill, 2001.

McNabb, Richard. "Innovations and Compilations: Juan Gil de Zamora's Dictaminis Epithalamium." Rhetorica 21:4 (2003): 225-54.

Melli, E. "I "salut" e l'epistolografia medievale." Convivium 30:4 (1962): 385-98.

Meier, Christel. "On the Connection between Epistemology and Encyclopedic Ordo in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period." Schooling and Society. The Ordering and Reordering of Knowledge in the Western Middle Ages. Ed. A. A. MacDonald and M. W. Twomey. 93-114.

Ménard, P. "Les prophéties de Merlin et l'Italie." "De sens rassis" Essays in honor of Rupert T. Pickens. Ed. K. Busby. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005. 431-44.

Mencé-Caster, C. "De l'amour et du pouvoir politique féminin dans L'Histoire d'Espagne." E-Spania 1 (2006). 7 May 2007. <http://www.e-spania.paris-sorbonne.fr/article-pdf/menc-caster.htm>.

Menéndez Pelayo, Marcelino. Antología de poetas líricos castellanos. Vol. 1. Edición nacional de las obras completas de Menéndez Pelayo. V. 17. Ed. E. Sánchez Reyes. Santander: Aldus, 1944.

---. Edición nacional de las obras completas de Menéndez Pelayo. Vol. 65. Santander: CSIC, 1940.

---. Historia de los heterodoxos españoles... México: Porrúa, 1982.

---. La ciencia española (polémica, proyectos y bibliografía). 2 Vols. 3rd Edition. Madrid: A. Pérez Dubrull, 1887.

Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. Estudios literarios. Buenos Aires: Espasa-Calpe, 1938.

---. Orígenes del español: estado lingüístico de la península ibérica hasta el siglo XI. 3rd edition. Madrid: Espasa Calpe, 1950.

---, ed. Primera crónica general de España. Madrid: Gredos, 1955.

Mews, Constant J. Abelard and Heloise. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Meyer, P. "Les premières compilations françaises d'histoire ancienne." Romania 14 (1885): 1-81.

Mickel, E. J. "Marie's Use of Monologue and Dialogue in the Lais." "De sens rassis"

Essays in Honor of Rupert T. Pickens. Ed. K. Busby. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005. 467-90.

Miklošić, R. von Franz. "Trojanska priča: bugarski i latinski." Starine 3 (1879): 345-57.

Millás Villacrosa, J. M. "El literalismo de los traductores de la corte de Alfonso el Sabio." Al-Andalus 1 (1933): 155-87.

Minnis, A. J. Magister Amoris: the Roman De La Rose and Vernacular Hermeneutics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Mitchell, Linda Elizabeth. Portraits of Medieval Women: Family, Marriage, and Politics in England, 1225-1350. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

Mitre Fernández, Emilio. Historiografía y mentalidades históricas en la Europa medieval. Madrid: Universidad Complutense, 1982.

Mondéjar, Gaspar Ibáñez de Segovia Peralta y Mendoza, Marqués de. Memorias históricas de la vida y acciones del rey D. Alonso el Noble, octavo del nombre, recogidas por el marques de Mondexar, e ilustrades con notas y apendices por D. Francisco Cerdá y Rico. Madrid: Impr. de Antonio de Sancha, 1783.

Montero, Ana María. "A Possible Connection between the Philosophy of the Castilian King Alfonso X and the Risālat Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān by Ibn Ṭufayl." Al-Masāq 18:1 (2006): 1-26.

Montoya Martínez, J. La norma retórica en tiempos de Alfonso X, El Sabio. Granada: Adhara, 1993.

Morris, Colin. The Discovery of the Individual: 1050-1200. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

Morse, Ruth. ""This Vague Relation:" Historical Fiction and Historical Veracity in the Later Middle Ages." Leeds Studies in English 13 (1982): 85-103.

---. Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages. Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Moxó y Ortiz de Villajos, Salvador de et al. La España de los cincos reinos (1085-1369). Madrid: Rialp, 1984. Vol. 4 of Historia general de España y América. 4 vols.

Munk Olsen, Birgen. "Ovide au Moyen Age (du IXᵉ au XIIᵉ siècle)." Le strade del testo. Ed. Guglielmo Cavallo. Bari: Adriatica Editrice, 1987. 65-96.

Munslow, Alun. Deconstructing History. London: Routledge, 1997.

Muñoz Martín, R. Lingüística para traducir. 1st ed. Barcelona: Teide, 1995.

Muñoz Sandino, José. La escala de Mahoma. Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, 1949.

Murphy, James J. "The Teaching of Latin as a Second Language in the Twelfth Century." Historiographia Linguistica 7 (1980): 159-74.

---. "Western Rhetoric in the Middle Ages." Latin Rhetoric and Education in the Middle Ages and Renaissance. Padstow, Cornwall: Ashgate, 2005. 1-26.

Murray, K. S-J. "Poetry and Metamorphosis in the OF <u>Primaus et Tisbé</u>." <u>South Central Review</u> 23:2 (2006): 80-98.

Nanu, I. & M. V. Pedraz. "Aproximación al <u>regimen puerorum</u> en el <u>Speculum doctrinale</u> de Vicente de Beauvais y su posible relación con la <u>Segunda Partida</u> de Alfonso X el Sabio. <u>Memorabilia</u> 9 (2006). 3 May 2007. <http://parnaseo.uv.es/Memorabilia/ Memorabilia9/Irina/index.html>.

Nellmann, Eberhard, ed. <u>Das Annolied</u>. Stuttgart: Reclam, 1979.

Nelson, J. B. <u>Sexuality and the Sacred: Sources for Theological Reflection</u>. Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994.

Nicholson, H. "Echoes of the Past and Present Crusades in <u>Les Prophecies de Merlin</u>." <u>Romania</u> 122 (1994): 320-40.

Nickolaus, Keith. <u>Marriage Fictions in Old French Secular Narratives: a Critical Re-evaluation of the Courtly Love Debate Based on Secular Sarratives from 1170-1250</u>. New York: Routledge, 2002.

Nieto Soria, J. M. <u>Fundamentos ideológicos del poder real en Castilla (siglos XIII-XVI)</u>. Madrid: Eudema, 1988.

