

THE *ARENGA* IN THE LITERATURE OF MEDIEVAL SPAIN

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## ABSTRACT

Michelle Leroux Gravatt: *The Arenga* in the Literature of Medieval Spain

(Under the direction of Dr. Frank Domínguez)

The military harangue, known in Spanish as the *arenga*, enables a commander to motivate his men before combat and can be found from ancient times to present in historical and literary descriptions of battles. “*The Arenga* in the Literature of Medieval Spain” examines the characteristics and role of the military harangue in Spain’s literary texts from a variety of perspectives: rhetorical appeals, themes, effectiveness, eloquence, structure, and similarities with other medieval rhetorical arts.

The study first defines what constitutes an *arenga* and identifies its place within rhetoric (I. Defining the Harangue: *The Arenga* in Rhetoric). It then looks at harangues originating from Antiquity, examining Virgil’s examples and those found in a medieval Spanish translation of Thucydides (II. Harangues from Classical Texts). Finally, it studies examples found in Spanish poetry and prose, dedicating two chapters to the most important harangues written in Spain during the Middle Ages (III. Thirteenth-Century Spanish Literary *Arengas*; IV. Fifteenth-Century Spanish Literary *Arengas*). The concluding chapter (V. Conclusion) is followed by an Appendix containing the full text of each harangue, a Works Cited, and a Selected Bibliography for further research.

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## Introduction

The military harangue, known in Spanish as the *arenga*, is the motivational speech given by a commander before combat.<sup>1</sup> As such, it has become a set-piece within literary and historical depictions of battles from ancient times to present. Yet when most scholars investigate texts containing harangues, their treatment of the speeches is superficial in respect to their overall study of the works that contain them. Furthermore, while there have been studies that have reviewed the harangue in terms of its historical veracity, of how its themes reveal information about combat psychology, and of how it serves to portray the character of its speaker, a study of the literary harangue in and of itself is lacking. For example, how do we classify it in terms of rhetoric? What types of appeals do its speakers employ? What topics are presented to their audiences, and are certain themes more favored than others in literary texts? Can we identify if the author considered the harangue to be successful, either rhetorically or practically? Is there an identifiable structure, and does this correspond to any of the rhetorical arts of the time period in which it was composed? Are literary harangues filled with literary devices, or are they simplistic and straight-forward, realistically portraying a speech made under combat conditions? Finally, and most importantly, what is the harangue's importance in literary works, and how does it contribute to understanding the texts in which it is found?

These questions must be understood before we can fully understand the concept of the literary harangue. However, as this set-piece spans centuries of world literature, an

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<sup>1</sup> For the sake of variation, I use the terms *arengas*, harangues, military speeches, and exhortations to describe the same phenomenon.

investigation into its various manifestations is far more than can be accomplished in one dissertation. Thus, I have selected the literature of a time period and country in which wars and battles provided a natural and abundant inspiration for a variety of texts, that of medieval Spain.

Hence, this investigation will focus on Spain's medieval *arengas* from a variety of perspectives: rhetorical appeal, theme, effectiveness, eloquence, structure, and the literary devices employed. Additionally, we will also look at the influence of medieval rhetorical arts on the *arenga*, noting similarities as well as distinguishing traits. In order to demonstrate the versatility of the literary harangue, this study will review examples found in works representing different genres and different centuries. We will begin by understanding the tradition that the medieval *arenga* inherited from Antiquity by studying the rules of classical rhetoric that might have influenced the composition of the harangue as well as by examining examples found in Virgil's *Aeneid* and Fernández Heredia's fourteenth century translation of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*. From the thirteenth century, we will look at the *arenga* in Spanish poetry, analyzing the *Libro de Alexandre* and the *Poema de Fernán González* (examples from the *mester de clerecía*) as well as the *Cantar de Mio Cid* (an example of the *mester de juglaría*). From the fifteenth century, we will analyze the *arenga* in Spanish prose as it is found in the personal chronicles of *El Victorial* and *La crónica de don Álvaro de Luna* as well as in the sentimental novel *Cárcel de amor*. The findings of these investigations will then be summarized in the concluding chapter.

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In Antiquity, the harangue was a staple of all types of texts dealing with war and warfare. Theodore Burgess notes that there are over forty examples in Greek literature alone



and holds that it was “[t]he most distinctive, fully developed, and persistent single type of speech among historians” (209).<sup>2</sup> He explains that the high quantity of the speeches in Greek historical texts stems not only from the importance of the speech in Greek society but also from its effectiveness in displaying the author’s rhetorical skills (202). Thus, the *arenga* was certainly not a medieval invention, and classical texts that contained harangues, such as the *Aeneid* and the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, were available to influence medieval readers and writers.

Despite its literary value, when scholars discuss the harangue, they tend to do so in terms of historiography, attempting to identify its role in portraying historical events and debating whether specific harangues can be considered realistic or fictional. The ancient Greeks themselves were not immune from this very topic, as Burgess’s study discusses their perceptions of the exhortation’s role within histories. Additionally, modern scholars, such as Mogens Herman Hansen and W. Kendrick Pritchett have argued about the realism of several harangues, with Pritchett believing that some were actually given and Hansen suggesting that they were later fictional creations written for historiography’s sake, rather than rhetorical compositions made by generals in battle.

This juxtaposition of history and the harangue is also found within medieval studies. In her investigation on medieval rhetoric and reality, Ruth Morse discusses the harangue in the context of medieval historians’ penchant for patterns and the influence of classical works. She contends that medieval writers often used ancient texts as exemplary models and drew upon existing *topoi* and verbal ornaments to reflect rhetorical skill in their pieces. Morse observes this type of borrowing within harangues, noting that the popular theme of arousing

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<sup>2</sup> In his investigation Burgess discusses the following: Xenophon, Thucydides, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Dio Cassius, Appian, Arrian, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Herodianus, Theophylactus, and Josephus.

an army's pride by stating that it is outnumbered was an ancient tradition going as far back as Tacitus' *Germania* and Xenophon's *Anabasis* (123). She also concludes that although textual harangues coincided with historical events, many pre-battle descriptions within histories, including harangues, were not meant to be an exact representation but to demonstrate the superiority of one side over the other (123). Thus, according to Morse, the medieval harangue provided a textual space in which a writer could glorify persons or groups (123). It could be used to demonstrate "oratorical bravura" in some cases or "to indicate moral position" in others (119). Hence, Morse's study tells us that the harangues we find in many medieval texts should not be considered to be verbatim transcripts of historical merit but rather literary pieces of rhetorical interest.

Most rhetorical studies of medieval texts do not directly discuss the military harangue. Instead, many scholars, such as Polak, Kristeller, Johnston, Haskins, and Kantorowicz have focused their work on political speeches or the influence of the Italian *ars arengandi* in medieval courts. Meanwhile, James J. Murphy has investigated the *ars praedicandi*, the *ars dictaminis*, and the *ars poetriae* without discussing how they may relate to the medieval military exhortation.

Medieval harangues have received some critical attention. John R.E. Bliese has studied battle exhortations in detail, although his intention was to understand the medieval soldier's psychology rather than to analyze the speech's literary value. In his articles, he reviews harangues found in medieval chronicles as well as in the *Song of Roland*, and he provides a catalog of common themes, creating a list of the top seventeen types of motive appeals found within ninety-two medieval western European chronicles from mostly England, Germany, and France. My examination of the *arengas*, however, will go beyond

the thematic categorizations of Bliese, as they will be based not only on theme but also on rhetorical appeal and effectiveness.

While the aforementioned investigations have presented the harangue's place within history and psychology, modern literary criticism offers very few discussions on the literary harangue. Furthermore, when these critics discuss the *arenga* within certain famous works, they only study it regard to its connection to the text's themes or its contribution to the character development of the hero.

Specifically, much has been done regarding the battle exhortations found in the *Poema de Fernán González (PFG)*. For example, Lawrence Rich looks at an *arenga* common to both the *Primera crónica general (PCG)* and the *PFG* and discusses the importance of their differences. Additionally, Beverly West suggests that the speeches in the *PFG* allowed the author to present Christian doctrine as well as to demonstrate the hero's exemplary behavior and his leadership abilities (47, 116). Finally, Keller concludes that the *PFG's* harangues contribute to the development of González's character and the portrayal of his relationship with his soldiers (*Poet's Myth* 83). He also observes that introductions to battles, including the presentation of psychological motivations, are a literary technique used to create suspense in texts (79).

Of all the modern critics who have examined the *PFG*, Matthew Bailey provides the most extensive analysis on its *arengas*. In *The Poema del Cid and the Poema de Fernán González: The Transformation of an Epic Tradition*, he specifically studies the differences between the *Cantar de Mio Cid (CMC)*, the *PFG*, and the *PCG*. He suggests that overall the *CMC* and *PCG* reflect a warrior world with which the audience was familiar, while the *PFG* focuses on a religious, literary world with references to the Bible and metaphysical issues

(22, 29-30, 32). These differences are then evident when reading the harangues in each work. For example, Bailey suggests that Fernán González's orations in the *PFG* reflect an idealistic view while the Cid's reflect realism (67-70). Additionally, the Fernán González of the *PFG* has to persuade and manipulate his soldiers while the Cid of the *CMC* does not need to be as convincing in his speeches (65-67). Thus, Bailey analyzes the harangues of the *PFG* with particular focus on comparing them primarily to the *CMC* and in determining how they reflect upon the main character.

Finally, Keith Whinnom, in his study of *Cárcel de amor*, briefly discusses that work's sole *arenga*. His analysis focuses on the role the harangue plays in dividing the narrative, and he finds nothing original in the speech's messages (Introduction 56-57).

In contrast to these studies, this dissertation analyzes a substantial sampling of the *arengas* of medieval Spain on many levels. It examines the concept of the harangue itself and analyzes its examples according to the categories of appeal, theme, successfulness, and structure.

Chapter One establishes a rhetorical definition of the *arenga* and explains the categories by which we will textually analyze each speech. Additionally, it provides a background on the medieval rhetorical arts in order to provide a basis of comparison with the art of the *arenga*.

Chapter Two deals with two works that contain harangues written in the Classical Age but which were available to medieval readers. The first is Juan Fernández Heredia's faithful translation of eight *arengas* from Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* into a Castilianized Aragonese. The second is Virgil's *Aeneid*, a Latin text that continued to be popular throughout the Middle Ages and which contains six harangues.

Chapter Three studies three poetic works which date from thirteenth-century Spain and deal with warfare. To bridge the gap between Antiquity and the Middle Ages, we start with the eleven *arengas* found in the *Libro de Alexandre*, an anonymous work that presents the conquests and adventures of Alexander the Great and which is interlaced with medieval Christian ideals. Like its classical predecessors, this text contains harangues spoken by the leaders of both sides of the battle, but it will be the last in our study to do so. Also in Chapter Three, we examine two very different epic poems, the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, which contains three *arengas*, and the *Poema de Fernán González*, which contains four extant *arengas*. These two poems focus on individual heroes from Spanish history, but they present their respective protagonist in very different ways. While both men are portrayed as strong, charismatic leaders, their goals differ dramatically, and this difference is reflected in their speeches. Additionally, the chapter contrasts the harangues of the *PFG* to their counterparts in the *PCG*.

Chapter Four investigates two personal chronicles of the fifteenth century that portray the life of a man who fought for Spain. *El Victorial* portrays a nobleman as sailor, the captain of a Spanish warship, don Pero Niño. Written by a faithful servant, Gutierre Díez de Games, who traveled with *el Capitán*, the biography traces Niño's chivalrous adventures in service of the Crown and contains five harangues from his episodic life. *La crónica de don Álvaro de Luna* presents a nobleman as soldier, the Master of Santiago, who was eventually condemned to death as a traitor by his own king, Juan II of Spain. Purportedly written by a confidant, the biography favors the character of its protagonist in the face of political enemies, and we shall see how its four *arengas* do the same. Finally, Chapter Four examines the sole *arenga* in one of the most famous sentimental novels of Spanish literature, the *Cárcel de amor* by

Diego de San Pedro. Written late in the fifteenth century, the style of its harangue is influenced by the beginning inroads of the Renaissance.

The Conclusion of this dissertation reviews its findings, summarizing the most popular rhetorical appeals, the most prevalent themes, their rate of successfulness, and their literary devices and formats. Yet, most importantly, it examines the role of the *arenga* within its texts, and it attempts to identify how harangues can provide us with new insights into the works in which they are found, proving the value of the *arenga* for the full understanding of the texts involved.

## **I. Defining the Harangue: The *Arenga* in Rhetoric**

Has not oratory often revived the courage of a panic-stricken army and persuaded the soldier faced by all perils of war that glory is a fairer thing than life itself? (Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 321; bk. 2, ch 16).

But so potent is Eloquence, rightly styled, by an excellent poet, ‘soulbending sovereign of all things,’ that she can not only support the sinking and bend the upstanding, but, like a good and brave commander, can even make a prisoner a resisting antagonist (Cicero, *De Oratore* 333; bk. 2, ch. 45).

Because the literary *arenga* is a rhetorical set-piece, an investigation of it requires an understanding of the art of speech-making. As one of the seven liberal arts of education, rhetoric formed with grammar and logic to make up the Middle Ages’ *trivium*. These three arts educated man on how to reason, to arrange information, and to speak to its veracity. Grammar was the study of words, establishing the rules of languages. Logic enabled man to reason and to determine if what had been communicated was the truth. Finally, rhetoric instructed students on how to communicate effectively and influence others.

Yet, the actual definition of rhetoric has varied. P.O. Kristeller notes that the “art” of rhetoric has been understood throughout history as pertaining to many things, including persuasion, argument, composition, prose, and literary criticism (1). Meanwhile language scholar Walter J. Ong states, “Rhetoric was at root the art of public speaking, of oral address, for persuasion (forensic and deliberative rhetoric) or exposition (epideictic rhetoric)” (109). In Ancient times, scholars understood that words could be used to support both negative and positive actions in society, and thus classical rhetoricians debated whether the character of an

orator was a qualitative factor in evaluating his oratorical skills. Hence, ethics began to appear in discussions on proper oratory in Ancient times.

In the most popular rhetorical treatises, we find differing opinions concerning the concept of rhetoric. In *De Inventione* (circa 91 BC), a general rhetorical manual read throughout the medieval time period with numerous commentaries from the twelfth and fourteenth centuries, Cicero stressed the difference between rhetoric's function and end. "The function of eloquence seems to be to speak in a manner suited to persuade an audience, the end is to persuade by speech" (Cicero, *De Inventione* 15; bk. 1, ch. 5). Additionally, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1<sup>st</sup> century BC), often credited to Cicero and also highly referenced by students and scholars throughout the Middle Ages, stated that "[t]he task of the public speaker is to discuss capably those matters which law and custom have fixed for the uses of citizenship, and to secure as far as possible the agreement of his hearers" (5; bk.1, ch. 1). Yet Quintilian, whose *Institutio Oratoria* (circa 90 AD) became widely available in its entirety only in the fifteenth century, observed that other things outside of language can persuade man and are not deemed rhetoric (303; bk. 2, ch. 15). Quintilian focused on what he considered to be the intrinsic ethical component of an orator and finally determined that rhetoric was:

‘the science of speaking well.’ For this definition includes all the virtues of oratory and the character of the orator as well, since no man can speak well who is not good himself (315; bk. 2, ch. 15).

In contrast, Isidore of Seville, in *Etymologiae* (circa 615 AD), took a Ciceronian approach by creating distinctions between the act and the purpose, stating, "Rhetoric is the science of speaking well on civil questions: eloquence is a flow of words, designed to persuade people to the just and the good" (22; bk.2, ch. 1).



Classical rhetoricians also debated on the classification of speeches; yet, three types or genres eventually emerged. In *Institutio Oratoria* Quintilian explained:

There is, however, a dispute as to whether there are three kinds or more. But it is quite certain that all the most eminent authorities among ancient writers, following Aristotle who merely substituted the term *public* for *deliberative*, have been content with the threefold division (391; bk. 3, ch. 4).

Quintilian agreed with Cicero regarding how to call these types, using the term “genera causarum” or kinds of causes to define speeches (390; bk. 3, ch. 3). Hence, the purpose of the speech became the defining determinant in its classification. Quintilian initially categorized all speeches as either belonging to the courts, “*in iudiciis*”, or not to the courts, “*extra iudicia*” (392; bk. 3 ch. 4.), but he then subdivided the “*extra iudicia*” based on timing: “We praise or denounce past actions, we deliberate about the future” (393; bk. 3, ch. 4). Thus, he concurred that they could be divided into three genres. The medieval rhetorician, Jacques de Dinant (13<sup>th</sup> century) followed this division and, like Quintilian, observed their relation to time, stating: “Notandum autem quod demonstratiuum respicit tempus preteritum, deliberatiuum futurum, iudiciale presens” (qtd. in Wilmart 122) (“It is observed also that the demonstrative considers the past; the deliberative, the future; the judicial, the present”).

These three types of orations came to be known as the forensic or judicial, the deliberative, and the demonstrative (also known as epideictic or panegyric) genres. A forensic oration is meant to persuade juries or judges about a decision concerning a past action. It “‘judges’ a man” and leads to “a sentence of punishment or reward” (Isidore of Seville 26; bk. 2, ch. 4). Deliberative speeches, also known as advisory speeches, discuss future actions. Put simply, “the subject of deliberation is primarily whether we shall do anything” (Quintilian 491; bk. 3, ch. 8). The *Rhetorica ad Herennium* adds, “Deliberative

speeches are either of the kind in which the question concerns a choice between two courses of action, or of the kind in which a choice among several is considered” (157; bk. 3, ch. 2). In such a speech, “one ‘deliberates’ about each point [. . .] being divisible into persuasion and dissuasion, involving ends to seek and ends to avoid, that is to say things which ought to be done, and things which ought not” (Isidore of Seville 26; bk. 2, ch. 4). Deliberative speeches can be emotive, relying on the audience’s emotions to persuade them to one’s side (Quintilian 485; bk. 3, ch. 8). Finally, demonstrative speeches deal with the praise or blame of someone such as in eulogies, or of something, such as a city or a country. They are orations “in which a praise-worthy or reprehensible character is held up to view” (Isidore of Seville 26; bk. 2, ch. 4).

The military exhortation best falls under the category of deliberative, based on its purpose: influencing the soldiers’ *future* actions. The military commander does not seek to defend or accuse someone of a past action for the sake of his audience’s legal judgment, as in forensic speeches; nor is his aim to simply expound upon the negative or positive qualities of an object with the intent of bestowing public praise or blame, as in demonstrative speeches. His purpose is to persuade his men to fight their best in an upcoming or ongoing engagement and to win rather than to retreat or surrender. Therefore, the emphasis is on a future course of action, which befits the deliberative genre. A review of Quintilian finds that he agrees:

Anaximenes regarded forensic and public oratory as *genera* but held that there were seven species: - exhortation, dissuasion, praise, denunciation, accusation, defense, inquiry. [. . .] The first two, however, clearly belong to deliberative, the next to demonstrative, the three last to forensic oratory (393-395; bk. 3, ch. 4).

Therefore, we begin by defining the military *arenga* as a deliberative speech in which the orator is usually a king, noble, or other military leader; his audience is usually his troops; the future action requiring the *arenga*’s persuasion is a battle. Within the speech, the

commander focuses on affecting his men's attitude and performance. He may try to dissuade them from acting in a cowardly fashion or surrendering to the enemy, and he may attempt to persuade them to act valiantly and win. The speech may occur immediately before battle or during it as the commander reacts to the possibility of his men breaking rank.

### **A. The Medieval Council Debate versus the *Arenga***

At this point, a distinction within the deliberative genre must be made between speeches made in council or parliament and combat exhortations. While both may regard future military actions, they are distinguishable by their format, intentions, and/or context. Yet among these forms, overlapping may occur. A close analysis of these types of orations is thus required.

In councils, orators debate a question that usually addresses a political or civic issue. For example, they may argue over whether to go to battle, advising on the positive and negative aspects of such an engagement. A classic case in point involving policy is the debate held by Charlemagne's Twelve Peers at the beginning of the French *Song of Roland*. The king calls for his nobles to meet with him, seeking their advice in order to make an informed decision after hearing their various points of view. The Peers debate whether to accept the Moorish king's tribute, leave Spain, and thus relinquish their military advantage of an occupying army. Both sides of the issue are argued before Charlemagne, who ultimately decides in favor of a return to his capital but wisely posts a rear lookout with Roland as its commander. Hence, we see in this example the format of a council debate and the presentation of opposing points of view.

Within a combat *arenga*, however, a leader focuses not on questions of policy or whether his men should fight, but on convincing them to fight well. The decision to do battle

already has been made, and no other opinions are requested or contemplated. This is seen later within the *Song of Roland* itself after Charlemagne has ordered the Twelve Peers to protect his rearguard. As the Saracens advance, Roland decides they will stand their ground without calling for reinforcements. He then harangues his fellow Peers, offering them advice and encouragement (97). Additionally, Archbishop Turpin, among the Twelve, exhorts the men during the ensuing battle, urging them not to surrender or retreat (110). Therefore, differing from the council debate, the exhortation is a solo performance rather than a dialogue, and the battle is usually imminent or already in progress. Thus, the context of the *arenga* becomes a necessary component to its definition. This type of exhortation can only occur when a decision already has been reached, verbally or mentally, to engage the enemy.

Spain's *Poema de Fernán González* (circa thirteenth century), contains a variety of deliberative speeches. The heroic Count of Castile participates in debates, addresses his noblemen, and harangues them in the face of combat. All of these speeches produce the desired effect of aggrandizing the famous regional hero's courage and leadership abilities, yet each present examples of the difference inherent in deliberative orations.

Near the beginning of the poem, González calls his men to counsel him on what to do regarding recent Moorish attacks. He gives no indication at first of his opinions. Gonçalo Díaz speaks in favor of avoiding the fight due to overwhelming odds, and González counter-argues. In the end, "[q]uando ovo el conde la razon acabada," the army departs for Lara to fight the Moors (*PFG* 225). Garrido Moraga notes a subtle motive for the inclusion of such speeches in the poem:

La narración se interrumpe para introducir un diálogo entre el Conde y su pueblo sobre las medidas a tomar. No será el único ejemplo y los discursos del protagonista son característicos en todas estas obras. El Conde, cabeza del condado, forma una unidad completa con su pueblo y en asamblea tratan el problema; pero estos diálogos

se orientan en un solo sentido: resaltar la figura del héroe, que es el único que no duda de las acciones a tomar. [. . .] Estas asambleas recuerdan los ‘consejos abiertos’ en que todos los hombres libres tenían voto, por no es esta la función de estos parlamentos en el PFG (20).

Hence, since the speech occurs within the context of a wise leader soliciting advice from his men, it should not be considered an *arenga* but rather one side in a deliberative debate.

### **B. Medieval Political Harangues versus the *Arenga***

It is also necessary at this point to discuss the term *arenga* in order to differentiate the military exhortation and the concept of political haranguing. In the Middle Ages, the term *arenga* was often used to refer to a variety of speeches, including public addresses, secular parliamentary oratory, and debates. Its origins are traced to the *ars arengandi* which developed in northern Italy in the thirteenth century, in texts such as Matteo dei Libri's *Arringhe* and Jacques de Dinant's *Ars arengandi* (Polak 29, Kristeller 11-12). Treatises such as these dealt with political harangues, meant for the court or for the public. They were not specifically written for military purposes as a modern interpretation of “*arengandi*” might lead one to believe. The *ars arengandi* spread as far as the Aragonese and Catalan courts of Spain around the same time period (Johnston, “Parliamentary” 102-103). There, speeches began to be called *arengas*, based on the Italian term *arringa*, then meaning “harangue” but having originally denoted the introduction to a speech (Johnston, “Parliamentary” 102-103). In Catalan, the new term “*arenga*” came to nearly always designate an entire oration (Johnston, “Parliamentary” 103).<sup>3</sup> In Aragon, it also was seen as a court speech, and Johnston finds that a basic format was already evident when in 1228, the Aragonese king,

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<sup>3</sup> On the variety of definitions and the use of the term in Medieval Europe, Tunberg notes, “The term *arenga* sometimes denotes a type of *exordium*. [. . .] More often, however, the term is used in a looser sense to denote a public speech” (299). Meanwhile, Haskins and Kantorowicz note, “Not every treatise bearing the title *Arengae* refers to orations, as the rhetorical openings of letters are likewise called *arengae*. A work known under this title and composed by Master Buoncompagno seems to refer to letter-writing [. . .]” (427).

James I, petitioned those assembled in his court to support an invasion of Majorca (Johnston, “Parliamentary” 100, 107). By the fourteenth century, a Catalan translation of Brunetto Latini’s discussion on civic rhetoric was available to the court (Johnston, “Parliamentary” 106), and well into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Aragonese kings continued documenting their formalized, political oratory (Johnston, “Parliamentary” 100). Also in the fourteenth century, the *arenga* as a literary military harangue appeared in a Castilianized Aragonese when Juan Fernández Heredia, a translator in the court of Aragon, translated several speeches from Thucydides’ *History of the Peloponnesian War* (López Molina 9).

As discussed, the *ars arengandi*, an art of pleading or haranguing, dealt with a variety of public speeches, including addresses to parliaments, to courts, and the masses. However, it did not model itself exclusively on the deliberative genre. Its manuals covered judiciary speeches for lawyers, epideictic speeches for ambassadors and officials, as well as political speeches for city assemblies and for addressing the people during times of war and peace (Kristeller 12, Haskins 429). For example, Matteo de Libri’s *Arringhe* contains a wide variety of advice regarding speeches for ambassadors and captains. Furthermore, Jacques de Dinant’s *Ars arengandi* contains an overview on rhetoric for political and legal orators, but closely associates them with the preacher and the sermon (Haskins 431). Haskins and Kantorowicz, and Polak all note that Dinant relied heavily on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* as well as the Bible when composing this rhetorical treatise (Haskins 431, Polak 20). Hence, although at first it may be tempting to see the *ars arengandi* as the manual for explicit instructions on creating military exhortations, it in fact specifically focuses on techniques for a variety of political harangues.

Political speeches made by generals and rulers in order to present a case for war can be very similar to the exhortation made by commanders as the troops go into battle. Therefore, to identify them correctly, close analysis is required, and overlapping may occur. In contrast with the debate, in both forms there is only one speaker addressing the audience. However, the slight difference between the harangue and the public address revolves around its setting and intention. As previously mentioned, we use the term *arenga* to refer to the speech made when the engagement with the enemy already has been decided and combat is imminent. Its intention is to provide encouragement to the troops before the battle. Conversely, the public address is usually held at court or before an assembly, and it provides the ruler or general an opportunity to announce and defend his intentions for going to war or attacking an enemy. Depending on the political circumstances, it is also the mechanism through which the monarch must request the funding for such a war.<sup>4</sup> Both types of orations may present similar messages, motivations and reasoning, but as the commander on campaign seeks to incite courage, mitigate fears, and convince his men that they will achieve their goals, the ruler at court seeks to explain, justify, and gain support and financial backing.

The *Poema de Fernán González* contains an example similar to this parliamentary oratory. Before possibly battling the King of Navarre, the Count gathers his men in order to “saber sus coraçones” (PFG 299). None of the soldiers speaks, although they all seem disheartened. No debate results, and we are left only with González’s own views on the subject. After his speech, again “[q]uando ovo el buen conde su razon acabada,” the men move on to battle at his command (PFG 311). Gonzalez’s speech is so reasonable that the

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<sup>4</sup> Johnston discusses an example with respect to Aragon Queen Eleanor’s address to parliament in 1365, in which she requests monies for French mercenaries in the war against Castile (“Parliamentary” 106). Generally in such speeches, the leader stands before an assembly and addresses those gathered for the purposes of gaining approval for a decision. The speaker must persuade the audience in order for there to be some type of action, whereas, with the exhortation, the battle is not in doubt, and the commander is not begging or pleading his case.

men follow him without question. Thus, it is implied that his persuasiveness in the aforementioned speech has won their support and participation. The context of González's speech suggests a council debate, yet its reality suggests that it is an *address* in which the orator seeks approval for his *suggested* future action, in this case, a battle with Navarre. Thus, the address is similar to the *arenga*, in that only one opinion is presented and it is in the form of a soliloquy. Yet its aim and context are those in which the leader has called a council together with the intention of persuading them to engage the enemy. Thus, we can conclude that this oration is a public address, of the kind similar to when rulers either sought permission from their court or felt compelled to explain their judgment to gain support and money.

This example contrasts with the true *arengas* present in the *Poema* in which Fernán González exhorts his troops as their commander just for the purposes of emboldening them. In one speech taken from the *Primera crónica general*,<sup>5</sup> we see González exhort his men just before the battle of Lara, wherein they engage the Moors. As his men observe the vast numbers of the enemy, one of their own is swallowed by the earth.<sup>5</sup> The men panic, and González harangues them just before they advance into battle:

Dixo estonçes el conde: ‘Querades me escuchar;  
non querades en poco mal prez sienpre ganar.

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<sup>5</sup> As discussed later in this chapter, turning bad omens into good ones is a technique that was reviewed by Frontinus in his *Strategems*. Two examples from his text deal with the equivalent of having the ground give way: “T. Sempronius Gracchus consul, acie adversus Picentes directa, cum subitus terrae motus utrasque partes confudisset, exhortatione confirmavit suos et impulit, consternatum superstitione invaderent hostem, adortusque devicit” (80). “7. Idem, instante adversus Lacedaemonios pugna, cum sedile in quo resederat succubisset et id vulgo pro tristi exciperetur significatione confusi milites interpretarentur, ‘immo,’ inquit, ‘vetamur sedere’” (82).

“When the consul Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was engaged in battle with the Picentines, a sudden earthquake threw both sides into panic. Thereupon Gracchus put new strength and courage into his men by urging them to attack the enemy while the latter were overwhelmed with superstitious awe. Thus he fell upon them and defeated them” (Bennett 81). “When the same Epaminondas was about to open battle against the Spartans, the chair on which he had sat down gave way beneath him, whereat all the soldiers, greatly troubled, interpreted this as an unlucky omen. But Epaminondas exclaimed: ‘Not at all; we are simply forbidden to sit’” (Bennett 83).



Lo que muestra este signo quiero vos departir,  
 amigos e vasallos, si queredes me oir:  
 si tierra dura e fuerte vos fazedes somir,  
 pues ¿cuales cosas otras vos podrian sofrir?  
 Los vuestros coraçones los veo enflaquesçer  
 contra gentes que son de muy menos valer.  
 Non deveades, varones, ningun miedo aver,  
 ca yo en este dia me cobdiciava ver.  
 Amigos, d'una cosa so yo bien sabidor:  
 ellos seran vençidos, yo sere vençedor;  
 en gran afruenta en canpo sere con Almançor;  
 vere de castellanos com' guardan su señor' (258-260).

Additionally, during the night preceding another battle, his men observe a dragon in the sky and take it as a bad omen, but González harangues them once again, and the men go to sleep heartened, ready to battle the next morning.

Thus, within the deliberative genre of oratory, we may perceive the council debate, the public address, and the exhortation as subcategories. Slight differences of context, form, and intent enable us to distinguish between them. These slight distinctions sometimes may be blurred and at other times may seem very clear. Yet, for the purposes of this investigation, we will be reviewing only those speeches that are exhortations to the troops in the face of battle.

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It is possible to discuss harangues in terms of their rhetorical appeal, types of theme(s) present, and their implied successfulness. The *arenga*'s structure can also be analyzed in terms of its form and its relation to other rhetorical arts. These topics will define the ideal *arenga*, and this investigation addresses them in sequence.

### C. Appeals

Ancient rhetoricians outlined three types of appeals within speeches: those to logic (*logos*), those to emotion (*pathos*), and those to the speaker's authority (*ethos*). Quintilian notes that logical and emotional appeals could be found in all three genres of orations:

All other *species* fall under these three genera: you will not find one in which we have not to praise or blame, to advise or dissuade, to drive home or refute a charge, while conciliation, narration, proof, exaggeration, extenuation, and the moulding of the minds of the audience by exciting or allaying their passions, are common to all three kinds of oratory (397; bk. 3, ch. 4).

Therefore, when we look at a deliberative speech, we should note that logical and emotional pleas can find resonance. However, Quintilian also notes that certain approaches fit better than others, depending on individual circumstances.

There are also three aims which the orator must always have in view; he must instruct, move and charm his hearers. This is a clearer division than that made by those who divide the task of oratory into that which relates to things and that which concerns the emotions, since both of these will not always be present in the subjects which we shall have to treat. For some themes are far from calling for any appeal to the emotions [. . .] The best authorities hold that there are some things in oratory which require proof and other which do not, a view with which I agree (397, 399; bk. 3, ch. 5).

Thus, while both logical and emotional appeals may be applicable to the deliberative genre, either one may not be suitable, depending on the particular topic being discussed. Certainly in *De Oratore* (55 BC) Cicero suggests that emotional appeals are stronger than logical ones: ““For men decide far more problems by hate, or love, or lust, or rage, or sorrow, or joy, or hope, or fear, or illusion, or some other inward emotion, than by reality, or authority, or any legal standard, or judicial precedent, or statute”” (325; bk. 2, ch. 41).

While Quintilian also believed emotions played an important role in deliberative speeches, he stressed that the speaker's authority was of greater importance for this genre:

As regards appeals to the emotions, these are especially necessary in *deliberative* oratory. Anger has frequently to be excited or assuaged and the minds of the audience have to be swayed to fear, ambition, hatred, reconciliation. At times again it is necessary to awaken pity [. . .] But what really carries greatest weight in *deliberative* speeches is the authority of the speaker. For he, who would have all men trust his judgment as to what is expedient and honourable, should both possess and be regarded as possessing genuine wisdom and excellence of character” (485; bk. 3, ch. 8).

For Quintilian, part of the art of speechwriting was the ability to adjust the speech to the speaker. “For a speech which is out of keeping with the man who delivers it is just as faulty as the speech which fails to suit the subject to which it should conform” (505; bk. 3, ch.8). Quintilian believed that effective persuasiveness could be greatly helped when a speaker’s character and status matched his oratorical style:

It also makes a great deal of difference who it is that is offering the advice: for if his past has been illustrious, or if his distinguished birth or age or fortune excite high expectations, care must be taken that his words are not unworthy of him. If on the other hand he has none of these advantages he will have to adopt a humbler tone. [. . .] Some receive sufficient support from their personal authority, while others find that the force of reason itself is scarce sufficient to enable them to maintain their position (503; bk. 3, ch. 8).

Thus, logic, emotion, and authority all can be effective within a deliberative speech. The goal of this investigation will be to determine which appeals are most common among the literary exhortations.

#### **D. Themes**

A second method by which the *arenga* can be defined is by its actual theme or themes. As a starting point, it is helpful to draw upon previous analyses of the harangue regarding appropriate, successful, and/or common topics and then to create a preliminary list of possible categories based on that investigation.

When defending rhetoric from critics who would suggest that it can potentially bring ill to society through its artistry, Quintilian suggests its positive effects by using the military harangue as an example. Unwittingly, he also gives us insight into themes that may be used to categorize the *arenga*. He notes, “Has not oratory often revived the courage of a panic-stricken army and persuaded the soldier faced by all perils of war that glory is a fairer thing than life itself?” (321; bk. 2, ch. 16). Thus one ancient and noted theme of the harangue is the acquisition of fame and glory.

Other classical rhetoricians do not directly address the military harangue. Instead, they focus more on political or civic debates as examples of the deliberative genre. For example, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* discusses the tactics useful for the orator who functions as a counselor rather than a military leader, stating, “The orator who gives counsel will throughout his speech properly set up Advantage as his aim so that the complete economy of his entire speech may be directed to it” (161; bk. 3, ch. 2). The manual then proceeds to present the different topics suitable for political or civic deliberations and categorizes those topics under the headings of security and honor. Under security, subtopics include might (armies, fleets, weapons, man power) and craft (money, promises, dissimulation, speed, and deception). Under honor, subtopics include the right (wisdom, justice, courage, temperance) and the praiseworthy. Thus, using these topics, advantage may be presented by the orator in support of his recommended action. However, while many of these topics may be applicable to the harangue, the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* does not directly reference any of these approaches within the context of a military exhortation.

This is not true of Publius Flavius Vegetius Renatus’ *Epitoma Rei Militaris* (390 AD) also known as the *De Re Militari*. This manual on military science became one of the most

popular, copied, and quoted texts in the Middle Ages and maintained a high level of authority well into the Renaissance (Bachrach 241, Milner xiii). It was translated into Europe's vernacular languages early on, and many of its surviving copies date from before 1300 AD (Milner xiii). Additionally, evidence suggests that the Angevin court's writers of the 12<sup>th</sup> century were well aware of the work, referencing it in their histories when discussing the tactics of important commanders (Bachrach 244).

The third book of *Epitoma*, the "General Rules of War", is among the Middle Ages' most popular sections. In it, Vegetius provides the following advice:

It is preferable to subdue an enemy by famine, raids and terror, than in battle where fortune tends to have more influence than bravery. [. . .] Bravery is more valuable than numbers. [. . .] Never lead forth a soldier to a general engagement except when you see that he expects victory. [. . .] Soldiers are corrected by fear and punishment in camp, on campaign hope and rewards make them behave better (108-110).

These rules provide an insight into appropriate topics for the harangue, such as luck, bravery, hope, and reward. However, it is elsewhere in his third book that Vegetius talks specifically of the military harangue:

An army gains courage and fighting spirit from advice and encouragement from their general, especially if they are given such an account of the coming battle as leads them to believe they will easily win a victory. Then is the time to point out to them the cowardice and mistakes of their opponents, and remind them of any occasion on which they have been beaten by us in the past. Also say anything by which the soldiers' minds may be provoked to hatred of their adversaries by arousing their anger and indignation (87).

The late fifteenth century saw the publication of another classical military strategist, Frontinus, a Roman soldier and engineer from the first century A.D. His *Strategemata* had been available in manuscript but was first printed in Rome in 1487 (in an edition containing the works of Vegetius and other military texts), then reprinted in 1494, 1495, 1497, as well as in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (Bennett xxxv). The treatise was meant as an

addition to an earlier work on the art of war, which has since been lost (Bennett xviii-xix). In *Strategems*, Frontinus includes examples from history on how best to exhort an army. Chapter 11 of Book 1 is entitled “Quemadmodum Incitandus Sit ad Proelium Exercitus” (“How to Arouse an Army’s Enthusiasm for Battle”) and includes cases of commanders deceiving their men with clever ruses such as tales of having bribed the enemy to become traitors, stories that the gods or seers have foretold victory, and favorable interpretations of rituals and superstitions (70-80). Chapter 12 of Book 1, “De Dissolvendo Metu, Quem Militus Ex Adversis Conceperint Ominibus” (“On Dispelling the Fears Inspired in Soldiers by the Adverse Omens”) contains examples of how commanders converted ominous signs into positive ones (80-83). Furthermore, Frontinus includes a chapter related to leadership and discusses the commander’s role leading into battle:

Postumius consularis cohortatus suos, cum interrogatus esset a militibus, quid imperaret, dixit, ut se imitarentur, et arrepto signo hostis primus invasit; quem secuti victoriam adepti sunt (296).

Postumius, when ex-consul, having appealed to the courage of his troops, and having been asked by them what commands he gave, told them to imitate him. Thereupon he seized a standard and led the attack on the enemy. His soldiers followed and won the victory (Bennett 297)

Theodore Burgess, in *Epideictic Literature*, identified common themes, or topoi, of the “general’s speech” in classical historical writings, observing that “[t]he most distinctive, fully developed, and persistent single type of speech among historians is the general’s oration before battle, urging his army to deeds of valor” (209, 210-213). Burgess looked at a wide variety of historians, such as Xenophon, Thucydides, Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Dio Cassius, Arrian, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and he found twelve common topoi, paraphrased as follows:

1. The glory and the achievements of the army's ancestors and how they defeated the same enemy
2. The importance of not disgracing ancestors
3. Comparing forces
4. Courage over numbers
5. Great prizes await the victors
6. Odds are in our favor; gods are on our side
7. There is glory in death for the brave
8. There is disgrace for the defeated
9. Past victory against the same enemy
10. Just war; wrongs have been suffered
11. Patriotism
12. We have the superior commander (212-213).

Interest in these themes of battlefield exhortations was not diminished by time, as can be seen when reading Thomas Wilson's *The Art of Rhetorique* (1553), a book that became one of the most popular references on rhetoric in England in the sixteenth century, going through eight editions. In this text, Wilson reviewed the subgenre of exhortations and presented appropriate topics. Within the list, we find themes similar to Vegetius' expression of the hope of victory and Quintilian's referenced message of fame and glory as well as the classical historians' topoi regarding victory, rewards, and shame. Paraphrased, Wilson's categories are:

1. Praise of deeds and men
2. Expectations of the men by their people
3. Hope of victory, such as through God, who is more powerful than Satan
4. Hope of fame, such as the renown of those in every generation that sacrifice their lives
5. Fear of shame, such as the embarrassment that comes from living to see the loss of one's kingdom<sup>6</sup>
6. Great rewards, such as eternal salvation for protecting the defenseless and needy (63-65).

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<sup>6</sup> Reviewing the political oratory of the medieval Aragonese court, Johnston finds that duty and acting for the common good are also very common themes in the formalized orations of the court. He holds that these parliamentary speeches display an "eloquent expression of the ideals most valued or promoted by the Aragonese monarchs and their officials," which thus explains their preservation through time ("Parliamentary" 109).

More recently, in the twentieth century, John R.E. Bliese investigated battle exhortations in western European medieval chronicles in an attempt to uncover combat psychology of the medieval warrior as reflected in those works (“Rhetoric and Morale” 201). Based on his study, he created a lengthy list of the most common appeals he encountered.