Nogara, B. "Di alcune vite e commenti medioevali di Ovidio." <u>Miscellanea Ceriani</u>. Milan: 1910. 415-31.

Nolan, Barbara. <u>Chaucer and the Tradition of the Roman Antique</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

<u>Nova vulgata Bibliorum Sacrorum editio: Sacros. oecum. concilii Vaticani II ratione habita iussu Pauli PP.VI recognita auctoritate Ioannis Pauli PP.II promulgata</u>. Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1986.

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. <u>A History of Medieval Spain</u>. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1983.

---. <u>Alfonso X and the Cantigas De Santa María: A Poetic Biography</u>. Leiden: Brill, 1993.

---. <u>Reconquest and Crusade in Medieval Spain</u>. Philadelphia: University of Penssylvania Press, 2004.

Ó Cróinín, Dáibhi. "Ireland, 400-800." <u>New History of Ireland</u>. Ed. F. X. Martin, T. W. Moody, and F. J Byrne. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976.

Okken, Lambertus. <u>Kommentar zum Tristan-Roman Gottfrieds von Strassburg</u>. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1996.

Olson, Glending. "Geoffrey Chaucer." <u>The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature</u>. Ed. D. Wallace. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Origen. <u>The Philocalia of Origen</u>. Ed. J. Armitage Robinson. Cambridge: University Press, 1893.

---. <u>The Philocalia of Origen: a Compilation of Selected Passages from Origen's works, Made by St. Gregory of Nazianzus and St. Basil of Cæsarea</u>. Ed. G. Lewis.

Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1911.

Orosius, Paulus. Histoires contre les païens (Historiae adversum Paganos). 2 vols. Ed. Marie-Pierre Arnaud-Lindet. Paris: Les Belles Letres, 1990.

Ortega y Gasset, José, and E. Inman Fox. Meditaciones sobre la literatura y el arte: (la manera española de ver las cosas). Clásicos Castalia, 167. Madrid: Castalia, 1987.

Ovid. Ars Amatoria book 3. Ed. R. K Gibson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

---. Carmina amatoria: Amores, Medicamina faciei femineae, Ars amatoria, Remedia amoris. Ed. Antonio Ramírez de Verger. Munich: Saur, 2003.

---. Epistulae Heroidum. Ed. Henricus Dörrie. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971.

---. Metamorphoses. 2 vols. Ed. F. J. Miller. London: W. Heinemann, 1921.

---. Metamorphoses. Ed. R. J. Tarrant. Oxford: Oxford Univesity Press, 2004.

---. Epistulae Heroidum. Ed. Henricus Dörrie. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1971.

---. Ex Ponto libri quattuor. Ed. J.A. Richmond. Leipzig: Teubner, 1990.

---. Metamorphoses. Ed. R. J. Tarrant. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Paetow, L. J. The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric. Urbana-Champaigne: University Press, 1910.

Palmer, A. P., ed. P. Ovidi Nasonis Her. 2nd edition. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1898.

Palopski, Outi, and Riitta Oittinen. "The Domesticated Foreign." Translation in context. Selected contributions from the EST Congress, Granada 1998. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1998. 373-89.

Pavis, Patrice. "Problems of Translation for the Stage." The Play Out of Context: Transferring Plays from Culture to Culture. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 25-43.

Paris, Gaston. Les lapidaires français du moyen âge des XIIe, XIIIe et XIVe siècles. Paris: F. Vieweg, 1882.

Paris, Matthew, J. A. Giles, and William Rishanger. Matthew Paris's English History. From the Year 1235 to 1273. London: H.G. Bohn, 1852.

Parker, M. A. "Juan de Mena's Ovidian Material: an Alfonsine Influence." BHS 50 (1978): 5-17.

Pastre, J. M. "Herbort de Fritslar, Konrad de Würzburg et la ville de Troie." La Représentation de l'antiquité au Moyen Age actes du colloque des 26, 27 et 28 mars 1981, Université de Picardie, Centre d'études médiévales. Wiener Arbeiten zur germanischen Altertumskunde und Philologie, 20. Vienna: K.M. Halosar, 1982. 141-55.

Patavino, Rolandino. Rolandini Patavini Cronica Marchie Trivixane. Ed. A. Bonardi. Città di Castello: Tipi Della Casa Editrice S. Lapi, 1905.

Paterson, Linda. <u>The World of the Troubadours</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Pauphilet, Albert. <u>Le legs du Moyen Age</u>. Melun: Librairie D'Argences, 1950.

Payen, M. <u>Les Origines de la courtoisie dans la littérature française médiévale</u>. 2 Vols. Paris: Centre de documentaion universitaire, 1966.

Pearse, Roger, trans. <u>St. Jerome, Chronicle (2004-5). Preface of jerome; preface of Eusebius</u>. Saint Jerome and Eusebius of Caesarea. 4 Jan. 2008 <http://www.tertullian.org/ fathers/jerome_ chronicle_01_prefaces.htm>.

Pegis, Anton Charles. <u>St. Thomas and the Problem of the Soul in the Thirteenth Century</u>. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1934.

Penny, Ralph J. <u>A History of the Spanish Language</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Percival, F. <u>Chaucer's Legendary Good Women</u>. Cambridge: University Press, 1998.

Pérez Bustamante, Ciriaco. <u>Historia de la literatura universal</u>. Madrid: Ediciones Atlas, 1946.

Pérez Navarro, José. <u>Ed. crítica di Alfonso X el Sabio, General estoria. Cuarta Parte. "Libro del Eclesiástico."</u> Padua: Cleup editrice, 1997.

Perugi, M. "Des farcitures en forme de gloses: les <u>Héroïdes</u> vernaculaires entre roman farci et commentaire à citations." <u>L'antichita nella cultura europea del medioevo</u>. Ed. R. Brusegan. Greifswald: Reineke-Verlag, 1998. 3-20.

Peter Abelard. <u>Patrologiae tomus CLXXVIII. Petrus Abaelardus; Abbas Rugensis; Hilarius; Berengarius.</u> Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1855.

Peter of Blois. "III. Ejusdem epistola altera.---Similis argumenti. (Anno 1192.)" <u>Patrologiae tomus CCVI. Coelestinus III Pontifex Romanus; Thomas Cisterciensis Monachus; Joannes Algrinus S.R.E. Cardinalis</u>. Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1855.