Paraphrased, they are:

1. Demonstrating courage and winning honor
2. The justness of the cause
3. The willingness of God to help
4. Instructions and orders
5. The military advantage
6. The shame of retreating
7. The plunder and booty to be gained
8. The need to defend family, country, etc
9. Remembering past victories
10. The promise of victory
11. Vengeance
12. Remembering the country’s reputation
13. Overcoming a larger force
14. Winning the eternal rewards of martyrdom
15. Fighting for Christ
16. Following the leader’s example
17. Engaging in the battle sought (220).

A close review of Bliese’s themes reveals possible overlaps in categorization. For example, the promise of victory, which we have also seen in Vegetius and Wilson, could contain a message of God’s willingness to help (as Wilson believed it could assure victory), a message of military advantage, or a reminder of past victories against the same opponent (as Vegetius suggested), but Bliese only explains the promise of victory category by stating that it deals with the commander’s “assurance that they will emerge from this coming battle as conquerors” (213). Likewise, in his discussion on the message promising God’s-assistance, Bliese cites an example wherein the commander discusses the enemy’s greater numbers being defeated with the help of the Archangels who will smash them, enabling a smaller



army to beat a bigger one. Typically, the message of an army winning over a superior force deals with courage, as mentioned by Vegetius and analyzed by Bliese in his article. However, this example demonstrates again the great potential for cross-classification in Bliese's numerous topics. General, umbrella-type categories will be more helpful in determining the overall message of a harangue. However, sub-categories, similar to Bliese's detailed list, will provide the necessary facets for a thorough analysis and will ensure that the exact nature of the message is not lost to us.

Therefore, drawing upon these various studies and treatises, we may now synthesize their lists of themes into six general categories, with each containing more-specific subcategories:

1. Duty
  - a. To country and family (protectors of society)
  - b. To God (protectors of faith)
  - c. To self preservation (protectors of self)
  - d. To fellow soldiers (protectors of comrades)
2. Profit
  - a. Fame, glory, salvation (immaterial wealth)
  - b. Riches or land to be won (material wealth)
3. Aversion to shame
  - a. Concern for the reputation of the nation or army
  - b. Concern for personal reputation
4. Hope of victory / Advantage
  - a. The just and righteous win (conversely, the enemy is not righteous)
  - b. We are better militarily or intellectually (conversely, the enemy is at a disadvantage in this respect)
  - c. God is on our side (conversely, the enemy is a heathen)
  - d. We have had previous success
  - e. Courage enables outnumbered forces to win
5. Vengeance and hatred
6. Orders and tactics
  - a. Emulation of the commander
  - b. Instructions on maneuvers

With this list, we may begin to analyze *arengas*, amending the categories or subcategories as needed, based on this investigation's findings.

Yet, it is important to note that even with these six basic appeal types, the possibility exists for speeches to contain more than one theme. For example, a commander may appeal not only to his men's lust for vengeance of a grievous wrong but may also suggest that his men will be victorious because they are more righteous. In this example, the *arenga* would be categorized as a multi-themed speech, belonging to both the hope-of-victory and the vengeance categories. Therefore, in our analysis we will comment on such matters as whether or not, based on the above categorization, an *arenga* is monothematic or multi-themed, as well as whether one theme in particular dominates the speech.

### **E. Successfulness in Terms of Effectiveness and Eloquence**

Just as there is a variety of opinions regarding the true definition of rhetoric, we may note that there are also differences concerning the measurement of an orator's success. In all exhortations, there are three necessary components: the orator, the audience, and the message. Of these, the orator and the audience are relevant in a discussion of success. For those scholars that believe persuasion is the key objective to rhetoric, the audience plays an extremely important role. For those who consider rhetoric as the art of speaking well, the orator's performance act itself is essential. Finally, for those who acknowledge both the act and the result, success will reflect the two.

Many rhetorical treatises stress the importance of understanding the audience for a successful speech. The audience, which may appear to play a passive role, actually affects the speech greatly, suggesting its direction and theme, and determining its success. Quintilian observes that "we must aim as a rule at acquiring the goodwill of our audience" (483; bk. 3, ch. 8). Additionally, he notes the value in appreciating the peculiarities of one's audience with respect to general deliberative speeches, stating:

[. . .] it is character that will make the chief difference. It is an easy task to recommend an honourable course to honourable men, but if we are attempting to keep men of bad character to the paths of virtue, we must take care not to seem to upbraid a way of life unlike our own. The minds of such an audience are not to be moved by discoursing on the nature of virtue, which they ignore, but by praise, by appeals to popular opinion, and if such vanities are of no avail, by demonstration of the advantage that will accrue from such a policy, or more effectively perhaps by pointing out the appalling consequences that will follow the opposite policy. [. . .] if anyone is going to urge a dishonourable course on an honourable man, he should remember not to urge it as being dishonourable [. . .]” (499, 501; bk. 3, ch. 8).

Ong tells us that a subtle yet intrinsic argumentative relationship exists between the orator and his audience. He credits this interaction to the ancient Greek tradition and culture, intent on maximizing oppositions and in which “the orator speaks in the face of at least implied adversaries” (Ong 111). Within this argumentative environment, it becomes necessary to charm the listener, as Cicero very perceptively notes in *De Oratore*, explaining:

‘Now nothing in oratory, Catulus, is more important than to win for the orator the favour of his hearer, and to have the latter so affected as to be swayed by something resembling a mental impulse or emotion, rather than by judgement of deliberation’ (325; bk. 2, ch. 42).

Certainly, the more inclined the audience is to the speaker’s outlook and judgment, the less work is required, as Cicero writes, “‘For, as the saying goes, it is easier to spur the willing horse than to start the lazy one’” (*De Oratore* 331; bk. 2, ch. 44). Thus, a general consensus among rhetoricians demonstrates that there is a real need within the rules of rhetoric to attempt, lightly or strenuously, to recruit the listener to one’s point of view. This is usually done through the three types of classical appeals already mentioned.

Yet in addition to persuasiveness, speeches can also be analyzed in terms of their performance (*actio*). For Quintilian and Isidore of Seville, the oratorical performance itself was an important component of rhetoric. As such, success can also be measured based on the act of speaking well. Therefore, while Quintilian acknowledges the audience’s importance,

he also remains true to his definition of rhetoric, stating, “For if rhetoric is the science of speaking well, its end and highest aim is to speak well” (317, 319; bk. 2, ch.15). Boethius similarly placed an importance on both the performance act and the audience, assessing a successful oration as one in which a speaker spoke well or in which he was persuasive to his audience. In *De Topicis Differentiis* (circa 522 AD), he advises:

The practitioner of this discipline is the orator, whose function is to speak appropriately for persuasion.

The end is sometimes with the orator himself and sometimes within another. [When it is] within the orator himself, it is to have spoken well, that is, to have spoken in a way appropriate for persuasion; [when it is] within another, it is to have persuaded. For it is not the case that if they hinder the orator in such a way that he persuades the less as a result, the end has not been achieved, when his function has been performed; the end which is external, however, often is not achieved (83; bk. 4).

Thus, basing an evaluation system on these interpretations of accomplishment, we may determine a successful harangue by the commander’s own speaking prowess and by whether or not he has aroused his men’s courage, inspiring them to fight the battle well. Potentially, the commander can achieve both, one, or neither. Determining whether or not the commander accomplished these goals requires commentary within the text, either from the author or from the soldiers’ actions or statements. Thus, the possible categories for evaluating an *arenga*’s effectiveness and eloquence, and hence its successfulness, are:

1. No reaction of the soldiers explicitly provided in the text
2. Soldiers’ reaction provided in the text - successful / persuasive or dissuasive
3. Soldiers’ reaction provided in the text – unsuccessful / unpersuasive or not dissuasive
4. No commentary provided on the speaker’s speaking ability
5. Positive commentary provided on the speaker’s speaking ability
6. Negative commentary provided on the speaker’s speaking ability

Yet, if we use these six categories, we will find that every *arenga* will fall into two categories, one in terms of persuasion and the other in terms of performance. To attempt to narrow these categories to encompass both components is, in effect, equivalent to identifying

two of the above six categories. Yet this method would enable us to assess an *arenga*'s overall success according to the following categories:

1. No measure of success or failure
2. Complete success - based on speaking ability and persuasiveness
3. Complete failure - based on speaking ability and persuasiveness
4. Mixed review – based on success in one and failure in the other
5. Success – success in one, no commentary in the other
6. Failure– failure in one, no commentary in the other

In this manner we are able to evaluate each speech and speech act in accordance with the various rhetorical approaches.

## **F. Structure**

An analysis of the *arenga* as a set-piece would not be complete without an examination of its structure. I propose looking at the basic skeleton of the *arenga*, noting any commonalities among the studied harangues as well as investigating any relation or similarities with the following medieval arts: the *ars arengandi*, the *ars dictaminis*, and the *ars praedicandi*.

When investigating the medieval literary exhortation, it may be possible to observe common classical structures since Cicero, Quintilian, Boethius, and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* were all popular references. Yet, it is important to note that the exhortation as belonging to the deliberative genre should not be expected to contain all the traditional elements outlined in these manuals. Primarily, this is because the classical breakdown of a speech [identified by Cicero as the exordium to the audience, the narrative used to state the case, the partition to define the dispute, the confirmation to establish allegations, the refutation of the opposing side's arguments, and finally the digression and peroration to expand and reinforce the argument (*De Inventione* 41; bk. 1, ch. 14)] centered on judicial

oratory and not deliberative. As an example, Quintilian noted that deliberative speeches do not need a formal exordium, as do forensic speeches, but that they should contain some type of gesture to gain the goodwill of the audience (483; bk. 3, ch. 8). He also advised that, for deliberative speeches, the narration of facts seen in forensic oratory may not be necessary if the assembled public is aware of the issue (485; bk. 3, ch. 8). Thus, when analyzing the harangue's structure, we must follow Quintilian's advice regarding adaptation, as he noted that "most rules are liable to be altered by the nature of the case, circumstances of time and place, and by hard necessity itself" (291; bk. 2, ch.13).

It also will be interesting to note if elements of the medieval exhortation may be similar to elements used in the medieval *ars dictaminis*, *ars arengandi*, and the *ars praedicandi*, which all benefited from the classical traditions. Each of these arts shared similarities with each other, which suggests that rhetoric in general in the Middle Ages was a fluid system of thought, in which ideas were exchanged and genres were crossed and borrowed from as needed, yet each maintained its own distinctiveness.

The *ars dictaminis* concerned the art of letter writing and identified elements similar to Cicero's five components. They were: the formal greeting with title in the *salutatio*, the introduction which seeks the reader's favor in the *captatio benevolentiae*, the background in the *narratio*, the petition or *petitio*, and finally the conclusion or *conclusio* (Murphy, *Three Medieval* xvi).

This structure is similar to that espoused in Giovanni da Vignano's manual on secular, political oratory, *Flore de Parlere* (early fourteenth century). In it, he divides the public oration of an ambassador into the following six parts: the exordium and greeting, the commendation, the narration, the petition, the explanation and expansion of the petition, and

finally the examples of fact and conclusion (Vignano 232). A similar pattern can also be discerned in Queen Eleanor's parliamentary speech of 1365. In his analysis of the speech, Johnston observes a quick salutation, a paragraph-long commendation or *captatio*, a narration of the situation and the consequences, a petition, and finally a conclusion ("Parliamentary" 106-109). Johnston also notes that the Aragonese Queen follows the recommendation of Ramón Llull's *Rhetorica nova*, in that her threatening conclusion stresses her audience's own personal advantages in acting on her request ("Parliamentary" 109). Finally, Jacques de Dinant's manual *Ars arengandi* treats all oratorical genres as well as the sermon and divides the general rhetorical oration into the traditional classical components: exordium, narration, division, confirmation, refutation, and conclusion (as qtd in Wilmart 122).

Meanwhile, the *ars praedicandi* expounded on the newly invented and formalized university sermon, which consisted of a scriptural quotation as the theme which the orator then systematically divided, subdivided, and amplified (Murphy, *Three Medieval* xviii – xix). The six parts of the sermon were: the theme, the protheme, the antetheme, the division of the theme, the subdivision of the theme, and the amplification of each division (Murphy, *Three Medieval* xix).

Interestingly, both the *ars praedicandi* and the *ars dictaminis* lacked scholarly advice on conclusions for their respective compositions, as opposed to the classical rhetorical manuals of Cicero and Quintilian and the *ars arengandi*. Murphy notes that for the *ars dictaminis*, "there is very little theory about conclusions in medieval dictamen treatises. [. . .] It is evident from an examination of these manuals that the writer's chief problems are solved

once he decides on an appropriate greeting to his addressee” (*Three Medieval* xvi).

Furthermore, regarding the *ars praedicandi*, Murphy states:

It might be noted also that there is seldom much discussion of methods for concluding a sermon [. . .] [This] reflects a medieval concern with the basic subject matter itself, with the very Scripture itself (*Three Medieval*, xix).

Despite the secular nature of the speeches and models categorized under the *ars arengandi*, a relationship between parliamentary oratory and the *ars praedicandi* has been observed by many scholars. As already noted, Jacques de Dinant related his concept of political and legal orations and orators with sermons and sermonizers (Haskins 431). Additionally, Haskins and Kantorowicz noted that the parliamentary orations, or “*arengas*” as they call them, were descended from and related closely to “literary, forensic, and ecclesiastical rhetoric” (427). Martí de Riquer remarks on the resemblance of the Catalan parliamentary oratory of Pere el Cerimoniós to the well practiced and codified medieval sermon, stating:

Des del 1350 disposem de còpies autèntiques de parlaments pronunciats a les corts, i ja tot seguit hi destaca la figura de Pere el Cerimoniós. Els parlaments de corts solen obeir a una estructura pròpia dels sermons, cosa que no ens had de sorprendre, car l’oratória sagrada, constantament practicada i codificada en tractats retòrics, era escoltada amb atenció per tothom (12).

Furthermore, Pedro Cátedra, in his article “Acerca del sermón político en la España medieval,” describes the Aragonese court’s political speeches *as* political sermons (qtd in Johnston, “Parliamentary” 101). Indeed, according to Johnston, the Aragonese political oratory in fact pertained to two “genres”, what they termed “*arengas*”, which were orations developed from the Italian *ars arengandi*, and the ““semi-learned”” sermon, an oration far less sophisticated than the medieval university sermon, spoken only by the sovereign, and



which dealt with political issues through devices borrowed from preaching but which were spoken in the vernacular (Johnston, “Parliamentary” 103, 109-110). Johnston also finds that

[. . .] the exhortational review of political and military duties that James II delivered to his troops in 1323 received the designation of ‘sermon’ from his chroniclers” (“Parliamentary” 113).

Finally, Johnston notes that Ramon Llull’s *Rhetorica nova*, which primarily dealt with the *ars praedicandi*, also discussed political oratory. Johnston writes:

Llull’s description in another passage of speeches comprising petitions, accusations, defenses, or counsel and his frequent use of examples involving kings, queens, or nobles suggests that his work has as much in common with the political environment of the *artes dicaminis* or *arengandi* as it does with the pastoral circumstances of the *ars praedicandi* (“Speech” 41).

Yet, despite the often vague line separating the treatments of these arts, certain clear distinctions existed. Regarding the differences between the *ars dictaminis* and the art of preaching, Murphy notes the less-than-scholarly characteristic of the *ars praedicandi*, despite its university origins and standardized format:

Even though the thematic sermon looks at first glance like a spoken gloss – ie., a stated passage is divided, and then commented upon – the whole emphasis of the early portions is upon audience preparation, in the psychological sense of Cicero’s theory. And more important, the writer of a thematic sermon proposes no progression of ideas, nor is there usually a summary or recapitulation at the end of the sermon... But it is the general tone of concern about the rhetorical situation – the fact of a living audience which sets the *ars praedicandi* off from *dictamen* and from more “scholastic” written forms of discourse (*Three Medieval* xix-xx).

This concern for the live audience is certainly one shared with the exhortation and the political address. Indeed, Riquer noted that even in the parliamentary orations of Catalonia, while the speeches were well planned and scripted, they maintained a slight trace of spontaneity in order to relate to the audience:

Els discursos parlamentaris no són improvisacions, ans peces escrites d’antuvi i després llegides en les sessions de corts, la qual cosa els lleva matisos d’espontaneïtat i de dicció directa de l’home que parla sense papers davant [. . .] (12).

Yet, in the formalized speeches of the Aragonese court, scholastic thought affects the king's political address as can be seen in the employment of "clear structural divisions, [ . . . ] authorities and maxims, and [ . . . ] strong appeals to motives of honor and advantage" (Johnston, "Parliamentary" 100).

More specifically related to the exhortation, Robert of Basevorn in the *Forma praedicandi* (1322) wrote:

[ . . . ] a speaker who publicly persuades many to fight bravely, commending the brave and disparaging the cowardly, in doing the like, is not properly a preacher, because that serves the end of preserving the state, not of acting meritoriously as we know speak of the merit which pertains to eternal life (120).

Thus, while there is an apparent relationship between the various medieval arts, there are also necessary differences that helped shape and define their very nature. Therefore, my analysis will also consider how the structure of a combat *arenga* relates to the medieval rhetorical genres here discussed.

Finally, the structural analysis will also include an examination of length and rhetorical devices. While previous scholarly debates and investigations have brought length into question when discussing a harangue's historical accuracy, this dissertation will examine any patterns of length within literary harangues and whether a speech's duration corresponds proportionally with the work in which it is found. Likewise, we will look at the use of rhetorical devices within the *arengas*, noting whether such usage or absence matches their work's overall style.

## II. Harangues from Classical Texts

### A. Heredia's Translation of the *History of the Peloponnesian War*<sup>7</sup>

The classic *History of the Peloponnesian War* is an account of the conflict between the Peloponnesian League (led by Sparta) and the Delian League (led by Athens). Written by Thucydides, an Athenian general who participated in the war, its speeches have inspired countless analyses for generations. Of interest to many scholars is the question of the reality of the speeches and Thucydides' own comments concerning his methodology in creating them. Of war speeches we read from the Hobbes edition that Thucydides writes:

What particular persons have spoken when they were about to enter into the war or when they were in it were hard for me to remember exactly, whether they were speeches which I have heard myself or have received at the second hand. But as any man seemed to me that knew what was nearest to the sum of the truth of all that had been uttered to speak most agreeably to the matter still in hand, so I have made it spoken here. But of the acts themselves done in war, I thought not fit to write all that I heard from authors nor such as I myself did but think to be true, but only those whereat I was myself present and those of which with all diligence I had made particular inquiry. And yet even of those things it has hard to know the certainty, because such as were present at every action spake not all after the same manner, but as they were affected to the parts or as they could remember.

To hear this history rehearsed, for that there be inserted in it no fables, shall be perhaps not delightful. But he that desires to look into the truth of things done and which (according to the condition of humanity) may be done again, or at least their like, he shall find enough herein to make him think it profitable. And it is compiled rather for an everlasting possession than to be rehearsed for a prize (13-14; bk. 1, pt. 22).

Several centuries later, this sentiment would be repeated by Juan Fernández Heredia, the editor of the first known Spanish translation of the Greek author's work (López Molina 9).

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<sup>7</sup> Heredia's translations are found in López Molina.

Written in a highly-learned, Castilianized Aragonese in 14<sup>th</sup> century Iberia, Heredia's translated pieces predated the celebrated 1502 edition of the *History of the Peloponnesian War* by Aldo Manuzio and what is believed to be the first Latin translation by Lorenzo Valla published in 1528 (López Molina 9). Composed some time between 1384 and 1396 and possibly taking two to three years to complete, the manuscript's existence stands as a testament to Heredia's pioneering work in translating classical Greek and Byzantine works into vernacular languages (López Molina 47). Such achievements were to influence the birth of Catalan humanism and demonstrated Heredia's kindred spirit to that of the Renaissance, over a century before its emergence (López Molina 47, 33).

Heredia compiled the manuscript with orations corresponding to the Trojan War. As with many of his works, the entire collection eventually found its way into the library of the famous Marqués de Santillana (López Molina 48-49). Currently it is housed in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid as Ms. 10801 (López Molina 47-48). It contains translations of eight of the nine *arengas* found in Thucydides' work, and thus demonstrates a medieval knowledge of classical Greek military exhortations and the existence of a possible reference for medieval writers interested in understanding classical harangues.

All of the translations are faithful to their originals, with slight exceptions and some reduction in size. Linguistically, López Molina found that they are written in an Aragonese highly influenced by Castilian that contains many *cultismos* (9). He also theorized that the classical Greek version was translated first into Modern Greek by Heredia's assistant Talodiqui and then into Aragonese by an unknown translator, all under the coordination of Heredia. López Molina believed that the unknown translator was a person schooled but not

native in Aragonese, and hence chose a safer style, writing a straightforward translation in lieu of creating or using vernacular “*recursos*” (40).

While scholars have debated over the exact number of speeches found within the *History*, it is more than fair to conclude that even though Heredia did not translate the entire work or all of its direct or indirect speeches, he did provide a representative selection. His manuscript contains thirty-seven speeches in all, referred to as “*discursos*” in López Molina’s work; eight of these *discursos* contain *arengas*. Thirty-five of his *discursos* contain translations of thirty-six direct speeches (*Discurso* 29 contains two speeches) while the other two (*Discursos* 7, 31) are translations from indirect into direct ones. Additionally, *Discurso* 36 not only contains a translation of a direct speech, but it also contains a translation of an indirect speech. Thus, in total, Heredia’s work contains thirty-nine speeches in all, composed of three indirect and thirty-six direct. The vast majority of the thirty-six direct orations are deliberative in nature. However, the *History*’s sole epideictic oration and its only two judicial speeches are also included in Heredia’s folio (*Discursos* 8, 15, 16, respectively). The remaining thirty-three direct deliberative orations consist of public addresses, ambassadorial speeches, council discussions, senatorial deliberations, and eight out of the nine military exhortations of the *History* (as defined in this investigation). Thus direct *arengas* account for 22% of the direct discourses of the entire manuscript, similar to the percentage held in the original Greek text.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> West’s study on the speeches of Thucydides showed that the exact number of speeches is under debate and can be calculated in a variety of ways. However, from West’s article we may settle on 41 to 52 orations of direct discourse. The exact number of speeches is debated, depending on one’s interpretation of what a speech is and whether to include indirect discourse in addition to direct discourse. Blass and Jebb classified the orations according to epideictic, judicial, and deliberative and found 41 direct discourses. West found an additional 11 in 4 short speeches, 2 letters, and a dialogue composed of 5 speeches. None of these additional 11 is an *arenga*. (See William C. West III p 3-7 for a discussion on the varying methods of calculating the number of speeches). All but the first *arenga* is included in Heredia’s manuscript. Thus, 22% of the discourses found

It is possible that the lack of a full translation of the work supports the idea that the speeches were meant to be added eventually into a larger work, just as was done with many of Heredia's other smaller translations (López Molina 33, 43). A note within the folio suggests that the speeches were not meant to capture or relate the history of the Greek and Trojan Wars but rather to provide their readers with the spirit and sentiment of the orations:

[. . .] porque del nuestro proposito non es tractar aquí a pleno la dicha historia por tanto nós mandamos sacar los fundamentos et puntos de la materia de ella, a fin de que non tan solament el sentimiento de las oraciones, proposiciones et arengas en ella contenidas millor se ofrescan entendibles a los que las leyeren, hoc encara que qualquier pueda aver compendioso sumario de la dicha istoria por do millor pueda seyer recomendada a la memoria (López Molina 44).

For Heredia, these speeches served as a mnemonic device of the larger work. This bears striking resemblance to Thucydides' justifications for his own approach to presenting the speeches in his *History*. For as he suggested that they were as close to the idea and character of what was really said and hence provided a point of reference for a future reader, Heredia only translated that which he felt necessary to recall the memory of the overall story of that ancient war. Heredia, thus astutely noticed, as did Thucydides, the importance of the exhortatory speech in literature. Hence, there is more to the speeches than mere rhetorical flourishes or character development, as George Kennedy notes, "Clearly Thucydides' speeches cannot simply be labeled ornaments primarily intended to make the history more readable or to bring out the character of the actors in events" (xi). For Thucydides and Heredia, these speeches, no matter how paraphrased or removed from their original context, made an important contribution toward rekindling man's understanding of the war. Thus, by the inclusion of the harangue within the partial translations, Heredia not only proportionately

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in the Heredia manuscript are *arengas*, which is comparable to the percentage of *arengas* within the original Greek work itself. {9 out of 41 direct discourses = 22%. 9 out of 52 direct discourses = 17%}

matched the exhortation's existence in the original text but also demonstrated its contribution to the telling of its history. Thus, we can surmise that for Heredia, the *arenga* adequately and attractively served as a focal point for his medieval peers and that interest in the *arenga* survived the fall of the ancient empires well into Spain's Middle Ages.

The eight military exhortations on the war between Athens and Sparta as translated by Heredia from Thucydides are written from the perspectives of both sides. They are:

*Discurso* 10 (corresponding to Bk. II.89) – Phormio (Formion) to the Athenian soldiers before the naval battle off Rhium

*Discurso* 17 (corresponding to Bk. IV.10) – Demosthenes (Inmostenes) to the Athenian soldiers at Pylus

*Discurso* 22 (corresponding to Bk. IV.95) – Hippocrates (Ypocrates) to the Athenian army near Delium

*Discurso* 23 (corresponding to Bk. IV.126) – Brasidas (Brassida/Ubrassida) to the Peloponnesian soldiers at Lyncus

*Discurso* 24 (corresponding to Bk. V.9) – Brasidas (Brassida/Ubrassida) to the Peloponnesian soldiers at Amphipolis

*Discurso* 30 (corresponding to Bk. VI.68) – Nicias (Niquea) to the Athenian army at Syracuse

*Discurso* 35 (corresponding to Bk. VII.61-64) – Nicias (Niquea) to the Athenians at the Syracuse harbor

*Discurso* 36 (corresponding to Bk. VII.66) – Gylippus (Guillippo) and other generals to the Syracuse army before the battle in the Syracuse harbor. (It also contains an indirect discourse by Nicias (Niquea) to the Athenians, translated from the indirect discourse found in Bk. VII. 69).

Only the speech made collectively by Brasidas, Cnemus, and other generals to their Peloponnesian soldiers before the naval battle of Rhium has been omitted (Bk.II. 87).

However, Heredia includes among his *discursos* a speech from Book VII. 77, which is given by the military commander Nicias to his defeated and dejected Athenian army as they try to

escape through the enemy countryside. While not a speech given in the face of battle, and thus technically not an *arenga* as defined here, the speech exhorts the soldiers to carry on by providing a message of hope and future glory as they retreat.

### **Categories of Appeal in Heredia's Translations of the *History***

Improving morale and providing encouragement to the soldiers fighting in the Athens-Sparta conflict was of extreme importance in the Peloponnesian War. Hence, we see a vast number of harangues, direct and indirect, throughout Thucydides' history. Grene notes this is especially true of the Athenians in the bleaker moments of the war, as they realize the formidableness of their enemy:

Nothing stands out clearer throughout Book VII than the necessity under which the Athenian generals stood of taking account of the morale of their men from moment to moment. Even if this is true of any army at any time, the present case [Book 7, chapter 61] is extreme and its extremity proves the nature of the Athenian forces. These are citizens first and soldiers after. There is no professional army with a tradition of obedience, discipline, and endurance to death for a flag or a regiment – all the code that was created in the three centuries before the war of 1914-18. Here these citizens-in-arms were far from home, frightened and bewildered by the unexpected success of an enemy they had thought to defeat with little trouble. Consequently, from first to last their commanders had to persuade them, like an election meeting, of the necessity of fighting bravely (480).

Thus, it is not surprising that the harangues pertaining to Book VII are some of the longest and most poignant of both the *History* and Heredia's translations. Generally, as well, there can be little doubt due to these circumstances that the history of this war would contain harangues with a plurality of strong appeals, instead of simple glosses. As they captured the spirit of its participants, it is not surprising that Heredia would carry these over as well.

All of the harangues begin with an emotional appeal found in the exclamatory salutation, meant to address the audience and gain its favor with flattery and/or a sense of companionship. The structure of these salutations will be analyzed later.



While a few of the harangues contain only one appeal, most have both emotional and logical entreaties, and all three classical appeals appear in *Discursos* 23 and 24. In addition, two of the harangues begin with the topic of affected modesty, also meant to garner favor. In *Discurso* 22, Ypocrates begins by stating that with such courageous men, few words are needed, and thus implying the men's greatness and the little need for much exhortation on his part: ““Mi consello es pocas paraulas car tanto et más obran las pocas paraulas et los valientes hombres como las muchas [. . .]”” (115). In *Discurso* 30, the speaker states that many words are not needed because the soldiers' diligent preparation has imparted enthusiasm and encouragement more than any words could to an idle army: ““No fazen menester a nosotros muchas paraulas porque el apparellamiento de tal huest es más sufficient de dar a vosotros ardimiento que paraulas ordenadas con huest ocçiosa [. . .]”” (131).

Thus, it is possible to identify certain similarities among the harangues instantly. Moreover, an in-depth review of each will provide a detailed account of the use of appeals by each speaker.

### ***Discurso 10***

In *Discurso* 10, we see the use of logical appeals as Formion tries to encourage his Athenian navy in the face of an enemy with superior numbers. He logically reasons why the enemy has a bigger force and then turns this apparent disadvantage into an advantage. Formion first uses statements of fact, reminding the men of their renowned seamanship as well as their past victory against this very army. Furthermore, because their enemy has brought a larger force, Formion concludes that it has acknowledged the Athenian's superiority in terms of skill and confidence. He reasons:

‘[. . .] mas por reduzirvos a memoria que nuestros enemigos, como sconfidos de nós, vidiendo ciertament que no son semblantes a nós en el huso de la mar, son venidos

con tanto stol; et, si ellos han sperança en lur valentia assi como ellos mismos se loan, no son valientes sino en las batallas de tierra, en do se piensan por lur destreza aver avantaga a nós. Mas que nós seamos más diestros en las batallas de mar ellos mismos lo confiessan, pues que contra tan poco stol como el nuestro han apparellado tan grant armada. Quanto de sfuerço natural, no son más sforçados que nós; pues, no dubdedes de lur multitud porque, como sconfidos antes de agora son venidos no solos mas con aquella grant armada de lurs amistades, de que ellos mismos scubren lur vergonia mostrando que somos más ardidados que ellos; et, si no fuessemos, no esperaríamos en batalla assi pocos a tan grant armada;’ (85-86).

Hence, he has established that his men are courageous, and he thus states, “et somos çiertos que faremos obra de valentia” (86). Then, to futher his argument, Formion creates an enthymeme with the premise that smaller armies that head into battle fully committed are more courageous, confident, and skilled than the bigger forces opposing them. According to this premise, a smaller force’s mere fervor in the face of an onslaught proves that it is braver and more accomplished:

‘[. . .] car, quando los muchos vienen sobre los pocos, pareçe que han sperança en lur multitat; mas, quando los pocos se meten sin neçessitat ardidamente en batalla con lurs enemigos, es cosa magnifiesta que tal ardimiento viene de lur magnanimidad et seso, [. . .]’ (86).

Having established this maxim, he then ties this idea to their particular situation, reiterating the idea that the enemy’s larger force acknowledges their fear of his men’s superior skill and courage: “la qual cosa considerando nuestros enemigos han miedo de nós no tanto por la multitut de nuestro stol quanto por el huso nuestro et animosidad, [. . .]” (86). Next, he even futhers his argument by using another general saying to legitimize his conclusion: “assi como muchas veguadas grandes huestes son standas sconfitas por más chicas” (86). With these arguments, Formion attempts to convince his soldiers of their fearlessness through statements of fact, premises, and logical arguments rather than just an emotional appeal to flattery.

Yet, his harangue also contains emotional appeals as he uses the men's prejudice, vanity, and fear to exhort them. In an attempt to further convince his men of their superiority, he takes advantage of their prejudice (that the enemy is less than its worth) and remarks that their opponents are only courageous in land battles, where they believe they have an advantage over the Athenians. Appealing to flattery he also tells his men that the enemy is not as strong as they are: “no son más sforçados que nós” (85). Finally, he appeals to fear by reminding his men of the consequences of the battle. If their enemies, the Peloponnesians, are beaten, they will lose faith in their navy. If the Athenians lose, they will lose confidence in their abilities at sea as well as on land. Therefore, the stakes are psychological, and he reminds them of this with another general saying: “car verament non ha tal cor ni ardiment ni lo deve aver razonablement el vencido como el vencedor” (86). Thus, in addition to his logical arguments, Formion employs several appeals to the Athenian's emotions.

### ***Discurso 17***

In *Discurso 17*, the military commander Inmostenes uses a mix of logical and emotional appeals to encourage the Athenian army to maintain their position in the face of the enemy's vast numbers. He does not want the men to think too much but rather to react instinctively, “car en la necessitat no es menester imaginacion mas presto aventuramiento” (107). Yet, appeals to logic exist as he tries to give his men confidence by pointing out their topographical advantage and remarking, “no dexandoles aquesti passo por smaginamiento de lur multitut; specialment que avemos avantaga por la grant montada que ya [ . . . ]” (107). He then appeals to their sense of pride and flatters them by stating, without providing examples or logical entreaties, that they are Athenians, highly skilled in the art of sailing and

can thwart any attempt by this enemy to make landfall: ““Nosotros ¡athenienos!, somos husados en la art de la marineria et somos diestros a resistir luguar et passo como aquí; et nuestros enemigos no son diestros de tomar tierra por fuerça, [. . .]” (107-108). Finally, he provides emotional appeals to fear and to their sense of pride in duty by calling upon every man to work together to defend against the danger: ““por la qual cosa vos prego que el uno con el otro vos devaes confortar por defender aquesti passo de nuestros enemigos et por scapar nuestras personas de periglo et salvar aquesti castiello”” (108). Thus, in *Discurso 17*, Inmostenes uses emotional and logical appeals to suggest that they will win.

### ***Discurso 22***

*Discurso 22* varies from its two predecessors by solely appealing to emotions instead of also to logic. Within this short speech, Ypocrates manipulates his men’s sense of greed, self-righteousness, love of country, and pride. He justifies their presence on enemy soil, for in winning the battle here, they will gain not only their liberty but also their enemy’s lands, and the enemy never will dare to attack their homeland: ““si hemos victoria, daqui avant no osaran venire assi ardidament los enemigos sobre nuestra tierra; et, con una batalla, si soes victoriosos, guanaredes aquesta tierra strania et deliberaredes la vuestra propia [. . .]” (115). He then invokes their pride by recalling their glorious ancestry and reminding them what they are made of as he encourages them to fight hard in the ensuing battle:

‘[. . .] vos priego que - segunt el nonbre de la vuestra tierra propria, la qua les famosa por todo, et vuestra fama et la virtud de vuestros parientes, los quales con Mironides en el tiempo antiguo prendieron aquesta tierra de Viotia con batalla et con valentia – querades vós agora mostrar sfuerço et resistir a los enemigos, valientes entro a la fin’ (115).

Thus, Ypocrates employs a variety of emotional appeals before battling an enemy on its own territory.

### *Discurso 23*

*Discurso 23* is much more succinct and shorter than the original Greek version, leaving out additional supporting examples and characterizations of the two armies, yet it contains all three types of appeals. Despite Heredia's edits, the translation faithfully presents the situation as Brassida addresses the Peloponnesian army, left without allies in the midst of enemy territory and facing a large and boisterous Illyrian force threatening from afar.

When Brassida twice provides his judgement as a reason for not fearing the enemy, he makes appeals based on personal authority. At the beginning of his harangue, he tells the men that *he* would not lead them into battle if he thought they did not expect victory. ““Si yo vidies que vosotros vos dubdasedes de los enemigos porque aves fincados solos, yo no vos comandaria ni consellaria res [. . .]” (115-116). Later he states that he does not believe the enemy forces are as terrifying as they seem or as their reputation suggests: ““et a mí parece que los illirios no son tales como hemos oido dir, segunt se mostrara de fecho cómo lur fama es vana et no verdadera et de la ora avant seremos ardidos contra ellos [. . .]” (116). Hence, he draws upon his own authority as he states that his opinion matters and should be listened to by the men.

We next see Brassida appealing to logic through his use of examples as he reminds the soldiers of their past victories and conquests: ““car todo lo que vosotros tenes aves ovido por vuestra prodeza et valentia, levando la Victoria de todas partes que vistoros combatistes [. . .]” (116). Their fame, he recalls, is due to their own past acts and not due to allies, and thus, he predicts victory in the upcoming battle. Additionally, he specifically references the Macedonians, who like the Illyrians, at one time had been an unknown enemy, but were defeated and now fear them: ““Pues, no ayades miedo de los illirios porque no vos sodes

combatidos con ellos iamas, car tampoco en el tiempo passado no vos aviedes provado con los maçedonios, et fecha la prueba, supiestes bien cómo ellos avien grant miedo de vosotros [. . .]” (116).

Finally, Brassida uses emotional appeals by playing on the men’s prejudice and vanity. First he belittles the enemy by remarking that they are not as brave as his men and by referring to the Illyrians as “los barbaros” and “salvages.” He then embarrasses those of his men that are not confident in the face of this rowdy opponent, stating that such soldiers are “ignorantes” of the enemy’s worthlessness. He predicts that their opponents’ empty threats will easily crumble before those who are undeceived by their tricks, and he implies that if his men want to be considered smart and victorious, they too will not be deceived now. He calls upon them to discover this for themselves by facing and resisting their enemy; hence, he gives them his orders for discipline.

Thus, *Discurso* 23 contains a variety of appeals to authority, logic, and emotion as the Peloponnesians prepare for battle.

#### ***Discurso 24***

*Discurso* 24 also contains all three types of appeals as Brassida discusses the logic behind his tactics, appeals to their pride, greed, and fear, and states his personal commitment to the fight.

We first see logical appeals as Brassida presents the tactics he has decided to use in the upcoming battle. He starts by characterizing their enemy as arrogantly confident and then uses the general premise that, with ingenuity, one can beat an enemy by recognizing its failings. Thus, he deduces that a good tactic will be for them to take advantage of their enemy’s current, disorganized state, ““mientras ellos estan assi desordenados”” (117), and

attack while they are unarmed and in disarray. He uses another premise to explain the second phase of their assault: armies already under attack are even more dismayed when another force engages them. Brassida states, ““car una huest speçialment desordenada en un asalto subito, se vee alguna otra huest de enemigos venire sobre ella, más se smagua de aquella segunda que de la primera que la ha scometida”” (117). Thus, their assault will have a two-prong approach. Hence, we see in this harangue how Brassida applies general concepts to his men’s particular circumstances in order to suggest future victory.

Throughout the speech Brassida also incorporates *pathos*. He begins his harangue by flattering the men, stating that they have created a nation not only by their fame but also by their own deeds, yet he provides no solid example: ““La tierra de do es vuestra naçion no la aves solament por fama mas las obras de vuestros fechos propios lo manifiestan no res menos”” (116-117). He futher appeals to their sense of pride by calling on them to be valiant and informing them of the three qualities that a good soldier needs for victory: ““voluntat, vegonia et obediencia”” (117), implying that they should emulate these characteristics. Fear is also a factor as he reminds them that they are fighting to escape enslavement, and thus, they must be courageous in the face of this danger. Courage leads to victory and glory.

Cowardice leads to defeat:

‘[. . .] et sabet que aqui se a demostrar nuestra valentia contra nuestros enemigos, por la qual conquistaredes libertat perpetual et seredes clamados no siervos de los athenienos mas amigos de los laçedemonios; o, si por cobardeza vernedes a menos de victoria, venguades en grant servitut et se empache por vuestra ocasion la liberta del avanço de los ellinos [. . .]’ (117).

Finally, Brassida uses personal authority as he closes the harangue, commenting on his personal willingness and enthusiasm for the battle and stating that he would not ask others to do what he would not do willingly himself. Thus, he tells them that his deeds match

his words. He exclaims to the men, “et yo vos mostrare que so presto al fecho personalment como so animoso de amaistrar otros con paraulas” (117).

### ***Discurso 30***

In *Discurso 30*, Heredia does not provide an introduction or closing explanation to aid the reader in recognizing the speaker. However, it is possible to identify that it is Niquea who speaks, as he addresses the Athenians and their allies.

His main appeal is to the pride of the army, but he also includes appeals to prejudice and fear. He begins with flattery by stating that they are a formidable force, whose preparation is more inspiring than any words he can say: “No fazen menester a nosotros muchas paraulas porque el apparellamiento de tal huest es más sufficient de dar a vosotros ardimiento que paraulas ordenadas con huest ocçiosa” (131). He invokes national pride as he lists the various nationalities among the army, stating “somos argheos, mantineos, athenienos et isolanos” (131). He attests to their experience, stating they are schooled in battle, “adotrinados en las batallas,” as well as being chosen, “et todos sleidos” (131). He then contrasts them to their enemy, appealing to prejudice as he states that their opponents are windbags of little substance, unskilled in battle: “pues que nuestros contrarios no son sleidos mas todos de comuna mano çililianos, los quales nos menospreçian solament con paraulas, mas no seran firmes en los fechos porque no son husados a las batallas” (131). Finally, he appeals to their fear by invoking their sense of self-preservation as he reminds the men that they are on foreign soil, and thus they have to show their worth and be brave in order to win: “Avet en memoria que somos luent de nuestra çiudad et en tierra stranya, la qual no podes iamas conquistar sino por fuerça de batalla” (131).



Unlike in the other harangues, Niquea references the possible content of the enemy's exhortation, contrasting it to his own. According to Niquea, the enemy leader is telling his army that they will be fighting for their homeland (appealing to their love of country) while he (Niquea) is telling his men that they are fighting to survive in a foreign land: “Yo vos recuerdo encara de una otra cosa todo el contrario de aquello que nuestros enemigos consellan a los lurs, car ellos resisten por lur tierra et nós guerreamos tierra stranya” (131). Thus, Niquea's men need to be more fierce in combat (appealing to fear) as they alone are in a position to save themselves: “car no avemos sperança sino en nosotros mismos et aqui nuestra fuerça es nuestra muralla et çïudat” (132). With this statement, he gives his men confidence in their situation over their enemy's, finding strength in his men themselves and observing that it is as good as if they had a city and walls to hide behind in the battle.

### ***Discurso 35***

*Discurso 35* uses primarily the emotional appeals of fear, love of country, vanity, and pride. However, his statement also includes an appeal to logic.

Two of the speech's strongest appeals, those of fear and patriotism, work in unison. Niquea states that a victory here will let the Athenians and their country escape danger: “et, aviendo victoria en aquesta batalla marina, podremos scapar nós et nuestra tierra desti periglo” (141). Conversely, a defeat will put their beloved city in danger, as there are no more boats or soldiers to defend it from an invasion by the Syracusans. Thus, their fate as well as that of all Athenians will be slavery if they do not win this battle. He reminds them:

‘Encara digo a los nuestros propios athenienso [et] redugoles a memoria cómo en nuestras taraçanas no avemos otros tales lenyos ni tal joventut de hombres darmas como aqui son; et si el contrario conteçiesse de aver victoria contra nuestros enemigos, aquéstos de continente pasaran sobre nuestra çïudat et los que alla han fïncado no son suficientes de guerrear los enemigos vezinos que son alla, et aquéstos et ultra vosotros seredes subgetos et cautivos de los saragoçanos contra los que soes

aquí venidos, et los nuestros çudadnos se diusmeteran a los laçedemonyos por aquesta sola batalla [. . .]’ (142).

Equally important to the speech is Niquea’s appeal to the men’s vanity, as he contrasts the valor with which he expects his men to fight with those who are ignorant of battles and thus are easily frightened upon a first assault. Niquea states that his army is battle-tested, with experience and a fervent spirit, not at all like “los ignorantes:”

‘Empero, por aquesto no nos devemos spantar ni mostrar como se muestran los ignorantes en las batallas como no husados en los periglos, los quales, si fallen la primera veguada, siempre son spantados; mas vosotros quantos sodes aqui, pues soes husados a los periglos, avet en memoria cuántas cosas contrarias avienen en las batallas, et avet sperança que la fortuna tornara sobre nós; es assi apparellatvos de conbatir valientment et con ardido coraçon assi como somos costumbrados de fer antes desta guerra de Saragoça, et avremos victoria communament;’ (141).

Furthermore, he calls on the pride of the non-Athenians when he reminds them of the skill and courage with which they have faced the Corinthians in the past and suggests that they need to keep up this reputation: “agora debes mostrar que no aves perdida la dicta destreza et valentia menospreçiando los corintios,” (142). To the Athenians, he makes an appeal to national pride, claiming that the great fame of their city of Athens can be found in its armada of marines, sailors, and ships, and thus those who have such courage and skill should remember those abilities now:

‘[. . .] et recordatvos cada uno et todos ensemble que la gent que entrara agora en el nuestro stole s toda la grant fama de la çudat nuestra de Athena, assi de gent darmas como de marineros et de lenyos, el que ha alguna vantage en valentia o en destreza agora es tiempo que lo muestre en esta neçessitat por su provecho et salvamiento comun’ (142-143).

Niquea’s harangue incorporates, to a much lesser degree, an appeal to logic through statements of fact when he promotes the expectation of victory through strategy. He reminds his Athenian soldiers that they have many well-fortified ships but that on land they will find themselves in enemy territory. Thus, they should not attempt to battle on land but to use their

advantages at sea. With this tactic, in addition to reminding them of their great numbers, “‘pues somos gentes en grant numero,’” Niquea hopes to instill a sense of advantage logically (141).

### ***Discurso 36***

*Discurso 36* occurs before the same battle as that of *Discurso 35*, and contains the harangue of the Syracusans’ leader, Guillippo. Heredia introduces the text, noting that the Syracusans have seen the Athenians fortifying their ships, and thus they begin to do the same. Guillippo’s harangue appeals to logic based on *a fortiori* and statement of fact as well as appeals to the emotions of flattery, prejudice, and fear.

Guillippo begins by acknowledging the great reputation of the enemy navy, which he then uses to encourage his men through an argument *a fortiori*. He notes that the Syracusans were the first ones to beat the Athenians at sea and that they defeated them when they were at their strongest: “‘et vos resistiestes et primerament de todos huviestes victoria contra ellos’” (143). Beginning with the words “‘pareçe razonablement que,’” he explains that if they were able to defeat them when it seemed unlikely, they should be able to defeat them now that they have earned a reputation for skill, valor, and victory:

‘Por qué pareçe razonablemente que, pues la ora uviestes victoria contra ellos que eran en toda lur fuerça, que agora la debes aver; car quando lo quel honbre retiene por su avantaia viene a menos de alli avant de vista et de seso, muestra que sea venido a menos de su fuerça; mas la valentia que aviemos nós enantes, con la qual assi como eramos poco husados a las batallas marinas huviemos ardimiento et victoria contra ellos, se firmo más et agora somos reputados por más diestros et más valientes porque avemos sconfidos los más diestros et poderosos en mar’ (143-144).

Guillippo also appeals logically when he describes how the Athenians’ large armada is actually a disadvantage for them. He points out that the location of the battle will be too narrow for so many ships: “‘et no ayades cura si lurs lenyos son en grant numero, car el

lugar do la batalla se fara es tan strecho que poco nos podran nozer''' (144). Thus, he deduces that the Athenian's superior numbers will not be a consideration.

Guillippo additionally uses emotional appeals as he turns the enemy's advantages into disadvantages and finds ways to flatter his men in contrast. He states that his Syracusans are courageous and confident and then later describes the Athenians as desperate, believing more in fortune than in their own merit:

‘por la valentia, apries por el huso – nos da grant animosidad, et, quanto a los ingenyos de que ellos husan, suffiçientes somos nosotros de contrastarles por semblantes, [. . .] los athenienos, estrenidos de todo, son venidos a desesperacion et metense agora a periglo manifesto no avienod punt sperança en lur armada mas al rishc de la fortuna’ (144).

Guillippo also states that whereas the enemy has many marines, they are inexperienced and unskilled:

‘[. . .] et lo que pareçe a ellos avantaga de meter mucha gent darmas sobre las cubiertas de lures lenyos sera lur nozimiento et nuestro provecho porque la mayor part son honbres poco husados en armas, los quales apenas, stando posados, podran star seguros ni lançar diestrament, et aquéllos empacharan los otros en fallira de todo’ (144).

Interestingly, he never overtly uses the premise that smaller armies can beat bigger ones with courage. Instead, he focuses on the enemy's tactical disadvantage (statement of fact) and lack of skill (appeal to prejudice) in the face of his own men's skill, experience, and courage (*a fortiori*, flattery).

Guillippo also invokes fear and love of country within his speech. He begins his harangue by reminding the men why the Athenians initially invaded them: “‘La venida de los athenienos en esta tierra fue primerament por diusmeter toda la isla de Çiçilia et après todo el Peloponisso et todo el romanient de la Ellada [. . .]’” (143). Later he states that the Athenians are not just an enemy but their mortal enemy, which must be fought fiercely:

‘[. . .] pues [no] nos son enemigos simples mas de todo motales, car, segunt vós sabedes, ellos son venidos sin ocasion ni movimiento de buena razon por diusmeter la tierra, la qual cosa, si les huvies venida a fin, avrien punido los honbres cruelment et fecho morir armament et las fenbras avrien envergonyadas et toda Siçilia avrie ovido por toda razon fama’ (144).

If the Athenians are not defeated in this battle, they will enslave the Syracusans and their land. If they are allowed to escape, they will only return later to conquer them. Guillippo remarks that his men should not forget this, stating, ““Por las quales cosas, en ninguna manera no devedes de seyer negligentes ni reputar a guanançia si ellos se parten daquea, car, si ellos huviessen avida la victoria, tambien se avrien tornado a lur çiudad et retornarien todos dias [. . .]”” (144). Hence, in this final harangue, we see a combination of logic and emotion as Guillippo exhorts his men against the Athenians.

### **Categories of Theme in Heredia’s Translations of the *History***

The majority of the eight *discursos* are multi-themed speeches, combining the themes of advantage, orders and tactics, duty, and profit. Although emotional appeals are evident throughout the *discursos*, such strong themes as vengeance, hatred, and shame are not seen in a preliminary nor supportive role within the speeches. Additionally, instead of overtly appealing to shame, we see many appeals to vanity, pride, and a concern for self-confidence. Furthermore, the majority of the verbal attacks upon the enemy belittle it in the eyes of the audience instead of arouse anger. The leaders describe their opponents’ inferiority with no direct expression of vengeance or rage. Thus, although the stakes are extremely high, the enemy is never overtly vilified. Instead, the consequences of liberty or enslavement and life or death are presented without inflammatory vocabulary, and the worst name calling is the use of the terms “barbarians” and “savages” in *Discurso* 23 and “mortal enemies” in *Discurso* 36, which contains the most threatening and fearful mongering. Thus, Heredia’s

translated speeches lack a passionate, fire-and-brimstone quality, as much as Thucydides' originals did. Yet the commanders still manage to express the seriousness and tension of the situations through a variety of themes.

### **Advantage / Hope of Victory**

The most common theme is the hope of victory through some type of advantage, appearing in all eight *discursos*. Military expertise, previous victories, and courage are all subsets used to suggest that failure is not possible. Interestingly, with respect to advantage, there is no sense of religious righteousness or of deities being on the army's side in any of these eight translated pieces (nor does it appear in any of the original Greek versions).<sup>9</sup>

The most common reason for the advantage is the concept of being better militarily or intellectually in some way (skill, position or situation, training and experience, blood/ancestry, number, and preparation). In *Discursos* 10 and 23, the men supposedly are more skillful and courageous than their enemy, whereas in *Discursos* 17 and 30, skill is coupled with location and preparation, respectively, as reasons for giving the men the upper hand. *Discurso* 36 suggests that not only the men's military skill but also their knowledge and confidence provide an advantage. *Discurso* 35 offers the most reasons for superiority, stating that the men have experience, preparation, courage, as well as the weapons and numbers needed for victory. *Discursos* 22 and 25 take a different approach, suggesting ancestry and their tactical situation, respectively, each guarantees an advantage.

The second most common subset of advantage is the reminder of previous success, either in general and/or against this enemy in particular. We see this in *Discursos* 10, 23, 35,

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<sup>9</sup> The closest reference to the gods occurs in the retreat speech (*Discurso* 37), in which Niquea (Nicias) mentions that if the gods had been angry at the army, surely it has paid its price and deserves mercy instead of punishment at this point.

and 36. In 10, Formion reminds his men twice of their past victory over the enemy, stating “mas por reduzirvos a memoria que nuestros enemigos, como sconfidos de nós,” (85) and “pues no dubdes de lur multitud porque, sconfidos antes de agora son venidos no solos...” (85). In 23, Brassida recalls victories against other enemies, stating “car todo lo que vosotros tenes aves ovido por vuestra prodreza et valentia, levando la victoria de todas partes que vosotros vos combatistes” (116), and he also alludes to their victory against the Macedonians. In 35, in anticipation of their battle against the Syracusans, Niquea reminds his non-Athenian allies of their defeat of the Corinthians: “no aves perdida la dicta destreza et valentia menospreçando los corintios” (142). Meanwhile, before the same battle, Guillippo recalls that his men were the first to beat the Athenians and did so when they were at their strongest: “et vós les resistiestes et primerament de todos huiestes victoria contra ellos” (143). Hence, we see both sides using previous battlefield success to encourage the men.

Finally, also common is the idea that smaller armies can beat bigger ones through courage. We have already seen how in *Discurso* 10, Formion discusses how his small courageous navy is seen as a threat by an enemy that feels compelled to bring a larger force. Furthermore, in 23, Brassida acknowledges that he has the smaller army, but he recalls that their strength is in their bravery and virtue: “mas, vidiendo cómo soes fincados solos et pocos contra tanta multitud de enemigos, breument vos recordare algunas cosas, mostrando cómo debes seir famosos, aqui no por ayuda de otra gent sino por vuestra vitut et valentia” (116). Furthermore in *Discurso* 36, Guillippo tells his men that not only does their courage give them the advantage but also that the Athenian’s large numbers will work in his men’s favor, in part due to the enemy’s lack of skilled warriors: “[. . .] pues que la nuestra speranza es fecha doble – primerament por la valentia, [. . .] et lo que parece a ellos avantaga

de meter mucha gent darmas sobre las cubiertas de lures lenyos sera lur nozimiento et nuestro provecho porque la mayor part son honbres poco husados en armas” (144).

Thus, the ideas of courage against the odds, previous success, and superiority are of extreme importance in the translated *arengas*.

### **Orders and Tactics**

Orders and tactics involving strategy and expectations appear in all eight *discursos* to differing degrees. Three *discursos* (10, 17, and 35) contain explanations on strategy and maneuvers, and all of the *discursos* include the commander’s expectations of his men’s comportment in battle, with *Discurso* 24’s speaker providing himself as the example to follow. With regard to tactics, in *Discurso* 10, the men must keep the enemy’s fleet confined to a narrow strait and not to allow the battle to spread into the wide gulf, where the enemy would have the advantage; in 17, they must defend the passage and the castle, and in 35, they must keep the battle on the sea instead of moving ashore, in order to maintain advantage. With respect to expectations, the commanders typically order their men to be valiant (10, 35), vigorous (17), strong (22), steadfast (22, 23), and enthusiastic (30). In addition, we see commands to be obedient and orderly (10), to demonstrate skill (35), and to avoid complacency and negligence by allowing the enemy to flee and fight another day (36).

Within *Discurso* 24, the tactics are heavily presented as the military advantage, and thus a cross-over between the two themes occurs. Brassida’s strategy is to take advantage of his disorganized enemy by attacking them with a two-prong assault meant to divide it in two, and thus, “que con aquesta manera avremos victoria contra ellos” (117). As part of his explanation, he assigns one part of his forces to Clearida and gives him specific orders for



battle. In addition, Brassida makes himself an example, stating he would not ask others to do what he would not.

### **Duty and Profit**

Duty is also a common theme among the translated pieces, being one of the primary themes in three of the *discursos* (22, 30, 35, 36) and a supporting theme in two others (17, 24). The overall focus of the army's duty in these exhortations is to ensure liberty, whether it pertains to the individual (the soldier and the army) or to the homeland. In *Discurso* 17, the soldiers are told they must hold their ground in order to safeguard themselves and their fortress, and in *Discurso* 30, the leader specifically and exclusively concentrates on the army's fate, due to the fact that they are in enemy territory and must fight to stay alive. In fact, in 30, the speaker notes the difference between his speech and what the enemy commander must be telling his troops, noting that the enemy is fighting for their land while they are fighting for their lives out of necessity. In *Discursos* 35 and 36, the stakes are extremely high, as both sides perceive the future of their own civilization is under imminent threat.

While gaining freedom can be considered an immaterial gain (theme of profit), it is best categorized as part of a soldier's duty. This is because protecting the homeland is often presented as the job of the military, with plunder and booty considered as a welcome bonus. In *Discursos* 22, 24, and 36, we see this suggestion of profit in conjunction with duty. In *Discurso* 22, Ypocrates tells the army they can liberate their land and gain their enemy's. Thus, the profit theme shares dominance with duty (to secure the homeland) as well as with the vanity-inspired advantage of inheriting abilities from a glorious ancestry. In *Discurso* 24, the profit is immaterial. If the Peloponnesians win, they will secure perpetual freedom and

be considered “amigos de los laçedemonios” (117). Thus, fame and glory are welcomed side effects of doing their duty. Finally, in *Discurso* 36, Guillippo begins his speech with a reference to past obtained glory and the prospect for more in the future. He states, “Como el nuestro treballo passado es stado prospero, por que el advenidero se millor [. . .]” (143), and then he proceeds to explain how their mortal enemies the Athenians plan to subjugate their homeland.

### **Concern for Confidence**

The only reference to an army’s self perception does not dwell on the men’s emotions of shame. Rather, it presents the psychological consequences of losing. While *Discurso* 10’s primary theme concentrates on their advantage due to the three main subsets, Formion concludes his speech with a reference to the importance of not losing. He believes that this battle will affect how the two combatants perceive themselves in the future. If the Peloponnesians lose, they will lack confidence in their navy. If the Athenians lose, they will be afraid on the sea as well as on the land. Hence, the stakes are set.

### **Successfulness of the Haranguer in Heredia’s Translations of the *History***

Like the majority of their models in the original *History of the Peloponnesian War*, the *discursos* do not include post-speech commentary regarding the successfulness of the speeches. The one exception in the *History* is Demosthenes’ exhortation in Book IV.10, in which Thucydides notes that the troops became much more heartened by the speech. Yet, noticeably, Heredia chose not to include this reaction within his *Discurso* 17. However, in introducing *Discursos* 17 and 22, Heredia commented that the commanders comforted their men with each speech.

### Structure of the *Discursos* and their Harangues

Since these speeches literally have been pulled from their context, it is not surprising that Heredia included as part of his *discursos* an introductory preface, identifying who is speaking and sometimes providing background information explaining the need for the speech. Only in *Discurso* 30 does Heredia leave out all contextual information, and the only way to identify the speaker is through references to the armies within the oration. Additionally, half of the *discursos* (22, 23, 35, 36) end with a brief comment that this was what was said to the men.

While the general format of the eight *discursos* is composed of a narrative introduction and a short closure with an oration in between, *Discurso* 35 breaks this pattern. Halfway through the speech, Heredia abruptly switches to a short narrative commentary, explaining some of the contents of the speech instead of presenting them in direct discourse, as in the original Greek. The narration reduces the size of the original harangue but not significantly, and despite some edits, the spirit and information of the Greek text remains fairly intact. Heredia's Niquea asks the men-at-arms (the marines) to work with the sailors, stating that one cannot have victory without the other. However, Thucydides' Nicias focuses on the relation between the men-at-arms and the small land forces they have. Additionally, Heredia's Niquea asks all of the forces not to be dismayed by past defeats while Nicias asks this only of the sailors in particular. As this is the sole instance within the translated harangues of an interrupted discourse, it is unclear why Heredia would choose to present the speech in this manner and to generalize the forces into two groups instead of three. López Molina theorizes that such a disruption was meant to draw attention to specific aspects of the speech (142). As Heredia does compound the groups, it could be that his intention was to

simply focus on the overall message of different groups having different responsibilities but still being mutually dependant on each other for victory.

*Discurso* 36 is also different from the others in terms of structure. It begins with the usual extended narrative introduction, then Guillippo's lengthy harangue, and ends with some closing narrative comments. However, it is then followed by an indirect harangue by Niquea, mirroring the original version. As these events follow those of *Discurso* 35 within the history, it appears that Heredia was choosing to focus on this pivotal naval battle from the *History*.

Turning to the harangues themselves, it is possible to detect common formats among the eight speeches. First, each begins with an exclamatory salutation. They are Heredia's invention, rather than a translation from Thucydides, and they follow a strict pattern. Each is a short exclamation beginning with "O" followed by a collective noun and sometimes including a praising adjective:

*Discurso* 10 – "¡O gentiles honbres et companyeros!" (85)

*Discurso* 17 – "¡O valientes honbres!" (107)

*Discurso* 22 – "¡O athenienos!" (115)

*Discurso* 23 – "¡O valientes honbres!" (115)

*Discurso* 24 – "¡O valientes peloponissos!" (116)

*Discurso* 30 – "¡O valientes honbres!" (131)

*Discurso* 35 – "¡O senyores companyones et amigos!" (141)

*Discurso* 36 – "¡O saragoçanos et vosotros amigos!" (143).

This is also common in many of the other *discursos* of the folio that do not contain harangues. As previously discussed, the use of these salutations has the effect of gaining

favor with the audience as well as creating a sense of community. However, in terms of the structure of Heredia's *discursos*, this formula, in addition to the narrative introductions, may also have served to subtly and quickly place the speech in context for the reader trying to remember the plot line of the *History*.

As the pieces were lifted from the *History*, this quick identification and contextualization of each episode seems deliberate, especially since this repetitive style at the beginning of each harangue does not come from the original text. Heredia's translations are short salutations, but Thucydides' opening lines often contain additional comments which Heredia translates in later sentences. Also, while the Greek speeches translated into *Discursos* 10, 23, and 36 contain a direct address to the audience, they are not the first words of the speech as we see in Heredia's translation. Finally, Heredia changes the nature of the addresses to the men in some of his salutations. In *Discurso* 10, Heredia's "Oh gentle men and companions" replaces Thucydides' "oh soldiers". In *Discurso* 23 Heredia's "Oh brave men" takes the place of Thucydides' "men of Peloponnesus." Finally, in *Discurso* 35 Heredia's "O gentlemen companions and friends" substitutes for Thucydides' "Soldiers of Athens and of our allies."<sup>10</sup>

Regarding the remaining structure of each speech, slight patterns, beyond the common salutation, are repeated among the harangues. Three harangues begin with an acknowledgement of the current situation before the battle (10, 17, 23). Four others begin with emotional manipulation through affected modesty (22, 30), straight-out flattery (24), or a reminder of past and future fame (36). One (23) begins with the use of personal authority to suggest that the commander has confidence in his men and in their own level of self-belief.

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<sup>10</sup> Translation of Thucydides made based on the Greek text provided in: Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War*, trans. Charles Forster Smith. Vol. I. (London: William Heinemann Ltd.; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969) 426, bk.2, ch 89; 426, bk. 4, ch. 125; 122, bk. 7, ch. 61.

Finally, only one (30) contains a rhetorical question. Furthermore, while the harangues differ slightly in how they begin, all end with a presentation of the stakes of the upcoming battle and the commanders' expectations of his men. Additionally, while the internal structure of each oration varies, most present to some degree the current situation of the army/navy in the field, the advantages they have, the stakes of the combat, and the expectations or orders of the commander. Restated in generic terms, the commanders present the problem (situation), the tools they have to address it (advantages, strategy), the consequences of not facing or fixing the problem (stakes), and the solution (expectations, orders, and tactics).

In addition to being well developed, the harangues found in Heredia's translated *discursos* are lengthy and complicated. Indeed, only *Discursos* 17, 22, and 30 are reasonably short, or as Ypocrates tells his men in 22, “Mi consello es poca paraulas” (115). Yet even these harangues contain a conglomeration of themes and appeals, although to a lesser extent than their longer peers. Within each speech we are confronted with a series of complex sentences filled with clarifications, contrasting statements, and suppositions that require diligent reading to fully understand their underlying messages. Yet, despite their length, figurative language is practically nonexistent, concurring with López Molina characterization of the translated text.<sup>11</sup> Instead, each commander focuses on concrete circumstances and reasons for winning. Commanders use words and ideas that can resonate with their soldiers, presenting them clearly instead of metaphorically: the size of the enemy, a description of battlefield conditions and location, confidence, skills, precedents, and stakes. Repetition of an idea can occur. In *Discurso* 10 Formion keeps concluding the enemy is more scared of his Athenians than they are of them. Yet this is necessary, as his whole argument is meant to convince the Athenians they can beat a larger force. Additionally, there are a few uses of

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<sup>11</sup> In *Discurso* 23, we see a comparison of the enemy to “barbaros” and “salvages” (116).

oppositions (*Discursos* 10, 17): “no que yo digua que temais los periglos, mas por reduzarnos a memoria [. . .]” (p. 83) and “No se dubde ninguno de vosotros vidiendo tanta multitud [. . .], mas cada uno et todos ensemble, fuera echado todo miedo, nos movamos vigorosament contra los enemigos” (p. 107) Hence, while the harangues are neither concise nor figurative, they do provide a great assortment of both rational and emotional reasons for winning the battle.

**Table 1 - Appeals and Themes in Heredia's Translated Harangues**

Harangue	Situation	Appeal(s)	Theme(s)
<i>Discurso</i> 10	Formion to the Athenian soldiers before the naval battle off Rhium, facing a large enemy	Salutation Logic (enthymemes) Prejudice Flattery Fear	Advantage militarily (skill, courage) Advantage based on previous success Advantage of courage w/ smaller army Concern for future confidence Orders (explains strategy, indirect orders) Orders (expectations)
<i>Discurso</i> 17	Inmostenes to the Athenian soldiers at Pylus	Salutation Pride Flattery Fear Logic (statement of fact – position)	Advantage militarily (position, skill) Duty to ourselves (and our assignment) Orders (explains strategy, indirect orders) Orders (expectations)
<i>Discurso</i> 22	Ypocrates to the Athenian army near Delium	Salutation Greed Self-righteousness Love of country Pride	Duty to country Profit (material wealth) Advantage from ancestry Orders (expectations)
<i>Discurso</i> 23	Brassida to the Peloponnesian soldiers at Lyncus, in enemy territory without allies, facing a larger force.	Salutation Affected modesty Logic (examples) Prejudice Vanity Personal authority	Advantage of courage w/ smaller army Advantage based on previous success Advantage militarily (skill, courage) Orders (expectations)

<i>Discurso</i> 24	Brassida to the Peloponnesian soldiers at Amphipolis	Salutation Affected modesty Logic (enthymemes) Flattery/Vanity/ Pride Fear Personal authority	Advantage militarily (situation/tactics) Orders (explains strategy)
<i>Discurso</i> 30	Niquea to the Athenian army in enemy territory at Syracuse	Salutation Pride Prejudice Fear	Duty to ourselves Advantage militarily (preparation, skill)
<i>Discurso</i> 35	Niquea to the Athenians at the Syracuse harbor before a critical naval battle	Salutation Fear Love of country Vanity / Pride Logic (example, statement of facts – numbers and arms)	Duty to country Duty to ourselves Advantage militarily (experience, preparation, courage, numbers) Advantage based on previous success Advantage militarily (arms) Orders (explains strategy, indirect orders) Orders (expectations)
<i>Discurso</i> 36	Guillippo and other generals to the Syracusans before the critical naval battle in the Syracuse harbor, against a larger enemy force.	Salutation Logic ( <i>a fortiori</i> , statement of fact – position). Prejudice Flattery/Vanity Fear Love of country	Advantage militarily/intellectually (skill, knowledge, confidence) Advantage based on previous success. Advantage of courage with smaller army (indirectly implied) Duty to country Profit (immaterial) Orders (expectations)

## B. Virgil's *Aeneid*

While Heredia provided medieval Iberia with the first vulgar translation of parts of Thucydides' *History*, it was not the only classical text containing harangues that was available at the time. Virgil's *Aeneid* (19 BCE), for example, was a very popular text that contained many types of orations.



It also contains examples of the *arenga* different from those in Thucydides or Heredia's translation. Those works dealt with the *arenga* as a pre-battle speech, but the *Aeneid* included several harangues given within a battle. For that reason, they are noticeably shorter and more direct:

Harangue One: Book 9 (verses 781-787): Mnestheus rebukes his men for showing such little resistance and attempting to retreat from one man, Turnus, who is wreaking havoc on the Trojans

Harangue Two: Book 10 (verses 369-378): Pallas addresses the Arcadians as they are retreating from the Trojans

Harangue Three: Book 11 (verses 732-740): Tarchon rebukes the army for retreating immediately after the female warrior Camilla has devastated their ranks

Harangue Four: Book 12 (verse 565-573): Aeneas changes tactics during a battle and exhorts his men to attack and burn the enemy's city

However, the *Aeneid* also contains two examples of pre-battle harangues:

Harangue Five: Book 9 (verses 128-158): Turnus harangues his men after the goddess Cybele has broken away the Trojan fleet of ships in order to prevent them from being torched by Turnus

Harangue Six: Book 10 (279-284): Turnus addresses his army before Aeneas and the Trojans attempt to make landfall on their position.

For the purposes of this investigation, these speeches will be referred to according to this numerical listing.

### **Categories of Appeal in the *Aeneid***

All three types of appeals are present in the *Aeneid*'s harangues. However, emotional appeals are the most prevalent, existing in all six. *Ethos* is only apparent in the fifth harangue while *logos* can only be found in the first and second.

Additionally, while all six of the harangues contain an address to the men as a group, the location of the salutation varies. For example, only the second and third harangues contain it in the opening line. The addresses are as follows:

Harangue One - “o cives” (oh countrymen, fellow citizens) (9.183)

Harangue Two - “socii” (friends) (10.369)

Harangue Three - “Tyrrheni” (Tuscans) (11.733)

Harangue Four - “o cives” (oh countrymen, fellow citizens) (12.572)

Harangue Five - “o lecti” (oh troops) (9.146)

Harangue Six - “viris” (men) (10.280)

### **Harangue One: Book 9 (verses 781-787)**

The first harangue of the *Aeneid* appeals to the men’s sense of pride as well as to logic as the commander tries to stop his Trojan army from retreating. In his speech, Mnestheus questions the men’s courage while chastising their flight:

‘My countrymen, shall one man, hemmed in on every side by your ramparts, deal such carnage throughout the city and go unpunished? Shall he send down to death so many of our noblest youths? Cowards, have you no pity, no shame, for your unhappy country, for your ancient gods, for great Aeneas?’” (Fairclough 169).

‘unus homo et vestris, o cives, undique saeptus  
aggeribus tantas strages impune per urbem  
ediderit? iuvenum primos tot miserit Orco?  
non infelicis patriae veterumpque deorum  
et magni Aeneae, segnes, miseretque pudetque?’ (9. 783-787).

Futhermore, he reveals the ridiculousness of their actions by demonstrating that a retreat will not improve their situation, thus, he uses statements of fact to appeal to the men:

‘Where then, where are you going? What other walls, what other battlements do you have elsewhere? (Fairclough 169)

‘ [...] quo deinde fugam, quo tenditis?’ inquit.  
‘quos alios muros, quaeve ultra moenia habetis?’ (9. 781-782).

## Harangue Two: Book 10 (verses 369-378)

The second harangue also contains both emotional and logical appeals as Pallas attempts to embolden his men and prevent their retreat. He pleads to the men's pride and loyalty when he recalls their past glorious deeds and their present responsibilities, stating:

‘By your brave deeds I pray you, by your King Evander’s name, by the wars that you have won, by my hopes now springing up to match my father’s renown – trust not to flight’ (Fairclough 199).

‘[...] per vos et fortia facta,  
per ducis Euandri nomen devictaque bella  
spemque meam, patriae quae nunc subit aemula laudi,  
fidite ne pedibus. [...]’ (10.369-372).

He also invokes their love of country by stating:

‘Where the mass of men presses thickest, there your noble country calls you back, with Pallas at your head’ (Fairclough 199).

‘[...] qua globus ille virum densissimus urget,  
hac vos et Pallanta ducem patria alta reposcit’ (10.373-374).

Additionally, Pallas appeals to logic in two ways. First he states a fact, telling his men that their opponents are mere men, not gods, and thus, they can be killed:

‘No gods press upon us; by mortal foes are we mortals driven; we have as many lives, as many hands as they (Fairclough 199).

‘numina nulla premunt, mortali urgemur ab hoste  
mortales; totidem nobis animaeque manusque.’ (10.375-376).

Second, he demonstrates the negative consequences of retreat, showing that there is no other solution to their situation than to fight. He does this by opening his harangue with the rhetorical question: “‘Friends, where are you running?’” (Fairclough 199), “‘quo fugitis, socii?’” (10. 369), and returning to the same idea at the end:

‘See, the ocean hems us in with mighty barrier of sea; there is now no land for our flight; are we to make for the sea or Troy?’ (Fairclough 199).

‘ecce maris magna claudit nos obice pontus,  
deest iam terra fugae: pelagus Troiamne petamus?’ (10. 377-378).

### **Harangue Three: Book 11 (verses 732-740)**

The third harangue has one emotional appeal. Tarchon uses his men’s pride to remind them that they are men. His insulting remarks are meant to stir them to action after they have been intimidated by the skillful woman-warrior Camilla. He reminds them that they are happy to handle women in other situations, implying that they should not shirk from their duties on the battlefield:

‘Does a woman drive you in disorder and rout your ranks? For what reason do we bear swords, why these idle weapons, in our hands? But you are no laggard for love and nightly frays, or when the curved flute proclaims the Bacchic dance (Fairclough 287).

‘femina palantis agit atque haec agmina vertit?  
quo ferrum quidve haec gerimus tela inrita dextris?  
at non in Venerem segnes nocturnaque bella,  
aut ubi curva choris indixit tibia Bacchi.’ (11. 734-737).

### **Harangue Four: Book 12 (verses 565-573)**

The fourth harangue also contains an emotional appeal. In this speech, Aeneas is intent on instigating his army’s ire against the Latins as he commands them to burn the enemy’s city in retribution for causing the war. Therefore, he plays on their lust for revenge and uses the classical argument of *tu quoque* (you also) to justify committing a heinous act upon the Latin citizens:

‘That city, the cause of war, the very seat of Latinus’ realm’’, and ‘‘‘This, fellow citizens, is the head, this the sum, of the accursed war. Bring brands with speed, and with fire reclaim the treaty’’’ (Fairclough 341).

‘urbem hodie, causam belli, regna ipsa Latini,’ (12. 567)  
[.....]  
‘hoc caput, o cives, haec belli summa nefandi.  
ferte faces propere foedusque reposcite flammis’ (12. 572-573).

### Harangue Five: Book 9 (verses 128-158)

The fifth harangue combines emotional appeals with Turnus' personal authority. He appeals to their sense of revenge and also uses the argument *tu quoque* as he reminds them of the injustice done by their enemy in stealing his wife. He tells them:

‘Not only the sons of Atreus are touched by that pang, no only Mycenae has the right to take up arms. ‘But to have perished once is enough!’ Rather, to have sinned once would have been enough, provided that henceforth they utterly loathe well-nigh all womankind, these men to whom this trust in a sundering rampart, these delaying dykes – slight barriers against death – afford courage! But did they not see Troy’s battlements, the work of Neptune’s hand, sink in flames?’ (Fairclough 125).

‘[...] nec solos tangit Atridas  
iste dolor, solisque licet capere arma Mycenis.  
‘sed periisse semel satis est’: peccare fuisset  
ante satis, penitus modo non genus omne perosos  
femineum, quibus haec medii fiducia valli  
fossarumque morae, leti discrimina parva,  
dant animos; at non viderunt moenia Troiae  
Neptuni fabricata manu considerare in ignis?’ (9.138-145).

He then appeals to the men’s sense of pride by boasting of their open, honest tactics and implying that they have superior military skill in comparison to the Trojan’s previous enemies:

‘I do not need the arms of Vulcan nor a thousand ships, to meet the Trojans. Let all Etruria join them at once in alliance. Darkness and cowardly theft of *their Palladium*, with slaughter of guards on the citadel, they need not fear; nor shall we lurk in a horse’s dark belly: in broad day, in the sight of all, I mean to grid their walls with fire. I will see to it that they know they do not have to deal with Danaans and Pelasgic youths, whom Hector kept at bay till the tenth year’ (Fairclough 125).

‘non armis mihi Volcani, non mille carinis  
est opus in Teucros. addant se protinus omnes  
Etrusci socios. tenebras et inertia furta  
*Palladii caesis late custodibus arcis*  
ne timeant, nec equi caeca condemur in alvo:  
luce palam certum est igni circumdare muros.  
haud sibi cum Danais rem faxo et pube Pelasga  
esse ferant, decimum quos distulit Hector in annum’ (9.148-155).

In addition, he uses *ethos* by discussing that it is his personal destiny to mete out justice against the Trojans:

‘I too have my own fate to meet theirs – to cut down with the sword a guilty race that has robbed me of my bride!’ (Fairclough 125).

‘[...] sunt et mea contra  
fata mihi. ferro sceleratam excindere gentem  
coniuge praerepta; [...]’ (9.136-138).

### **Harangue Six: Book 10 (279-284)**

The sixth harangue contains an emotional appeal of love of country, as Turnus calls upon the men to remember their home and their loved ones. He exclaims, “‘Now let each be mindful of his wife and home’” (Fairclough 193), “‘nunc coniugis esto / quisque suae tectique memor ’” (10. 280-281).

## **Categories of Theme in the *Aeneid***

### **Advantage / Hope of Victory**

Advantage is a popular theme among Virgil’s harangues, appearing in various forms in four of the six *arengas*. In the second harangue, Pallas contrasts the lack of advantages the enemy may have with the lack of disadvantages his men have. Their enemy is mortal and neither gods nor destinies are hindering his men. Thus, his army should rely on its own skills, or as he states, its own hands to win the battle. In the fourth harangue, Aeneas claims a divine advantage, stating at the beginning of his speech that Jupiter is with them. Likewise, Turnus, in Harangue Five, suggests to his men that the loss of the Trojan’s fleet is by Jupiter’s doing against the Trojans, yet it is actually due to the goddess Cybele trying to protect her beloved ships. Turnus tells his men that without their fleet and the oceans on which to retreat to safety, the Trojans no longer possess an advantage against the Latins:

‘It is the Trojans that these portents are directed against; Jupiter himself has bereft them of their usual help; they do not await the Rutulian sword and fire. So the seas are pathless for the Teucrians, and they have no hope of flight. Half the world is lost to them, but the earth is in our hands [. . .]’ (Fairclough 123)

‘Troianos haec monstra petunt, his Iuppiter ipse  
auxilium solitum eripuit: non tela neque ignis  
exspectant Rutulos. ergo maria invia Teucris,  
nec spes ulla fuguae: rerum pars altera adempta est,  
terra autem in nostris manibus, [. . .]’ (9.128-132).

Turnus is not afraid of any destiny the Trojans have, as his own destiny is to make them pay for their crime. Yet these are not their only advantages against the Trojans. Turnus boasts of their skill in fighting the enemy openly, with no need for trickery or cover of night. The sixth harangue also mentions that Fortune is on their side since “Fortune helps the brave” (Fairclough 193), “audentis Fortuna iuvat” (10. 284). In this speech Turnus also calls on his men to emulate their ancestors’ skill and courage, subtly suggesting they have an innate, inherited ability to fight well. He exclaims, “now recall the great deeds, the glories of our sires!” (Fairclough 193), “nunc magna referto / facta, patrum laudes” (10. 281-282).

### **Orders and Tactics**

Orders regarding tactics and strategy are explicit in four of the harangues as well. In the second harangue, Pallas directs his men to fight where the enemy is thickest, as that is where they are needed. In the fourth harangue, Aeneas calls his men to act quickly and directs them to burn the Latin city, changing his tactics within an ongoing battle. In the fifth harangue, Turnus orders the men to get rest before the upcoming battle. Finally in harangue six, Turnus commands his men to encounter the enemy at the shoreline, “while they are confused and their feet falter as first they land” (Fairclough 193), “ultro occurramus ad undam / dum trepidi egressisque labant vestigia prima” (10. 282-283).

### **Aversion to Shame**

The first and third harangues contain the theme of shame, as the commanders deal with their men's lackluster performance and imminent retreat. Both harangues concentrate on the enemy as something that should not be as threatening as their men's inaction suggests. Mnestheus attempts to humiliate the men into action by stating his astonishment at the ability of one man to successfully decimate their ranks without being hurt. He expresses concern for not only the men's reputation but for the reputation of their gods, their country, and their leader. Additionally, Tarchon laughs at his men's fear of Camilla, the female warrior, in an attempt to rouse them.

### **Vengeance**

Vengeance is evident in two of the *Aeneid*'s harangues. In the fourth speech, it is a primary theme as Aeneas justifies his plan to torch the enemy's town in retaliation for breaking the peace and starting the war. Thus, brutal action against the enemy is in order. Turnus, in the fifth harangue, also inspires his men by exclaiming they will punish the Trojans for stealing his wife, which is a crime they are famous for having committed in the past. Thus, the Trojans must be punished.

### **Duty**

Duty can be found in two of the orations. In the second harangue, while Pallas is shaming the men to fight back and noting the consequences of not doing so, he states that the men have a responsibility to save themselves and wonders just to where they intend to flee. He believes that the only way to maintain personal safety is to fight because there is no route for retreat. He also reminds them of their duty to country, telling them that their country requires them to enter the thickest part of the fight. In the sixth harangue, Turnus reminds the



men that this is the battle for which they have waited. Their duty is to protect their loved ones at home, and therefore, they should stand fast against the enemy's advance.

### **Successfulness of the Haranguer in the *Aeneid***

Only two of the six harangues (One and Four) mention the positive reaction of the men after their leader speaks. The other four harangues are preceded by remarks that suggest successfulness. None are preceded or followed by commentary on the leader's speaking ability in and of itself.

### **Structure in the *Aeneid***

The structure of the *arengas* in the *Aeneid* varies. However, there are a few commonalities. Five of the six are short in length, especially when compared to the lengthy harangues seen in Thucydides and Heredia's translations. Also unlike what is seen in those works, the majority of Virgil's harangues do not begin with a phrase including an address to the men by their group, such as "men", "soldiers", or "friends." In fact, only two (Harangues Two and Three) include it within their opening sentence, and in these they do not appear as the first words.

Four of the short orations contain rhetorical questions that contribute heavily to the overall speech, and the longest of all, Harangue Five, contains one as well.<sup>12</sup> Harangue One is entirely composed of questions, as Mnestheus shames the men and reveals how cowardly they are behaving. Harangue Two begins and ends with questions, with the intent of showing the men the ridiculousness of their retreat. These questions suggest that there is no other

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<sup>12</sup> The sixth harangue is short but it contains no questions, rhetorical or otherwise. However, its ending makes it a memorable speech, as Turnus closes with the pithy phrase, "audentis Fortuna iuvat" ("Fortune helps the brave").

option but to fight. The third harangue begins with several rhetorical questions as Tarchon challenges his men's fear and their manliness. While each of the rhetorical questions in these three speeches confronts the men and rebukes their attempted retreats, Harangue Four differs from these in that Aeneas' question supports his justification for burning the enemy's city instead of attacking his men's conduct. However, like the other speeches preceding it, the question supports the commander's message. Finally, in the fifth harangue, Turnus also does not rhetorically challenge his men. Instead, he wonders whether their enemy the Trojans are aware of their precarious actions in stealing other people's wives, as he attempts to justify his vengeance. He asks, "But did they not see Troy's battlements, the works of Neptune's hand, sink in flames?" (Fairclough 125), "at non viderunt moenia Troiae / Neptuni fabricata manu considerare in ignis?" (9. 144-145). Thus, he implies that the Trojans have not learned their lesson and deserve additional punishment. Hence, questions of rhetorical style are important within the *Aeneid's* harangues.