---. <u>Patrologiae Tomus CCVII. Petrus Blesensis Bathoniensis in Anglia Archidiaconus.</u> Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1855.

Peter Comestor. <u>Adamus Scotus Canonicus Regularis Ordinis Praemonstratensis. Petrus Comestor. Godefridus Viterbiensis</u>. Patrologiae Tomus CXCVIII. Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1855.

---. <u>Petri Comestoris Scolastica historia. Liber Genesis</u>. Ed. A. Sylwan. Turnhout: Brepols, 2005.

Peter Damian. <u>S. Petri Damiani Tomus Primus</u>. Patrologiae Tomus CXLIV. Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1853.

Peter the Venerable. <u>Adversus Judeorum inveteratam duritiem</u>. Tunhout: Brepols, 1985.

---. <u>Petrus Venerabilis, Abbas Cluniacensis Nonus; Wibaldus Abbas Stabulensis; Ernaldus Abbas Bonaevallis</u>. Patrologiae tomus CLXXXIX. Paris: Excudebat

migne, 1854.

Peters, John. <u>Heresy and Authority in Medieval Europe: Documents in Translation</u>. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1980.

Petit, Aimé. "Aspects de l'influence d'Ovide." <u>Colloque Présence d'Ovide</u>. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1982. 219-40.

Petronius Arbiter. <u>Satyricon of Petronius Arbiter</u>. Trans. W. C. Firebaugh. [n. p.]: Kessinger, 2004.

Piccus, Jules. "The Meaning of <u>Estoria</u> in Juan Manuel's <u>El Conde Lucanor</u>". <u>Hispania</u> 61:3 (1978): 459-65.

Pick, Lucy K. <u>Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews in Medieval Spain</u>. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2004.

---. "Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and the Jews: Pragmatism and Patronage in Thirteenth Century Toledo." <u>Viator</u> 28 (1997): 203-22.

Piquet, Félix. <u>Étude sur Hartmann d'Aue</u>. Paris: E. Leroux, 1898.

Pittaluga, S. ed. <u>Pamphilus</u>**.** <u>Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo</u>. Vol. 3. Genova: Università di Genova, 1980. 11-138.

Plott, J. C. et al. <u>Global History of Philosophy</u>. Vol. 4. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 2000.

Pope, Nancy P. "The <u>Aeneid</u> and the <u>Roman d'Enéas</u>: A Medieval Translator at Work." <u>Papers on Language & Literature</u> 16 (1980): 243-49.

Poster, Carol, and Richard Utz. <u>The Late Medieval Epistle</u>. Disputatio, v. 1. Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University Press, 1996.

Pound, Ezra. <u>The Spirit of Romance; an Attempt to Define Somewhat the Charm of the Pre-Renaissance Literature of Latin Europe</u>. London: J.M. Dent, 1910.

Prado-Vilar, Francisco. "The Gothic Anamorphic Gaze: Regarding the Worth of Others." <u>Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile</u>. Ed. C. Robinson and L. Rouhi. Leiden: Brill, 2005.

Pratt, Karen. "Medieval Attitudes to Translation and Adaptation: the Rhetorical Theory and the Poetic Practice." <u>The Medieval Translator II</u>. Ed. R. Ellis. London: CMSQMWC, 1991. 1-28.

Priscian. <u>Institutiones grammaticae. Grammatici latini ex recensione Henrici Keilii</u>. Vol. 2. Leipzig: Teubner, 1857-1880.

Procter, Evelyn S. <u>Alfonso X of Castile Patron of Literature and Learning</u>. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951.

Przychocki, Gustaw. <u>Accessus Ovidiani</u>. Kraków: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1911.

Psaki, F. R. "The Traffic in Talk about Women: Cultural Traffic in Medieval Texts and Medieval Studies." <u>Journal of Romance Studies</u> 4:3 (2004): 13-34.

Pugh, Tison. <u>Queering Medieval Genres</u>. New York: Macmillan, 2004.

Punzi, Arianna. "La circolazione della materia troiana nell'Europa del '200: Da <u>Darete Frigio</u> al <u>Roman de Troie en Prose</u>." <u>Messana</u> 6 (1991): 69-108.

Purkart, Josef. "Messengers' Songs and Love Letters: Realism and Rhetoric." <u>Studies in Medieval Culture, VI & VII</u>. Ed. J. R. Sommerfeldt. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 1976. 95-105.

Puyol, J. <u>Crónica de España</u>. Lucas de Tuy. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1926.

Pym, A. <u>Method in Translation History</u>. Manchester: St. Jerome, 1998.

---."The Price of Alfonso's Wisdom: Nationalist Translation Policy in Thirteenth Century Castile." <u>The Medieval Translator 5</u>. Ed. R. Ellis. Brussels: Brepols, 1996. 448-72.

---. "Translation History and the Manufacture of Paper." <u>The Medieval Translator 6</u>. Ed. R. Ellis. Brussels: Brepols, 1998. 57-71.

Pypin, A. N. <u>Očerk literaturnoj istorii starinnych povestej i skazok russkich</u>. Saint Petersburg: n.p., 1857.

Rackley, Sally A. "The Excerpts from Ovid's <u>Heroides</u> in the <u>Florilegium Gallicum</u>." <u>Manuscripta</u> 36:2 (1992): 125-35.

Ragep, F. Jamil and S. P. Ragep, eds. <u>Tradition, Transmission, Transformation</u>. Proceedings of Two Conferences on Pre-Modern Science Held at the University of Oklahoma. Leiden: Brill, 1996.

Ramsey, J. T. and A Lewis Licht. <u>The Comet of 44 BC and Caesar's Funeral Games</u>. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1997.

Rand, E. K. <u>Ovid and His Influence</u>. New York: Longmans, 1928.

Ranft, Patricia. <u>Women in Western Intellectual Culture, 600-1500</u>. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Raschellà, F. D. "The Classical Heritage in Old Icelandic Grammatical Literature." <u>L'antichita nella cultura europea del medioevo</u>. Greifswald: Reineke-Verlag, 1998. 117-26.

Ratkowitsch, Christine. "Baudri von Bourgueil – ein Dichter der 'inneren Emigration.'" <u>Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch</u> 22 (1987): 142-165.

"Razón." <u>Diccionario de la prosa castellana del Rey Alfonso X</u>. Vol. 3. Madison Seminary of Hispanic Medieval Studies: New York, 2002.

Real Academia de la Historia. <u>Memorial histórico español: colección de documentos, opúsculos y antigüedades que publica la Real Academia de la Historia</u>. Madrid: La Academia, 1851.

Reissenberger, Karl. <u>Zur Krone Heinrichs von dem Türlin</u>. Graz: Leuschner & Lubensky, 1879.

Renan, Ernest. <u>L'avenir de la science</u>. Paris: Calmann-Levy, 1890.

Renucci, P. <u>L'aventure et l'humanisme Européen au moyen âge, IVe-XIVe siècle</u>. Paris:

Société d'édition les belles lettres, 1953.

Reuschel, Helga. "Ovid und die angelsächsischen Elegien." <u>Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur</u> 62 (1938): 132-42.

Reynolds, L. D. Ed. <u>Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics</u>. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983.

Reynolds, Margaret, and Sappho. <u>The Sappho Companion</u>. New York: Palgrave for St. Martin's Press, 2001.

Reynolds, Suzanne. <u>Medieval Reading: Grammar, Rhetoric and the Classical Text</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

Rico, Francisco. <u>Alfonso el Sabio y la General estoria: tres lecciones</u>. 2nd edition. Barcelona: Ariel, 1984.

Rigaut de Berbezilh. <u>Liriche</u>. Ed. A. Varvaro. Bari: Adriatica Editrice, 1960.

Riquier, Guiraut. <u>Les épitres de Guiraut Riquier troubadour du XIIIe siècle</u>. Ed. Joseph Linskill. Liège: Marche Romane, 1985.

Robathan, D. M. "Introduction to the Pseudo-Ovidian <u>De Vetula</u>." <u>TPAPA</u> 88 (1957): 197-207.

Robinson, D. <u>Translation and Empire. Postcolonial Theories Explained</u>. Manchester: St. Jerome, 1997.

Rochwert-Zuili, P. "De Sancie à Bérengère: les femmes et le pouvoir dans l'historiographie alphonsine et néo-alphonsine (XIIIe - XIVe siècles)." <u>E-Spania</u> 1 (2006). <http://www.e-spania.paris-sorbonne.fr/article-pdf/rochwert.htm>.

Rockwell, John A. <u>A Compilation of Spanish and Mexican law: in relation to mines, and titles to real estate: in force in California, Texas and New Mexico, and in the territories acquired under the Louisiana and Florida treaties, when annexed to the United States</u>. 2 vols. New York: John S. Voorhies, 1851.

Roger of Wendover. <u>Flores historiarum</u>. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1890.

Rohrbacher, René François. <u>Histoire universelle de l'Église catholique</u>. Vol 7. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1900.

Roncaglia, Aurelio. "La tenzone fra Ugo Catola e Marcabruno." <u>Linguistica e filologia: omaggio a Benvenuto Terracini</u>. Milan: Rialto, 1968. 203-254.

Rosenmeyer, Patricia A. <u>Ancient Epistolary Fictions: The Letter in Greek Literature</u>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Rossetti, G., ed. <u>De nuntio sagaci</u>. <u>Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo</u>. Vol. 2. Gallizi: Università di Genova, 1980.

Rossi, Mario M. "Dante's Conception of Ulysses." <u>Italica</u> 30:4 (1953): 193-202.

Roth, Norman. <u>Jewish Translators at the Court of Alfonso X</u>. Bronx, N. Y.: Fordham University Press, 1985.

Rudolf von Ems. Weltchronik. Ed. G. Ehrismann. Zürich: Weidmann, 1915.

Ruhe, Ernstpeter. De amasio ad amasiam: zur Gattungsgeschichte des mittelalterlichen Liebesbriefes. Munich: Fink, 1975.

Ruiz, Teófilo F. From Heaven to Earth: the Reordering of Castillian Society, 1150-1350. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Saake, Helmut. Zur Kunst Sapphos: Motivanalytische und kompositions-technische Interpretationem. Munich: Schöningh, 1971.

Saibene, M. G. "Le Metamorfosi di Ovidio nella traduzione di Albrecht Von Halberstadt." L'antichita nella cultura europea del medioevo. Greifswald: Reineke-Verlag, 1998. 21-30.

Salimbene de Adam da Parma. Cronica. Ed. F. Bernini. 2 Vols. Bari: Laterza & Figli, 1942.

Salines, Emily. Alchemy and Amalgam Translation in the Works of Charles Baudelaire. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004.

Salvador Martínez, H. Alfonso X, el Sabio. Una biografía. Madrid: Polifemo, 2003.

---. La convivencia en la España del siglo XIII. Perspectivas alfonsíes. Madrid: Polifemo, 2006.

Samples, Susann. "The Rape of Ginover in Heinrich von dem Türlin's Diu Crône." International Arthurian Congress, and Friedrich Wolfzettel. Arthurian romance and gender selected proceedings of the XVIIth International Arthurian Congress. Internationale Forschungen zur allgemeinen und vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft, 10. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1995. 196-205.

Sánchez Albornoz, Claudio. De la Andalucía islámica a la de hoy. Madrid: Rialp, 1983.

---. España, un enigma histórico. Buenos Aires: Editorial Sudamericana, 1956.

Sánchez Herrero, José. "Centro de enseñanza y estudiantes de Sevilla durante los siglos XIII al XV." En la España Medieval 4 (1984): 875-98.

Sánchez-Prieto, Pedro, ed. General Estoria Primera Parte. Vol. 1. Madrid: Biblioteca Castro, 2001.

---. "Un nuevo testimonio de la traducción de la Farsalia." BHS 76 (1999): 13-20.

Saquero Suárez-Somonte, and T. González Rolán. "El mito ovidiano de Hermafrodito y Sálmacis (Met. IV, 285-388) vertido al castellano por Alfonso el Sabio y Juan Mena." Cuadernos de Filología Clásica. Estudios Latinos 15 (1998): 207-30.

Saunders, C. J. Chaucer. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001.