**Table 2 - Appeals and Themes in the *Aeneid's* Harangues**

Harangue	Situation	Appeal(s)	Theme(s)
One	Mnestheus rebukes his men (Trojans) for retreating and fighting poorly against one man.	Addresses men Logic (consequences) Pride	Aversion to shame (personal, country's, leader's, gods' reputations)
Two	Pallas addresses the Arcadians as they are retreating from the Trojans	Salutation Logic (statement of fact, consequences) Pride Loyalty Love of country	Duty to ourselves Duty to country Advantage (lack of enemy advantage) Orders (specific maneuvers)
Three	Tarchon rebukes the army for retreating from a	Salutation Pride	Aversion to shame (personal)

	female warrior		
Four	Aeneas realizes new tactic during battle	Addresses men Revenge / <i>tu quoque</i> )	Vengeance Orders (strategy) Advantage due to god
Five	Turnus harangues his men after the goddess Cybele has protected the enemy's fleet	Addresses men Revenge / <i>tu quoque</i> Personal Authority Pride	Vengeance Advantage militarily (situation, skill) Advantage due to god and fate Orders
Six	Turnus addresses his army before the Trojans attempt to attack them from the sea	Addresses men Love of country	Duty to ourselves Duty to country Advantage due to Fortune Orders (strategy) Advantage from ancestry

### III. Thirteenth-Century Spanish Literary *Arengas*

#### A. *Libro de Alexandre*<sup>13</sup>

The *Libro de Alexandre* (early thirteenth century) provides a fine transition between the classical age and the Middle Ages as it presents the life of the famous ancient conqueror through a medieval poet's eyes. As Charles Fraker tells us, the author of the *LdeA* relied on classical and medieval sources to present this life story of Alexander the Great. Yet the *LdeA* is much more than a translation into a vernacular language.<sup>14</sup> Noted by Willis as being the "sole survivor of the Spanish Epics of Antiquity," its significance for Spanish literature is noted for its introduction of the *cuaderna vía*, its inspiration of the *Poema de Fernán González* (thirteenth century), its reference by Santillana in his *Prohemio y carta* (fifteenth century), and its inclusion in the personal chronicle *El Victorial* (fifteenth century) (Willis ix).

It is not surprising that a medieval author would devote his energies to writing about a classical warrior. As we have seen with Heredia, the ancient Greeks as well as the story of Troy were topics of interest throughout the Middle Ages, and both are evident in the *LdeA*. Here the work's author sees the classical world with medieval eyes, formulating allusions that tied the ancient world to Spain and creating what Michael terms as medieval discourse and

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<sup>13</sup> There are several versions of the *Libro de Alexandre* dating from the Middle Ages. Unless otherwise noted, this dissertation will quote from Willis' edition of the Paris version. Housed at the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris and dated to the fifteenth century, it is the most complete of all medieval editions. The Madrid version is housed at the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid and dates from the fourteenth or late thirteenth century. The numbers used to identify the stanzas are based on Willis' edition, which presented both versions and which employed a composite-numbering system of the two manuscripts. This numbering system generally matches modern editions that have integrated the two versions.

<sup>14</sup> See Ian Michael's *The Treatment of Classical Material in the Libro de Alexandre*, pp.19-23, 31, 83-85, 174-175, 219-223, 255, 261 for some specific examples of the author's inventions, additions, and adaptations in relation to his sources.

debate within the text's story of Troy (221). Indeed, Michael tells us that stories from antiquity often provided entertainment and exempla and instructed on poetic techniques (Michael 14-15), and we see these ideas expressed in the exordium wherein the author lauds the work's value:

Menester traygofermofo non es de jangleria  
menester es fyn pecado ue es de clerefçia  
fablar curfo Rimado por la quaderneria  
a fylabas contadas que es muy grañt maeftria  
Segunt que yo entiendo quí lo quífier faber  
aura de my folas en cabo muy grañt plaçer  
aprendra buenas geftas que fepa Retraher  
auerlohan por ello muchos a coñoçer (2-3).

Michael's investigation establishes that despite its ancient hero, the text is truly medieval not only in language and form but also in terms of character development and message. The hero effectively was "medievalized" or "re-envisaged [. . .] as a medieval monarch, who is portrayed in the various attitudes of kingship and who is morally responsible for his actions, which the author judges from a contemporary Christian viewpoint" (Michael 9). Michael also observes that "the Spanish poet treated his sources, carefully medievalizing and Christianizing them in an attempt to make them intelligible to his thirteenth-century public in conformity with his view of the events of antiquity" (250).

Not surprisingly then, Alexander's education incorporates the seven arts, including rhetoric. We learn this when Alexander boasts to his tutor Aristotle:

'Retorico fo fino fe fermofo fablar  
colorar mîs palabras los omes bien pagar  
sobre mî aduerfario la mî culpa echar  
maf por efto le he todo a olujdar' (42)

Furthermore, Michael notes a medievalization of the concept of the harangue itself when Aristotle advises the young Alexander, offering guidance regarding its construction (220):

‘Quando los enemigos a ojo los ouieres  
afma fu cabtenença quanto mellor pudieres  
ma! tu atras non fagas del logar que souieres  
e diles a los tuyos que semellan mugeres  
Si ellos muchos fueren tu dy que pocos son  
di fy son treynta millia que son tref mill o non  
di que por todos ellos non darias vn pepion  
sepas que a los tuyos plaçra de coraçon  
Entrante de la fafienda muestra grant alegria  
dyles oyt amigos sienpre espere este dia  
este es nuestro menester e nuestra merchanteria  
que tablados feryr non es barraganja’ (67-69).

Michael’s conclusion is based on the Madrid version of the *LdeA* which has Aristotle using the word “cauallaria” as the last word of the stanza, but the Paris version cited above uses instead the medieval term “barranganja,” referring to a civil contract for the union of a man and a woman outside of marriage. Either version confirms the story’s overall medievalization. Yet, more importantly for this investigation, these two early stanzas in the poem serve to establish to its medieval audience that Alexander not only had the ability to speak well but also was schooled in the art of harangues. It should not be surprising then to find *arengas* within the text. The resulting question is whether they reflect the medievalization of the text.

Previous examinations have led critics to identify the text with other types of rhetorical oration and medieval arts. Fraker held that “the *Alexandre* poet intended his work to be itself nothing other than a vast epideictic oration, a long formal speech in praise of Alexander the Great” (“Role” 364). Meanwhile, Michael remarked that the complexity of

the narrative structure of the poem, due to digressions such as the Trojan story, coincided with the complexity of the *ars poeticae* and the *ars praedicandi* (249). Michael also held that the Trojan digression itself served as a secular sermon on fame (258-259). Yet, this analysis will examine the harangues of the *LdeA* through the categories established in Chapter One.

\*

There are four battlefield *arengas* within the text. Three correspond with Alexander's famous campaign to conquer Persia and defeat its king, Darius III. The fourth harangue occurs during Alexander's war with the Indian ruler Poro. Like its classical antecedents, the *Aeneid* and the *History of the Peloponnesian War*, and thus also like Heredia's translation, the author provides us with harangues by the opposing sides. Therefore, we hear orations from Alexander and his nemeses Darius and Poro, as leaders of their respective armies. However, Alexander's harangues outnumber those by Darius and Poro, and since the majority of the speeches are given before battle, they bear more similarity to Thucydides' work and Heredia's translation than to the *Aeneid*. Poro's speech, given in an attempt to stop an unauthorized retreat, is the only exception. The battlefield *arengas* are:

Harangue One: Stanzas 964- 974 - Before the first battle against Darius (the battle of Issus/Issus), Alexander addresses his vassals

Harangue Two: Stanzas 983-985 – Darius to his men before the Battle of Issus/Issus

Harangue Three: Stanzas 1341-1344 - The Battle of Gaugamela/Arbela against Darius (In the Paris version but missing from the Madrid edition, except stanza 1344)

Harangue Four: Stanzas 2079-2080 – Poro to his men as they attempt to flee a battle against Alexander

Additionally, there are seven other speeches by Alexander and Darius during their military campaigns. However, while they occur within the section of the text covering

Alexander's conquest of Persia, their place in the text is usually a great many stanzas before a depiction of any specific battle either chronologically or textually.<sup>15</sup> Yet the nature of the story and the extensive war against Darius places these speeches within a "combat zone" and "combat mentality." However, while all of these examples lack the immediacy of battle, they are not parliamentary speeches or debates, in that the decision to go to war has already been made and that approval is not being sought. Their primary aim is to boost morale by inspiring courage and anticipation, thus they are somewhat different from the battlefield harangue. Therefore, I prefer to label such speeches as campaign *arengas* rather than battlefield *arengas*. Furthermore, since they occur within the atmosphere of potential battles, an inclusion of these speeches is merited, and I will identify their appeals, themes, structure and successfulness as well. These campaign *arengas* are:

Harangue Five: Stanzas 253-260 – Alexander's army prepares to disembark for war in the campaign against the Persians.

Harangue Six: Stanzas 787-792 – Alexander to his army after it learns of Darius' threats against them if they pursue this war

Harangue Seven: Stanzas 845-846- Darius as he prepares his men for battle against Alexander

Harangue Eight: Stanzas 896-900 – Alexander to his men, as they are fearful their leader is deathly ill before the expected confrontation with Darius' army

Harangue Nine: Stanzas 1195-1198 – Alexander, in preparation before the battle of Gaugamela/Arbela against Darius.

Harangue Ten: Stanzas 1442-1451 – Darius to his men after losing the battle of Arbela/Gaugamela but still on campaign

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<sup>15</sup> The depiction of the battle against Memnon (stanzas 822-826) occurs after the fact, and thus it corrupts a chronological timeline and suggests the possibility that minor battles were occurring throughout the campaign without much reference in the text. This encounter must happen some time after Alexander's story of Troy (stanzas 333-775) which occurs shortly after the men leave their homeland. Hence, Harangue Six (stanzas 787-792) quite possibly occurs near the engagement with Memnon, although no specific reference or connection is made by the author or by Alexander. References to battles are made throughout the campaign. For examples, see stanzas 828 and 839.



Harangue Eleven: Stanzas 1652-1665 - Darius tries to reorganize his army after having lost the capital of his kingdom, Persepolis<sup>16</sup>

### **Categories of Appeal in the *Libro de Alexandre***

Only two types of appeals appear in the combat harangues of the *LdeA*, with emotional appeals being the most prevalent and evident in all four and with logic appearing in only one. Additionally, all four harangues contain an opening salutation. Alexander and Poro use the term “amigos” (Harangues One and Four) or “amigos e parientes” (Harangue Three) while Darius uses “varones” (Harangue Two). Harangue Three also closes with an address to the men in which Alexander calls them “amigos y hermanos” (1344).

The campaign *arengas* contain all three types of appeals, although emotional ones are again more prevalent. All but one speech, Harangue Seven, contain a salutation to the men, being either “amigos” or “varones.” Additionally, like Harangue Three, the fifth and eighth speeches contain a closing salutation to the men as Alexander calls out “efforçaduos amigos en vuestras voluntades” (260) and “los mjos” (900) in his final lines.

### **Harangue One: Stanzas 964-974**

In his first combat harangue, Alexander uses emotional and logical appeals to speak to his men before their first encounter with Darius at the battle of Issus.

The logical appeal occurs with a reminder that they began their campaign successfully by defeating Darius’ great warrior, Memnon. Thus, Alexander uses an example of a factual past event to enliven the spirits of his men and to predict a victorious end to their

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<sup>16</sup> The last two speeches are given by Darius after being defeated by Alexander at Gaugamela/Arbela (stanzas 1442-1451) and at Persepolis (1652-1665). They are not combat harangues, in that they are given after a battle. However, given the above examples, they are campaign *arengas* as Darius closes both speeches by spurring his men to continue fighting. However, the first half of both speeches each deal with rationalizing the defeat just suffered.

campaign. He proclaims, “‘fiçio nof buen conpieço quando Menona fue vençido / maſ aqui jaſ el cabo e el preſçio conplido’” (966).

The remainder of the speech is filled with a variety of emotional appeals. Alexander begins by invoking a sense of urgency and anticipation in his men as he states that this is the battle they have wanted, as all of their enemies are approaching them. If they are victorious, their future security is guaranteed. Thus, he preys on the men’s fears and hopes:

‘Todos nueſtroſ contrarios viñienos a las manos  
han de fincar con nuſco ſol prender los queramos  
todo nueſtro laſeryo aqui lo acabamos  
nunca contraſto avremos fy eſto quebrantamos’ (965).

Other appeals to emotion include pride and prejudice as Alexander lambastes the abilities of the Persian army while lauding his own. He denigrates the opponent in stanza 967, stating, “‘eſtos con Dios a vna tenedlos por Rancados / que por fer buen bernaje eſtan mal aguifados’”<sup>17</sup>, and in stanza 970, he compliments his men, citing flattering reasons as to why they are battle-ready:

‘Se bien que por aqueſto todos ſomos pagados  
la vna por que todos ſodes omes granados  
la otra por que fueſtes de mi padre criados  
la terçera que ſodes comigo deſtrañados’ (970).

Alexander then couples an appeal to pride with an appeal to the men’s thirst for revenge by reminding the army that its honor has been violated and must be avenged. He recalls, “‘nof niñ nueſtros parientes nunca deſque naſçiemos / por vengar nueſtra onta atal façon toujemos’” (969).

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<sup>17</sup> Missing from the Paris version, stanza 968 of Willis’ edition also contains a further insult to the Persians, as Alexander compares them to women without the stomach for war. He says:

Non traen guarnimientos || de ombres de preſtar  
ſemeian mugieres || queſ quieren preçiar  
fierro uençe fazienda || cuemo lo oyefteſ cuntar  
e coraçones firmes || que lo ſaben durar

The final appeal Alexander makes is to greed, as he promises his men great wealth, pledging:

‘A los que fueren Ricos añadir en Riquesa  
a los que fueren pobres facere de probesa  
quitar a los fieruos que bñuan en franqueça  
non dare por el malo vna mala corteça’ (972).

Furthermore, Alexander wants his men to know that they will receive all of the material profit from the fight because he is only interested in acquiring fame. He states, “de toda la ganancia me vos quiero quitar / afaço he yo del preo non quiero mas leuar” (974).

Thus, the first harangue is a complicated speech, filled with a full spectrum of appeals based on precedent, hopes and fears, prejudice, pride, revenge, and greed.

### **Harangue Two: Stanzas 983-985**

In the second battlefield harangue we see the opposing general, Darius, exhorting his men before the same encounter. The *arenga* is much shorter than Alexander’s and contains only emotional appeals. Darius flatters his men by suggesting that they have inherited a special distinguishing quality through God’s grace, which will enable them to defeat the Greeks. Additionally, we can detect a casual appeal to hopes and fears as Darius suggests that their efforts will prevent the enemy from wreaking vengeance upon them in the future.<sup>18</sup>

Darius boasts:

‘Mas el nuestro señor façenos grant caridat  
oy nof façe señores de nuestra heredat  
faremos en los griegos vna mortaldat  
que nunca en este mundo ganaran vengedat’ (984).

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<sup>18</sup> The Madrid version contains the word “yqualdat” instead of “vengedat”, suggesting that Darius’ message is that a defeat of the Greeks will prevent them from becoming their equals.

### Harangue Three: Stanzas 1341-1344<sup>19</sup>

The third battlefield harangue contains only emotional appeals, to pride and greed, as Alexander exhorts the men before the battle of Gaugamela/Arbela against Darius. He first praises the men for their past victories, without providing any specific examples, and he cites their incredible fame, saying, “‘Afas auedes fechas fasiendas muy granadas / ya lon por todo el mundo vuestras nuevas fonadas’” (1342). He tells them to show their famed courage now: “‘Agora nof deuemos por varones preçiar’” (1343). If they stand against this larger enemy, fame and riches will be their reward, and thus Alexander also appeals to their sense of greed for material and immaterial wealth:

‘nof pocos ellos muchos podremof nof honrrar  
avran por contaella de nos que fablar  
Trahen grandes rriqueſas theſoros ſobejanos  
todos andan por nuestros ſy oujeremos manos  
non vos y quiẽro parte amigos y hermanos  
nunca averan pobreça los que ſaldran ſanos’ (1343-1344).

### Harangue Four: Stanzas 2079-2080

The last of the combat *arengas* appeals to the men’s sense of loyalty and honor as Poro attempts to harangue his men into continuing to fight and not flee. He warns them that honor should never be lost and then informs them that their honor is tied to his fate:

‘amigos en mal preſçio vos queredes poner  
nunca en eſti mundo lo podredes perder  
Amigos vuestro Rey non lo defenparedes  
ſy Poro aqui finca vos mal preſçio leuaredes  
tornat a la façienda ca rrafes los vñcredes  
por quanto en el mundo ſea oy vos honrraredes’ (2079-2080).

### Harangue Five: Stanzas 253-260

The first of the campaign *arengas* and fifth overall in this investigation is unusual for the text, as it contains all three appeals. Of the three, emotional appeals are the most

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<sup>19</sup> The Madrid version only contains stanza 1344.

numerous. Here, Alexander encourages his troops as they set off by sea to begin the campaign for Persia. His speech is in reaction to the low morale of the depressed soldiers as they leave their wives at the docks.

Alexander first appeals to the men's concern for national security as he explains, “‘Sy nos de aquí non nos mouemos en pas nunca bñuremos / de premja e de cueyta nunca escaparemos’” (254). This idea of safeguarding themselves and their society also appears later in the speech when he explains the two benefits of the campaign:

‘Nos por aqueſto todo doſ Raſones auemoſ  
la vna que los Regnoſ de Dario ganaremoſ  
la otra que de cueyta por ſiempre mas yxiremoſ  
efforçados amięos que alegres tornaremoſ’ (257).

As seen in this stanza, Alexander appeals to greed in his speech, and in this example, it is greed for the material wealth of the Persian Empire. He alludes to these riches again in stanza 260, exclaiming, “‘Sy ſupiefedes exas tierras quantas han de bondades / veredes que mal feches por que tanto tardades.’” Yet, in stanza 255, he appeals to the men's desire for immaterial wealth in order to exhort them:

‘Qui al ſabor quiſiere de ſu tierra catar  
nunca fara bernaje niñ fecho de preſtar  
maſ es en vna veſ todo a oluıdar  
ſy ome quiſier preſçio que aya a preſtar’ (255).

Additionally, Alexander shames the men, characterizing their actions as weak, by stating, “‘atamaña flaqueſa demoſtrar non deuemoſ’” (254). He also notes the personal shame such a demonstration brings to him as he states, “‘tenedes me grañt tuerto’” (253). Finally, he closes with an insult to the men, warning them not to appear like women: “‘efforçados amięos en vueſtras voluntades / por poco non vos digo que mugeres ſemejades’” (260).

Within the speech, Alexander supports his emotional appeal to the men's greed for fame and fortune by mentioning cases from Antiquity. Hercules, Bacchus, and Jason serve as precedents to Alexander's promises of fortune and glory. These logical appeals by example demonstrate the importance of seeking out wealth and fame and, thus, of looking forward to fighting the Persians:

‘Elçides fy non oujes a Elpaña pasado  
maguer era valient non ferie tan contado  
Bacus fy non oujes el su lugar lexado  
non oujera el Regno India ganado  
Nos por aqueſto todo doſ Raſones auemoſ  
la vna que los Regnoſ de Dario ganaremoſ  
la otra que de cueyta por ſiempre mas yxiremoſ  
efforçados amięos que alegres tornaremos  
El ſabor de la tierra faſe muchos meſquinos  
e que a grante rrepoyo biuen de ſus veſinos  
Nafon ſi non oujeſe abiertos los camęinos  
non auria ganado tan Ricos velleęinos’ (256-258).

Finally, in an attempt to appear to be empathetic to and understanding of their sadness, Alexander reminds them that he too is leaving a family behind as he goes off to war. Therefore, he has the authority to ask the same of the men. However, he believes these actions are worth the reward and thus couples the the appeal to greed with an appeal based on personal authority:

‘Io lexo buena madre y buenas doſ hermanas  
muchas Ricas çibdades y muchas tierras planas  
eſtas con las que non ſon nonbradas  
todo non lo preſcio quanto tref auellanas  
Sy ſupiefedes exas tierras quantas han de bondades  
veredes que mal feches por que tanto tardades  
efforçaduos amięos en vueſtras voluntades  
por poco non vos digo que mugeres ſemejades’ (259-260).

### Harangue Six: Stanzas 787-792

Alexander speaks to his men in the sixth harangue after they have been scared by Darius' threat of death should they continue with their campaign. The harangue contains both logical and emotional appeals as Alexander explains the risks and rewards to the men.

He begins with an appeal to greed by reminding the men of Darius' riches:

‘Una cofa que dixo deuedes bien creer  
que aue rrica tierra e sobra grant auer  
ca nunca fiço al fy non fobre poner  
que nunca f cuydo en aqueſto veyer  
Todo eſto auremos maguer es cofa pueſta  
Dios non vos lo dara jaçiendo vos en cueſta  
efforçad fiios dalgo tornemos la rrepueſta  
que en quanto que dixo a fi miſmo denuueſta’ (788-789).

He also appeals to their pride and prejudice while he mitigates the risk. The Persians are like hens and are of a weak race, and although they are many, they are like the partridge who does not stick its neck out near the hawk. They are also like a pack of flies in comparison to the stinging strength of a wasp:

‘Muchas ave de gentes maſ de las que el diç  
maſ todos ſon gallinas y de flaca rrays  
tanto ofarien alçar contra nos la çerujs  
quanto contra açor podrie la perdis  
Mas traye vna uiſpa de cruda vedegame  
que non farie de moſcas vna luenga exame  
tanto avrien ante vos effuerço nñ leuame  
quanto brufcos ante lobos quando auen grant fame’ (791-792).

These metaphors serve to denigrate the Persians while favorably describing the Macedonians.

While the harangues appeal to emotion, they also contain subtle logical appeals.

Using examples from nature, Alexander deduces how the Persians will act in battle. He begins by drawing a comparison and using a maxim. Barking dogs (the Persians) should not be feared. He tells the men, ““de can que mucho ladra nunca vos temades”” (787). Then

since the Persians are like partridges and the Macedonians are like hawks, their enemy is weak and timid in comparison. He also creates deductive reasoning using an enthymeme, stating that since hordes of flies are insignificant compared to a wasp's powerful sting, the Persians will be insignificant against Greek strength. Thus, Alexander's army will win. The problem with this logic is that the premises are not necessarily true. However, Alexander uses the emotional appeals to pride and prejudice to move past this.

### **Harangue Seven: Stanzas 845-846**

In the seventh harangue, Darius addresses his "adelantados" as he anticipates Alexander's army. The short speech contains emotional appeals to pride and prejudice. Darius notes that they will win because they are better, righteous, and thus entitled to the victory:

‘fomos e melhores y rrafes los vencredes  
encara fyn todo esto otra Raçon auedes  
que fabe todo el mundo que derecho tenedes’ (845).

He then berates Alexander, suggesting the leader is stupidly self-confident from his defeat of Memnon, and he insults him by stating that he is crazy:

‘Por que vençio a Menona es afi enflotado  
cuydase que yra sienpre en tal estado  
fy supiese el loco commo es engañado  
ferfie de su locura mucho maraujllado’ (846).

### **Harangue Eight: Stanzas 896-900**

The eighth harangue occurs as a sickened Alexander tries to embolden his men, who fear they are doomed if their leader's condition does not improve. It is necessary for him to convince them of his commitment to future battles, in order that they too will be committed. Hence, in this *arenga*, Alexander tries to persuade his men that he will fight, and he shames them for their defeatist attitude:



‘dixoles ya varones pueblo an descolido  
non vi tan grant conçeio fyn feridas vençido  
Avn feyendo byuo judgadesme por muerto  
de buena gente que fodes trahedes mal confuerto  
veo que mal çabedes avenir en depuerto  
por verdat vos desir tenedes me grant tuerto’ (896-897).

### Harangue Nine: Stanzas 1195-1198

The ninth harangue occurs while Alexander is preparing his army for the battle of Gaugamela/Arbela and well before the actual battlefield *arenga* found in stanzas 1341-1344. Alexander has observed the large force Darius is assembling and attempts to animate his men in the face of such a daunting enemy. Yet his logical and emotional appeals are incredibly subtle.

He begins by appealing to the men’s prejudice by remarking that the enemy is filled with pagans, stating, “‘ca çobre nos son Indios e paganos” (1195).<sup>20</sup> However, the majority of the speech centers on the classical tales of the hydra as well as that of Hercules and Anteus.<sup>21</sup> Creating a metaphor, Alexander attempts to show that Darius’ forces are similar to Hercules’ legendary foes. Having already been defeated at the battle of Issus, Darius has come back stronger. However, as the classical story ends with Hercules’ victory, Alexander subtly suggests his men’s own future victory. Thus, he tries to create a logical appeal based on precedent. In addition, the metaphor flatters the men by suggesting that they are “the Hercules” of the upcoming battle:

‘Contan las actoristas que diçen muchas bafas  
que fue vna firpiçiente qu auçe fiete cabeças  
quando le tollèn vna fiete le nalçien espesas

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<sup>20</sup> The Madrid version contains the word “iudios” instead of the Paris version’s “Indios”. Thus, some editions and critics may interpret that Alexander is noting that the enemy is made up of Jews instead of the Indians under the rule of Poro. However, since stanza 1191 of both versions mention the presence of Indians within the congregated forces, I have followed the Paris version.

<sup>21</sup> Every time the hydra’s head was caught off, it grew even more heads. Every time Hercules hurled Anteus to the ground, Anteus became even stronger.

femella que es esto estas nuevas mefmas  
 El luchador Anteo esta virtud auje  
 quanto mal lo echauan mayor fuerça cogie  
 mal vedogelo don Ercoles que con el contendie  
 femeia que agora Dario esto querrie' (1197-1198).

### Harangue Ten: Stanzas 1442-1451

In the tenth harangue, Darius uses emotional and logical appeals to encourage his men to continue fighting and convince them that future victories are possible.

He uses logic when he cites examples of other great Persian kings that suffered great tragedies in order to convince the men that they are not alone in their defeat. He also employs the maxim that all who fight wars must accept an occasional loss:

‘Otra cosa non deue demas confortar  
 que sabemos que muchos tales cosas pafar  
 Tiro tan poderoso commo oyestes contar  
 vna muller lo ovo en cabo a matar  
 El rrey Serfis que ovo tan estraño poder  
 ques fage en el mar en los carros traher  
 e podie en los campos con las aues correr  
 abeç pudo en cabo vna bestia aver’ (1445-1446)  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 ‘Efy solo non cahe que non quiere luchar  
 efy non fue vençido que non quifo lidiar  
 todos los que quifieron buen preçio ganar  
 siempre dellas e dellas ouieron a tomar’ (1448).

While logical, these statements also help him to prop up the men’s sense of pride, implying that a loss does not reflect upon their abilities. Defeats like this can occur due to bad luck or God’s wrath.

Additionally, Darius appeals to the men’s prejudice against the Greeks by not giving the enemy any credit for the victory. He claims:

‘Sy non que Dios lo quifo fuemos delbaratados  
 a varones conteçe seamos efforçados’ (1445-1447)  
 [ . . . . . ]  
 ‘Non vos vençio effuerço mas vençiouos ventura’ (1449)

[.....]

‘Ellos en enfloto de lo que aujen fecho  
ternan que lo fiçieron por effuerço derecho  
pefara a los dioses auer les han despecho  
perderan la ventura nof cogeremos el pecho’ (1451).

### **Harangue Eleven: Stanzas 1652-1665**

In the final harangue of the text Darius exhorts his men after having lost his capital Persepolis. Lacking signs of hope, it is a speech designed to keep the men fighting to the last, and thus Darius mixes appeals to emotion and personal authority to encourage his loyal comrades.

Darius appeals to the men’s pride by stating that he can win with them by his side. He also appeals to their vanity by praising their incredible loyalty, the most famous of the century. His subsequent condemnation of traitors makes the recognition of their loyalty even more influential:

‘Por verdat vos lo digo afi vos lo conuengo  
quando vos bñuos fodes e çerca mī vos tengo  
quanto de mī enperio en nada non me tengo  
nunca fere vengado fy por vos non me vengo

El la vuestra lealtat que avedes conplida  
en oms desti σiglo nunca fue tan oyda  
del Criador del çielo la ayades gradefçida  
el que todo la σabe e nada non oluīda

Por lealtat avedes grante laçerio leuado  
los parientes perdidos e el mīedo oluīdado  
guardafes vuestro rrey muchas veçes Rancado  
del Criador vos σea eſto gualardonado

Sy ouīefe Maçeo tal lealtat conplida  
non σerie Babiłoña tan ayna perdida  
el que a fu σeñor da tan mala cayda  
deſpues aya mal σiglo agora mala vīda’ (1656-1659).

Darius then uses his personal authority as he states to the men that he has always been honest with them and thus will tell them his plans for future battles:

‘Sy non fiafe tanto en vuestra conpañia

de lo que deçir quiero nada non vos diria  
mal lle que çodes todos oms çin villanja  
de toda mï façienda rres non vos encorbriria' (1662).

He then again appeals to their already established loyalty and respect for him as he orders them to let him fight to victory or death without protection on the battlefield:

‘En el çu çofimeñt non quïero yo entrar  
non quiero de fu mano benefiçio tomar  
con la cabeça pueden el enperio lleuar  
non pueden otra guïfa comïgo pleytear  
Los que falta agora me avedes guardado  
guardat bien vuestro prefiçio que avedes ganado  
façiendo commo el bueno que muere aguïfado  
eçe que acabada vïda e prefiçio acabado’ (1664-1665).

### **Categories of Theme in the *Libro de Alexandre***

The majority of the eleven harangues are multi-themed speeches. The first *arenga* contains the widest assortment, containing five themes and many subsets. Conversely, two other *arengas* (Harangues Seven and Nine) contain only one theme and very few subsets of this theme.

Among the ideas present in the speeches are those that would further support Michael's characterization of the text. They are: loyalty to a king, the importance and pursuit of fame, the Wheel of Fortune, and Alexander's comments that God (singular) is on his army's side. Additionally, the characteristics of an ideal king, described by Aristotle early in the text, and characterized by Michael as medieval (31), are represented in Alexander's harangues: 1) the ability to lead men courageously (demonstrated by the giving of inspiring harangues, 2) generosity and the willingness to divide spoils fairly, and 3) the pursuit of fame. However, the *arengas* maintain ties with Antiquity through allusions to classical heroic figures, the Fates, and the gods, as also seen in the *Aeneid*.

## Hope of Victory / Advantage

The most common theme is the hope of victory through some type of advantage.

This theme appears thirteen times in eight of the eleven harangues.

Among its subsets, one of the two most common reasons for the advantage of the troops is being better militarily in skill, blood/ancestry, or number. Three of Darius' speeches contain this message. In Harangue Two he proclaims a hereditary superiority granted by God, exclaiming, “‘Ma! el nuestro señor façemos grañt caridat / oy no! façe señores de nuestra hereditat’” (984). In the seventh harangue, he notes their greater numbers and skill, stating “‘fomos e meiores y rrafes los vencredes’”<sup>22</sup> (845). He also suggests his enemy's inferiority, stating that Alexander has let past victories cloud his judgment to the point of lunacy. In the eleventh harangue, Darius extols his men's talent by claiming he owes to them not only his empire but also his future victories:

‘Por verdat vos lo digo a!i vos lo conuengo  
quando vos b!uos fodes e çerca m!i vos tengo  
quanto de m!i enperio en nada non me tengo  
nunca fere vengado fy por ovs non me vengo’ (1656).

Additionally, Alexander once (Harangue One) points out the weakness of the enemy army, “‘que por fer buen bernaje estan mal agu!fados’” (967),<sup>23</sup> while recognizing the preparation, innate quality, and experience of his own:

‘Se bien que por aque!to todos fomos pagados  
la vna por que todos fodes omes granados  
la otra por que fue!tes de m!i padre criados  
la terçera que çodes com!go deltra!ados’ (970).

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<sup>22</sup> The Madrid version states: “‘somos ma! y meiores! || rafez los uençeremos.’”

<sup>23</sup> The Madrid version contains an additional stanza (968):

Non traen guarnmientos || de ombres de pre!tar  
semeian mugieres || que! quieren preçiar  
fierro uençe fazienda || cuemo lo oyestes cuntar  
e coraçones firmes || que lo !aben durar

An equally common subset of the advantage theme is the idea that God, the Fates/Fortune, or a combination of both are on side of the speaker's army. Both Alexander and Darius employ this message in their speeches. Alexander uses them in a supportive role in Harangue One, wherein he predicts victory with God's help by stating, “‘estos con Dios a vna tenedlos por Rancados’” (967) and in Harangue Six, in which he remarks that both God and the Fates have placed the opportunity for conquered riches before them:

‘Todo esto auremos maguer es cosa puesta  
 Dios non vos lo dara jaciendo vos en cuesta  
 efforçad fijos dalgo tornemos la rrepuesta  
 que en quanto que dixo a fi mismo denuelta  
 Muchos mas vos deuedes por esto a alegar  
 commo omes que auen tal cosa a ganar  
 que puesto an los fados todo a vos lo dar  
 solo que vos querades un poco aturar’ (789-790).

Darius' usage of the subset is more substantial. In Harangue Eleven, he notes that he and his army have been on the bottom, less-fortunate side of the Wheel of Fortune lately but that this will change soon:

‘Pero cuydo que la rueda non prodra feyer quedada  
 tornara el visfeto mudara la moneda  
 fera nuestra ventura pagada e mal [qu]eda  
 avran los venedigos a pechar non la rrienda’ (1655).

In Harangue Ten, we also see this idea of Darius' army being favored. Darius expresses his belief that while they lost the battle of Arbela/Gaugamela because they had offended God, they will soon see mercy and be victorious. Their loss, he reminds the men, was not because they lacked the skills to win but because of their offense to God and bad luck:

‘Somos mucho fallidos contra el Criador  
 non lo obedeçemos commo atal señor  
 que somos engañados en el nuestro señor  
 que las culpas son grandes e el yerro mayor  
 Mal es de tal natura esto es la verdat  
 mager yrado fea no olujda pjetat

fer nos hand en pueç esto tamaña caridat  
que avn bien deçiremos a la fu magestat' (1443-1444)

[.....]

'Sy nos que Dios lo quifo fuemos desbaratados  
a varones conteçe seamos efforçados  
biuo es vuestro rrey vos todof sodes sanos  
creo que verna ora que feremos vengados' (1447)

[.....]

'Non vos vençio effuerço maç vençiouos ventura  
quiçouos dar por ellos Dios mala majadura  
que trayemos con nos otros enbargo e orrura  
castrados e mugeres esta fue grañt locura' (1449).

He continues to say that the Persians will regain God's favor and win, and he suggests that the Greeks will become conceited and no longer have the favor of the gods on their side:

'Ellos en enfloto de lo que aujen fecho  
ternan que lo fiçieron por effuerço derecho  
pefara a los dioses auer les han despecho  
perderan la ventura nos cogeremos el pecho' (1451).

The next most common subsets under advantage are the reminder of previous success and the idea that smaller armies can be victorious. Alexander reminds his men in both Harangues One and Three of their triumph against Memnon (966) and their many renowned victorious battles (1342). In Harangue Six, he says that smaller, more courageous armies can beat bigger ones, as he ridicules the larger Persian forces by stating that they are hens, of a weak race, and as harmless as a swarm of flies (791-792). The recall of previous success and the theme of smaller armies collide in Harangue Nine, wherein Alexander reminds the men that what is smaller can beat tremendous odds, not necessarily because of courage, but because of precedent, as Hercules was able defeat the mighty Anteus. Thus, an example of a previous success underlines the idea that outnumbered forces can win.

Finally, only one *arenga* contains an overt reference to the idea that victory is due to righteousness. In Harangue Seven, Darius explains to his men that besides being larger and

better than their opponent, his army will win because it has the right to win. He proclaims,  
“encara fyn todo esto otra Raçon auedes / que fabe todo el mundo que derecho tenedes”  
(845).

### Orders

Orders are very prevalent in the text's *arengas*, appearing twelve times in nine of the speeches. Statements containing expectations and the commander's example are more common than direct orders and tactics.

However, at times the subsets are used in conjunction with each other. For example, in Harangue One, Alexander sets forth both his expectations and his role as an example:

‘Mientras metre en calcuno de qual guisa me quiere  
aquel me querra mal el que mejor firiere  
el que pedaços fechos el escudo trayere  
el que con el espada enbota firiere’ (971)  
[.....]  
‘Lo que a mi vierdes non quiero que al fagades  
fy delante no fiero non quiero que firades  
mal quando yo firiere quiero que vos firdades  
mientes querre meter commo me augardades’ (973).

In the final harangue (Eleven) expectations are blended with specific orders. Here, the Persian king instructs his men on his desire to fight till the end and commands them to let him do it. He expects they will continue to honor their allegiance to him by following these commands:

‘Los griegos son venidos por a mi conseguir  
non es façon nin ora que podamos fuyr  
mal quiero esperarlos en el canpo morir  
que con tan fiera carga en esti siglo beuir  
En el su colimeñt non quiero yo entrar  
non quiero de su mano beneficio tomar  
con la cabeza pueden el enperio llevar  
non pueden otra guisa conmigo pleytear  
Los que falta agora me avedes guardado  
guardat bien vuestro preçio que avedes ganado



faciendo commo el bueno que muere aguiñado  
efe aue acabada vida e preçio acabado' (1663-1665).

In Harangue Eight, Alexander gives himself as an example. Attempting to renew their courage, he tells the men of his own commitment to the war and his intention to recuperate and fight in the upcoming battle, not for the love of living, but for the opportunity to fight Darius. However, he also gives them a direct order to be the soldiers that they are:

‘Mal fy algunos mejes me pudiefen guaryr  
aven esta vegada non querria moryr  
non lo fago tanto por amor de beuïr  
mal por que me querria con Dario combatir  
Solo sobre el cauallo me pudiefe tener  
ante mis vis vafallos en el campo feer  
aurienfe los de Prefia fyn grado a vençer  
a fariedes los mjos lo que soliedes fer’ (899-900).

In Harangues Three, Five, and Six we see Alexander setting his expectations and ordering them to be brave. In Harangue Three, this command is implied as Alexander states, “‘Agora nos deuemos por varones preçiar’” (1343). However, in Harangues Five, and Six, as in Eight, the command is stated as a direct order. Alexander commands, “‘effoçaduos amigos en vuestras voluntades’” (260) and “‘efforçad fijos dalgo tornemos la reepueſta’” (789).

Porro can also be observed giving a direct order to his men in Harangue Four as he commands them to turn around from their retreat: “‘tornat a la facienda ca rrafes los vjncres’” (2079).

We best see a commander giving his men tactical guidance and a glimpse of his strategy in Darius’ speeches. In Harangue Two, he outlines a specific tactic to his men before his first encounter with Alexander, ordering his men to surround the Greeks so that their only option is surrender or death. Darius does not want any of the enemy to escape:

‘Commo ha de feyer quierouos vos lo deçir  
cercarlos en medio que non puedan fuyr

no sabran maguer quieran a qual parte yr  
o dar fe han a prifion o avran a moryr' (985).

Additionally, in Harangue Ten, Darius informs the men that they will amass their forces and continue to fight after having been defeated initially by Alexander:

‘Desde aqui otra guisa fomos a aguiñados  
llegemos quantas gentes pudieremos llegar  
dexemos estas nuevas que solemos leuar  
ca por fiero fe quiere la hacienda buscar’ (1450).

### **Duty**

Duty appears in six of the *arengas*. Its subsets include the men’s obligations to their country, to their king, to themselves, and a reminder of their purpose as soldiers as they enter the battle that they have come to fight.

This last subset is seen in the two battlefield *arengas* which concern the same encounter. In Harangue One, Alexander sees the upcoming battle as a fortuitous turn of events, enabling them to do what they came to do:

‘amigos dis veyedes grado al Criador  
pone fe nuestra cofa toda via mejor  
Todos nuestro contrarios viñienos a las manos  
han de fincar con nulco sol prender los queramos  
todo nuestro lasteryo aqui lo acabamos  
nunca contrafo avremos fy esto quebrantamos’ (964-965).

Likewise, in Harangue Two, Darius states how fortunate the Persians are to finally cross paths with the Macedonians:

‘varones tengamosnos por omes venturados  
sabed que fy non fuésemos tan ayna vuñados  
fueran en todo en todo ydos y derramados’ (983).

A second subset, duty to country, is found in Harangues One and Five as Alexander presents the stakes of the upcoming respective battles. In Harangue One, he predicts an end

to their worries and suffering (965), and in Harangue Five he also foresees that a victory will ensure future peace and the end of oppression (254).

Self preservation is seen in Harangues Three and Eleven. Alexander tells his men of the necessity of bringing swords with them against the large, gathering enemy force:

‘Afas auedes fechas fasiendas muy granadas  
ya fon por todo el mundo vuestras nuevas sonadas  
fon todas sobre nos nof las tierras acordadas  
onde es menester que traygamos las espadas  
Agora nof deuemos por varones preçiar  
quando con todo el mundo avemos a lïdiar’ (1342-1343).

Meanwhile, Darius tells his men that they must prepare for battle:

‘Pero con esto todo al vos quïero deçir  
devemos enuïfar lo que es de venïr  
nunca puede al ome el mal tanto noçir  
fy antes que avenga lo çabe perçebïr’ (1661).

Duty to one’s king is seen in the speeches of Darius and Poro. In Harangue Eleven, Darius stresses the importance of loyalty, noting that treason has cost them Babylonia (1659) and reminding them of their duty to respect his wishes and follow his commands (1665). He establishes the importance of allegiance in order to ensure that his men will not interfere with his intentions to fight to the death. Meanwhile Poro orders his men not to retreat during battle in Harangue Four. He suggests their honor is tied to their allegiance to him. He commands:

‘Amigos vuestro Rey non lo defenparedes  
fy Poro aquí finca vos mal preçio leuaredes  
tornat a la façienda ca rrafes los vïncredes  
por quanto en el mundo fea oy vos honrraredes’ (2080).

The importance of loyalty as seen in these speeches by Darius and Poro reflects an important attitude observed of the text overall by both Michael and Catena. For Catena the work reveals the issue of transgressing the moral code of the Middle Ages (XXXI). For

Michael, the question of loyalty is another indication of medievalization, in that the value placed on the fidelity of vassals supports the concept of the medieval monarch and demonstrates the poet's "powerful hatred of treason" in a text which presents "his absolutist view of royal authority" (85).

### **Profit**

The next most common theme is that of profit, and it appears only in Alexander's speeches. Evident in four out of his six harangues, profit is certainly a popular message for the conqueror. In Harangue Six, Alexander uses only the prospect of plundering the Persian Empire's riches, but in Harangues One, Three, and Five, he discusses the promise of not only material wealth but also of fame.<sup>24</sup> In fact, while Alexander may use material riches as incentive for his men, we learn that for himself, fame is his personal motivating factor. In Harangue One, Alexander, as an exemplary king, promises to forego his own share of the booty of conquest. The rich, he says, will be richer, and the poor will no longer be poor, but all he wants is fame (972, 974). Thus, the occurrence of fame as a topic in his other *arengas* (Three and Five) should not be surprising. In fact, the inclusion of this sentiment coincides with the text's overall focus on Alexander's pursuit of fame as well as on his eventual downfall due to pride, of which Malkiel and Michael have each written on respectively.

### **Aversion to Shame**

The next most common theme in the *LdeA*'s speeches is the use of personal shame. It appears in two of Alexander's harangues and also in Poro's speech. In Harangue Four, Poro tries to stop his men from deserting the battlefield. He chooses to combine the men's sense of duty to him with their sense of honor, stating that should he lose here, the men's honor will pay a heavy price. Poro warns them that honor should not be so casually gambled. He states:

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<sup>24</sup> See the section on appeals for corresponding citations from the text.

‘amigos en mal preſçio vos queredes poner  
nunca en eſti mundo lo podredes perder  
Amigos vuestro Rey non lo deſenparedes  
ſy Poro aquí finca vos mal preſçio leuaredes  
tornat a la façienda ca rrafes los vñcredes  
por quanto en el mundo ſea oy vos honrraredes’ (2079-2080).

In Harangue Five, Alexander insults the men, telling them how weak they appear and comparing them to women as they cry upon leaving their homes (254, 260). These actions, he says, are an affront to him as he tells them, “‘amigos tenedes me grañt tuerto’” (253). He further ridicules the men in Harangue Eight, stating his astonishment at how his men have been conquered without even bearing any wounds. He states, “‘non vi tan grañt conçeio ſyn feridas vençido’” (896). Such resignation does him great dishonor, and he informs them:

‘Avn ſeyendo byuo judgadesme por muerto  
de buena gente que ſodes trahedes mal confuerto  
veo que mal ſabedes avenir en depuerto  
por verdat vos desir tenedes me grañt tuerto’ (897).

### **Vengeance**

Finally, the theme of vengeance is used only in Harangue One. Alexander alludes to an injustice by Darius against the honor of the Macedonians. He specifically states this is the reason for war against the Persians. He calls upon the men:

‘Mienbre vos la materia por que aqui venimos  
mjenbre vos las ſoberuñas que de Dario priſiemos  
nof nñn nuestros parientes nunca deſque naſçiemos  
por vengar nuestra onta atal façon toujemos’ (969).

### **Successfulness of the Haranguer in the *Libro de Alexandre***

There is a wide variety of commentary and information within the text regarding the successfulness of many of the harangues. For several of the speeches, the poet provides some type of characterization with which to summarize or introduce the speech. Harangues Two and Three are followed by a brief, positive description. Darius' speech is "confeio aguifado" (986), and Alexander's is called "la Rason" (1345). Harangues One, Two, and Five are introduced with positive remarks, as the poet states, "enpeço a falar a vna grañt sabor" (964), "Dixoles grañt effuerço" (983), and "el Rey Alixandre dauales grañt confuerço" (253). However, most of the commentary deals with the speech's persuasiveness or lack thereof rather than rhetorical beauty and finesse. Yet, the poet makes it a point to show that those that did fail to persuade did not do so because of a lack of rhetorical ability but because of the enormous emotional hurdle those speakers were confronting in their audiences.

This makes the fifth *arenga* one of the most interesting of the harangues because it is a failure that does not reflect badly on its speaker. Being the first chronologically of all of the *arengas*, it occurs as the Macedonians start their campaign for Persia. Immediately following it, the poet suggests that despite Alexander's talents and schooling in the art of rhetoric, failure was inevitable in the face of such heartache:

El non pudo tanta Retorica saber  
que les podiefe la dolor del coraçon toller  
quanto mas yuan yendo mas se querian doler  
non semejauan en los coraçones a don Baler (261).

Hence, the poet implies that the resulting failure does not reflect poorly on Alexander's abilities to speak or persuade. This coincides with the fact that, as mentioned above, it has a positive introductory description by the poet. Thus, the ineffectiveness of the speech emphasizes the enormous grief the men felt and not any supposed failings on Alexander's part. We see this assumption further supported when the poet continues to stress the

emotional turmoil of the scene by commenting that not even the noble actions of Alexander's steely resolve could have heartened the men:

Grañt cofa fue del rrey e de coraçon  
nunca torno cabeça nñ dexo su raçon  
o serie tan alegre en su tierra o non  
non semello en cofa que fíxiefe tal varon (262).

In fact, we learn that only time and distance were able to heal the men's grief:

Desque perdieron tierra fueron mas aquedando  
fueron contra Alía las cabeças tornando  
fueron de las lagremas los ojos mondando  
fueron poco a poco las rraçones mudando (263).

Thus, Alexander's first harangue as he starts his campaign against Persia is a failure in and of itself. Yet the focus for the entire episode is not on Alexander's inabilities but on the men's inconsolability and utter reluctance to go off to war.

This focus on sadness instead of incapability also can be seen in another failed speech (Harangue Ten), which occurs near the end of the Persian campaign. Given by Darius after losing Arbela/Gaugamela, this *arenga* is meant to hearten the defeated Persians to fight and win another day. However, Darius is unable to lift his men's spirits. Yet rather than finding fault with the speaker, the poet states that he himself as poet could not even find words that would relieve the men's hearts. Hence the poet uses a variation of affected modesty to justify Darius' failure:

Commo eran las gentes todas descorafnadas  
non era marauilla que eran mal cuytadas  
non les podie deçir palabras tan fenadas  
que toller les pudiese de los cueres las plagas (1452).

Like Harangue Five, the introductory stanza to this speech supports the author's focus on the men's grief instead of evaluating the speaker's rhetorical style. However, instead of

providing a positive descriptor, the poet presents the overall sad tone of the situation as he describes the incredible grief that Darius felt and understood his men to be suffering:<sup>25</sup>

Encubrio fu defyerro quando fueron llegados  
refirio los fofpiros que tenje muy granados  
començo de fablar con los ojos mudados  
ca entendie que todos estauan deferrados (1441).

A third failed speech is that of Poro, the Indian ruler (Harangue Four). Given during combat, it is an attempt to stop an unorganized and unauthorized retreat. It does not work on all of the men, as we read that only those loyal to Poro stayed while others fled. Given that the speech was centered on loyalty to one's king, it offered nothing to those who did not see loyalty and honor as being as important as their lives. Hence, the message did not connect with its audience. This would suggest that it failed due to Poro's chosen theme. However, the poet excuses Poro by stating that there was nothing that he could have said or preached that could have convinced the men to come back:

Tanto non pudo Poro deçjir nın predicar  
non los pudo por guifa nınguna acordar  
torno el e enpeço de lıdiar  
en cabo quando vio que non q[u]erien tornar  
Parientes e amıgos que eran mař carnales  
eřtos eran a lo menos quınçe œeñas cabdales  
mař quıřieron morir que œeyer deřleales  
bien andante fuera Poro fy todos fueran atales (2081-2082).

One speech that has the opportunity to be successful but in the end is not is Harangue Eight. We read from the poet's post-commentary that the army is encouraged by Alexander's vow to get well and fight Darius on the battlefield. He writes, "Andaua por las hueřtes vna grañt alegria / por que en el feñor entendien mejoria" (901). However, even though the men

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<sup>25</sup> Fraker notes a comparison between the attitudes of Darius with that of Aeneas during his speech early in Book I of the *Aeneid*. Aeneas heartens the Trojans after their fleet has been hammered by the gods while wandering at sea off the coast of Libya. Fraker observes that both leaders are depressed themselves but disguise their own feelings in order to lead their people with words of encouragement (*Libro* 44). Also of note, Aeneas remarks about the Fates and fortune while Darius talks about the gods, God, and fortune.



are convinced by Alexander's speech of his imminent recovery and participation in future battles, the poet tells us that some believe he may push himself into a relapse. Thus, while he is effective at convincing the men that he *will* fight and thus raises their spirits to a "grañt alegría," he creates a new cause of concern as the men fear the very same dogged determination with which Alexander used to uplift them. The poet continues his narration, stating, "pero dubdauan muchos que con la ofadia / farie por aventura de cabo rrecadia" (901). Thus, the speech's success is fleeting.

Despite these failed attempts, the *LdeA* contains examples of successful *arengas*. They are successful in terms of persuasiveness but contain no commentary regarding the rhetorical methods and techniques used by the speakers.

For Harangue Six, success is solely demonstrated by the statements the men make back to Alexander; the poet provides no narrative commentary. Having been intimidated by Darius' threatening letters, the men are reassured by the speech. They vow that they never will doubt Alexander again nor believe what Darius claims:

‘Señor dixeron todos en todo te creemos  
de aquí adelante nunca mal dubdaremos  
solo que tu non bñuas por rricos nos tenemos  
por las bafas de Dario vn figo non daremos’ (793).

Hence, Alexander accomplishes his goal of reanimating the men and diminishing their fears and doubts.

Following Harangue One, the poet informs the reader of the successful impact upon the soldiers. However, we also read that the men did not understand it:

Auelos con fus dichos mucho efcalentados  
fol non lo entendien tanto eran corajados  
todos por a feryr los estauan amolados  
non cuydauan en ellos aver fendos bocados (975).

This is perplexing because the author provides no specific reference to which part of Alexander's speech was confusing while still being uplifting. Being fairly straightforward and lacking any complex metaphors or complicated tactics, the harangue in reality is not a difficult speech to understand. Hence, the poet's comment becomes obviously deliberate, reflecting the ideas that Alexander is quite capable of connecting with his men on an emotional level and that his men don't need to understand him fully or have his acumen in order to follow him.

Quite different is the situation with Darius's speech on the Wheel of Fortune, treason, and the will to fight to the death (Harangue Eleven). Darius' men not only are affected by the speech, but they also understand it. Fittingly, silence and shock are the soldier's immediate reactions, but we also see the conspirators' fury:

Nof Respufo niñguno de todos los varones.  
que eran espantados de las tribulaçiones  
Narbofones e Belfus Reboluijen los grinoñes  
ca llenos de veniño tenijen los coraçones (1666).

Within a few stanzas we read that Narbazanes counters Darius' speech with a treacherous suggestion to turn the rule over to Bessus. Yet those that are loyal to Darius respond positively. Artabazo states he agrees with Darius' points and vows to fight with him to whatever end:

Respondiol Atrabatos maf non fue todo nada  
dixo señor bien diçes es cofa aguiçada  
pefanos de la onta que tu al tomada  
o murremos nos todos o sera bien vengada  
Los vnos son tu sangre los otros tus criados  
todos por a feruirte somos aparellados  
avn tan rrafes mjeñt non seremos Rancados  
ante que mal pregas seremos nos dapnados (1667-1668).

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A review of the *arengas* of the *LdeA* reveals that, in terms of persuasiveness, four out of eleven are a failure while three can be rated a success. No observations are made about a speaker's rhetorical style exhibited in any speech itself, thus lacking any comments such as how beautiful or wonderfully he spoke. However, we see the poet allude to the inability of rhetoric to counter the strong emotions and distress of the men in Harangues Four, Five, and Ten. None of the *arengas* are complete successes or complete failures as defined by this dissertation, and four (Two, Three, Seven, and Nine) have no indicated measure of success or failure.

### **Structure in the *Libro de Alexandre***

A wide variety of literary techniques can be observed in the *LdeA*'s *arengas*. The poet captures a classical tale through a Christian scope, but also he equally disperses references to legendary heroes, personalizes the battles, and uses a variety of analogies throughout the speeches.

The poet includes classical reference in acknowledgement of Alexander's polytheistic culture but manages to blend them with the supremacy of the monotheistic God of Christendom. We especially see this in the first harangue in which Alexander alludes to the goddess Victoria's promise of victory but then gives God the credit for its fulfillment. Additionally, Harangue Six contains references that both the Fates and God have placed opportunity before the Macedonians. Interestingly, Darius (historically of the monotheistic Zoroastrian faith) rarely references other gods within his harangues but always uses "Criador", "Señor", or "Dios". The rare exception is in Harangue Ten in which he uses "los diofes" as if talking about fate (1442, 1451). Certainly, his faith has been somewhat Christianized by the poet, as Darius makes reference to his fall due to sin ("Afes fo

deçendido por mis graues pecados’’) in the eleventh harangue (1654). Also of note, only in Darius’ speeches (Harangues Ten and Eleven) do we see mention of the concept of Fortune and “‘la rueda de ventura.’”

A second common attribute is that both Alexander and Darius reference legendary heroes, fictitious or real, in order to make a point in their speeches. Alexander reminds the men of the adventurous spirit of Hercules in Spain, Bacchus in India, and Jason of the Argonauts in Colchus. He also compares the Persians and their allies to the hydra and to Anteus, both of whom Hercules fought. Likewise, after he has lost the battle of Gaugamela/Arbela, Darius reminds his men of the failures of the mighty Persian leaders Cyrus and Xerxes.

Finally, a third technique common throughout is that the leaders often reference their rival’s name as well as those of other soldiers of the war within their speeches (Harangues One, Five, Seven, Eight, Nine, and Eleven).<sup>26</sup> The enemy thus is not presented as a vague entity, but as an opponent apparently known and understood by the speaker. These references in particular between Alexander and Darius create a sense of relationship between them. Darius speaks of the lunacy and ego of Alexander while Alexander compares Darius to Anteus, talks of his riches, and hints at his cunning. Alexander’s pursuit of Darius becomes personal, as history and the text show in regard to his respectful burial of his nemesis. Hence, the use of names in the speeches supports a sense of a personal factor to the war. While they sometimes use the all-encompassing and detached “Greeks” or “Persians” moniker, both leaders see the other as not just an enemy but as an understood, personal rival.

Most striking and memorable of the rhetoric used within the harangues are the metaphors and similes. As already noted, the Wheel of Fortune is a favorite metaphor for

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<sup>26</sup> We even see Poro mention himself, in name and title, in the fourth *arenga*.

Darius, which he uses to explain to the men the reasons for their defeats and their hopes for future victories. However, Alexander is more prolific with his analogies. Beyond his legendary allusions to Hercules and the other classical heroes, he draws comparisons to the animal kingdom. This is most evident in Harangue Six, in which we see him compare the Persians to barking dogs, hens, partridges, and flies while he likens his army to hawks, wasps, and wolves. In the eighth harangue, in order to show the Macedonians how detrimental their low self-confidence is, he compares himself to a lamb that the skillful Darius could whisk away. Additionally, Alexander compares his men and their lack of enthusiasm for war to women in Harangue Five. However, his most poetic analogy is found in the first harangue. Here we see him describing the enemy force of Persians in such a way that one can hear and see this force of gold and silver thundering their way to the battle as if one were actually there. Alexander remarks, “De oro e de plata vienen todos armados / todos Relanpaguean tanto vienen afeytados” (967).

Hence the harangues of the *LdeA* reflect a scholarly attention to their content. The level of sophistication between Darius’ and Alexander’s speeches does not differ, as each employs his own set of analogies and references. The variety of metaphors and literary and historical allusions enliven the speeches with images beyond the immediate campaign yet are relevant and complementary. Meanwhile the interspersed polytheistic and monotheistic references balance the work between its medieval author and audience and its classical subject matter.

In comparing the harangues of the *LdeA* to the medieval arts that would flourish after its composition, we find that there are similarities. The use of salutations corresponds with classical oratory as well as the *ars dictaminis*, political speeches, and the *ars arengandi* of the

Middle Ages. Meanwhile, the lack of summations in the speeches coincides with an emphasis on the subject matter itself, as in the *ars praedicandi*. However, on many occasions the closing lines, while not conclusions, contain strong motivating words, either with promises of wealth, commands to be brave, or predictions of success. Consequences and stakes found within the *arengas* correspond to such instances, including threats, as seen in the narration and conclusion of the political speech discussed in Chapter One. The presence of the commanders' expectations of fighting fiercely and winning in several of the harangues can be compared to the use of petitions in the *ars dictaminis* and in political speeches as both communicate what the speaker truly wants of his audience. Additionally, the complex nature of the *LdeA's arengas*, with their multiple reasons for battle and victory, appeals to honor and advantage, and use of maxims and examples, compares strongly to the highly formalized and sophisticated political speeches of the Aragonese court. They bear the characteristic of having been well thought out and scholarly, as seen in parliamentary speeches and letters.

While the themes of many of the harangues are multiple, they generally are not divided and subdivided as would be seen in the *ars praedicandi*. However, Darius' last speech regarding the Wheel of Fortune bears the closest similarity in structure. Here he begins with the theme of fortune, defining it then discussing his sins as a cause but also predicting future good luck. He then divides this theme of fortune into his observances of having loyal men who have built his kingdom with him and treacherous men who have lost it. Finally, he amplifies his topic on loyalty by discussing the duties of loyal men, as he asks them to allow him to fight to the death on the battlefield. Additionally, the messages of Darius's speech after losing Arbela/Gaugamela appear sermon-like. Darius sees their losses

as God's punishment for their failure to obey him, their "culpas," and their "yerro mayor" (1443). However, future victories will come from their redemption and God's "piedat", "caridat", and "magefat" (1444).

**Table 3 - Appeals and Themes in the *LdeA*'s Harangues**

<b>Battlefield Harangues</b>			
Harangue	Situation	Appeals	Themes
One (964-974)	Alexander to his men before the first battle against Darius	Salutation Logic(example) Pride/prejudice Hopes/fears Greed Revenge	Advantage due to God Advantage based on previous success Advantage militarily (preparation, innate quality, and experience; enemy not prepared) Orders (commander's example) Orders (expectations) Duty to country Duty (purpose: the battle that we wanted) Profit (immaterial, material wealth) Vengeance
Two (983-985)	Darius to his men before the battle of Issus	Salutation Pride Hopes/fears	Advantage militarily (heredity) Orders (tactics) Duty (purpose: the battle we wanted)
Three (1341-1344)	Alexander to his men as they face an enormous force at the battle of Gaugamela/Arbela against Darius	Salutation Pride Greed	Advantage based on previous success Orders (expectations) Duty to selves Profit (immaterial, material wealth)
Four (2079-2080)	Poros to his retreating men while fighting Alexander	Loyalty Shame	Orders (direct orders) Duty to king Aversion to shame

<b>Campaign Harangues</b>			
	Situation	Primary Appeals	
Five (253-260)	Alexander starts his campaign. The	Salutation Personal authority	Orders (commander's expectation as an order)

	men are not excited to go off to war.	Fear Logic (example), Greed Shame	Duty to country Profit (immaterial, material wealth) Aversion to shame (personal, commander's)
Six (787-792)	Alexander to his men after receiving death threats from Darius. The men want to go home.	Salutation Logic (example, maxim, enthymeme) Pride/prejudice Greed	Advantage due to fate and God Advantage of courage w/ smaller army Orders (commander's expectation as an order) Profit (material wealth)
Seven (845-846)	Darius to his men, anticipating the arrival of Alexander's army	Pride Pride/prejudice	Advantage due to righteousness Advantage militarily (numbers and skills)
Eight (896-900)	A sickened Alexander convinces his men he will continue fighting and chastises their attitude.	Salutation Shame	Orders (commander's example) Orders (commander's expectation) Aversion to shame (personal)
Nine (1195-1198)	Alexander to his men during preparations for the battle of Gaugamela/Arbela against Darius.	Salutation Logic (example) Pride/prejudice	Advantage (smaller army can beat bigger army based on previous example)
Ten (1442-1451)	Darius to his men after being beaten at Arbela/Gaugamela	Logic (examples, maxim) Pride/ prejudice	Advantage due to fates/God/fortune Orders (strategy)
Eleven (1652-1665)	Darius to his men after suffering betrayals and losing his capital to Alexander.	Salutation Personal authority Pride Loyalty Vanity	Advantage due to fate Advantage militarily (skills) Orders (specific orders) Orders (expectations) Duty to selves (to prepare) Duty (to king in terms of loyalty)



## B. *Cantar de Mio Cid*

A review of early medieval Spanish literature would not be complete without the inclusion of the epic *Cantar de Mio Cid* (*CMC*), also referred to as the *Poema de Mio Cid* (*PMC*). Dated to the early thirteenth century and based on the life of Spain's national hero, Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar, el Cid Campeador (circa 1044-1099), the *CMC* is an example of the *mester de juglaría*. Hence, whereas the the *Libro de Alexandre* of the same century is generally accepted as having had obvious written sources and been meant to be read, the *CMC* was meant to be sung and is a text whose sources, if any, are not quite as clear. Many scholars have debated its origins and date of composition.<sup>27</sup> Nevertheless, the *CMC* stands as one of the greatest medieval epics written in Castilian, and its inclusion of the Cid's famous battles makes it the ideal candidate for an investigation of the combat harangue.

Colin Smith, Matthew Bailey, Thomas Montgomery, and James F. Burke and others have studied the use of rhetoric in the *CMC* but have not analyzed in depth the appeals, themes, successfulness, and structure of its *arengas*. Nevertheless, Smith stated, "Some of the Cid's best speeches are his harangues before battle; his war-cry rings out above the noise [. . .]" (Introduction lxvi). From his research, Smith concluded that the poet preferred direct discourse to narration and that the harangues serve as an example of this preference:

One feels that the poet was always glad to get away from his static narrative and to bring human reality to the fore[. . .] Even in battle descriptions, the Cid usually harangues and instructs his men, shouts his battle-cry in the middle of the action, greets his lieutenants after it, and issues orders about the booty. [. . .] All this is the

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<sup>27</sup> Those of the oral tradition believe it is based on songs or ballads originating soon after the Cid's death, and traditionalists believe that it is a refined version of an earlier, now lost, written manuscript also composed closer to the Cid's lifetime. Colin Smith has theorized that the work is the first epic written in Castilian and that its innovation supports the idea that it was not dependent on any preexisting epic verses in any of the peninsular languages. Also scholars have discussed the independence of the *CMC* from contemporary French epics, noting the *CMC*'s realism and verse style, yet it also is acknowledged that the use of epithets and battle descriptions resemble French precedents.

work not only of a poet but of a dramatist with an ear remarkably receptive to the subtleties and power of the spoken word” (Introduction liii).

In contrast to the works discussed thus far, there are only three *arengas* within the *CMC*. One reason for the relative scarcity is the fact that the *CMC* is substantially shorter than the other poems studied in this investigation. Secondly, the *CMC* is not just an epic about a mercenary warrior, but it is also about the Cid’s reconciliation with his king, his reincorporation into society, and his connection to the future kings of Spain. Indeed, Colin Smith noted that the true merit of this epic is found in the civic virtues of the Cid, including his ability to reason, his prudence, his obedience and knowledge of the law, and his loyalty to the king. The Cid’s military accomplishments, while necessary and entertaining to a successful epic, were not the primary focus of the *CMC*:

His battles are mainly conventional on the French model, and his view of tactics is simple-minded. [. . .] The actions at Castejón and Alcocer are not at all run-of-the-mill but are owed to classical sources adapted by the poet [. . .] He made little of the siege of Valencia...The numeration of Moslem armies is wildly exaggerated, as in French epic. The poet’s *verismo* was, in these respects, relative. In short, his heart was in it only to a certain extent, and in military matters the poet hardly went beyond the lively and competent (Smith *Making* 87-88).

As such, the poem is not a history of a war, as in Thucydides, nor does it choose to spotlight a lengthy campaign against an elusive enemy, as in the *LdeA*. Instead, the division of the poem into three sections culminates not in a military but a legal battle.<sup>28</sup> Thirdly, unlike the other works already analyzed in this dissertation, the *CMC*’s *arengas* are unilateral. There are neither direct examples nor allusions to enemy harangues; only the Cid’s are presented to the audience. Thus, the fact that relatively few examples of *arengas* appear in the *CMC* should not be surprising.

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<sup>28</sup> The poem is traditionally divided into three *cantares* which cover the following events: 1) The Cid’s exile from the court of Alfonso VI during which he fights many battles, 2) the marriage of his daughters and the height of his military conquests with the taking of Valencia, and 3) the legal dispute at Corpes.

All three of the harangues in the *CMC* take place during the Cid's exile from the court of Alfonso VI. As such, the theme of preservation and place surfaces many times due to the fact that the men are concerned with accumulating money and establishing a safe place to live. As Bailey notes, "Unlike Fernán González, exile forces the Cid into a position of aggression, since he and his vassals have no means of sustenance other than to take from others" (*Poema* 67). Furthermore, there are no campaign speeches as in the *LdeA*. In spite of the fact that on many occasions the Cid shouts a few lines of uplifting battle cries during the fighting,<sup>29</sup> all of the *arengas* precede a battle. They also are short and deal directly with a specific situation and the procedures of battle. The *arengas* of the *CMC* are as follows:

Harangue One: Verses 685-691 - The Cid to his men at Alcocer against the Moors

Harngue Two: Verses 985-999 - The Cid to his men at Tébar against the Count of Barcelona

Harangue Three: Verses 1115-1126 - The Cid to his men at Valencia against the Moors

### **Categories of Appeal in the *Cantar de Mio Cid***

#### **Harangue One: Verses 685-691**

In Harangue One, the Cid uses emotional appeals to greed and pride as he prepares his men for the Moorish attack on their recently acquired town of Alcocer. They can win and grow in riches, but if they die, the enemy takes Alcocer. Curiously, death is not presented here within an appeal to fear but rather as an action that leaves the enemy free to take Alcocer and thus take the Cid's men's treasure. The Cid states, "“Si nos murieremos en campo en castiello nos entraran / Si vençieremos la batalla creçremos en rictad”" (687-688). This mass appeal is followed by an appeal to pride intended for one soldier in particular. The Cid

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<sup>29</sup> Verses 597-598, 702-703, 1138-1140.

praises Pero Vermuez's loyalty and assigns him the honor of carrying the banner: "E vos pero vermuez la mi seña tomad / Commo sodes muy bueno tener la edes sin ar[t]" (689-690).

### Harangue Two: Verses 985-999

Harangue Two, in contrast, contains appeals to both *logos* and *pathos*. Facts, fears, and greed are combined to exhort the men before their encounter with the Count of Barcelona.

The Cid precedes the expected attack by the Count with a logical appeal based on statements of facts, suggesting that despite the enormity of the Count's forces, his men have the advantage due to their position on the battlefield and their equipment. The Count's army must ride downhill, but their clothing is not the most appropriate apparel. Their "calças" do not safeguard their legs in such a ride, and their saddles, "las siellas coçeras," do not provide support for a downward gallop. Quite the opposite is the situation of the Cid's men. Their saddles, "siellas gallegas," are suitable for a frontal attack, and they wear boots over their hose:<sup>30</sup>

‘Ellos vienen cuesta yuso e todos trahen calças  
E las siellas coçeras e las çinchas amoiadas  
Nos caualgaremos siellas gallegas e huesas sobre calças’ (992-994).

This technical description of the tactical situation corresponds with the advice found in Vegetius' *Epitoma Rei Militaris* (390 AD), and thus, its inclusion makes logical sense.

Vegetius states that panic resulting from seeing the enemy's appearance often weakens soldiers. Therefore, the ancient strategist recommended that commanders allow their men to "learn to recognise their adversaries' characteristics, arms and horses, for familiar things are

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<sup>30</sup> See Francisco A. Marcos Marín's footnotes on page 283 in his edition of the *Cantar de Mio Cid* for a tactical explanation regarding the clothing and saddles described.

not frightening” (88). Hence, the Cid’s inclusion of the details of the enemy’s dress serves not only to encourage the men’s expectation of victory, which Vegetius also suggests, but psychologically prepares them for battle as well.

In Harangue Two, the Cid also appeals to the men’s fears by suggesting that if they do not fight the Count’s forces now, they will never be left alone. He states, ““De moros e de xristianos gentes trae sobeianos / A menos de batalla non nos dexaire por nada”” (988-989).

Additionally, the Cid creates what might be considered emotional appeals to himself. In his closing lines, we see him invoking his sense of pride and his love of money. If the Count dares to steal his booty, he will see what kind of man the Cid is: ““Vera remont verengel trans quien vino en alcança / Oy en este pinar de teuar por tol[l]er me la ganancia”” (998-999). Hence, the Cid’s greed also works within the appeal to himself.

### **Harangue Three: Verses 1115-1126**

In Harangue Three, the Cid appeals to the men’s fears and self worth as he fights for Valencia. He reminds his men that if they wish to survive in this land, they must fight. They are “omnes exidos” or exiles and need a place to make their home. Thus, he appeals to the men’s self-interest: ““Si en estas tierras quisieremos durar / Firme mientras son estos a escarmentar”” (1120-1121). As exiles, they must prove their worth, each carrying his own weight and earning his salary: ““Commo omnes exidos de tierra estraña / Al[l]i pareça el que mereçe la soldada”” (1125-1126).

### **Categories of Theme in the *Cantar de Mio Cid***

All of the harangues, being short in length, have relatively few exhortative themes. The topics of the commander’s orders and material wealth are common to all three while duty appears in two, and expectation of victory / advantage is seen in only one.

## Orders

The Cid gives specific orders in every one of his harangues. His commands are the most noticeable components of Harangues One and Two. In the first *arenga*, we see the Cid providing his men with the tactics for battle as he reveals his all-or-nothing strategy. Everyone will leave the safety of the castle to ride out and meet the Moors, save two guards. If they lose the battle and die, the Moors will gain the castle.

‘Todos yscamos fuera que nadi non raste  
Sinon dos peones solos por la puerta guardar  
Si nos murieremos en campo en castiello nos entraran’ (685-687).

Additionally, the Cid gives specific orders to his standard bearer, Pero Vermuez. He shall not advance with the flag (and thus give the sign to the men to advance) unless the Cid commands it. We read, “‘Mas non aguijedes con ella si you non uos lo mandar’” (691). Thus, the Cid demonstrates that he is in command throughout the fight.

The Cid also gives direct orders in the second harangue as he commands his men to leave aside their booty and wield their weapons to fight against the Count of Barcelona. He orders, “‘Ya caualleros apart fazed la ganancia / Apriessa uos guarnid e metedos en las armas’” (985-986). A few lines later, he again orders them to prepare for battle, stating they should don their armor and secure their saddles to the horses (“‘Apretad los caualllos e bistades las armas’” 991). Additionally, he presents his tactics as he describes the enemy riding downward to meet them. Their opponents’ dress, as discussed above, is not appropriate for this action but will be suitable for fighting on a level surface. Therefore, the Cid wants to engage the enemy force with lances before it can reach the plain. He also expects his outnumbered men to surmount their odds by eliminating three men at a time. He commands:

‘Çiento caualleros deuemos vençer aquel[l]as mesnadas  
Antes que ellos l[l]egen a llano presentemos les las lanças

Por vno que fírgades tres siellas yran vazias' (995-997).

Finally, in Harangue Three, we see the Cid preparing for the morning's battle, commanding his men to be ready at daybreak:

‘Passe la noche e venga la mañana  
Apareiados me sed a cauallos e armas  
Hyremos ver aquel[l]a su almofalla' (1122-1124).

He also suggests his expectations and standards to the men as he notes that the battle will determine who is worthy of their salary as a member of his army: “‘Al[l]i pareça el que mereçe la soldada’” (1126).

### **Profit and Self-Preservation**

Material wealth, in terms of riches or land, as inspiration is also a common theme among all of the Cid's battlefield exhortations, and its inclusion in his speeches acknowledges and supports the reality of the group's exile. The men have either been forcibly ousted from their homes, as in the case of the Cid, or have voluntarily left to accompany the Cid into exile. Therefore, they must forge a mercenary lifestyle in order to survive. Fighting is their reality, and riches and land are their potential rewards. This also concurs with the general materialistic attitude presented in the poem, of which Bailey remarked:

Everyone expects payment for their services, whether they aid the Cid through feudal obligation or as mercenaries in a particular battle [. . .] Men who risk their lives for money, not only receive their rewards, but are the subject of the poem and the models it offers of excellence (*Poema* 56-57).

As we shall see later, this preference for the concrete starkly contrasts with the abstract motivations developed in the *Poema de Fernán González* (PFG). Indeed Matthew Bailey noted that this mercenary quality of the *CMC* is not evident in the *PFG*:

It is clear that the Cid's acquisition of wealth and its inherent power are more tangible reasons for men to risk their lives than are an historic sense of duty or the promise of heavenly rewards. The Cid's men are anxious to fight whereas Fernán González struggles to persuade his men, and at times himself, to engage the enemy (*Poema* 16).

We first see the use of profit and self preservation in Harangue One in which the Cid explains the stakes to his men. They either die or they grow in riches as a result of the upcoming battle defending their besieged Alcocer. In Harangue Three, the stakes are also evident as the Cid states that they must defeat the approaching Valencians if they wish to remain “en estas tierras” (1120). Also, the men should fight if they expect to earn their “soldada” (1126). Slightly different is the use of riches in Harangue Two, wherein the Cid reveals his intentions of defending his war booty, “la ganancia” from the Count (999). However, the need for self-preservation is very straightforward as the Cid comments that the great army of the Count of Barcelona will not leave them unless they give battle. Thus, the harsh realities of exile require the men to survive by fighting in order to get what they need and defend their gains. Hence, we see a pairing of the motive of profit with the motive of self preservation.

### **Hope of Victory / Advantage**

Out of all three of the *arengas*, only Harangue Two contains an expressed expectation of victory / advantage. From this we may surmise that the Cid is generally more concerned with strategy and less worried about his men's confidence in the other battles. This may also arise from the certainty that they must fight, expected victory or not. Nevertheless, within Harangue Two, the Cid articulates a message of anticipated success. We read that even though his enemy has amassed an army “De moros e de xristianos” for a “grant batalla,” the Cid remains positive throughout the speech and points out their advantage in terrain and equipment as noted above. Thus, he claims, “Çiento caualleros deuenos vençer aqul[l]as



mesnadas.’” He also predicts a personal victory against the impudent Count of Barcelona (985-999).

### **Successfulness of the Haranguer in the *Cantar de Mio Cid***

There is no direct commentary by the poet critiquing the Cid’s rhetorical skills or eloquence regarding his harangues. In terms of persuasion, however, after the second *arenga*, we observe that the Cid’s men follow his instructions, and as the Cid commands them to attack, the poet comments that the men do so with “voluntad e de grado” (1005). Additionally, after the third harangue, the poet notes that each of the men knew what to do, stating, “Quis cada vno dellos bien sabe lo que ha de far” (1136). However, regarding the first harangue, the poet recalls that Pero Vermuez was so excited at the prospect of battle that he could not follow the Cid’s command to wait for his sign. Hence, the Cid is fairly successful in terms of getting the men to respond as he would like.

### **Structure in the *Cantar de Mio Cid***

As the harangues of the *CMC* contain the Cid’s strategy and direct orders more than anything else, they bear only a casual resemblance to the medieval arts. There is no complexity or sophistication as seen in political speeches, nor does the Cid expound upon themes, dividing and subdividing them as in the *ars praedicandi*. Instead, his speeches are short and direct, giving the scene a sense of immediacy and reality as the men face an imminent battle. Additionally, he is seen ordering them directly in terms of strategy rather than seeking to bolster their courage and ferocity. His references to the men’s situation and their immediate stakes are concise, as opposed to the more extensive narrations of political

speeches and letters. However, his use of salutations in his harangues to his men coincides with the recommendations of classical oratory, the *ars dictaminis*, and the *ars arengandi*.

Two thirds of the speeches contain an opening salutation. Beyond this, the structure of the speeches is fairly simple and straightforward with few rhetorical devices. For example, unlike the harangues of the *LdeA*, there are no allusions to the Wheel of Fortune, stories of Hercules, or comparisons to wasps, flies, partridges, or hawks that require the soldiers to draw correlations or listeners to be aware of a more extensive written or oral tradition. This directness corresponds to the overall lack of comparative devices within the entire text as observed by Smith:

The poem has no really literary metaphors [. . .] The occasional similes are not all of the same kind [. . .] There is no example, however, of the elaborate Virgilian simile that is found in the *Chanson de Roland*, nor of Biblical similes such as exist commonly in medieval Latin written in Spain (Introduction liv-lv).

Also commenting on this basic approach, Bailey suggested that the reality of exile for the characters contributed to this straightforward style:

Neither the Cid nor his men resort to analogies or metaphors when they speak. The reasons for their actions are based on circumstances that are clear and known to all. The question is never whether or not to act, as in the stanzas from the *PGF*, but what action to take. [. . .] In the *Cid* war is a way of life; this is never questioned and there is thus no need to justify it through abstractions that ultimately distance the actors from the action (*Poema* 11-12, 16).

Although the *arengas* lack analogies, the topos of place surfaces to differing degrees in all three. One reason, as previously noted, is that place was an important motivating factor for the exiled men. Another is that the use of geographical references corresponds to the poem's structural pattern. Place-naming within the entire poem enabled the medieval audience to orient itself. Furthermore, it gave credibility and immediacy to the legend of the Cid. Montgomery has noted:

Places are also a basic structural element of the *Poema del Cid* in their own right. This is to be expected in the earlier parts, those devoted to travel, where the impression of reality and factual accuracy is enhanced by the frequent naming of towns and topographical features, and each successive event happens in a different town. After the conquests are finished, however, the manner is maintained, and it is only rarely that some vagueness is felt as to where an action or speech is taking place. [. . .] The hallowing effect of the poem's associations is felt even today by the traveler who arrives at one of the sites and reflects on what was purportedly said or done [. . .] Like the site of a ritual, an event retold, even if known to be imaginary, cannot be separated from the location attributed to it (96-97).

Hence, in the first harangue, the “castiello” and not the riches held within it represents the ultimate gauge of victory (687). In Harangue Two, the Cid closes his speech by naming the location of the battle, stating, “Oy en este pinar de teuar” (999) and thus immortalizes the place of a great victory for himself. Finally, in Harangue Three, we see the juxtaposition of two places, that of “la linpia xristiandad,” from which the men are exiled and “estas tierras” of Valencia, the “tierra estraña,” in which the men hope to make their new home (1116, 1120, 1125). Hence, the rhetorical use of place within these harangues serves both a thematic role in the speeches themselves and a structural role in regard to the entire poem.

An examination of the Cid's closing lines reveals that they all contain a very important message to the soldiers that also reveals something of the Cid's character. In the first speech the Cid reiterates his position as commander in control of the soldiers' advance. It is his word and his alone which controls the men. In the second harangue, he bursts with personal confidence in his prediction of their victory over the Count of Barcelona. Finally, in the third he establishes each man's fighting ability as the measure of each one's worth. Thus, the Cid communicates his authority, his confidence, and his standards, revealing himself to be a confident leader who values men of military might.

**Table 4 - Appeals and Themes in the *CMC*'s Harangues**

Harangue	Situation	Appeal(s)	Theme(s)
One (683-691)	The Cid to his men at Alcocer against the Moors	Greed Pride	Orders (orders) Profit (material wealth)
Two (985-999)	The Cid to his men at Tébar against the Count of Barcelona	Salutation Fear Greed (Cid to himself) Logic (fact) Pride (Cid to himself)	Orders (orders, tactics, expectations) Duty to selves Profit (material wealth) (Cid to himself) Advantage militarily due to equipment and location
Three (1115-1126)	The Cid to his men at Valencia against the Moors	Salutation Fear and pride Fear	Orders (orders) Orders (expectations) Duty to selves Profit (material wealth- land)

### ***C. The Poema de Fernán González***

Like the *CMC*, the thirteenth century *Poema de Fernán González* (*PFG*) tells the story of one of Spain's legendary heroes, in this case the famed first Count of Castile.

However, unlike the *CMC*, the *PFG* is an example of the *mester de clerecía*, and it was in all probability written by a monk from the monastery of San Pedro de Arlanza. This clerical affiliation is demonstrated in the many religious themes, allusions, and analogies observed by critics such as Lawrence Rich, JP Keller, Matthew Bailey, Beverly West, Juan Victorio, and Antonio Manuel Garrido Moraga. They have have shown that the poem establishes Fernán González as a warrior who acts as God's vassal on Earth in a battle of good versus evil and of the Christians of Castile against the invading Muslim Moors.

Many of these scholars have included commentary on González's *arengas* within their analysis. Bailey and Rich, in particular, have investigated the overt religious tones and

messages found within the speeches in comparison to the *PCG* and/or the *CMC*.

Additionally, Bailey also commented on the importance of the speeches in terms of

displaying González's manipulative style:

[. . .] the verbal manipulation of the troops is an important aspect of the poem. The arguments used by Fernán González to persuade his men to fight reveal a tendency to avoid their logical objections and to argue on a more abstract level where concepts like loyalty and courage are more easily worked. Historical, as well as biblical and literary references (35-38), are useful since they can be manipulated to represent the behavior that is being promoted (*Poema* 75-76).