Sautman, F. C. "Just Like a Woman: Queer History, Womanizing the Body, and the Boys in Arnaud's Band." Queering the Middle Ages. Medieval cultures, 27. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001. 168-189.

Savia, A., ed. Pamphilus. Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo. Vol. 5. Gallizi: Università di Genova, 1976-2000.

Saxo, Oliver Elton, F. York Powell, Rasmus Björn Anderson, and James W. Buel. <u>The Nine Books of the Danish History of Saxo Grammaticus</u>. London: Norrœna Society, 1905.

Saxo Grammaticus, Hilda Ellis Davidson, and Peter Fisher. <u>The History of the Danes. Vol.1, English Text</u>. Cambridge: Brewer [etc.], 1979.

Scheler, Auguste. Trois traités de lexicographie latine du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle. Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1865.

Schevill, R. <u>Ovid and the Renascence in Spain</u>. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1913.

Schiendorfer, M. "A Booklet of Love-Letters (from about 1300): Document of a Private Love-Affair? <u>Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein Gesellschaft</u> 11 (1999): 75-82.

Schmid, Elisabeth. <u>Familiengeschichten und Heilsmythologie. Die Verwandschaftsstrukturen in den französischen und deutschen Gralromanen des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts</u>. Bübingen: Niemebyer, 1986.

Schneidmüller, B. "Constructing the Past by Means of the Present: Historiographical Foundations of Medieval Institutions, Dynasties, Peoples, and Communities." <u>Medieval Concepts of the Past. Ritual, Memory, Historiography</u>. Cambridge: University Press, 2002. 167-92.

Schotter, A. H. "The Transformation of Ovid in the Twelfth-Century <u>Pamphilus</u>." <u>Desiring Discourse: The Literature of Love, Ovid through Chaucer</u>. Ed. J. J. Paxson. London: Associated University Presses, 1998. 72-86.

Schubert, M. J. "<u>Ich bin ein brief unde ein bode</u>: The Relation of Written and Oral Love-Messages in Medieval German Literature." <u>Jahrbuch der Oswald von Wolkenstein-Gesellschaft</u> 11 (1999): 35-47.

Schuelper, S. "Ovid aus der Sicht des Balderich von Bourgueil, dargestellt anhand des Briefwechsels Florus – Ovid." <u>Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch</u> 14 (1979): 93-118.

Sedlmayer, H. S. "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Ovidstudien im Mittelalter." <u>Wiener Studien</u> 6 (1884): 142-58.

Sebeok, T. A. <u>Encyclopedic Dictionary of Semiotics</u>. 3 vols. Approaches to Semiotics, 73. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1994.

---. <u>Prolegomena critica ad Heroides Ovidianas</u>. Vienna: C. Geroldi filium, 1878.

Segre, Cesare. <u>Volgarizzamenti del Due e Trecento</u>. Torino: Tipografia Torinese, 1953.

Sela-Sheffy, Rakefet. "How to Be a (Recognized) Translator: Rethinking Habitus, Norms, and the Field of Translation. <u>Target</u> 17:1 (2005): 1-26.

---. "Interference and Aspects of Repertoire Consolidation in Culture." <u>The Challenge of the Hyksos: Cultural Interference in the New Kingdom</u>. Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences. Forthcoming. 3 March 2008. <http://www.tau.ac.il/~rakefet/papers/ RS-Interference.pdf>

---. "Models and Habituses: Problems in the Idea of Cultural Repertoires." Canadian Review of Comparative Literature 24:1 (1997): 35-47.

--. "The Suspended Potential of Culture Research in TS." Target 12:2 (2000): 345-55.

Seneca, Lucius Annaeus. L. Annaei Senecae opera quae supersunt. Ed. Friedrich Haase. Leipzig: Teubner, 1887.

Sextus Empiricus. Against the Logicians (Προς Λογικούς). Trans. R. G. Bury. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953.

Shaner, M. C. E. "Meaningful Variations in Marginal Commentaries on Ovid." Trivium 31 (1999): 25-31.

Sharrock, Allison. "Gender and Sexuality." The Cambridge Companion to Ovid. Ed. Philip Hardie. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. 95-107.

Shippey, T. A. "Wealth and Wisdom in King Alfred's "Preface to the Old English Pastoral Care." English Historical Review 94:371 (1979): 346-55.

Shopkow, Leah, ed. The History of the Counts of Guines and Lords of Ardres. Lambert of Ardres. The Middle Ages series. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001.

Showerman, Grant. Heroides and Amores, with an English translation. London: Heinemann, 1914.

Shuttleworth, Mark and Moira Cowie. Dictionary of Translation Studies. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing, 1997.

Sigal, Gale. Erotic Dawn-songs of the Middle Ages: Voicing the Lyric Lady. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996.

Simeoni, Daniel. "The Pivotal Status of the Translator's Habitus." Target 10 (1998): 85-100.

Simon, Sherry. Gender in Translation: Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission. London: Routledge, 1996.

---. "The Language of Cultural Difference: Figures of Alterity in Canadian Translation." Rethinking Translation. London: John Benjamins, 1992. 159-176.

Siraisi, N. G. Medieval and Early Renaissance Medicine. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990.

Smeets, J. R. "La Bible de Jehan et Ovide le Grant." Neophilologus 58:1 (1974): 22-33.

Smith, Colin. Ramón Menéndez Pidal 1869-1968: A Lecture to Commemorate the Centenary of the Birth of Ramón Menéndez Pidal in 1869. London: Hispanic & Luso-Brazilian Councils, 1970.

Smith, C. C. "The Vernacular." The New Cambridge Medieval History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. 71-82.

Smith, R. A. "Text and Tale in Ovid's Heroides." Arethusa 27 (1994): 247-73.

Smith, Warren S. "The Wife of Bath and Dorigen debate Jerome." Satiric advice on

women and marriage: from Plautus to Chaucer. Ann Arbor: Michigan UP, 2005. 243-69.

Sneddon, C. R. "The Bible du xiiie siècle: Its Medieval Public in the Light of Its Manuscript Tradition." The Bible and Medieval Culture. Ed. W. Lourdaux. Louvain: Leuven University Press, 1979. 127-40.