Meanwhile, Victorio noted that the poet's religious occupation affected his ability to write

about battlefield topics, which led to a repetitive structure and an uninventive style, which

allowed Victorio to fill in missing gaps of the poem in his edition:

[. . .] la estructura del *Poema* está formada de repeticiones: invasiones, arengas, llamadas a cortes, batallas, disposición del ejército, etc., acciones todas que un hombre de iglesia no podía dominar, viéndose por ende obligado a emplear ciertos moldes (32).

Finally, on a more secular note, in her investigation into epic traditions, Beverly West

suggested that the *arengas* were an important component of a test of the Count's leadership

abilities:

[. . .] the recurrent pattern of the rally speech and its function in the poem merit the acknowledgement of its status as one of several tests that the hero must undergo. The leadership test does not serve the purpose of encouragement alone, but offers the hero the opportunity to manifest, against adverse conditions, those ideal essences which he embodies as a heroic symbol (47).

Thus, the harangues of the *PFG* have received a good amount of attention for various

scholarly reasons.

However, the line of demarcation between council debates and combat harangues, as

defined in this dissertation in Chapter 1, can be vague at times within the *PFG*. The

Castilians in the poem complain and beg for release from their service, to which González

always responds haranguing them into order. Unlike the setting of the *CMC* with its do-or-die tone which instills solidarity amongst the men, in the *PFG*, debates appear before the men have to face the harshness of battles whose purposes are more abstract. As Bailey noted, “In lieu of material and social gain, Fernán González insists that victory is possible and that death is always preferable to captivity” (*Poema* 39). Thus, the Castilians’ battles are part of a larger spiritual battle and reveal González to be the only one strong enough to see the need to commit to it. González becomes the dutiful Christian hero in the face of reluctance, as Garrido Morago noted, stating, “Es el héroe el que tiene que convencer de la imperiosa necesidad de defenderse y hacer frente a las objeciones” (30). Thus, we see the stalwart González acting as shepherd vis-à-vis his weak-willed soldier-disciples:

Fernán González seems to be the only Castilian aware of the Church’s role in aiding the Christian warriors; he is the chosen messenger, a prophet, inspiring others with his message of mission and sacrifice for a great cause. His men are not at all like him, they are ignorant and he must teach them. [. . .] In every confrontation Fernán González first has to convince his men to fight, and more often than not he has sought and received guidance from some religious source beforehand. [. . .] [I]n the *PFG* correct behavior is preached, the forcefulness of these arguments is used as a controlling device against those inclined to do otherwise[. . .] (Bailey *Poema* 39-40).

Therefore, the harangue appears in the context of council debate and contains, to some degree, dialogue expressing contrary opinions and complaints. Yet, there is never any question as to which course of action the Castilians will follow. For example, in the case of the first *arenga*, González calls the men to know “sus coraçones” and tells them, ““Amigos, ha mester de consejo tomar, / de guisa que podamos tal fuerça rencurar,”” but no dialogue ensues, just his harangue to battle (*PFG* 299). Additionally before the battle with the Count of Toulouse, a dialogue occurs, but González does not take the men’s pleas as advice and instead harangues them into action. Victorio observed:

Los consejeros castellanos tienen, en realidad muy poca influencia en el ánimo de su señor, sirviendo solamente para hacer resaltar la valentía, clarividencia y personalismo del ‘caudillo’, quien sólo escucha consejos venidos de las alturas (*PFG*, page 110).

Thus, although some of the text’s harangues appear as debates of council, they are nothing more than a mechanism for the poet to showcase González’s leadership and preeminence, and they lack any suggestion that the opposing course of action is at all possible.

There are four extant *arengas* of the *PFG*. Two other harangues normally published within editions of the poem are taken from the *Primera Crónica General (PCG)*.<sup>31</sup> Like the *CMC*, the speeches are unilaterally from the hero of the text:

Harangue One: Stanzas 300-310 – Before the battle against the King of Navarre

Harangue Two: Stanzas 349-357 – Before the battle against the Count of Toulouse

Harangue Three: Stanzas 424-447 – After González’s visit to the monastery of San Pedro and before the battle of Hacinas

Harangue Four: Stanzas 476-483 – After the Castilians have seen a dragon in the sky, during the three-day battle of Hacinas

### **Categories of Appeal in the *Poema de Fernán González***

All three types of classical appeals are found within the four *arengas* of the poem; however, pathos is the most common, and logical entreaties usually serve to support them. Only one harangue begins with a salutation to the men, but such acknowledgements also exist within the texts of all but the fourth harangue.

#### **Harangue One**

In the first *arenga*, González uses emotional appeals as well as an appeal to logic before facing the King of Navarre. From the onset of the speech, González presents the

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<sup>31</sup> These are the harangue before the battle of Lara (257-260) and the third harangue during the battle of Hacinas (522-526, although the two preliminary lines of 522 have survived).

immorality of their opponents and the innocence and righteousness of the Castilians, appealing to both pride and prejudice. He reminds the men of the unwarranted sacking of Castile and states that they themselves have never committed such arrogant acts:

‘Nunca a los navarros mal non les meresçiemos,  
nin tuerto nin sobervia nos nunca les feziemos;  
muchos fueron los tuertos que d’ellos resçibiemos,  
por gelo demandar nunca sazon toviemos’ (301).

He appeals to the men’s sense of pride, honor, and revenge as he suggests that they can not let the enemy’s unwarranted sacking of Castile go unanswered. The Navarrese have issued a challenge that they must answer:

‘la querella que avemos quieren nos la doblar,  
a mi e a vos otros envian desfiar  
Amigos, tal sobervia nos non gela suframos,  
que nos vengemos d’ella e todos y muramos,  
ante que tanta cuita e tal pesar veamos:  
¡por Dios, los mis vasallos, no los acometamos!’ (302-303).

González combines logical and emotional appeals, creating an enthymeme as he indirectly suggests that the Castilians are “good” and courageous and that the Navarrese are “bad.” He tells his men that those who are bad do not succeed in battle but are conquered by the good and brave, and he supports this premise with an allusion to undefined examples everyone supposedly knows:

‘Sepades que en la lid non son todos iguales,  
por cient lanças se vençen las faziendas canpales;  
mas valen cient caveros d’un coraçon iguales  
que non fazen trezientos de los descomunales.  
Ha y buenos e malos, que non puede al ser,  
los malos que y son non podrien atender,  
aver se han por aquellos los buenos a vençer,  
vemos nos muchas veçes tal cosa conteçer’ (306).

Thus González flatters the men and uses their prejudices within a logical appeal based on a supposed premise.



## Harangue Two

In the second harangue, González uses logic to support a message that appeals to the men's emotions. Unlike his vague reference in the first *arenga*, this time he creates a premise and supports it with many concrete examples. His speech is on the nature of fame and reminds the men that good deeds and self sacrifice survive death and serve as a legacy for future generations:

‘El viçioso e el lazrado amos han de morir,  
el uno nin el otro non lo pueden foir,  
quedan los buenos fechos, estos han de vesquir,  
d’ellos toman enxiemplo los que han de venir.  
Todos los que grand fecho quisieron acabar  
por muy grandes trabajos ovieron a passar:  
non comen quando quieren nin çena nin yantar,  
los viçios de la carne han los de olvidar’ (352-353).

He then recalls the legendary deeds of past heroes, citing Alexander the Great and his men, King David and Judas Maccabeus of the Bible, the French heroes of Charlemagne, Roland, Oliver, and many others, and finally stating that there are too many to name (354-355). He finishes his appeal by applying the lessons of these legendary heroes to the Castilians' situation. To be remembered, they cannot waste their days and nights:

‘si tan buenos no fueran, oy serien olvidados,  
seran los buenos fechos fasta la fin contados.  
Por tanto, ha mester que los dias contemos,  
los dias e las noches en que las espendemos,  
quantos en valde passan nunca los cobraremos;’ (356-357).

Thus, he calls upon them to see how badly they have reasoned by appealing to their logic and not to their hearts:

‘amigos, bien lo vedes que mal seso fazemos’ (357).

Nevertheless, the overall message appeals to the men's emotions, as they desire glory like that given to past heroes.

### Harangue Three

In the third harangue, our hero leaves behind logic and turns to ethos and pathos. Personal authority drives the entire speech, as he establishes himself as God's spokesman and emissary from the very beginning. Having just left the monastery of San Pedro, González presents an extraordinary tale of revelation in which God and San Pelayo play important roles. He tells the men that God has strengthened his mind and his heart, stating, "me dio Dios seso e m'metio en coraçon'" (427). Next, he informs them that San Pelayo has called upon him to realize his ordained personal mission to conquer the Moors ("ve tu via" 429). He explains to the men how he has been advised by the well-known, warrior saint:

'En aquella ermita fui yo bien aconsejado  
del monje San Pelayo, siervo de Dios amado,  
que por el su consejo Almançor fue arrancado;' (432).

As a heavenly ordained messenger and leader, he becomes the "oráculo para su pueblo," as Garrido Moraga noted (25).

With such celestial authority, González spends the rest of the speech appealing to the men's love of country and their fears concerning their future in this world and in the hereafter. If they do not fight, the Castilians and their children will become starved captives, separated from each other; their land will become the property of the Moors:

'seremos nos cativos, fanbrientos e lazrados,  
seran los nuestros fijos de moros cativados.  
Los fijos e las fijas que nos tanto queremos  
ver los hemos cativos, valer non los podremos;  
de nos mandaren ir, por fuerça alla iremos,  
nuestros fijos e fijas jamas non los veremos' (437-438).  
[.....]  
'Contesçe esso mismo con la gent renegada  
hereden nuestra tierra e tienen la forçada' (441).

González also tells them that death would be better than surrender or retreat since those who flee or give themselves over to the enemy will be considered as treacherous as Judas and will burn in Hell. Thus he appeals not only to his men's worldly fears but also uses the emotional appeal known as *ad baculum* (to the stick) to threaten them into winning. If they do not, they risk eternal damnation. Having established his close connection with God, the threat is imposing and credible:

‘Todo aquel que de vos del canpo se saliere  
o con miedo de muerte a pesion se les diere,  
quede por alevoso si tal fecho fiziere,  
con Judas en infierno yaga quando moriere’ (447).

#### **Harangue Four**

In the last harangue, González uses only emotional appeals as he tries to overcome the men's fear when witnessing a dragon flying through the skies above them. He primarily does this by appealing to their prejudice against the enemy, whom he suggests is godless, and therefore, uses necromancy in league with the devil:

‘Los moros, bien sabedes, se guian por estrellas,  
non se guian por Dios que se guian por ellas;  
otro Creador nuevo han fecho ellos d'ellas,  
diz que por ellas veen muchas de maravellas’ (476).

In fact, González uses the word “diablo” or “diablos” four times and refers to the “bestia” once within this speech. He adds that the enemy is composed of heathens shunned by God:

‘Quien este Señor dexa e en la bestia fia  
tengo que es caido a Dios en muy grand ira,  
anda en fallimiento la su alma mesquina:  
quantos que andan assi el diablo los guia’ (482).

González shames the Castilians for their lack of faith in Christ as he reminds them of what they should already know:

‘Commo sodes sesudos, bien podedes saber

que non ha el poder de mal a nos fazer,  
ca tollo le don Cristus el su fuerte poder,  
veades que son locos los que l'quieren creer.  
Que es de todo el mundo en uno el poder,  
que a el solo devemos todos obedecer  
ca el es poderoso de dar e de toller:' (480-481).

González even suggests that this lack of faith is punishable, and that if the men are to fear anything, they should fear God's wrath at such faithlessness and disbelief in His power: ““a tal Señor commo este devemos nos temer”” (481). Thus, the commander uses appeals to prejudice, shame, and “the stick” in order to embolden his men.

### **Categories of Theme in the *Poema de Fernán González***

Duty and advantage are very popular themes in the *arengas* of the *PFG* and within these themes, religious subsets are more important than in previous harangues studied in this dissertation. Conversely, material profit plays no role. Meanwhile, the commander's orders, example, and expectations remain an important theme for this poet as with the other writers of this genre.

#### **Duty**

An appeal to duty appears once in the first harangue and three times in the third. González alludes to the Castilian's fealty as vassals as he shouts, ““¡por Dios, los mis vassallos, nos los acometamos!””(303) in his first *arenga*. It is the only instance in which his salutation to the men is not the friendlier and status-neutral “amigos,” and it serves to remind his men that it is their job to fight for him. In the third harangue, we see the Count emphasizing his men's duty to themselves, their country, and God, instead of their responsibility to their lord. As noted earlier, if they lose, they and their children will suffer at the hands of their enemy. Thus, they must fight to preserve their way of life. Yet, they must

also fight because they are caught in a trap and cannot escape. The enemy is numerous, and they are like fish entangled in a net:

‘Mill ha y pora uno, esto bien lo sabemos,  
dicho es que ha mester que consejo tomemeos:  
maguer fuir queramos fazer non lo podemos,  
assi commo los peçes enredados yazemos’ (435).

Finally, they have a higher mandate, as God wants them to fight for Him as well:

‘Dixo m’ que mal fazia por tanto que tardava  
a aquel Rey de los Reyes por cuya amor lidiava,  
que fuesse e non tardasse contra la gent pagana,  
que por avie miedo, pues que el me ayudava’ (430).

If they flee, they will be traitors to God as Judas was (447). Thus the Castilians have a duty to fight and not abandon their holy mission.

### **Hope of Victory / Advantage**

The theme of advantage appears in three *arengas*. The subset of advantage due to God’s help occurs as noted above (“que el me ayudava” 430) while its converse, advantage because God is against the enemy, is found in the fourth speech. Here, González contrasts the worthlessness of the enemy in comparison to God’s power. Those who believe in the devil and in necromancy will fall before God’s wrath: “Quien este Señor dexa e en la bestia fia / tengo que es caido a Dios en muy grand ira” (482).

However, this is not the only subset of advantage to appear in González’s harangues. In his first *arenga*, he offers two others. First, he acknowledges that the King of Navarre’s forces are superior in number and skill:

‘por quanto ellos son mayor cavalleria  
[ . . . . . ]  
Muchos son mas que nos peones e caveros,  
omnes son esforçados e de pies muy ligeros,  
d’asconas e de dardos fazen golpes çerteros,  
traen buena compaña de buenos escuderos’ (304, 307).

At the same time, he reminds the men that with courage smaller armies can beat bigger ones and that their success lies in committing to the fight:

‘En nos los cometer es nuestra mejoria,  
[.....]  
Sepades que en la lid non son todos iguales  
por cient lanças se vençen las faziendas canpales;  
mas valen caveros d’un coraçon iguales  
que non fazen trezientos de los descomunales’ (304, 305).

Second, González suggests that good wins over evil no matter the odds and skill. Thus, he suggests that they are the innocent victims of Navarre’s aggression and will defeat the skilled Navarrese in spite of their strength, accurate weaponry, and good squires (306-307).

### **Vengeance**

This sense of righteousness is tied to another theme found only within this first harangue, the theme of vengeance. Interestingly it refers to a battle against a Christian enemy. Indeed, Keller notes that unlike other battles in the *PFG*, in which the Castilians fight against the Muslim Moors, here the battle against a Christian opponent hinges on treachery instead of religion. The poet “makes this battle a test between the two leaders in which vengeance, justice, and right, not Navarrese power, prevail and where ‘enganno’ is punished” (Keller, *Poet’s* 89). Thus, González presents the fight to his men as a just battle in which the righteous will be revenged on the treacherous and will win.

### **The Commander’s Example, Expectations, and Orders**

Orders and expectations appear four times in the harangues, materializing twice in the first *arenga* and once in the third and fourth.

González uses the commander’s example twice, first in Harangue One as he describes his committed intentions in the battle against the King of Navarre, and secondly in Harangue Three as he does the same in the face of the Moors. In both, he takes a very bold attitude

toward death that expresses an all-or-nothing attitude that we also saw in one of the Cid's harangues of the *CMC* and in Darius' last speech in the *LdeA*. In the first *arenga*, González notes that all men die, and that if he should do so in his encounter with Navarre, his death should not be mourned:

‘Si por alguna guisa al rey puedo llegar,  
los tuertos que me fizo cuedo le demandar;  
no l’podrie ningun omne de la muerte escapar,  
non avrie, si el muere, de mi muerte pesar’ (310).

His cavalier attitude toward death is seen in the third harangue when the Count states he favors death over imprisonment and will even commit suicide if necessary:

‘De mi mismo vos digo lo que cuedo fazer:  
nin preso nin cativo non me dexare ser,  
maguer ellos a vida me quisieren prender,  
matar me he yo ante que sea en su poder’ (446).

Another subset in Harangue One is the commander's expectations of the men. This is linked to his strategy in defeating the superior force of the Navarrese. González believes that pure commitment to the battle is the key to victory, stating, “‘En nos los cometer es nuestra mejoria’” (304). Thus, if they show incredible confidence in their fighting, the enemy may back away from the battle:

‘Por esto ha mester que nos los cometamos;  
si ellos nos cometen, mejoria les damos;  
si ellos entendieron que nos non los dubdamos,  
dexar nos han el canpo ante que los firamos’ (308).

Furthermore, not only does González tell his men that he expects poise and self-assurance from them, but he also obviously expects them to fight ferociously:

‘Otra cosa vos digo, e vos la creeredes:  
muerto sere en pelea o en quexa me veredes;  
vere los castellanos commo me acorredes,  
mester a vos sera quanta fuerça tenedes’ (309).

Finally, in Harangue Four we see the straightforward subset of the commander's orders as González finishes his speech, commanding them to bed in order to be well rested and in good order for the morning's battle:

‘Tornemos en lo al en que agora estamos:  
trabajado avemos, mester es que durmamos;  
con ellos en el canpo cras mañana seamos,  
todos en su logar assi commo mandamos’ (483).

### **Profit (Fame)**

The *PFG*'s harangues do not contain appeals to material greed, and therefore, the Count of Castile and his men contrast to the worldlier camps of the Cid and Alexander. However, like Alexander, glory is important to González, as can be evidenced by its place as the solitary theme of his second harangue before battling the Christian Count of Toulouse. Yet González's focus is not in keeping with the purely secular notion of the glory of fame. Instead, he attaches a moral and religious tone as he places a great importance on transcending the carnal and temporary world of human desires and needs, “‘los viçios de la carne’” (353), in order to achieve worthy fame. According to him, the great legendary heroes from history and the Bible may have wanted meals and the luxuries of home, but they committed themselves to their great deeds and are hence remembered for them:

‘Todos los que grand fecho quisieron acabar  
por muy grandes trabajos ovieron a passar:  
non comen quando quieren nin çena nin yantar  
los viçios de la carne han los de ovliar  
Non cuentan d’Alexandre las noches nin los dias,  
cuentan sus buenos fechos e sus cavallerias;  
cuentan del rey Davit que mato a Golias,  
de Judas Macabeo, fijo de Matatias’ (353-354).



### Successfulness of the Haranguer in the *Poema de Fernán González*

The *PFG* at times comments on the successfulness of González in his harangues, but the poet does not give his opinion on the rhetorical style or sophistication of any speech. Instead he characterizes them as “su razon” (311), “oraçion” (358) and “estas razones” (449).

For the first *arenga* the poet offers no comment regarding its appeal on the men, even though the speech contained strong emotional pleas. Upon its conclusion, González simply orders them to battle, and the narrative of the story continues.

In contrast, the poet directly writes of the men’s stupefied reaction and of their willingness to follow orders after Harangue Two:

Caveros e peones ovo los de vencer,  
a cosa que el dezia non sabien responder,  
quanto el por bien tovo ovieron lo a fazer;  
su oraçion acabada, mando luego mover (358).

Similarly, Harangue Three, results in the men being more comforted by the speech, even though they were strong of heart beforehand:

Quando ovo el conde dichas estas razones  
- antes tenian todos duros los coraçones –  
fueron muy confortados, caveros e peones;  
mando commo fiziessen essos grandes varones (449).

González is also able to calm his men in the face of their fear concerning a flying dragon in Harangue Four. His words reassure them enough so that they are able to go to bed and sleep: “Fueron a sus posadas, comiençan a dormir” (484). This reflects positively not only on González’s speech but on his leaderships abilities as well. As Keller observes, “The way FG [Fernán González] calms his men lets us see again how he understands the human heart and his knowledge of what moves men to act for good or ill, qualities that every leader

must have in order to be successful [. . .]” (83). However, once again, no commentary is provided regarding the Count’s rhetorical style.

Also of note, commentary regarding Harangues Two and Three contain an all-inclusive reference to the army, which indirectly praises González’s speaking abilities. The poet tells us that González is able to successfully affect two different segments of society, the “caveros e peones” (cavalry/knights and infantry/peasants). Furthermore, preceding the second *arenga*, the poet compares González’s wisdom to that of Solomon and his courage to that of Alexander the Great, stating:

començo el buen conde, esse firme varon;  
avie grand conplimiento del sabio Salamon,  
nunca fue Alexandre mas grand de coraçon (348).

Hence, González is an inspirational leader to all of his men and is able to connect with them no matter their status. It is no wonder that the “grandes varones” do as he commands.

### **Structure in the *Poema de Fernán González***

When comparing the harangues of the *PFG* to the *CMC* and the *LdeA*, we find that the speeches have much more in common with the rhetorical harangues of the *LdeA* than the straightforward *arengas* of the *CMC*. For example, Gonzalez waxes poetic about the passage of time in his speech on fame in Harangue Two. Additionally, there are allusions to the Wheel of Fortune (Harangue Three) and the inclusion of famous literary and historical characters (Harangues Two and Three). Finally, we can observe a mutual use of animal metaphors, as González compares his men to fish caught in a net (435) in Harangue Three.

Several scholars have examined the rhetorical value and style found within the *PFG* and its harangues, contrasting them with similar texts in the *CMC* and the *PCG*. Common to these studies is the observation that the *PFG* uses a more complex rhetoric in its *arengas*,

although critics like Keller believed that this is a flaw that shows the *CMC* to be the greater work:

One of the reasons for the far higher artistic quality of the *Cid* is that the poet was not laboring under a preconceived plan as complicated as that which restricted the poet of the *Fernán González*. Nor were his variable meter and assonantal verse as shackling as the mono-rhymed quatrains used by the poet-monk of Arlanza. In the *Poema de Fernán González* we have possibly the first example in Spanish literature of a work that suffers from a too complex poetic art. It is another reminder that simplicity is a prime requisite for lasting success” (*Structure* 245).

Meanwhile, Bailey, while not favoring one work over the other, noted the following overall:

[. . .] the tendency of the poet [of the *PFG*] to leave the story behind in order to introduce more purely literary decoration. [. . .] The *Cid* offers no examples of similes, metaphors or analogies that distance the narrative from the actual events (Bailey 9-10 Transformations).

The metaphors of the *PFG* lead the audience away from the warrior world of its protagonist. At times the narrator’s purpose seems simply to create a more colorful composition, while in other instances it develops analogies between the adventures of the protagonist Fernán González and those of biblical figures (*Poema* 22).

These observances can well be made of the *arengas* within the *PFG* as well. For while in the *CMC* the *Cid*’s speeches are short and direct and primarily deal with instructions regarding the battle at hand, González expounds upon themes in lengthy harangues that are more than battlefield encouragements or instructions.

Certainly the language of the third harangue and its structure support a strong comparison to the *ars praedicandi*. The harangue contains divisions and amplifications. Beginning with ““Por Dios, sea oído”” we see the preacher-warrior González calling his flock together in the name of God (424). Next, González discusses his role as a messenger of God’s will, charged with a holy order to fight the Moors and given the advice to do so. Then he divides this theme on the need to fight the Moors by applying the war to the men directly, informing them of its impact on the Castilian society, and he amplifies this message by explaining the sorrows of captivity. Next, he further amplifies their potential slavery with a

discussion on the Wheel of Fortune that supplants the image of Fate with Christ. This leads to his preaching that without Christ, nothing is possible. From this, we see the division of the theme to the individual level of the soul, as González tells the men that one's death is preferable to captivity and that flight is as treacherous as Judas' betrayal. Hence, González's harangues adopt the rhetoric of a sermon.

At every chance, González includes in his harangue religious catchphrases common to church services. We read for example:

‘rogue a Jesucristo que, si el fizo pecado  
por la su grand medida le sea perdonado’ (426).

‘a aquel Rey de los Reyes por cuya amor lidiava’ (430).

‘En aquella ermita fui yo bien aconsejado  
del monje San Pelayo, siervo de Dios amado,’ (432)

‘seran ellos vencidos de Cristus la fe onrada’ (441).

The harangue thus becomes a sermon or a sermon becomes a harangue.

In addition to this similarity with the *ars praedicandi*, the *arengas* of the *PFG* share other characteristics with the medieval arts. González's expectations and calls upon the men's courage, faith, and allegiance are comparable to the petition of the *ars dictaminis* and *ars arengandi*. His outlining of the men's situation and the stakes of battle, as well as his conclusions, match that of the narrations of situations, consequences, and conclusions recommended for political orations. Yet, in contrast to classical and political oratory, as well as to the *ars dictaminis*, González rarely uses an opening salutation, although he does address his men with similar call-outs within the speeches, reflecting a concern for his audience which is a trait of medieval political and religious oratory.

### Some Observances on the Differences between the *Poema de Fernán Gozález* and the *Primera Crónica General*

In order to best appreciate and identify some of the rhetoric used within the *PFG*'s harangues and their structure, it is helpful to contrast them with versions found within the *Primera Crónica General* (*PCG*). As Bailey noted of the work in general:

In the case of the *PFG*, whose narrator seems to journey often into poetic devices far more numerous, elaborate and abstract than those of the *Cid*, the comparison between the *PFG* and its prosification should provide significant insights into the purposes of the two versions, the nature of each audience, the amount of abstraction each allows on the events narrated, and the methods the poem's narrator employs to integrate his poetic devices and the events that bind the narration (*Poema* 23).

While many of the orations of both works appear within the same sequence of events, the *PFG* and the *PCG* versions differ in regard to emphasis and intention. It is generally accepted that the chronicler used the *PFG* to write the episodes of the *PCG*; hence, differences between the two are generally seen as edits on the chronicler's part. However, these differences are more consequential. The *PFG*'s *arengas*' fervent religious tone raise Fernán González to a greater prestige as God's wise servant, and identify him strongly with Castile, as if he were the embodiment of it. Bailey notes that the *PFG* "attempts to instill a sense of history, of national pride, of a great warrior tradition ultimately exemplified by Fernán González" (*Poema* 39). In contrast, the *PCG* is more succinct and does not advance the first Count of Castile to mythic religious proportions or make him a preacher extraordinaire, while it still focuses on his leadership, courage, and faith as a dutiful hero and noble. Bailey observes that the chronicle has

[. . .] a tendency to eliminate references to things outside the immediate concerns of the warrior world, or that may be interpreted as foreign to it. The chronicler's deletions produce a much more controlled narrative than the *PFG* [. . .] The preservation of a way of life as well as information for future generations of readers is the main force that drives such an undertaking. Therefore, the gleaning of irrelevant

references from the poetic source is an act that implies a governing of aesthetic and ideology and an imagined reader very different from the originals (*Poema* 29-30).

### **Harangue One**

A very subtle difference between the two versions can be found within the final lines of González's harangue before battling the King of Navarre. In the *PFG*, González makes the grievance personal when stating that he will attack the King for the evil that he has committed against him:

‘Si por alguna guisa al rey puedo llegar,  
los tuertos que me fizo cuedo le demandar;’ (310).

The *PCG* makes this an offense done to all:

Demas digouos que si yo por alguna guisa al rey puedo llegar, uos ueredes quel  
acallonnare los tuertos que nos a fechos, (397).

This divergence in pronouns cannot be for esthetic purposes as the metric verse would not have been affected if the poem had read “nos fizo” instead of “me fizo.” The offense was the invasion and sacking of Castile by Navarre, certainly an attack against all in reality.

However, the poet chose to equate an attack on Castile as an attack against its lord, thus subtly underlining the identification of González with the region he represented. An offense against the Castilians and Castile was an offense to him personally. In contrast, the chronicler, writing a general history for his king did not require such a distinction. In fact, his version, with the all-inclusive “all” creates a greater sense of unity between commander and soldier, and it does not set the Count above and apart as is done in a poem dedicated to aggrandizing him.

### **Harangue Two**

In the second harangue, a similar difference arises, in which the poetic version elevates González while the chronicler's edits reduce his presence.

Both versions incorporate past heroic secular and biblical exemplars. However, the chronicler and the poet differ on whom they include and emphasize. In the *PFG*, González cites Alexander the Great and his men, King David and Judas Maccabeus, and the French Roland, Oliver, Charlemagne and many of the heroes of the French *chansons de geste*, finally stating that there are too many examples to name. Yet, the *PCG* limits the number of famous classical and biblical warriors, omitting the names of the *chansons de geste* heroes, except Charlemagne, and eliminating reference to King David, who the poet reminds us “‘mato a Golias’” (354). Lawrence Rich suggest that “the omission of David [in the *PCG*’s version] [. . .] can only be attributed to the historian’s conscious intention of eliminating a comparison between Count Fernán González and a king”(108).

Meanwhile, Bailey believes the omission of literary characters but the inclusion of military heroes reveals the chronicler’s interest in things military and in keeping the historical story on track.<sup>32</sup> Certainly, the chronicler emphasizes Judas Maccabeus’ importance as the “‘muy grand lidiador’” (398) that defended Judea from its enemies much more than does the poet, who only slightly refers to the military leader as the “‘fijo de Matatias’” (354). Both of these theories lend to the overall view that the chronicler was much more interested in González’s military exploits than in drawing a parallel with more diffuse figures like King David, who were open to a multiplicity of meanings.

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<sup>32</sup> “Their [Alexander and Judas Maccabeus] attributes as good warriors serve the chroniclers purpose of promoting exemplary military conduct, and the assumption that the reader will not recognize them allows the writer to portray them as simply two ideal Christian warriors. The common element in these expansions (Alexander, Judas Maccabeus) and omissions (bickering between vassal and lord, the disrespectful depiction of a feared enemy, the abundant French models) is a concern for maintaining the focus of the narrative on the military elements [. . .]” (*Poema* 28-29).

### Harangue Three

As discussed previously, the third harangue of the PFG is sermon-like. However, its corresponding prose version in the PCG is most decidedly not. While the poem's González diverts from his harangue to divide and subdivide his message, the chronicler's speech is much shorter, allowing the reader to proceed with the narration and action at hand.

González's first inspiring message in this *arenga* for both the *PCG* and the *PFG* is that they must act quickly and fight for God, who will help them. The *PCG* states, ““et que fazia mal en tardar tanto, ca aquel por cuyo amor y lidiaua me ayudarie”” (401). However, the *PFG* expands and emphasizes the religious importance of the fight by noting that the enemy is pagan:

‘Dixo m’ que mal fazia por tanto que tardava  
a aquel Rey de los Reyes por cuya amor lidiava,  
que fuesse e non tardasse contra la gent pagana,  
que por que avie miedo, pues que el me ayudava’ (430).

Both texts also address the awful consequences of losing and hence present a more direct reason for the men to fight. The *PFG*'s González continues and expounds upon the notion of the evilness of captivity and then diverges to a lengthy discussion on Christ's will and the volatility of fortune. In contrast, the *PCG* quickly moves to the threatening conclusion which both texts share, that one should fight and not be taken alive or flee the battlefield. Bailey concludes that the additional section of González's speech found in the poem was either included in a later edition of the *PFG* or was left out of the *PCG* deliberately because the chronicler wanted to focus on the military and political history of Castile and avoid “the poetic nature” of the *PFG* (*Poema* 38 -39). Certainly, the chronicler's text fits its surrounding narrative of events regarding a battle against the Moors while the poem's extra stanzas and reference to the godlessness of the enemy allow the reader to



escape the reality of battles to ponder more metaphysical ideas. Such blatant religious detours as seen in this *arenga*, as well as Harangue Four, separate the *PFG* from the *CMC*, the *LdeA*, and the *PCG*.

#### Harangue Four

Similarly, the second *arenga*, which deals with the three-day battle for Hacinas, shows a difference in religious emphasis between the *PCG* and *PFG*. Both texts demonstrate how González's *arenga* helps his men to overcome their fear after they have seen a dragon flying above their camp. While both versions are topically identical, the poet's rendition is much more extensive and repetitive doubling references to the dragon's devilish source. Additionally, only within the poem's text does the Count detail other dubious spells that a Moorish magician can cast in addition to conjuring a dragon. These are "'revolver las nuves'" and "'revolver los vientos,'" (477). Also, the *amplificatio* of the poetic version specifically reminds the audience that the Moors are heathens shunned by God:

‘Quien este Señor dexa e en la bestia fia  
tengo que es caido a Dios en *muy* grand ira,  
anda en fallimiento la su alma mesquina:  
quantos que andan assi el diablo los guia’ (482).

The *PCG*'s concise:

‘Amigos, los moros son omnes que saben muchos encantamentos, et llaman los diablos con sus espiramientos que fazen; et algun moro astroso que sabe fazer estas cosas, fizo aquella uision uenir por ell aer por espantarnos con esta arteria’ (402)

becomes in the poem:

‘Los moros, bien sabedes, se guian por estrellas,  
non se guian por Dios, que se guian por ellas;  
otro Criador nuevo han fecho ellos d’ellas,  
diz que por ellas veen muchas de maravellas.  
Ha y otros que saben muchos encantamientos,  
fazen muy malos gestos con sus espiramientos,  
de revolver las nuves e revolver los vientos

muestra les el diablo estos entendimientos.  
Ayuntan los diablos con sus conjuramientos,  
aliegen se con ellos e fazen sus conventos,  
dizen de los passados todos sus fallimientos,  
todos fazen conçejo los falsos carbonientos.  
Algun moro astroso que sabe encantar  
fizo aquel diablo en sierpe figurar' (476-479).

Bailey's commentary contends that the chronicler's version focuses on the apparition as merely a trick while the *PFG* provides a more startling metaphor and contains "preacheresque scare tactics employed by Fernán González" (*Diablo* 177-179, *Poema* 36). According to Bailey, the *PCG* version presents only a superficial relationship between the Moors and the devil (*Diablo* 177-178). He suggests that the chronicler included the story only "como una molestia que ha de incluirse," focusing on the supernatural components as part of a fascinating story and not on emphasizing the devil's ability to steal Christians away from the true faith (*Diablo* 178-179). The *PFG*'s version, on the other hand, serves as a metaphor for the greater battle going on for men's souls. "En la narración del monje arlantino se entiende la guerra en el campo de batalla como una manifestación visible de la batalla por las almas en que se enfrentan continuamente Dios y el diablo" (Bailey *Diablo* 178-179).

Thus, while both *arengas* show the same respect for an all powerful God, the poem urges the men to fight by using more vivid and repetitive denouncements of the godlessness of the enemy. This enables González to imply that more than the men's lives are at stake if they believe in the enemy's phantom strength. Hence, he can calm the men's fears by threatening them with something worse, eternal damnation.

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When we look what the chronicler chose not to include in his version of the *arengas*, a very interesting pattern is evident within the harangues of the *PFG*. Each *arenga* of the

poem shows a subtle increase in the authority of the will of the Count, until he is finally at the point where he is capable of calming the men's fears by simply threatening them. In Harangue One, we see him identify himself as the embodiment of Castile who calls upon his "vasallos" to fight with him ferociously. He concludes by using himself as an example of commitment to reclaim that which has been taken from him. In Harangue Two, he cites strong secular and biblical heroes as he urges action over laziness. In the third *arenga*, González reinforces his personal authority as he relates his experiences at the monastery of San Pedro and assumes the role of a well-informed preacher in his harangue. He finishes that speech by referring to himself as an example to follow, not in regard to defending worldly honor and territory as in Harangue One, but in regard to his soul. When we arrive in the midst of the three-day battle of Hacinas, González is able to draw upon his personal authority, not expressed in the speech itself, but having been established little by little through his previous speeches. Thus, when we read the poem's harangues, we can see how they function to slowly build up the Count's authority. However, in the chronicle, while González still possesses a commanding presence and leadership authority, this presence pales in comparison to the persona that was methodically built by the poet.

**Table 5 - Appeals and Themes in the *PFG*'s Harangues**

Harangue	Situation	Appeal(s)	Primary Theme(s)
One (Stanzas 300-310)	González to his men before battling the King of Narvarre	Salutation Pride/Prejudice Logic (enthymeme) Honor Pride Revenge	Duty to one's lord Advantage of courage w/ smaller army Advantage (righteous shall win) Orders (expectations/strategy) Orders (commander as example) Vengeance
Two (Stanzas 349-357)	González to his men before battling	Salutation Greed Logic (examples)	Profit (immaterial)

	the Count of Toulouse		
Three (Stanzas 424-447)	González to his men after having visited the hermitage of San Pedro	Salutation Personal authority <i>Ad baculum</i> Fear Love of country	Duty to God Duty to ourselves Duty to our country Advantage of God is on our side Orders (commander's example)
Four (Stanzas 476-483)	González to his men in reaction to a dragon in the sky during the battle of Hacinas	Prejudice Shame <i>ad baculum</i>	Advantage of God is on our side (not on the side of the enemy) Orders

#### IV. Fifteenth-Century Spanish Literary *Arengas*

##### A. *El Victorial*

*El Victorial: Crónica de Don Pero Niño, Conde de Buelna* (circa 1431-1448) by Gutierre Díez de Games is an example of the emerging genre of biography which flourished in fifteenth century Spain in the form of the personal chronicle and brief narrative.<sup>33</sup> Unlike Spanish works of the previous centuries and its contemporary chronicles, the author, a *criado* of the count, directly witnessed the events described therein and thus lent more credibility to his text.<sup>34</sup> Díez de Games makes this clear in his “Proemio,” stating:

E yo, Gutierre Díez de Games, criado de la casa del conde don Pero Niño, conde de Buelna, vi deste señor todas las más de las cavallerías e buenas fazañas que él hizo, e fuí presente a ellas, porque yo bibí en su merçed deste señor conde desde el tiempo que él hera de hedad de veynte e tres años, e yo de ál tantos, poco más o menos. E fuí vno de los que con él regidamente andauan, e ove con él mi parte de los trauajos, e pasé por los peligros dél, e abenturas de aquel tienpo; porque a mí hera encomendada la su bandera: tenía cargo della en los lugares donde hera menester. E fuí con él por los mares de Levante e de Poniente, e ví todas las cosas aquí son escritas, e otras que serían luengas de contar, de cavallerías, e valentías, e fuerças (44).

However, in addition to creating a biography, Díez de Games writes that he intended for his work to be instructional with regard to chivalry:

La causa material en aquesta obra es ofiçio e arte de caballería. La causa suficiënte es quién la hizo. La causa formal es loar los fechos de vn buen cauallero. La causa final es prouecho.

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<sup>33</sup> Jorge Sanz credits Díez de Games as the “indiscutible iniciador del género,” placing the composition of *El Victorial* between 1431 and 1435 (XLI). Rafael Beltrán considers the work to be “la más antigua biografía de las letras castellanas que conocemos” (365). Mata Carriazo dated the work to 1435-1448 (XXVIII).

<sup>34</sup> The authors of the chronicles on Juan II and Álvaro de Luna have never been identified with complete certainty. See Mata Carriazo’s introduction to his edition of *El Victorial*, page XXIV.

Primeramente diré qué es oficio e arte de cavallería, e dónde y por qué se levantó, e a qué prouecho la fizieron los honbres, e cómo començaron a ser los honbres fidalgos (2).

This testimonial approach coupled with a didactic purpose resembles Thucydides' attempt to illustrate historical lessons through his *History of the Peloponnesian War*. However, while the ancient writer's motive was to create a history on the vast topic of that conflict, Díez de Games focused on chivalry and its living example found in the person of Pero Niño. As Jorge Sanz noted, "No obstante, [Díez de] Games no ha pretendido escribir una crónica histórica, sino un 'ejemplario', un libro que recogiese las victorias de su señor, y por eso el bello y sonoro título, y asegurarse la pervivencia de su 'fama'" (XXXIV). Indeed, his text presents a mix of historical and biographical events, tales of love and adventure, and social doctrines concerning chivalry. From this mixture, the work derives its essential character as a text not written as history for history's sake, but rather written as a biography for chivalry's sake. Mata Carriazo notes:

*El Victorial* es, pues, simultáneamente, la biografía de un noble caballero y un tratado en ejemplos del arte y oficio de la Caballería. Este doble carácter es esencial de la obra, en la que lo narrativo y lo ejemplar, la historia y la doctrina, se dan y justifican reciproca e inseparablemente (XVIII).

However, scholars who have written about *El Victorial* have failed to mention or analyze its *arengas* and their role in the chronicle. Instead, many concentrate on the dual purpose of the text as a biography and as a doctrine on chivalry, without an investigation into how Pero Niño's *arengas* contribute to the text or support chivalric training. Those such as Sanz, Miranda, and Mata Carriazo have discussed the text's relation to its sources, such as the *Libro de Alexandre* and British chronicles, and they also have analyzed the work's place in historiography, noting its usefulness for Spain's maritime history. Mata Carriazo even

praises Díez de Games' varied and entertaining style in comparison to that of other contemporary chronicles, stating:

En verdad, nuestro cronista escribe con una gracia y desenvoltura que difícilmente se vuelve a encontrar en toda la literatura de su tiempo. La comparación con la *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna*, el texto más inmediato al *Victorial* desde todos los puntos de vista extrínsecos, permite apreciar de golpe cuánta ventaja lleva Games, siempre lleno de variedad y colorido, al metódico y monocorde cronista del Condestable. [. . .] *El Victorial* tiene largos pasajes muertos, en los cuales dormita Homero; pero abunda en páginas de antología que yo proclamo entre las más logradas que el arte de escribir ha producido en España (XL, XLI).