Sommerfeldt, J. R. Bernard of Clairvaux on the Life of the Mind. New York: Newman Press, 2004.

Southern, R. W. "Some New Letters of Peter of Blois." The English Historical Review 53 (1938): 412-24.

Spearing, A. C. Textual Subjectivity: The Encoding of Subjectivity in Medieval Narratives and Lyrics. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Spiegel, Gabrielle M. Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-Century France. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

---. The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

Spiewok, W. "Enée/Eneas, ou la légitimation du pouvoir dans la gens Julia, chez les Plantagenêts, et chez les Staufer." L'antichita nella cultura europea del medioevo. Greifswald: Reineke-Verlag, 1998. 51-58.

Spivak, G. C. "The Politics of Translation." The Translation Studies Reader. Ed. L. Venuti. Routledge: London, 2004.

Spitzer, Leo. "The Prologue to the Lais of Marie de France and Medieval Poetics." Modern Philology 41:2 (1943): 96-102.

Statius, P. Papinius. Achilleis. (Achilléide.) Ed. J. Méheust. Paris: Belles Lettres, 1971.

Steiger, Arnald. "Alfonso X el Sabio y la idea imperial." Historia de España. Estudios publicados en la revista Arbor. Madrid: CSIC, 1953. 144-55.

---. "Tradición y fuentes islámicas en la obra de Alfonso X." Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos 3 (1955): 93-109.

Stein, R. M. Reality Fictions. Romance, History, and Governmental Authority, 1025-1180. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006.

Sterling-Hellenbrand, Alexandra. Topographies of Gender in Middle High German Arthurian Romance. New York: Garland, 2001.

Stohlmann, J. ed. Anonymi Historia Troyana Daretis Frigii. Ratingen: Henn, 1968.

Stokes, W., ed. Togail Troi. The Destruction of Troy. Calcutta: n.p., 1881.

Sturluson, Snorri. Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning. Ed. Anthony Faulkes. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982.

Suger. Oeuvres complétes de Suger. Ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche. Paris: Vve. de J. Renouard, 1867.

---. <u>Sugerius Abbass. Dionysii.; Robertu Pulluss. R. E. Cardinalis et Cancellarius; Joslenus Suessionensis; Zacharias Chrysopolitanus; Zacarias Ignotae Sedis Episcopus; Willelmus Sandionysianus Monachus</u>. Patrologiae tomus CLXXXVI. Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1854.

---. <u>Vie de Louis le Gros</u>. Ed. Auguste Molinier. Paris: Picard, 1887.

Tanner, Marie. <u>The Last Descendant of Aeneas: The Hapsburgs and the Mythic Image of the Emperor</u>. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.

Terreros y Pando, Esteban de. <u>Paleografía española</u>. Madrid: Joachin Ibarra, 1758.

Teske, Hans. <u>Thomasin von Zerclare: Der Mann und sein Werk</u>. Heidelberg: Winter, 1933.

Theodolus. <u>Theoduli Eclogam</u>. Ed. J. Osternacher. Urfahr: Ripariae prope Lentiam, 1902.

Thijssen, J. M. M. H. "Master Amalric and the Amalricians: Inquisitorial Procedure and the Suppression of Heresy at the University of Paris." <u>Speculum</u> 71:1 (1996): 43-65.

Thom, Michel. "Ovidismes inédits dans la <u>Bible</u> de Malkaraume." <u>Romania</u> 105 (1984): 564-72.

Thomas Aquinas, Saint. <u>Summa theologiae: cura fratrum eiusdem ordinis</u>. Madrid: Biblioteca de autores cristianos, 1994.

Thomas Cisterciensis. <u>Thomas cisterciensis et Joannes Algrinus Sanctae Ecclesiae Romanae Cardinalis</u>. Patrologiae tomus CCVI. Paris: Migne excudebat, 1854.

Thomas, J. W. and H. von dem Türlin. <u>The Crown: a Tale of Sir Gawein and King Arthur's Court</u>. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989.

Thomas, Neil. ""<u>Sîner tugende anegenge sagen</u>": The Re-Writing of Arthurian (Hi)story in <u>Diu Crône</u>." <u>The Modern Language Review</u> 95:3 (2000): 744-63.

Thomasin, and Heinrich Rückert. <u>Der wälsche Gast des Thomasin von Zirclaria</u>. Quedlinburg: G. Basse, 1852.

Thompson, J. W., and B. J. Holm. <u>A History of Historical Writing</u>. Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1967.

Thornington, E. M. "Image and Counter-image: Reflecting Ovid and Audience in the Old French <u>Lai de Narcisus</u>." <u>Cincinnati Romance Review</u> 25 (2006): 25-44.

Tibullus. <u>Albii Tibulli aliorumque carminum libri tres</u>. Ed. F. W. Lenz. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1959.

Tilbury, Gervase of. <u>Otia Imperialia: Recreation for an emperor</u>. Ed. S. E. Banks. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002.

Tolan, John V. <u>Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination</u>. New York: Columbia Unversity Press, 2002.

Toury, Gideon. "Conducting Research on a "Wish-to-Understand" Basis." <u>Translation</u>

Studies at the Interface of Disciplines. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2006. 55-66.

---. "Culture Planning and Translation." Translation, Translation. Approaches to Translation studies, v. 21. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2003. 399-412.

---. Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995.

---. "Enhancing Cultural Changes by Means of Fictitious Translations." Translation and Cultural Change. Ed. Eva Hung. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2005.

---. "The Nature and Role of Norms in Translation." Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995. 53-69.

---. "What Lies beyond Descriptive Translation Studies?" La Palabra Vertida: Investigaciones en torno a la Traducción. Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1997. 69-80.

Tout, T. F. Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England: The Wardrobe, the Chamber and the Small Seals. Vol. 2. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1937.

Townsend, David and Walter of Chatîllon. The Alexandreis of Walter of Châtillon: A Twelfth-Century Epic: a Verse Translation. The Middle Ages series. Philadelphia, Pa: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996.

Tudorica-Impey, Olga. "Ovid, Alfonso X, and Juan Rodríguez del Padrón: Two Castilian Translations of the Heroides and the Beginnings of Spanish Sentimental Prose." BHS 57 (1980): 283-97.