Yet the work's exemplary nature makes it an intriguing prospect for investigating the role of the *arengas* in the education of knights. The abilities to lead well in battle and to persuade men through speech are among the characteristics of a *buen caballero* included within Díez de Games' text. Furthermore, as the *Libro de Alexandre* is generally accepted as being an important source for Díez de Games' text, we must raise the question of whether Aristotle's advice on *arengas* is behind Pero Niño's speeches.

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Within Díez de Games' work, we find connections to other texts dealing with and containing *arengas*. For example, in Chapter IV<sup>35</sup>, he discusses the role of faith in victories and in defeats and writes a passage resembling Vegetius' ancient maxim regarding smaller armies: "Bravery is more valuable than numbers" (Vegetius 109). Díez de Games advises his reader, "Non bençen los muchos porque son muchos, ni cada bez vençidos los pocos porque son pocos; mas aquellos que tienen a Dios pagado, e pelean todos de vn coraçón" (35-36). As in the *Poema de Fernán González* and the *Libro de Alexandre*, Díez de Games adds a medieval Christian attitude, noting that God is the determining factor in a victory.

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<sup>35</sup> The chapter is entitled *Cómo nuestro señor Jesucristo quiso que los vençedores de las batallas fuesen honrrados, e él mismo los honrró con palma que El bendiçió. Pero catad que son dos maneras de bençer, vna corporal e otra espirital*.

Furthermore, he cites Pero Niño as one of history's shining examples of great warriors, in the company of Alexander the Great. Thus, many scholars have observed that the *Libro de Alexandre* may have served as one of Díez de Games' major sources for this biography.<sup>36</sup> Indeed, Mata Carriazo noted:

Este poema parece haber sido el libro de preferencia de Gutierre Díez; como su brevario. Las empresas del héroe macedónico se presentan aquí con fazañas de un caballero medieval. Todos los detalles están meticulosamente adaptados o traducidos a la mentalidad caballeresca; especialmente la educación de Alejandro, que es un penetrante y detallado manual de la Caballería (XXXI).

In fact, passages concerning Aristotle's advice to Alexander seem to have been pulled from the 13<sup>th</sup> century poem. Díez de Games notes the theft himself, writing that he included them because they coincided with the chivalric code. "Estos enseñamientos puse aquí por quanto son de arte de cauallería" (15). Included among the lifted verses, we find that Aristotle's advice regarding the *arenga* has not been forgotten or excluded from the narrative but has been paraphrased:

Quando tus henemigos a oxo los vieres,  
piensa tu fazienda lo mejor que tu pudieres,  
guarda otras non te fagas del lugar en que estouieres;  
o tú di a los tuyos que serán mugeres.  
Caudilla bien los hazes, e a paso las mandas yr,  
e diles que no quieren por nada resurdir;  
al que resisdir quisiere, fazlo tú referir,  
fasta que benga la ora que los tú mandes ferir (Díez de Games 14).

Like Alexander in both the *LdeA* and *El Victorial*, Pero Niño receives valuable instruction from a wise, old tutor. As Díez de Games' work is not only a biography but a lesson on chivalry, this lengthy explanation of Pero Niño's education supports the "Proemio"'s statement and establishes the necessary background for understanding Pero Niño's future actions and comportment as the exemplar of chivalry. Miranda notes:

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<sup>36</sup> See Mata Carriazo's introduction, pages XXX-XXXI, Sanz's introduction, pages XXXIV-XXXV, Mirada's introduction, page 122, and Beltrán page 369.



Su educador es un hombre sabio, y sus enseñanzas, expuestas a lo largo de tres capítulos, constituyen una especie de tratado de formación de príncipes, que podría perfectamente leerse independientemente del resto de la obra. La instrucción recibida por el futuro caballero en los primeros años de su vida marcará de una forma específica las directrices por las que se guiará en sus actuaciones posteriores. Pero Niño nunca olvidará los consejos del ayo y se comportará siempre como un caballero modelo (46).

This education can be divided into four distinctive subjects, as characterized by Miranda: 1) “Educación en las letras,” 2) “Formación cristiana,” 3) “Formación humana y moral,” and 4) “Formación social” (46-48).

Initially, we read that Pero Niño’s tutor appears to place little emphasis on educating *caballeros* in the arts: “‘El que á de aprender e vsar arte de cavallería, non conbiene despende luengo tiempo en esuela de letras; cúnplevos lo que ya dello savedes. Lo que agora dello vos queda, el tiempo los dará, vsando algo dello’” (Díez de Games 64). Yet, the statement is somewhat contradicted when the tutor later stresses the necessity for a leader to possess good rhetorical skills and then outlines the types of appeals that he should use. We observe him telling Pero Niño:

‘Hijo, quando oviérdes a fablar ante los honbres, primero los pasad por la lima del seso, antes que venga a la lengua. Parad mientes que la lengua es vn árbol, e tiene las rayzes en el corazón: la lengua lo muestra de fuera. Catad que mientra vos fablárdes, los otros esmeran vuestra palabra, como esmerades vos la suya quando ellos fablan. Pues dezid cosas con razón; sinó, mejor será que vos calledes. En la lengua se conoçe la çiençia; en el seso, la sapiençia, e en la palabra la verdad e la dotrina: la firmeza en las obras. ¡O si callase el que no devía fablar, e si fablase el que no debría callar! Nunca la verdad sería contradicha’ (Díez de Games 71).

Of most concern to the teacher is the use of *logos*. He instructs his young student that while messages may come from the heart, reason should demonstrate their importance to the audience. Yet the tutor also advises on the importance of appealing to emotions and gaining favor with whom one speaks: “‘Con la palabra blanda, dura el amor en los coraçones; la

dulze palabra multiplica los amigos e mitigua los henemigos, la lengua graçiosa en el buen honbre abunda”” (Díez de Games 72).

The importance of reason is not only emphasized in matters of rhetoric but also as a demonstration of good faith. While the tutor explains that the only way to know God is through faith rather than reason, he explains to Pero Niño the importance of understanding this world as it presents itself and as being under the control of God’s absolute power. Those that believe in superstitions and divination are ignorant and fall prey to the wrongful influences of magicians. To believe in their forecasts is to lack the good reason to believe in God, who is evident in the world around them and has created an orderly world according to His design. Things do not happen outside of God’s control; therefore, it is unreasonable and lacking in faith to trust in superstitions and divination. The tutor instructs:

‘Conoçed la sustança por los açedentes. [. . .] Conoçed a Dios en sus criaturas, y en las maravillas que él fizo. Entended e conoçed el su grand poder [. . .] E todas las cosas que él fizo, todas le ovedeçen, e no pasan de su mandado e curso que los él puso primero. [. . .] non creades aquellos que vos dirán que vos farán ber e saver vuestra ventura; que dezirvos an que avedes a ser muy grande e que avedes de alcanzar esto e aquello, e de quanto vos dixeren non será ninguna cosa. [. . .] E creed que Dios sin vos vos fizo, e sin vos vos delibrará. Guardadvos non creades falsas profezías, ni ayades fuzia en ellas [. . .] Lo que Dios non quiso mostrar a los sus escogidos, enfigen de saver los pecadores [. . .] ¿Quién es aquel que sabe la voluntad de Dios en las cosas que son por venir? ¿O sabe el hombre más que dios? Esto es falso’ (Díez de Games 65-69).

Furthermore, instead of believing in false signs and superstitions, the tutor suggests learning to detect natural signs, such as those pertaining to the weather, in order to prepare oneself for the future:

‘De tanto podres ser çierto, e saber de lo que es por venir, que en pos del verano viene el ynbierno, e nos conbiene de aparejar para el ynbierno de casas abrigadas e calientes, e leña, e vitualles, para el que es tienpo fuerte e neguado, que las non podíades aber; e durante el ynbierno, que vos aperçiuades de las cosas conbenientes a él’ (Díez de Games 69).

As Mirando notes, “El instructor de Pero Niño le explica la diferencia existente entre las señales naturales, que permiten al hombre adivinar el tiempo, y las falsas señales, fruto de la adivinación y la superstición. La fe y la razón han de triunfar ante la ignorancia y las falsas creencias” (47). Hence, we see in his passages the importance that Díez de Games places in faith, reason, and rhetoric as components of a good knight.

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*El Victorial* contains one campaign and four battlefield *arengas*, noticeably fewer and shorter than what is found in the *LdeA*. All but one are spoken by the protagonist don Pero Niño, who serves as captain of a galley ship. The remaining *arenga* is found within the text’s digression into the history of Britain and is given by the Prince of Wales before battling the French.<sup>37</sup> There are no speeches from any of the enemies of Pero Niño or the Prince; hence, as in the *CMC* and *PFG*, we again see a unilateral approach to the harangue.

The *arengas* of *El Victorial* are:

Harangue One: Niño to his sailors preparing to attack two corsairs at the port of Marseilles after having given orders to his cousin, who captains another ship (Chapter XXXIX)

Harangue Two: Niño at the caves of Alcocébar in an attempt to secure fresh water and knowing that they will encounter and have to fight the Moors (Chapter L)

Harangue Three: The Prince of Wales in the face of a powerful French army while on French soil (Chapter LXXX)

Harangue Four: Niño near Jersey, before a land battle against the English (Chapter LXXXIX)

Harangue Five: Niño’s campaign *arenga* in response to the men’s fears of an eclipse (Chapter LXXXVI).

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<sup>37</sup> This speech comes as a reaction to the counsel the Prince receives from his soldiers not to fight the French king. Yet, it is not a political speech within the context of a debate, as the Prince has already decided to go into battle, and no discussions follow. There is no doubt that he intends to engage the enemy because, after this speech, he immediately orders the men to kill their horses so that they have no other option but to fight.

### **Categories of Appeal in *El Victorial***

Examples of all three types of classical appeals can be found among the speeches. The majority are emotional with the exception of the fifth harangue, which serves as a repetition of the tutor's argument against false beliefs and extols the use of logic, using, of course, appeals to *logos*.

All of the speeches begin with a salutation meant to gain favor with the audience and develop a sense of camaraderie. Four contain the friendly "amigos," including one instance in which it is paired with "parientes." The remaining speech starts with "Castellanos" and is the only one given in the face of a Moorish enemy.

#### **Harangue One**

The first *arenga* contains only emotional appeals as Pero Niño prepares his men to attack a pair of corsairs who have been causing trouble off the Iberian coast. As captain of the ship, the Count rallies the men by appealing to their desire for personal and national fame, their fears of death in defeat, and their prejudice toward the enemy pirates. Their patriotism is matched to their own sense of fame as he calls upon them as "Castellanos" and reminds them "“cómo auemos oy de ganar honrra para Castilla, donde somos naturales, e para vos mesmos”" (Díez de Games 108). Additionally, surrender is not possible as death will surely result: "“ca el que fuese preso non escaparía por eso de la muerte”" (Díez de Games 108.) Finally, the Count chooses to deride their opponent by describing them as robbers and evildoers, "robadores e malhechores," who surely will lose the battle (Díez de Games 108).

#### **Harangue Two**

The second harangue is extremely short and contains appeals to *ethos* and *pathos*. Within a few lines, Pero Niño impresses upon his sailors the dire necessity of obtaining fresh

water and, thus, the need to win the upcoming fight against the Moors, the only obstacle to their goal. However, as he is wounded, he cannot join his men. Yet, he masterfully creates a feeling of camaraderie by employing the salutation “Amigos” and including himself through the “nosotros” conjugation when identifying the danger that they all face if they do not obtain the much needed water. Additionally, he reminds his men of his previous contributions to the group, recalling his wounds received at Túnez. Hence, he has the authority to ask them to do their job for the good of the group. He tells the men, ““ya bedes en la priesa que somos, si esta agua non se toma. Subid a ellos: ya vedes que non puedo yr con vosotros – ca estava ferido de la ferida que le dieran en Túnez -”” (Díez de Games 132). Thus, we see the use of appeals to fear and the use of the speaker’s authority within this harangue.

### **Harangue Three**

The third *arenga* offers a mix of emotional, logical, and personal authority appeals as the Prince of Wales harangues his men before fighting the French in France.

On the emotional level, he appeals to the men’s pride and fears of punishment and death as he notes the consequences of avoiding the battle. Not only will they put their reputations as noble knights at risk by fleeing homeward, but if they do retreat, the French will certainly pursue and kill them. If they manage to escape this threat, the King of England will either kill or exile them, and there will be no place for them to live honorably:

Si nosotros fuymos agora, pasaremos el mandamiento del rey, e quebrantaremos el estatuto puesto e otorgado por los nobles caballeros. Demás que ternemos dos enconvinientes: el vno, que tenemos la fuyda muy lexos, e la mar en medio, e nuestros henemigos a las espaldas, que nos seguirán hasta la muerte; el otro es que, en caso que escapásemos, non nos conbiene yr en Angliaterra, porque tal es el rey qué nos mataría, o nos desterraría, e todas las naçiones nos denostarían (Díez de Games 227).

Wales further appeals to his men's sense of pride by ridiculing any notion of fleeing, noting that they were not sent to France to attend a wedding but to do their job as soldiers. We hear the Prince state, “que quando el rey mi padre nos envió, que no nos enviaba a bodas, mas a conquistar reynos e tierras” (Díez de Games 227), and he reminds them that they have a duty and that their honor is at stake should they not fulfill it: “E nosotros vinimos a Francia por aver honrra; si fuymos, la honrra perdida es. ¿Qué nos aprovecha quanto avemos fecho en França, si agora fuymos e en la fin nos mostramos cobardes?” (Díez de Games 228). Thus, the Prince appeals to the men's fears of losing their citizenship and their lives while also appealing to their concerns for their reputations.

Yet, beyond these emotional appeals, the Prince also incorporates logic. He supports his emotional pleas to their fears by providing facts and examples about his father, the King, who expects much of the men. The King has never fled a fight and thus has established a precedent he expects his army to follow:

‘Bien sabedes vos quién es el rey Aduarte, mi padre, cómo es el más honrrado rey que oy ay en cristianos, e cómo á seydo muy gerrero honbre, e batallador, e sienpre fué bencedor e nunca benzido. E cómo á puesto estatuto a sí e a todos los suyos de nunca fuir del campo, por muy grand priesa ni fortuna de gente que benga, de dos mill honbres dar mas arriba; e donde estas se acaecieren, avnque de la otra arte vengán quantos venir pudieren, que antes mueran todos que non buelvan las espaldas’ (Díez de Games 227).

Additionally, Wales also appeals to logic by creating a general saying concerning the conquest of nations. He tells the men that those who attempt to conquer others face certain risks and that only God can determine the winners: “E el que entra en reyno ageno a conquistar, tan bién se abentura a ser benzido como vencedor; ca el pelear es en los honbres, e el benzer es en las manos de Dios” (Díez de Games 227-228). Thus, the Prince uses

statements of fact about his father's past heroic actions as well as a maxim to harangue the men with logic.

Wales concludes the speech with an appeal based on his personal authority as he tells the men what he will personally do since he is a part of the "we" that runs the risks of conquest. "'Yo fago voto a Dios que ya en mi vida non calzaré espuelas, porque yo no pueda fuir'" (Díez de Games 228). He will not flee but rather will place his trust in God. Thus, it is not in his nature to avoid the fight, and therefore, he has the authority to expect the same of his men.

#### **Harangue Four**

In the fourth harangue, Pero Niño uses only emotional appeals before battling the English on a small island near Jersey. First, while he acknowledges that the enemy is prepared for battle, being "bien harmados," he appeals to his men's pride and prejudice by stating that the English are not as strong or as good as they are: "'e son asaz gente, pero no son tan fuertes como vosotros, ni tan buenos'" (Díez de Games 267). Next, he appeals to the men's fears as he reminds them of the impossibility of retreat. Escape is not possible, and fleeing will lead to death, either by the sea or by the English, who apparently kill Castilian prisoners. Hence, they have no choice but to win if they want to live:

'[. . .] que por fuir non podredes escapar, que moriredes todos en la mar; pues avnque vos diédeses a prisión, bien sabedes ya cómo lo fazen los yngleses con los castellanos, e cómo son henemigos sin piedad' (Díez de Games 267).

Yet, on a positive note, Pero Niño also appeals to the men's greed for honor and riches, noting the benefits to winning the battle: "'Si firmes estades, e bien peleardes, abredes la honrra e mucho buen despoxo. Mirad qué tierra tan rica e tan fermosa. Quanto bedes, tanto

será vuestro, sólo que bien peleedes” (Díez de Games 267). Thus, the Count appeals to pride, prejudice, fear, and greed in his attempt to beat the British on their own soil.

### Harangue Five

In the text’s campaign *arenga*, we see the use of logic in the face of falsehood. The men have witnessed an eclipse while embarking from Rouen in their naval campaign against England. They interpret the celestial event as an evil omen for the future. Díez de Games tells us, “e fueron muy espantados toda la gente de las galeras e de la tierra, e dezían al capitán que dexase aquella partida, diziendo que non hera buena señal para fazer guerra. E los marineros acordavan todos que non debían partir en toda aquella luna” (247). As mentioned above, Pero Niño’s tutor strongly urged his pupil against placing faith in superstitious falsities, something which Díez de Games also believed according to Mata Carriazo (XXVII, XLVII). Thus, we see that the Count follows his tutor’s advice on rhetoric and faith and delivers a logical *arenga* in favor of reason. Here, instead of appealing to *pathos*, he begins by dismissing the men’s emotions, asking them to let go of their fears: ““Amigos, non vos espantedes, non ayades temor” (Díez de Games 247). He recalls his tutor’s lesson on faith and tells them, ““ca no ya de que nosotros cristianos somos, en Dios creemos, e a él adoramos. Non debemos creer en señales” (Díez de Games 247). He employs rhetorical questions and reiterates the doctrines of Christian faith to highlight their absurd reaction to God’s work and their irrational attempt to explain His mysteries:

‘Abed grande feé en Dios, que él fizo todas las cosas: él sabe lo que faze. ¿Quién es aquel que faze sus juiçios e diçierne los sus fechos? Non nos fizo él a nos para que juzguemos las sus obras, mas que seamos vmilldes o ovedezcamos los sus mandamientos’ (Díez de Games 247).



Finally, he explains in lengthy detail the scientific causes of an eclipse, providing statements of fact and creating a correlating example in order to appeal to logic.<sup>38</sup>

‘E si agora faze escuro, a poca de ora fará claro. Pero dezirvos he cómo se faze el eclipse. El sol está alot e la luna más vaja, e agora acaeçe que pasa la luna antel sol e estorba que non pase la claridad a nos, ca la luna de sí mesma es escura, e no á otra claridad sinó la que resçibe del sol; pero que es vn querpo atan stil, que en feriendo el sol en ella resçibe aquella claridad que ella lanza, non de sí, mas del sol. El sol sienpre es en su claridad cunplida; ni se muere, ni es ferido, ni más escuro agora que ante. Nos es maravilla que dos honbres, vno de Chipre e otor de Pruza, andando por el mundo se encuentran, e non fazen por eso señal: fiçieron curso, mas non señal. Ansí ficiéron agora la luna e el sol, que andando cada vno con su çielo, se econtraron, e pasó la luna antel sol. Pasarase á el vno siguiendo su curso, yrse á el otro su bía hordenada, e apareçerá claro’ (Díez de Games 247-248).

Hence, Pero Niño presents a logical speech to encourage his men before departing for war.

Interestingly, this contrasts greatly with Fernán González’s speech in the *PFG* when faced with a similar, mysterious situation, the dragon in the sky. In that speech, González uses religion to allay his men’s fears, but his message appeals to his men’s emotions, threatening God’s wrath and slandering the enemy as godless. On the contrary, Pero Niño’s speech is neither derogatory nor intimidating but rather illuminating due to his reasoned explanation of the eclipse and its place in God’s universe.

### **Categories of Theme in *El Victorial***

Five main categories of theme can be found among the *arengas* of *El Victorial*. They are Orders and Tactics, Duty, Advantage, Profit, and Aversion to Shame. For all but Shame,

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<sup>38</sup> This advice corresponds to what the Roman Frontius cited in his Book 1, chapter 12 of *Strategems*. “8. C. Sulpicius Gallus defectum lunae imminensem, ne pro ostento exciperent milites, praedixit futurum, additis rationibus causisque defectionis. 9. Agathocles Syracusanus adversus Poenos, simili eiusdem sideris deminutione quia sub diem pugnae ut prodigio milites sui consternati erant, ratione qua id accideret exposita docuit, quidquid illud foret, ad rerum naturam, non ad ipsorum propositum pertinere” (Frontius 82). Gaius Sulpicus Gallus not only announced an approaching eclipse of the moon, in order to prevent the soldiers from taking it as a prodigy, but also gave the reasons and causes of the eclipse. When Agathocles, the Syracusan, was fighting against the Carthaginians, and his soldiers on the eve of battle were thrown into panic by a similar eclipse of the moon, which they interpreted as a prodigy, he explained the reason why this happened, and showed them that, whatever it was, it had to do with nature, and not with their own purposes” (Bennett 83).

the themes are multi-dimensional, containing at least two sub-categories. Additionally, all of the speeches themselves are multi-themed.

### **Orders and Tactics**

The most dominant subcategory within the harangues is a statement of the commander's expectations. Appearing in all five of *El Victorial's arengas*, it makes the category of "Orders and Tactics" the most common among the speeches. In Harangue One, we see Pero Niño urging his men to fight fervently, "Pelead firmemente," so as not to be taken capture (Díez de Games 108). In the second and fourth *arengas*, he expects the men to follow his commands as good sailors and soldiers, telling them "'fazed como buenos'" (Díez de Games 132) and "'Agora aperçebidvos, e façed como honbres buenos'" (Díez de Games 267). In this fourth harangue, he also calls upon them to fight fiercely and not to allow themselves to be conquered, "'Pelead fuertemente; no vos dexedes bençer. Estad todos firmes de vn corazón,'" (Díez de Games 267). Finally, in Harangue Five, he expects them, as good Christians, to hold back their fears in the face of an eclipse, stating, "'Amigos, non vos espantedes, non ayades temor; ca no ya de que nosotros cristianos somos, en Dios creemos, e a él adoramos'" (Díez de Games 247). Additionally, the Prince of Wales imparts King Edward's expectations to the men in Harangue Three, noting that his father has never accepted retreat as an option. He tells his fellow Britons:

'E cómo á puesto estatuto a sí e a todos los suyos de nunca fuir del canpo, por muy grand priesa ni fortuna de gente que benga, de dos mill honbres darmas arriba; e donde estas se acaeçieren, avnque de la otra parte vengan quantos venir pudieren, que antes mueran todos que non buelvan las espaldas' (Díez de Games 227).

However, beyond establishing expectations, other subcategories emerge under the auspices of Orders and Tactics. For example, both Pero Niño and the Prince offer themselves as examples to follow. In Harangue Three, the Prince of Wales tells the men that he will put

his faith in God, as he cannot flee the battlefield, “Yo fago voto a Dios que ya en mi vida non calzaré espuela, porque yo non pueda fuir” (Díez de Games 228). Furthermore, he cites his father the King of England as another example, noting that he has never been defeated despite the odds. In Harangue Four, Pero Niño combines the sub-categories of example and direct orders as he commands the men to hold the ground that he holds and that they should wait until the enemy approaches them: “Catad que ninguno no se parta del lugar en que lo yo dexo, nin vos movades hasta que ellos lleguen a vos” (Díez de Games 267). Finally, Pero Nino also directly orders the men in Harangue Two to go down, face the Moors, and get the water: “Subid a ellos” (Díez de Games 132).

### **Duty**

One of the most memorable repeated messages we see throughout the work's harangues is the declaration that the men must face a do-or-die situation with a sense of duty. In these speeches, the commander straightforwardly states that escape is not possible and that retreat means death either by nature, at the hands of a ruthless enemy, or by their own side. In the first harangue, Pero Niño warns them that being a prisoner will not mean avoiding death: “Pelead firmemente; non sea hombre de vosotros que se dexe prender, ca el que fuese preso non espcaría por eso de la muerte” (Díez de Games 108). In Harangue Two, he reminds them of their urgent need for fresh water, stating, “Amigos, ya bedes en la priesa que somos, si esta agua non se toma” (Díez de Games 132). However, in the fourth harangue, he goes into incredible detail in explaining the few options available to them. Having anticipated that his men will want to retreat from the upcoming land battle near Jersey, he has posted his ships offshore and ordered small boats to shoot at any men fleeing to the safety of the fleet. Thus, as the Castilians and French are on enemy English soil, they

face two options and two outcomes. On land, they must fight and win for they surely know what happens to Castilians taken prisoner by the impious English. Furthermore, if they flee to the sea for protection, they certainly will die. Pero Niño explains:

‘Catad la mar que tenedes a las espaldas, e cómo los nabíos están yermos de gente; non tengades fuzia a ellos. Ved cómo estades entre dos henemigos, la mar e la tierra. Pelead fuertemente; no vos dexedes bençer. Estad todos firmes de vn corazón, que por fuir non podredes escapar, que moriredes todos en la mar; pues avnque vos diédeses a prisión, bien sabedes que ya cómo los fazen los yngleses con las castellanos, e cómo son henemigos sin piedad’ (Díez de Games 267).

Thus, three of Pero Niño’s speeches concern the personal stakes involved in an upcoming battle.

Furthermore, the Prince of Wales also dedicates a large majority of his speech to outline the all-or-nothing battle facing them in France as they prepare to engage the French army. In Harangue Three, he tells his men that if they flee, they will face a challenging sea, and their enemy will follow and kill them. If they manage to escape these dangers and return home, the King of England will either kill or exile them, attaching consequences to the failure to meet expectations. We read:

‘Si nosotros fuymos agora, pasaremos el mandamiento del rey, e quebrantaremos el estatuto puesto e otorgado por los nobles caballeros. Demás que ternemos dos enconvinientes: el vno, que tenemos la fuyda muy lexos, e la mar en medio, e nuestros henemigos a las espaldas, que nos seguirán hasta la muerte; el otro es que, en caso que escapásemos, non nos conviene yr en Angliaterra, porque tal es el rey quél nos mataría, o nos desterraría, e todas las naçiones nos denostarían’ (Díez de Games 227).

In addition to this emphasis on the duty of the men to themselves, in terms of self preservation, we also see messages explicitly reminding them of their job as soldiers. The Prince of Wales remarks that fighting and conquering is what they have been sent to do:

‘Demás, bien sabíades vosotros, e avn yo, que quando el rey mi padre nos envió, que no nos enviava a bodas, mas a conquistar reynos e tierras. E el que entra en reyno

ageno a conquistar, tan bién se aventura a ser benzido como venzedor;’ (Díez de Games 227-228).

Additionally, in Harangue Five, Pero Niño confronts the men’s fears upon seeing the eclipse and tells them they need to be more concerned with their jobs and leave God to do what He will. He says, “‘Fagamos nosotros lo que nuestro es de fazer, e faga él de nos lo que él por bien toviere’” (Díez de Games 247). Thus, in these two speeches, both leaders underscore the responsibilities that their men have while on campaign.

### **Advantage / Hope of Victory**

Victory due to an advantage from divine favoritism, righteousness, or military superiority appears in three of Pero Niño’s *arengas*. In both the fourth and fifth harangues, he suggests that the men will have divine assistance and protection, commanding, “‘Llamad todos a Santiago, que es nuestro patrón de España, que él nos ayudará’” (Díez de Games 267). Likewise, they need to pray to God to guide them through all of their troubles, such as the awesome eclipse that they have witnessed: “‘Roguémosle e pidámosle merçed ue nos guíe e nos guarde, e él lo fará, que berdadera es la su palabra. El dize que con nos será en tribulaçiones, e que si lo llamáremos él nos oyrá apresuradamente’” (Díez de Games 247). Additionally, God will help them because they deserve a victory: “‘Con la ayuda de Dios e con la su justiçia, ellos serán bençidos, ca ellos son robardes e malhechores; non arán manos contra nos’” (Díez de Games 108). In Harangue Four, Pero Niño also reminds them of their military superiority, noting, “‘catadlos allí todos puestos en batalla, e bien harmados, para benir a nosotros, segúnd que nosotros queremos yr a ellos; e son asaz gente, pero no son tan fuertes como vosotros, ni tan buenos’” (Díez de Games 267). Thus, Pero Niño predicts they will see success because of God, because they are righteous, and because of their supremacy.

The Prince of Wales also attributes victory due to divine intervention but in a much more neutral way. In Harangue Three, he tells the men that they are responsible for fighting, but that God determines the winners: ““ca el pelear es en los honbres, e el venger es en las manos de Dios”” (Díez de Games 228). Thus, he makes a general statement rather than deliver an overt motivating message. It also coincides with the statement that Díez de Games provided the reader in Chapter IV of his “Proemio” concerning God, and not numbers, as the deciding factor in battles.

### **Profit**

Pero Niño discusses profit, either material and/or immaterial, in two of his *arengas*. In the first *arenga*, we see the lure of both personal and national honor as he tells the men, ““Castellanos, ved en qué lugar estamos, cómo oy soys mirados de quantas naçiones ay en cristianos, e cómo auemos oy de ganar honrra para Castilla, donde somos naturales, e para vos mesmos”” (Díez de Games 108). Furthermore, in the fourth harangue, honor and land are in the offing in exchange for valiant fighting. Pero Niño promises, ““Si firmes estades, e bien peleardes, abredes la honrra e mucho buen despoxo. Mirad qué tierra tan rica e tan fermosa. Quanto bedes, tanto será vuestro, sólo que bien peleedes”” (Díez de Games 267). Thus, he asserts the concept of demonstrating reward for good fighting, following the advice Aristotle gave to Alexander:

E los que tú saues que su deudo farán,  
diles que los fagan, que bien te entenderán;  
promételes de grado todo quanto querrán,  
que algunos ende que nunca lo perderán (Díez de Games 14).

### **Aversion to Shame**

In contrast to Pero Niño’s focus on the prospect of gaining honor, the Prince of Wales stresses the possibility of losing it and, hence, the need to avoid bringing shame to oneself.

In Harangue Three, he discusses keeping one's honor safe, stating, “Vosotros que aquí estades e otros muchos e lo otogaron así; o que ante que bengan al fecho se pongan en tal lugar donde non les benga bergüenza, o que puedan librar guardando sus honrras” (Díez de Games 227). Furthermore, later in his speech, he reminds the men that while they have come to France to win honor, they would lose it if they were to flee: “E nosotros venimos en Franzia por aber honrra; si fuymos, la honrra perdida es. ¿Qué nos aprovecha quanto avemos fecho en França, si agora fuymos e en la fin nos mostramos cobardes? En la fin yaze la honrra” (Díez de Games 228). Hence, contrary to Pero Niño's optimistic view of combat providing opportunities to gain honor, the Prince of Wales focuses on the consequence to reputation if one does not enter into battle.

### **Successfulness of the Haranguer in *El Victorial***

Díez de Games does not judge the rhetorical skills or eloquence of Pero Niño or the Prince in any of their speeches but instead notes the effectiveness or validity of three of Pero Niño's speeches. In Harangues Two and Four, we see the author emphasizing the orderliness of the men, inspired by Pero Niño's leadership and speeches. This concurs with Alexander's chivalric education described in the “Proemio,” in which Aristotle taught, “Caudilla bien los hazes, e a paso las mandas yr,” (Díez de Games 14). Furthermore, in Harangue Five, the author comments directly on Pero Niño's persuasiveness as well as his logic in the face of superstitions, corresponding to the advice the tutor gave him.

Regarding the second *arenga*, we read only of its impact on the men. They disembark from their ships and comport themselves well, ready for any confrontation with the Moors during their attempt to obtain fresh water. Díez de Games notes, “E salieron en tierra, y hordenáronse muy bien” (132). Hence, the author provides very little commentary,

and the reader is left to assume that Pero Niño's *arenga* inspired the men's dutiful actions and orderliness.

In the fourth harangue, Díez de Games takes a similar approach, recognizing the orderliness of Pero Niño's men due to his clear commands. Following this speech, he goes to great lengths in praising his master's leadership abilities, commenting on his ability to speak with everyman and tell them what they needed to do:

E los caballeros tenían su batalla bien hordenada, segúnd que el capitán los abía dexado [. . .] Bien podredes entender el trauajo que pasaría vn solo caballero en hordenar e regir tanta gente; e él armado de todas piezas, sinó la cabeza. Que non ove y cavallero ni peón en que él no pusiese la mano, requeriéndolos dos e tres beces, e mandándoles cómo avían de fazer (Díez de Games 267-268).

Yet, this adulation does not comment directly on the *arenga* provided within the text, but simply underlines Pero Niño's leadership role before this particular battle and after he has given his speech. However, Díez de Games sees the speech as an encouragement to the men as he prefaces the *arenga* with the word "esforzándolos" (267).

The most direct reaction that Díez de Games provides his reader comes after the fifth harangue. Here, the author describes the logically infused speech as "razón" and explicitly notes that the men's fears were allayed. Díez de Games writes, "Con esta razón que el capitán dixo, plogo mucho a todos, e perdieron temor" (248). Hence, the speech effectively persuaded its audience, emboldening the men to overcome their fears.

Following this harangue, Díez de Games himself, as the third party "avtor," sermonizes against superstitions, offering his support and approval of Pero Niño's reasoning and faith. In fact, the author repeats and expounds upon Pero Niño's argument.<sup>39</sup> Hence, he

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<sup>39</sup> Díez de Games writes, "Dize aquí el avtor que asaz abastería al hombre feé e raçon para se salbar e vivir en este mundo; mas que de amas vsa mal, porque dexa el hombre de traer e aber fee en Dios, e pone su fuzia en signos de las aves, e en los estornudos, en las adebinanzas, e en los sueños. Quitado de honbre, ¿tú non sabes que en las abes non ay razón? Pues los que Dios ascondió al hombre razonable, al qual Dios dotó e cunplió de



provides a different method for measuring the success of an *arenga* not been seen in our previous harangues. He informs the reader of its soundness as if it were fact.

This explicit support of Pero Niño's great logic, when all others were easily swayed by fear and superstition, goes beyond praising Pero Niño's leadership and rhetorical abilities. It distinctly separates and elevates the young count from the masses based on reason and faith. Díez de Games introduces the episode by noting the varied interpretations the sailors and others had of the eclipse but also by noting that they all were based on superstition. Each one understood the eclipse according to his knowledge, or "su seso":

E partieron las galeras de Roán, podía ser a la ora de prima: comenzando a remar, esquireció el sol, e fueron muy espantados toda la gente de las galeras e de la tierra, e dezían al capitán que dexase aquella partida, diziendo que non hera buena señal para fazer guerra. E los marineros acordavan todos que non debían partir en toda aquella luna. Vnos dezían que el sol hera ferido, e que mostrava grand mortandad de gentes; otros, que abían de ser grandes tormentas en la mar, e otros muchas cosas, cada vnos segúnd su seso (247).

Yet, Captain Niño is shown to be smarter and more faithful, swayed not by the natural phenomenon. He has the superior "seso."

### **Structure in *El Victorial***

When comparing the speeches to the other medieval arts, much the same can be said of this text as with the others of this dissertation. While the harangues contain characteristics similar to those of the other arts, they are not identical to them. We note the use of salutations in the speeches; however there are no summations. Instead, the four battlefield *arengas* end strongly with new messages. In Harangues One and Four, the speaker predicts victory. In Harangue Two, the commander states his expectations while in Harangue Three,

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virtud pocomenos que a los ángeles, ¿cómo lo dió a la animalía bruta? Dióles Dios algúnd estinto e seso natural para buscar su bida, e guardarse de los enpezimientos; mas non les dió saber las cosas que son por benir. Ansí que estas cosas la ley las defiende, e la razón non las sufre" (248).

he establishes himself as an example. Meanwhile, the informative campaign *arenga* does not end as strongly as the others, but it simply concludes with the explanation of how an eclipse ends, without including a summation of the overall message. Thus, all of the speeches show similarity to the *ars praedicandi*'s emphasis on subject matter rather than on summations. The use of expectations throughout all of the speeches is again akin to the petition seen in the political and letter-writing arts, but again, the commander is not asking permission, but expressing his requirements. The presentation of the stakes of battle can be extremely short, as in Harangues One and Two, and amplified, as in Harangues Three and Four. Yet they are not complex or sophisticated. The leaders state the situation bluntly. Personal consequences dominate the messages pertaining to duty, showing similarity to some medieval political oratory. Finally, the fifth harangue's sermonizing tone likens it to the *ars praedicandi*, but Pero Niño limits his discussion to the eclipse, without amplifying and dividing his topic. Likewise, while there is an amplification of consequences within Harangues Three and Four, no division and subdivision occurs as with the art of preaching. The speakers merely list the various repercussions to retreating. Hence the *arengas* of Díez de Games' text are similar to other aspects of oratory discussed in medieval arts of rhetoric but show evidence of existing as a separate genre.

The harangues of *El Victorial* reflect the episodic nature of the biography of Pero Niño, the exemplar of chivalric actions and comportment. Each of the Count's four speeches are delivered in the face of a different enemy, be it pirates, the Moors, the English, or superstition. Hence, the only common thread uniting these maritime adventures is Pero Niño's service to the crown, underlining his exemplary status and supporting the book's overall theme. This correspondence between speeches and the text's theme is similar to what

we found in other works of our investigation thus far: the eternal struggle between the forces of good and evil in the *PFG*, the constant burden of surviving exile in the *CMC*, and the long quest against one's enemy in the *LdeA*. In *El Victorial*, Pero Niño fights where his king commands, pursuing the life of a sailor and dutiful knight errant, and the *arengas* found within the chronicle mirror the variety of his life and ventures. Díez de Games' inclusion of the Prince of Wales' *arenga* only adds to this assortment of adventures and examples, and thus all of these varied vignettes flow together under the primer on knighthood. As Mata Carriazo notes of the work:

[Díez de] Games ha tenido el acierto de no poner por separado los ingredientes que componen el *Victorial*. La doctrina de la Caballería y la vida del caballero se mezclan y entrecruzan, pasándose de una en otra por ágiles transiciones que mantienen la unidad de la obra. Games crea de esta suerte un estilo de lanzadera, que zumba en rápidos giros de un cabo a otro de la trama, sin detenerse en ninguno (XLI).

When comparing the harangues of *El Victorial* to those of the *LdeA*, the *CMC*, and the *PFG*, the speeches have much more in common with the straightforward style of the *CMC* than the rhetorical harangues of the *LdeA* and *PFG*. Devoid of metaphorical language and decorative literary devices, Díez de Games' *arengas* advance the action of the story and enhance its suspense by stressing the do-or-die situation facing the men. The brevity of Harangues One and Two creates a sense of urgency and immediacy to each situation as the Castilians are chasing elusive pirates or trying to acquire their last chance at fresh water. Thus, the reader feels that if they do not act now, they will lose their opportunity. Meanwhile, the lengthier Harangues Three and Four expound upon the dire consequences of not fighting, and thus underline the gravity of the situation. However, as both Pero Niño and the Prince stay on message, amplifying examples without embellishing them, their speeches do not stall the story but rather enhance its tension. Appropriately, the work's campaign

*arenga*, addressed away from immediate combat, is the only one in which there is a pause in the action and tension as Pero Niño instructs upon the eclipse and sermonizes on man's place in God's world. While not as colorful as the *PFG*'s *arenga* regarding the dragon, the two speeches are similar through their sermonic character and religious message in the face of a "magical" event.

This mix of pace among the harangues coincides with the work's general style as observed by other scholars. Mata Carriazo notes that the text overall contains a masterful use of the opposing literary styles of amplification and synthesis, adding to its appeal. He states, "El juego de estas dos facultades o condiciones explica todo el atractivo del *Victorial*" (XL-XLI). Sanz also comments on the fluidity of the narration in general:

Como quiera que sea, la narración fluye con facilidad sorprendente, llena de colorido y viveza, [. . .] mucho más 'moderna' que la de bastantes escritores de la segunda mitad del siglo XV, ya que en ella no aparecen las repeticiones y circunloquios que tanto abundan en el lenguaje de la época (XXXVI).

As the four battlefield *arengas* exacerbate the tension of the episode in which they are found, the speeches serve to highlight the solid, courageous character of their speakers who are willing to lead their forces through deadly circumstances. Thus, these men are virtuous through their courage. As Rafael Beltrán notes, for Díez de Games, virtue and nobility were inborn characteristics of the count:

[. . .] entenderemos perfectamente la insistencia del autor en sugerir que a Pero Niño la nobleza le venía preordenada. En contradicción con la realidad histórica de Pero Niño, que, tal como la conocemos, dibuja claramente el proceso de un caballero que desde las más humilde hidalguía asciende trabajosamente hasta la nobleza, la biografía nos apremia a inferir que Pero Niño no era hijo de sus obras, sino de sus cualidades (367).

Furthermore, he notes that Díez de Games references Aristotle to support this notion of inherited nobility and its relevance to Pero Niño (Beltrán 369). We read in the text:

[. . .] como dize el Filósofo, que a vno poca dotrina le abasta, e a otro mucha enseñanza no le aprovecha. Esto dize porque aquel viene de natura, muy de reféz aprende la cosa. E Pero Niño todas las buenas enseñanzas e gentilezas le benía por natura, e sienpre vsó dellas en quanto él vibió; e avn bibe oy su fama, e vibirá entre los caballeros e entre los nobles (Díez de Games 218-219).

Thus, Pero Niño's bravery in the face of mortal combat can only stem from his natural, inherent makeup.

The all-or-nothing strategy professed by him in Harangue Four explains his ability to go undefeated throughout his military career. Surrender and retreat are simply not an option, in much the same way as it had not been for the King of England and his men.