Traube, Ludwig. Vorlesungen und Abhandlungen. Vol. 2. Munich: C. H. Beck, 1965.

Troyan, Scott D. "Uwritten between the Lines: The Unspoken History of Rhetoric." Medieval Rhetoric: A Casebook. New York: Routledge, 2004. 217-45.

Twomey, M. W. "Inventing the Encyclopedia." Schooling and Society. The Ordering and Reordering of Knowledge in the Western Middle Ages. Groningen Studies in Cultural Change, v. 6. Leuven: Peeters, 2004. 73-92.

Tylliette, Jean-Yves. "Troiae ab oris: Aspects de la révolution poétique de la seconde moitié du XIe siècle." Latomus 58 (1992): 405-31.

Tymoczko, Maria. Translation in a Postcolonial Context Early Irish Literature in English Translation. Manchester, U.K.: St Jerome Pub, 1999.

Ullman, B. L. "A Project for a New Edition of Vincent of Beauvais." Speculum 8:3 (1933): 312-26.

Ulrich von Liechtenstein, and Franz Viktor Spechtler. Frauendienst. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, Nr. 485. Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2003.

Ulrich von Türheim, and Alfred Hübner. Rennewart. Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, bd. XXXIX. Berlin: Weidmann, 1964.

Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore. Aevum. Milano: Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università cattolica del Sacro Cuore, 1927.

Urquijo, Julio de. "La Tercera Celestina y 'El canto de Lelo.'" Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos 4:4 (1910): 573-86.

Valdeón Baruque, Julio. Alfonso X el Sabio: La forja de la España moderna. Madrid: Temas de Hoy, 2003.

Van Herwaarden, Jan. Between Saint James and Erasmus: Studies in Late-Medieval Religious life: Devotions and Pilgrimages in the Netherlands. Trans. Wendie Shaffer. Leiden: Brill, 2003.

Vargas Ponce, Joseph. "Elogio del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio." Memorias de la Academia Española 1:2. Madrid: Rivadeneyra, 1870. 373-433.

Vega, Carlos A. "La tercera crónica de Alfonso X: La Gran Conquista de Ultramar by Cristina González." Speculum 72:2 (1997): 474-76.

Venosa, Riccardo de., ed. De Paulino et Polla. Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo. Vol. 5. Gallizi: Università di Genova, 1976-2000.

Venuti, L. The Scandals of Translation. London: Routledge, 1998.

---. The Translator's Invisibility. London: Routledge, 1995.

Vernet, A. Mélanges dédiés a la mémoire de Félix Grat. Vol. 2. Paris: Pecqueur-Grat, 1949. 251-75.

Vessey, D. W. T. C. "Notes on Ovid's, Heroides 9." The Classical Quarterly 19:2 (1969): 349-61.

Viarre, Simone. La survie d'Ovide dans la littérature scientifique des XIIe et XIIIe siècles. Poitiers: University of Poitiers, 1966.

Vielliard, F. "Le traduction du De excidio Troiae de Darès le Phrygien par Jean de Flixecourt." Medieval Codicology, Iconography, Literature, and Translation. Studies for Keith Val Sinclair. Ed. P. R. Monks. New York: Brill, 1994. 284-95.

Vigfússon, Guðbrandur. Origines islandicae; a collection of the more important sagas and other native writings relating to the settlement and early history of Iceland. Vol 2. Trans. F York Powell. 534-66.

Virgil. P. Aeneis. Vergili Maronis Opera. Ed. R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

Viscardi, A. Storia delle letterature d'Oc e d'Oil. 3rd edition. Milan: Nuova Accademia Editrice, 1959.

Vitale of Blois. Geta. Ed. F. Bertini. Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo. Vol. 3. Genova: Università di Genova, 1980. 139-242.

Vitz, Evelyn Birge. "A Showcase for Talent: Performance in and of Flamenca." "De sens rassis" Essays in Honor of Rupert T. Pickens. Ed. K. Busby et al. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2005. 683-98.

---. Medieval Narrative and Modern Narratology: Subjects and Objects of Desire. New York University Studies in French Culture and Civilization. New York: New York University Press, 1989.

Von Trimberg, Hugo. Das Registrum multorum auctorum des Hugo von Trimberg: Untersuchgn u. kommentierte Textausg. Ed. Karl Langosch. Berlin: Ebering, 1942.

Wallbank, Rosemary. "The Composition of Diu Crône." Medieval Miscellany, Presented to Eugène Vinaver. Manchester: Manchester UP, 1965. 300-320.

Ward, Benedicta. Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event. 1000-1215. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.

Wattenbach, Wilhelm, and Robert Holtzmann. Deutschlands geschichtsquellen im mittelalter Deutsche kaiserzeit. 6th edition. Vol. I. Tübingen: M. Matthiesen, 1948.

Webster, J. R. "Conversion and Co-existence: The Franciscan Mission in the Crown of Aragon." Simon, Larry J., and Robert Ignatius Burns. Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1996. 163-78.

Weiden Boyd, Barbara. Ovid's Literary Loves. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997.

Weiss, Judith. "Ineffectual Monarchs: Portrayals of Regal and Imperial Power in Ipomedon, Robert le Diable and Octavian." Cultural Encounters in the Romance of Medieval England. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2005. 55-67.

Weiss, Julia. "Literary Theory and Polemic in Castile, c. 1200-c. 1500." The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism. Vol. 2. Ed. A Minnis and I. Johnson. Cambridge: The University Press, 2005. 496-532.

White, Hayden V. Metahistory: the Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973.

Whitney, E. Paradise Restored: The Mechanical Arts from Antiquity through the Thirteenth Century. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1990.

Wieruszowski, H. Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy. Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1971.

William IX, Duke of Aquitaine. The Poetry of William VII, Count of Poitiers, IX Duke of Aquitaine. Ed. G. A. Bond. New York: Garland, 1982.

William of Blois. Alda. Ed. F. Bertini. Commedie latine del XII e XIII secolo. Vol. 6. Gallizi: Università di Genova, 1998. 11-110.

William of Newburgh. The History of English Affairs. Book I. Ed. P. G. Walsh & M. J. Kennedy. Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1988.

William of Saint-Denys. Le dialogue apologétique du Moine Guillaume. A. Wilmart ed. Revue Mabillon 32 (1942): 80-118.

William of Tyre. Arnulfus Lexov. Episc.; Guillemus Tyr.; Lucius III Rom Pont; Alanus Antiss. Episc.; Aimericus Patriarcha Antioch.; B. Petrus Caraevall. Abbas VIII.; Terricus Templarius. Patrologiae tomus CCI. Paris: Excudebat Migne, 1855.

Williams, J. R. "Godfrey of Rheims, a Humanist of the Eleventh Century." <u>Speculum</u> 22:1 (1947): 29-45.

Woledge, Brian<u>. Bibliographie des romans et nouvelles en prose française antérieurs a 1500</u>. Geneva: Droz, 1954.

Wolf, Alois: "Zur Frage des typologischen Denkens in volkssprachlicher Dichtung des Hochmittelalters." <u>Amsterdamer Beitrage zur Alteren Germanistik</u> 6 (1974): 93-131.

Wright, C. S. "Vehementer amo: The Amorous Verse Epistles of Baudry of Bourgueil and Constance of Angers." <u>The Influence of the Classical World on Medieval Literature, Architecture, Music, and Culture: a Collection of Interdisciplinary Studies</u>. Ed. F. Fajardo-Acosta. Lewiston, N.Y.: E. Mellen Press, 1992. 154-66.

Wright, Roger. "The Assertion of Ibero-Romance." <u>Forum for Modern Language Studies</u> 36:3 (2000): 230-40.

---. "The Dating of the Earliest Fuero Translations." <u>BHS</u> 75:1 (1998): 9-16.

Wright, Thomas. <u>A Selection of Latin Stories: From Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries: a Contribution to the History of Fiction During the Middle Ages</u>. London: Printed for the Percy Society [by T. Richards], 1842.

Würth, Stefanie. "The Common Transmission of <u>Trójumanna Saga</u> and <u>Breta Sögur</u>." <u>Beatus Vir: Studies in Early English and Norse Manuscripts</u>. Ed. A. N. Doane and K. Wolf. Tempe, AR: ACMRS, 2006.

Wynn, Marianne. "The Abduction of the Queen in German Arthurian Romance." <u>Chevaliers errants, demoiselles et l'Autre</u>. Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1988. 131-44.

<u>Young's Literal Translation of the Holy Bible</u>. Ed. R. Young. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995.

Zaggia, M. and Matteo Ceriana. <u>I manoscritti illustrati delle Eroidi ovidiane volgarizzate</u>. Pisa: Scuola Normale Superiore, 1996.

Zulaika, Joseba. "Anthropologists, Artists, Terrorists: The Basque Holiday from History." <u>Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies</u> 4:2 (2003): 139-50.

Zumthor, P. <u>Speaking of the Middle Ages</u>. Trans. Sarah White. Licoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986.

VITA

José Javier Puerto Benito

Birth Data
- August 22, 1979
- San José, Costa Rica

Education
- M.A. in Hispanic Studies, University of Kentucky (May 2004)
- B.A. in English Studies & Linguistics, Universidad de Valladolid, Spain (May 2001)
- Staffordshire University, Stoke-on-Trent, EU Erasmus Program, United Kingdom (Fall 1999-Spring 2000)
- CIEE Council on International Education Exchange (CIEE) Work and Travel Program, United States (Summer 1998 and 1999)

Positions

Staffordshire University
- Teaching Assistant, Department of Foreign Languages (Spring 2000)

University of Kentucky
- Teaching Assistant, Department of Hispanic Studies, (Fall 2001-Spring 2004)
- Part Time Instructor, Department of Hispanic Studies, (Fall 2004-Spring 2008)

Honors

University of Kentucky
- Research Assistant for the project *Digital Library for the Enlightenment: The Spanish Novel* funded by UK and the NEH (Fall 2006-Spring 2008)
- Hispanic Studies Award for Outstanding Service to the Department of Hispanic Studies, University of Kentucky (Academic year 2003)
- President, Hispanic Studies Graduate Student Association (HIGSA), University of Kentucky (2005)

Conference Presentations

University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, OH   May 9, 2008
- 28th Cincinnati Conference on Romance Languages and Literatures
  Puerto, J. Javier. "Alfonso X and the Power of the Stars: Astrology in Thirteenth-Century Iberia."

University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, NC   March 29, 2008
- Carolina Conference on Romance Literatures: Questioning Textualities: A Transatlantic Approach?
  Puerto, J. Javier. "Alfonso X's *General Estoria* and 13th century French Historiography: The many paths   of cultural exchange."

University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, NM   February 27, 2008
- Heroes and Anti-heroes: A Celebration of the Cid. 15th Annual University of New Mexico Conference on Ibero-American Culture and Society
Puerto, J. Javier. "Ovid's classical heroines in the *General Estoria*: a *speculum princeps* for the education of young *dueñas*."

University of Kentucky, Lexington, KY   February 8, 2006
- Department of Hispanic Studies, Nuestro Rumbo Colloquium
Puerto, J. Javier. "Practical Advice on How to Write a Thesis Proposal"

Hofstra University, Hempstead, NY   October 28, 2006
- Rubén Darío: 90 Years Later
Puerto, J. Javier. "Corrientes de pensamiento en la obra temprana de Rubén Darío."

Publications

Editing
- Annotated and pre-edited *Maldito amor y otros cuentos* by Dianna C Niebylski (2006).
- Designed and developed a four-dvd series and six hours of streamable audiovisual material gathered at the forum *"Teaching About Atrocity: Issues in Genocide and Holocaust Education at the College Level,"* held in Lexington on April 7, 2008 by the *Central Kentucky Genocide and Holocaust Working Group.*

Translating
- Translated into Spanish Michael Johnathon's play *Walden: The Ballad of Thoreau* (2007).
- Translated from English into Spanish from the book *From Liberal to Revolutionary Oaxaca: The View from the South, Mexico 1867-1911* by Francie Chassen-López (2004). The translation is to be published in 2009.
- Translated from English into Spanish the book *Humoring Resistance: Laughter and the Excessive Body in Contemporary Latin American Women's Fiction* by Dianna C. Niebylski (2004). The translation is to be published in 2009.

J. Javier Puerto

5/1/2008