For Díez de Games, these two qualities, character and constant victory, separate his exemplary subject from his contemporaries and place him on a par with other historical luminaries. Pero Niño was "grande en virtudes" and "nunca fué bençido":

E yo, aviendo leydas e oydas muchas grandes cosas de las que los nobles e grandes cavalleros fizieron, busqué si fallaría algúnd tan benturoso e buen cavallero que nunca oviese sido bençido de sus henemigos alguna vez, e non fallé sino tres: el gran Alixandre, e del grand Ercoles, e del rey Atila, rey de los hugnos. [. . .]  
E estos, todos grandes príncipes, con la grand guarda de grandes poderes de gentes, hizieron muy grandes cosas de vatallas e guerra. E entre todos estos así leyendo e buscando, fallé vn buen cavallero, natural del reyno de Castilla, el qual toda su vida fué en ofiçio de armas e arte de cavallería, e nunca de ál se travaxó desde su niñez. E avnque no fué tan grande en estado como los sobredichos, fué grande en virtudes. El qual nunca fué bençido de sus henemigos; él ni gente suya (43-44).

Coupled with his faith in God, his abhorrence of superstition, his clear and commanding orders, and his use of reason, Niño's commitment to fight to victory makes him an archetype of chivalry and knighthood. As all of these qualities can be observed through his *arengas*, we must conclude that the harangues within the text cleverly reinforce this message in conformity with the episodic structure of the text. Díez de Games does not need to send his hero on a singular search or against one enemy, but instead he chooses to display

Pero Niño's merit through a variety of escapades to demonstrate the array of challenges facing knights and the best manner to deal with them.

**Table 6 - Appeals and Themes in *El Victorial's* Harangues**

<b>Battlefield Harangues</b>			
Harangue	Situation	Appeal(s)	Theme(s)
One	Preparing to attack corsairs off the coast of France	Salutation Fear Greed and Patriotism Prejudice	Expectations Duty to Self Profit (honor) Advantage due to Righteousness
Two	Trying to access fresh water for his fleet, in the face of a Moorish enemy	Salutation Fears Speaker's Authority	Orders and Expectations Duty to Self
Three	The Prince of Wales in France	Salutation Fear Logic (maxim, statement of facts) Pride (shame) Speaker's Authority	Examples and Expectations Duty to Self Duty (job) Aversion to shame God determines the winner
Four	Before a land battle in England	Salutation Fear Pride/prejudice Greed	Orders and Expectations Duty to Self Advantage due to God Advantage due to military superiority Profit (honor and land)

<b>Campaign Harangue</b>			
Harangue	Situation	Appeal(s)	Theme(s)
Five	In response to an eclipse	Salutation Logic (statements of fact, examples, rhetorical question)	Expectations Duty (job) Advantage due to God

## B. *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna*

Continuing with the genre of the personal chronicle/biography of fifteenth century Spain, the *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna* (CAL) emerges as another source for the *arenga*. Written and revised by its unconfirmed author between 1445 and 1500,<sup>40</sup> the text presents the life and capital execution of the famous Constable of Castile and Master of the Order of Santiago in an extremely positive and biased manner. Mata Carriazo notes that the work was written “con todo amor por un familiar de su casa” (XI), and thus he ascribes the authorship to Luna’s servant, Gonzalo Chacón, agreeing with Menéndez y Pelayo (XL). Nicholas Round also concurs in his analysis of the fall of Luna. He characterizes the CAL as “a tribute of simple-hearted chivalresque loyalty,” written with an “intense and subtly-orchestrated rhetoric” meant to defy the unjust, official record of Álvaro’s treason against the king (217). Round notes:

The exception among our sources in this matter of Juan II’s motivations [regarding Álvaro’s fall from favor] is, naturally enough the *Crónica de Don Alvaro de Luna*. Here the heroic Constable is guilty of no offense at all. Everything stems from the plotting of the *contador mayor*, Alonso Pérez de Vivero, and from Juan II’s own moral spinelessness. The literary genius with which this view is presented blurs and bedazzles any attempt at objective historical clarity (42).

Hence, Round concludes that the chronicler’s objective was not historical accuracy but rather persuasion in favor of Luna’s character. “[T]he chronicler’s main concern throughout seems less to explain events historically than to convince by force of rhetoric” (Round 68). Thus, an investigation of the *arengas* found within the text shall examine if and how the speeches support this overall premise and the rhetorical nature of the biography.

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<sup>40</sup> See Mata Carriazo’s introduction, pages XL-XLVII, for his theory regarding the dating of the work. Also, it is generally believed that his servant Gonzalo Chacón was the author.

Mata Carriazo's introduction to his 1940 edition, the third publication of the text<sup>41</sup>, provides a thorough overview of the text itself, reviewing questions of authorship and dating and discussing its relatively few sources, especially in comparison to *El Victorial* (XLVII-XLVIII). He also draws comparisons to contemporary biographies, noting differences in style, structure, and theme. In particular, Mata Carriazo observes that while *El Victorial* was prolific in its depiction of adventures and themes and while the *Hechos de Miguel Lucas de Iranzo* detailed its subject's life microscopically, the *CAL*, in comparison, was less faceted and precise (XII). He also notes that the author chose to use the political landscape, instead of the precepts of chivalry as in *El Victorial*, in order to establish a contrast between the generous and tremendous don Álvaro and Spain's society of traitors (XII).

No hallaremeos aqui, como en *El Victorial*, aquel arte certero y penetrante con que Gutierre Diez de Games toca los más diversos temas históricos, legendarios o morales, saltando de la más barroca proligidad a la más lapidaria concisión, de las teorías caballerescas o las evocaciones deliciosamente anacrónicas del mundo antiguo, a las aventuras marítimas, a las escenas de corte en tierras exóticas, a los amoríos del protagonista, un caballero del gótico florido. Pero tampoco la exactitud minuciosamente fotográfica, tan ramplona como preciosa por su valor documental, con que Pedro de Escavias nos refiere los *Hechos* de Miguel Lucas.

*La Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna* equidista de tales extremos, y se mantiene en un tono solemne y engolado, ni tan vivo y tan rico ni tan prosaico. Así como Gutierre Diez se esfuerza por presentar a Pero Niño como la flor y espejo de la Caballería, no desaprovechando coyuntura para lucir su propia erudición y su conocimiento de tierras y lenguajes; así como el alcaide de Andújar pone todo su empeño en difundir la magnificencia y la lealtad del condestable Iranzo, el cronista de don Álvaro – llamémosle ya Gonzalo Chacón – elige el plano político y ensalza a su señor como gobernante celoso del bien público y de la gloria de su soberano, en una sociedad de magnates rapaces y traidores (Mata Carriazo XII).

However despite these insights into the *CAL*, Mata Carriazo does not discuss the few *arengas* found within the text. Noting both Round's and Mata Carriazo's observances regarding the

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<sup>41</sup> Round notes that the work's circulation may have been very limited after its initial composition and then achieved only a wider distribution when the text was finally published for the first time in Milan in 1546 (217). Only two subsequent editions would follow, centuries later. In 1748 it appeared as part of the *Colección de Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla*, and in 1940 Mata Carriazo published his version as part of the *Colección de Crónicas Españolas* (Mata Carriazo XI, XIV).



text's promotion of Luna through either the presentation of events or the political environment, this study shall investigate what role the harangues have with respect to presenting Luna's character.

\*

There are two battlefield and one campaign *arengas* found within the chronicle. All three are spoken by the hero, don Álvaro de Luna, and thus they offer a unilateral perspective of their respective battles, just as in many of the other medieval texts studied thus far. The harangues are:

Harangue One: Luna before a battle against the Kings of Aragon and Navarre near Cogolludo

Harangue Two: Luna before the battle of Olmedo against rebellious Castilian nobles and the forces of the Princes of Aragon (all of Chapter LII)

Harangue Three: Luna in a campaign *arenga*, as his army departs Modéjar during a terrible storm in order to come to the aid of the besieged town of Cuenca

### **Categories of Appeal in the *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna***

Emotional appeals dominate the three harangues of the *CAL*. In fact, Luna only slightly uses logic in the first speech whereas direct appeals to personal authority are nonexistent.

All three speeches begin with a favorable salutation. While the first harangue's greeting is short, "Señores e buenos amigos" (79), those of the second and third are quite lengthy and focus on loyalty: "'Esforçados caualleros, buenos parientes, e firmes amigos, criados leales e compañeros fieles'" (164) and "'Buenos e leales criados, e fieles conpañeros'" (226). In all three, Luna uses flattering descriptors and reaffirms his relationship with his audience.

## Harangue One

Luna's first *arenga* is primarily emotional with only one appeal to logic. The Constable begins his speech with this logical appeal, creating a maxim from which he derives a majority of the rest of the harangue. He first informs the men that justice gives men confidence and victory in battle: “‘pues la justicia es aquella virtud que da a los caballeros en las batallas segura confianza de vitoria’” (79). He then infers that as his men are just and are fighting for a just cause, they will be emboldened to fight and win. Luna continues, stating, “‘pensad bien cuánta justicia tiene en esta parte el Rey nuestro señor, por quien hoy peleamos, e luego sentiréis cuán esforçados vos fallaréis para pelear e vencer’” (79).

This leads to his appeal to the men's pride and vanity, as he praises the virtuosity of their king who has entrusted them, based on their own virtue, to fight the powerful Kings of Navarre and Aragon. Luna states:

‘Es a saber, vitoria de reyes tan poderosos, e muy çierto glardón de vuestro muy virtuoso Rey, el qual vos escogió confiando de vuestra virtud, para que la su justicia por el vuestro bien fazer hoy se demostrase, e fuese executada’ (79).

He also praises the men's ancestry, noting they have inherited the desire to gain glory and honor in their “‘generosa sangre’” (79). He further appeals to their pride by contrasting them to the enemy, and thus incorporates an appeal to prejudice as well. He tells the men that their opponents are unjust and lack reason as he calls the enemy “‘aquellos que justicia ni razón no tienen’” (79).

Finally, Luna appeals to the men's greed by first alluding to their instinctual need to fight for honor and glory, as discussed above, and then alluding to the promises that a victory offers them. He states, “‘ved lo que la vuestra buena fortuna el día de hoy vos pone delante, e cómo al bien fazer de vuestras manos tan grandes cosas promete’” (79).

Hence, in this harangue Luna first uses a maxim to convince his men that they will win. He then combines appeals to pride, vanity, prejudice, and greed to propel the men to fight valiantly.

### Harangue Two

We see many of these same appeals in the second *arenga*, with the exceptions that only emotional appeals are used and that greed has been replaced with vengeance. Pride and vanity again surface as Luna reminds the men that the King (Juan II) has entrusted them with securing the realm and defending justice, ““aviendo segura confiança en el nuestro esfuerço e lealtad”” (164). While in the past, they may have fought because they were capable and strong, now they fight because they are loyal and virtuous. Luna tells them, ““E pensad que fasta aquí peleastes por que vos pudiesen fallar diestros y esforçados; e agora peleáys por que vos llamen leales e virtuosos”” (164). Certainly as well, the adjectives Luna ascribes to the men in his salutation, “buenos,” “firmes,” “leales,” and “fieles,” are directed at his audience’s vanity, serving to distinguish the men from their enemies. Thus appropriately, appeals to prejudice emerge again to create a contrast between the virtuous Castilians and the disloyal Castilian nobles who are rebelling against Juan II of Castile. While Luna’s men fight for their king, their kingdom, vengeance, and their laws, their enemy fights for the opposite. Luna proclaims, ““Pelean contra su Rey, e para mejor dezir con su Rey, destuyéndole sus reynos, e acresçientan su deslealtad, declaran su desagradesçimiento, e ronpen e van contra sus leyes”” (165). These enemies of the King hardly fear God as witnessed through their acts of disloyalty demonstrated at the battle of Panpliega. Luna states, ““e con quán poco temor de Dios han perseverado en el su desconosçimiento e deslealtad; en la batalla de Panpliega la publicaron, e agora la profían; por ende crezcan vuestros coraçones, e las injurias resçebidas,

e los daños e robos por esta gente fechos” (164). With this passage, Luna not only appeals to prejudice by again attacking the enemy’s disloyalty, but he also inspires revenge in his men, reminding them of the awful deeds committed by their opponents. Luna then further appeals to the men’s vanity by posing the question of who among the virtuous Castilians could fear such an unjust and guilty enemy: ““Así que en las nuestras manos va la justiçia, e en las suyas viene la culpa. ¿Pues quién temerá a estos tales enemigos, que deben aver más miedo de vivir que nosotros de morir?”” (165). Thus in his second harangue, Luna concentrates on appealing to the men’s pride, vanity, and prejudice while also inspiring the men to revenge.

### Harangue Three

In his campaign *arenga*, Luna appeals to vanity and immaterial greed as he attempts to encourage his men on their nighttime march to Cuenca under stormy and hazardous conditions. Luna begins by alluding to the glory they will achieve by surmounting such awful circumstances, stating, ““muy poco piensa en la gloria el que esta noche siente ningún trabajo que le venga”” (226). Continuing with his optimistic view of the current situation, he appeals to their vanity as he states that fortune has chosen *them* for this wonderful opportunity at fame. ““E que la fortuna vos escogió para darvos esta honrra de vitoria, que por vosotros se faga al Rey grand serbiçio,e a la tierra socorro maravilloso”” (226). Finally, he reiterates his appeal to immaterial greed by emphasizing that these horrible obstacles will actually demonstrate the men’s incredible courage and virtue. He states:

‘E por que en mayor presçio fuesse tenido el vuestro socorro, quiso vos dar la fortuna tan fuerte noche e tan trabajosa; por que la gloria vuestra sea mayor desque el fecho oviéredes acabado. Assí que el trabajo de que voz quexáis, vos acresçienta la gloria, e prueva vuestros coraçones, y examina vuestra virtud’ (226).

Hence, Luna inspires his men to carry on through the enticement of fame and the appeal to vanity.

### **Categories of Theme in the *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna***

Each harangue is multi-themed. Expectations, duty, and glory are dominant, appearing in all three speeches. Yet, Luna also highlights the numerous advantages his noblemen have over an enemy that is unjust or disloyal or both. Vengeance appears, but it is used surprisingly sparingly in a chronicle covering such turbulent, rebellious times.

#### **Expectations**

The sub-category of the commander's expectations materializes in all three harangues. Luna closes his first speech calling upon his men to be alert and courageous in order to strike the enemy. He commands, ““Por eso estad vivos e valientes, para ferir en aquellos”” (79). In the second harangue, not only does he close with similar expectations of doing harm to the enemy, stating, ““Por ende, vayamos todos de un corazón a ferir en ellos,”” he also begins his salutation shouting ““Esforçados”” (165, 164). Yet it is in his campaign *arenga* where we see Luna at his most explicit. Towards the beginning of his speech, he calls upon them to remember their mission to not only fight the king's enemies but to conquer and destroy them. He states, ““Menbradvos que ys non solamente a resistir a los enemigos del Rey nuestro señor, e de los sus reynos, más a vençerlos e desbaratarlos”” (226). He later concludes the speech directing them to be overjoyed at the prospect of the daunting task before them, instead of complaining about it. He tells them, ““por ende alegremente e con mucho corazón vos disponded a aquellos trabajos”” (226). Thus, in all three harangues Luna emerges as an expectative leader, requiring the men to do their jobs as soldiers.

## Duty

Noting this focus on expectations, it is appropriate that the theme of duty emerges in all three speeches as well, even appearing stronger than the theme of expectations, due to Luna's repetitiveness. In all the harangues, Luna considers his men to be the King's law enforcers. In the first *arenga*, he reminds them that they fight for their just king, stating, “pensad cuánta justicia tiene en esta parte el Rey nuestro señor, por quien peleamos” (79). He then adds that their actions will demonstrate and uphold justice, as the King has chosen them to be its defenders. “[. . .] el qual vos escogió confiando de vuestra virtud, para que la su justicia por el vuestro bien fazer hoy se demostrase, e fuese executada” (79). In the Olmedo speech, he returns to this theme, as their King expects “que la su justicia sea executada” (164). As in the first speech, Luna explicitly states that they fight for the King, but he also adds that they fight against a rebellious enemy in order to protect their kingdom and its laws. He states, “peleamos por nuestro Rey, defendemos nuestro reyno, [. . .], guardamos las nuestras leyes” (164). Finally, in the third speech, Luna announces his expectation that the men will not only fight but will defeat the enemy of the King, as a great service to him: “que por vosotros se faga al Rey grand serbiçio” (226). Hence, in all three *arengas*, Luna calls upon the men as protectors of society and invokes the King, the kingdom, and their societal norms (laws), in order to harangue them into action.

## Advantage

With judicial responsibility dominating Luna's speeches, it is not surprising to see victory viewed as resulting from righteousness. In the first harangue, Luna explains that righteousness gives armies an advantage because it imparts confidence to the soldiers, and

since their king is righteous, Luna implies that his army will be victorious. He tells his knights:

‘pues la justicia es aquella virtud que da a los caballeros en las batallas segura confiança de vitoria, pensad bien cuánta justicia tiene en esta parte el Rey nuestro señor, por quien hoy peleamos, e luego sentiréis quán esforçados vos fallaréis para pelear e vencer’ (79).

Luna ends his speech by reminding his army that the enemy is unlawful and unreasonable.

At Olmedo, he repeats this message, establishing first that his men are just while the rebellious Castilians are guilty of treason and lawlessness. He states, “‘Así que en las nuestras manos va la justiçia, e en las suyas viene la culpa’” (165). He then outlines the reasons for their upcoming victory and includes a reference to the righteousness of the King. “‘Pues yo confío en Dios, e en la justiçia del nuestro muy virtuoso Rey, e en el esfuerço de vosotros, que si en Panpliega fueron desbaratados, que en aquesta serán vençidos’” (165).

In these lines we also see that Luna has the tendency to provide other reasons for his army’s advantage over its enemies. Here in Harangue Two he implies that their strength and God’s support will aid them in their victory. Meanwhile, in Harangue One, in addition to their righteousness, he alludes to the soldiers’ inherited tenacity to seek glory and win, stating, “‘E si de la otra parte la generosa sangre de vosotros ha aquel deseo de honrra e de gloria que sienpre ovieron aquellos de donde vosotros venís’” (79). Hence, Luna’s speeches contain various reasons why his army will win.

### **Glory and the Role of Fortune**

Luna also discusses the role of Fortune in battles, in much the same way that Alexander spoke of it in Harangue Six of the *LdeA*. Instead of suggesting directly that Fortune will give them victory, he states that it has given them the opportunity to profit through combat. However, whereas with Alexander’s men the opportunity was to gain

riches, for Luna's men it is to serve their king loyally and gain fame and honor. We read in Luna's first harangue that he tells the men, "ved lo que la vuestra buena fortuna el día de hoy vos pone delante, e cómo al bien fazer vuestras manos tan grandes cosas promete" (79). Victory at this battle will be impressive as they fight "reyes tan poderosos" and earn the "muy çierto galardón de vuestro muy virtuoso Rey" (79). Furthermore, in the second harangue, Luna again cites Fortune's role in their auspicious prospect of being able to show loyalty and goodness to their just king: "Quanto más aviendo vos hoy dado la fortuna tan buen testigo como a vuestro Rey, en cuya presençia avéys de pelear" (165). However, it is in the campaign *arenga* where Luna most emphasizes Fortune's favor (in the face of what would seem to be unfortunate weather) and its relation to fame. As previously noted, Luna presents the difficult meteorological circumstances as fortuitous, noting that "quiso vos dar la fortuna tan fuerte noche e tan trabajosa; por que la gloria vuestra sea mayor desque el fecho oviéredes acabado" (226). By such travails their glory and virtue will be demonstrated. He then ends the speech explaining to the men that they will win eternal glory, the "gloria sienpre duradera," by accomplishing this mission (226). Hence, all of Luna's harangues contain a message of immaterial profit in the offing.

### **Vengeance**

Only the second *arenga* includes the theme of vengeance. Here Luna reminds the men of the battle at Panpliega in which the traitors announced their rebellion and in which the loyal Castilians suffered "injurias resçibidas, e los daños e robos" at the hands of their disloyal countrymen (164). Memories of those acts should awaken the army's anger, as Luna states, "despierten vuestra saña a mayor ira" (164). Hence they will fight to avenge themselves, as Luna instructs them, "vengamos nuestras injurias" (164). Finally, Luna



closes the speech, again reminding them of Panpliega but suggesting that the traitors will be conquered, “que si en Panpliega fueron desbaratdaos, que en aquesta serán vencidos” (164).

### **Successfulness of the Haranguer in the *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna***

In comparison to many of the other authors previously studied in this investigation, Luna's biographer offers much more explicit commentary on his subject's harangues in terms of persuasiveness and eloquence. Additionally, included among the chronicler's commentaries are characterizations on the speeches themselves as “razonamiento”, which appear following the battlefield harangues One and Two. This choice to use *razón* corresponds to the characterizations also found regarding the speeches of the *LdeA*, the *PFG*, and *El Victorial*, and it enables the author to quickly summarize each harangue as a reflection of the speaker's thoughts. Finally, all of the speeches are successful, and through each, Luna is shown to be a vigorous leader and a talented speaker.

In Harangue One, we read that as he begins his address to the men, Luna shows a strong face and a valiant heart, “con muy esforzada cara e valentía de coraçon, dixoles estas palabras:” (78). The chronicler is even more descriptive before the second *arenga*, writing:

començó de animar a los suyos, e esforçarlos para la pelea, como aquel que era muy sabio e valiente capitán, e avía pasado por muchos semejantes peligros; e que avía voluntad de pelear e aver honrra, e servir a su Rey. E el espada en la mano, puesto ante los suyos, con cara muy esforçado e alegre, començoles a fablar así: (164).

However, before the campaign *arenga*, we do not read of any physical description of Luna. Instead we learn of his acumen for understanding his men's mood and condition. The chronicler writes:

El Maestre, que bien entendió que su gente iba assaz trabajada, començó de yr con ellos hablando, aliviándoles sus trabajos con dichos amigables e animosos, en esta guisa:” (226).

Reviewing all of these introductory lines, we can note that they all contain positive descriptions of a Luna that is amiable, confident, and happy. Furthermore, it may be surmised that by the inclusion of these more detailed descriptions of his comportment and tone (in comparison to other introductory lines studied thus far) they provide a realistic gloss to the text and suggest that the chronicler was actually present and could include details other historians would have missed.

Following each speech, Luna's chronicler details the men's positive response and their willingness to act, and thus he establishes Luna's persuasiveness. For example, after the first *arenga*, we read that the men became heartened, spurred on by their desire for glory and honor:

E así dió fin el Condestable a su razonamiento. El qual oydo, los corazones de todos fueron acrescentados y encendidos en deseo de honrra e gloria, e así aparejados a bien fazer, que todos deseaban que tocasen las tronpetas; ca estaban ya muy cerca unos de otros (79).

Yet furthermore, after Harangues Two and Three, the author also includes observations regarding Luna's rhetorical style. At Olmedo, Luna enlivened the hearts of his men, animating them while exuding authority and confidence. We read:

Con tanta abtoridad e esfuerzo dixo el Condestable estas palabras, que meresçió ser bien oído; e tanto coraçon puso en los suyos, que a todos los animó para la pelea. E después que dió fin a su razonamiento, ordenó su avanguardia, e puso su batalla e tropeles en la manera que agora diremos (165).

Following the third harangue, the chronicler tells us that Luna spoke with such grace that his words animated and cheered his soldiers, convincing them to see the optimistic side of their plight:

Mucho alegraron e animaron a todos las palabras del Maestre su señor. E tanta gracia tenía el Maestre en las cosas que fablaba, que luego como lo oyeron los que antes se venían quexando del mal tiempo que pasaban, se ovieron por bienaventurados en aver parte de aquellos trabajos. En esta manera hablando con los suyos andovo tanto, que

llegó a la puente de Çorita ya quando quería esclareçer el día, que son tres leguas grandes de donde avía partido (226).

Thus, all three speeches feature Luna's successfulness as a speaker and leader to his men.

### Structure in the *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna*

The harangues of the *CAL* share certain similarities with the medieval arts of rhetoric, but as discussed throughout this investigation, the *arenga* emerges distinct from these arts. All of Luna's speeches begin with highly complementary salutations, corresponding with the use of formalized greetings in classical oratory as well as the art of letter writing, political speeches, and the *ars arengandi*, as previously noted. Additionally, each harangue concludes with Luna's orders and expectations, and therefore, they lack the summations normally seen in the art of letter writing and have more in common with the *ars praedicandi*'s focus on the body of the speech. Furthermore, these closing phrases are not polite requests, as in political oratory or letters, but are exhortations. Consequences and stakes as seen in the narration and conclusion of political speech are not found, as Luna simply does not appeal to fear. He concentrates on service, duty, and reward in combating treason rather than predicting an awful future if they do not act or if treason is allowed to continue. The *arengas* are not complex in nature. Luna presents his messages straightforwardly and quickly, refraining from metaphors, with the exception of using the fortune motif. Thus, they do not appear highly formalized or sophisticated as the political speech of the court.

However, Luna does incorporate many rhetorical devices in his second *arenga*. He uses parallelism and asyndeton: “‘peleamos por nuestro Rey, defendemos nuestro reyno, vengamos nuestras injurias, guardamos las nuestras leyes’” (164); syncrisis or a comparison and contrast in parallel clauses: “‘Así que en las nuestras manos va la justiçia, e en las suyas

viene la culpa” (165); a rhetorical question: “¿Pues quién temerá a estos tales enemigos, que deben aver más miedo de vivir que nosotros de morir?” (165); and finally pairs of adjectives or nouns: “su desconosçimiento e deslealtad”, “los daños e robos”, and “leales e virtuosos” (164).

While the themes of many of the harangues are multiple, each theme is not divided and subdivided as in the *ars praedicandi*. Instead, Luna lists the reasons for the fight and offers only a few words of explanation. Only Luna’s longest harangue, the Olmedo speech, contains amplification as he emphasizes through repetition the contrast between the noble, loyal Castilians and their treacherous rivals, using it to present the various themes of vengeance, duty, and advantage to the men. Yet, none of Luna’s harangues are preachy; the invocations of God are a natural inclusion for a Christian soldier but do not read like a sermon.

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The *arengas* of the *CAL* are direct, focusing on a message of service to king and country. Although, Luna on occasion uses Fortune to express their fortuitous circumstances, for the most part he avoids metaphorical language or abstract imagery. Instead, he emphasizes the concepts of justness and justice. Words and phrases discussing the loyalty of his men, the morality of their cause, and the disloyalty of the rebellious Castilian nobles permeate each speech to a strong degree:

#### Harangue One

- “justicia” (appearing four times: 79)
- “vuestro muy virtuoso Rey” (79)
- “vuestra virtud” (79)

#### Harangue Two (Battle of Olmedo)

- “caualleros, buenos parientes e firmes amigos, criados leales e compañeros fieles” (164)
- “deslealtad” (appearing two times: 164, 165)
- “justiçia” (appearing two times: 164, 165)
- “nuestra lealtad” (164)
- “vos llamen leales e virtuosos” (164)
- “serbiçios” (165)
- “nuestro muy virtuoso Rey” (165)

#### Harangue Three

- “Buenos y leales criados, e fieles compañeros” (226)
- “al Rey grand serbiçio” (226)
- “vuestra virtud” (226)

Indeed, the constant attention to words such as “justice” and “virtue” make the vocabulary of Luna’s speeches repetitive. Yet, this repetitiveness underlines the importance that Luna has for the concepts of loyalty, fidelity, and service to the King. Their presence in the harangues directly establishes a dichotomy between how the chronicler portrays Luna and what the King’s final verdict condemned him to be, a traitor. These speeches reveal that the King entrusted Luna to enforce justice throughout the realm; yet, as the *CAL* indicates, Luna becomes the victim of an unjust act by the King’s own command. Thus, the vocabulary of Luna’s speeches and their overall emphasis on duty against treachery and injustice categorically contribute to the tragic irony of the story of don Álvaro de Luna’s life. Hence, what the speeches lack in evocative literary devices, they make up in their contribution to the overall defense of Luna’s character. Recalling that Mata Carriazo noted that the work

immerses itself in the political realm of fifteenth century Spain, it becomes evident that the chronicler's *arengas* are part of that immersion. They contribute to the text's presentation of Luna enmeshed in the political topics of service, justice, and treason, the very subjects that defined the Master of Santiago's life and death.

**Table 7 - Appeals and Themes in the CAL's Harangues**

<b>Battlefield Harangues</b>			
Harangue	Situation	Appeals	Themes
One	Battle of Cogolludo against Navarre and Aragon	Salutation Logic (maxim) Pride and vanity Prejudice Greed (immaterial)	Orders and Expectations Advantage due to righteousness. Advantage due to blood. Profit (immaterial) The opportunity given them by Fortune Duty to King
Two	Battle of Olmedo	Salutation Pride and vanity Prejudice Revenge	Orders and Expectations Advantage due to Righteousness. Advantage due to God. Advantage due to Military Superiority. Duty to King, Country, Society Vengeance

<b>Campaign Harangue</b>			
Harangue	Situation	Appeals	Themes
Three	Leaving Mondéjar for Cuenca	Salutation Vanity Greed (Immaterial)	Orders and Expectations Duty to King (and as soldiers) Profit (immaterial)

### ***C. Cárcel de amor***

Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de amor* (1492) is best known for its place in the fifteenth-century sentimental novel tradition. Leriano, a young nobleman, yearns for Laureola and requests the help of the Author to plead his case to the young princess. The Author serves as a go-between, ferrying letters between the two and advocating Leriano's cause. When Laureola is maliciously and falsely accused of having a relationship with Leriano, her father the King arrests her and condemns her to death. The Queen and the Cardinal reason with the King and advise temperance, justice, and mercy but to no avail.

Unable to free Laureola through political channels or tournament, Leriano rebels and frees her forcibly. Laureola then dismisses him categorically. However, he bears no ill will against womankind and instead delivers a speech defending the female sex. The lovelorn Leriano then dies, electing as his final act to drink Laureola's letters lest they be used against her.

Thus, within this tale of courtly love political intrigues occur, diplomatic envoys are employed, and rebellion results. Indeed, it can be seen as much more than a simple story of unrequited love. Francisco Márquez Villanueva has analyzed its political and social episodes and proposes that the scope and breadth of these events suggests that the work is more than a mere sentimental novel. However, for Keith Whinnom the political and military episodes serve to promote Leriano as the ideal, masculine hero and courtly lover who protects a frail and frightened woman, and hence they contribute to the amorous theme instead of introducing a competing one (Introduction 60-63). Regardless, the entire novel is a platform for San Pedro to demonstrate the breadth of his rhetorical skills. At every stage, the reader encounters either a speech or letter that continues the political, diplomatic, and/or amorous storylines while at the same demonstrates the abilities of the writer. Thus, narration often is left behind as speeches and letters take its place. The *arenga* given during Leriano's rebellion is one such example.

Many scholars have commented on San Pedro's multifaceted style. Whinnom remarks that his successful integration of different rhetorical structures into a whole work outshined other contemporary, medieval texts:

So far as the disposition of a work is concerned, medieval doctrine [. . .] tends to concern itself with the organization of small units, which are often very rigorously defined, and to lose sight of the larger unit. Medieval works are notoriously 'bitty' and when they hang together at all they tend to do so within a grand framework which



permits the insertion of ‘bits,’ as in Dante’s *Divina Comedia*, the collections of tales made by Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Juan Manuel, or the Archpriest of Hita’s *Book of Good Love*. San Pedro’s achievement in welding into a remarkably coherent work the various minor units (*narratio*, letters, speeches, *planctus*, harangue, *argumentatio*, etc.) has been undervalued (Diego 115).

La novela sí es una especie de mosaico; pero al mirarla de cerca, el lector percibirá que a pesar de estar compuesta de tantos trozos retóricamente distintos (narración, carta, discurso, cartel de desafío, arenga, lamento etcétera), la novela no tiene ninguna digresión y que todo contribuye a la historia de una manera u otra (Introduction 46-47).

Con todo, la novela tiene una unidad extraordinaria para la época en que fue compuesta; y creo que se puede alegar confiadamente que contiene poquísimo material que no contribuya o a la historia o al tema (Introduction 63).

Yet, he also notes that the divided narration that we see in *Cárcel* is in keeping with medieval concepts, in that it was seen as a technique to connect discourses during the pre-novel era.

Sin embargo, conviene recalcar los hechos de que la novela, como tal, no es una forma literaria que reconocen los teóricos medievales, y el que en estos tratados retóricos la narración se considera como una unidad de una extensión limitada que se inserta dentro del discurso: éste es exactamente el uso que hace de la narración Diego de San Pedro. [. . .] y que en ningún sitio hallaremos dos trozos seguidos de narración, porque las divisiones de la novela se definen por el cambio de una unidad retórica a otra, [. . .] (Whinnom, Introduction 48-49).

Meanwhile, Samuel Gili y Gaya has commented that the letters within San Pedro’s works serve as windows into the psychology of the characters’ minds, but he finds that the rhetoric employed within them often hinders our complete understanding.

El retoricismo, muchas veces ingenuo, con que ambas obras [*Cárcel de amor* and *Arnalte y Lucenda*] están compuestas, se agudiza en el tono engolado de cartas y discursos, y viene a ensombrear con su docta petulancia la intimidad que quisiéramos descubrir (XXII).

Whinnom somewhat agrees, but reiterates that the value of the rhetoric within San Pedro’s works is related to its overall construction of the “minor units” mentioned previously, and he defends San Pedro’s rhetorical style before other critics.

No cabe duda alguna de que, con las obras en prosa de San Pedro, estamos cara a cara con, si se quiere, el retoricismo; sería mejor decir la retórica medieval. Es probable que Gili Gaya tenga razón al decir que el retoricismo estorba el acercamiento entre el autor y el lector moderno; pero cuando se quejan los historiadores de la literatura de que ‘el estilo es, por lo común, demasiado retórico’, parece que no han advertido que, si quieren hablar de ‘retórica’, no es tan sólo una cuestión del ‘estilo’, la construcción de las frases, sino también de la estructura de las unidades mayores, de los ‘capítulos’ (Introduction 44).

Finally, Joseph F. Chorpenning viewed the structure of *Cárcel* as an example of a “literary oration” itself (1). In his article he distributes the various “chapters” of the text into exordium, narration, proposition, proof, and conclusion. He then surmises that the work’s meaning and structure were intentionally integrated to serve as a mechanism to argue a feminist viewpoint in defense of women against misogynists (6).

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Among all of the letters and discourses that make up the text, there is only one *arenga*. Having freed Laureola, Leriano harangues his besieged forces as they anticipate the King’s attack on their fortress. No corresponding speech by the opposing army is provided.

Whinnom’s studies have included a short review of the speech. Concurring with his interpretation of the overall structure of the work, he observes that Leriano’s *arenga* serves to divide lengthy pieces of narration as well as advance the story. To defend his overall assertion that very little in the novel is extraneous, Whinnom also stresses that Leriano’s rebellion and subsequent speech do not contradict the rules of courtly love, on which the novel is centered. Therefore, he sees that in lieu of Leriano using love to justify treason in the harangue, the young nobleman calls upon his men to fight in order to avoid shame.

Whinnom writes:

Con la arenga de Leriano, San Pedro no se aprovecha de la oportunidad de ligarla a su tema. Sirve para interrumpir y separar en dos trozos la narración más larga que hay en el libro. Si es una digresión, no se aparta de la historia que está narrando; pero la

cosa es que Leriano y sus hombres son rebeldes, porque Leriano ha considerado el servicio y la honra de su dama Laureola más importante que su deber feudal a su señor. [. . .] Pero, o por no querer meterse en argumentos que justifican tal deslealtad o, tal vez, porque las ‘leyes enamoradas’ no hubieran permitido que Leriano hable tan sólo y muy brevemente de la honra, y de una manera bastante equívoca, porque dice: ‘pelead que libréis de verguença vuestra sangre y mi nonbre’, lo cual se podría interpretar como una exhortación a que no se dejasen deshonar por ningún acto cobarde (Introduction 57).

Whinnom also states that the *ars arengandi* of the Middle Ages had a formula and refers to Jacques de Dinant’s work, *Ars Arengandi*. He also lists the following as typical topics of the harangue: praising the courage of the soldiers, mentioning the fame they will achieve, recalling their ancestor’s fame and courage, explaining the justness of their cause, and convincing them that death is not important (Introduction 56)<sup>42</sup>. Yet, these cannot be found specifically in Jacques de Dinant’s text which was written for the *arengator* or *concinator*, a political orator, and the *advocatus*, a lawyer and which reads as a review of classical rhetorical concepts.<sup>43</sup> Whinnom also finds that harangues similar in theme to Leriano’s can be found in the chronicles of *Los Reyes Católicos* and *Guerra de Granada* (Introduction 56-57). With this limited and superficial investigation, Whinnom leaves his discussion on the text’s sole harangue.

### Categories of Appeal in *Cárcel de amor*

Leriano includes both emotional and rational appeals in his speech to his knights. Additionally, as with most *arengas* studied thus far, he begins with a salutation, “‘Por cierto,

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<sup>42</sup> “La arenga a las tropas también tenía su formulario y había *artes arengandi* cuyo contenido no hará falta resumir en detalle; se aconseja decir exactamente lo que se pudiera adivinar: alabar el valor de los soldados, hablar de la fama de sus antepasados, explicarles la justicia de su causa e intentar persuadirles de que no les importa morir. Dice Leriano: ‘Grandes aparejos tenemos para osar: la bondad nos obliga, la justicia nos esfuerza, la necesidad nos apremia; no hay cosa por que devamos temer y hay mill para que devamos morir.’ Muchas arengas parecidas se pueden leer en la obra histórica de Pulgar, *Los Reyes Católicos* y la *Guerra de Granada*” (Introduction 56).

<sup>43</sup> “L’ars arengadi de Jacques de Dinant,” *Analecta Reginensia, Studi e Testi*, LIX, Ciudad de Vaticano, 1933, 115-154.

cavalleros,”” (146). Furthermore, well within the speech, he refers to the men as “cavalleros leales” (147), attempting to garner even more favor with them.

Leriano’s appeals to *logos* are based on sayings, which he then deductively applies to the men. For example, at the beginning of the speech, he states that virtue is esteemed more than numbers, and thus he takes hope in his men, ““como sea más estimada la virtud que la muchedumbre, vista la vuestra, antes temo necesidad de ventura que de cavalleros, y con esta consideración en solos vosotros, tengo esperança”” (146). He also implies that the benefits to their fighting outweigh their risks as he explains generically that trophies from victories are greater than moments of danger, ““que muy mayores son los galardones de las vitorias que las ocasiones de los peligros”” (146). We also see this mitigation of danger as he states that in comparison to others who have sought fame and honor, their task is not as hard: ““cudicia de alabanza, avaricia de honrra, acaban otros hechos mayores quel nuestro”” (146). Finally, he again addresses their situation of being outnumbered by stating that the simpleminded are scared by masses and that the wise are heartened by the virtuous few. Thus, they should not fear the King’s great army. He states, ““no temamos las grandes compañías llegadas al real, que en las afrentas los menos pelean; a los sinples espanta la multitud de los muchos, y a los sabios esfuerça la virtud de los pocos”” (147). Hence, similar to political oratory, Leriano prefers to use maxims, deductively applying the general rule to his men’s specific situation.

However, in addition to using logic to persuade his men, Leriano also references the logic behind the *arenga*, when he explains the benefits of haranguing itself. He instructs that understanding the reasons he has given them will build confidence:

‘Todas las razones, cavalleros leales, que os he dicho, eran escusadas para creceroz fortaleza, pues con ella nacistes, mas quíselas hablar porque en todo tiempo el coraçón

se deve ocupar en nobleza; en el hecho con las manos; en la soledad con los pensamientos; en compañía con las palabras, como agora hacemos;’(147).

However, despite the importance of reason in the speech, appeals to *pathos* also exist beyond just salutations. Leriano begins by praising his men, noting that having observed their virtue, he does not fear the King’s larger forces (146): “‘pero como sea más estimada la virtud que la muchedumbre, vista la vuestra, antes temo necesidad de ventura que de cavalleros, y con esta consideración en solos vosotros tengo esperança’” (146). We see him appealing to fear when he suggests that their lives and their descendants are in danger. He also appeals to greed, suggesting glorious fame is in the offing. He states, “‘pues es puesta en nuestras manos nuestra salud, tanto por sustentación de vida como por gloria de fama nos conviene pelear’” (146). He proceeds by appealing to their sense of shame and responsibility by suggesting terrible results if they were to be weak: “‘que malaventurados seríamos si por flaqueza en nosotros se acabasse la heredad’” (146). Hence, they need to fight to avoid bringing shame upon their families and his reputation, “‘assí pelead que libréis de vergüença vuestra sangre y mi nonbre’” (146). He then continues with a dual appeal to shame and fame stating, “‘hoy se acaba o se confirma nuestra honrra’” (146). Finally, he explains that honorable death or fame is a good fate: “‘No nos pudo nuestra fortuna poner en mejor estado que en esperança de honrrada muerte o gloriosa fama (146). Hence vanity, shame, fear, and greed are the targeted emotions for Leriano as he addresses his troops.

### **Categories of Theme in *Cárcel de amor***

Leriano provides several reasons to his men for winning the upcoming battle against the King. They fight because of duty, to gain honor, and to avoid shame. To that end, they

are armed with courage, righteousness, and knowledge as well as Leriano's commands and expectations.

### **Duty**

The theme of duty appears in the form of duty to self and to society, but since he has launched a revolution, Leriano cannot speak of duty to the King. First, he briefly discusses the duty the men have to safeguard their lives, placing it on par with the acquisition of glory. He sees both as contributing factors to maintaining their "health." He states, "“pues es puesta en nuestras manos nuestra salud, tanto por sustentación de vida como por gloria de fama nos conviene de pelear”" (146). Later his comment that "“la necesidad nos apremia.”" suggests that they have no choice but to fight (147). Yet it is not clear if this is due to their need to uphold their own honor, since with this comment he states that their goodness and justness oblige them to fight, or merely due to the imminent threat of combat of which the King's forces are threatening.<sup>44</sup> Second, Leriano tells the men they have a responsibility to future generations. To be weak now is to ensure them a bleak future without goodness. He surmises, "“agora se nos ofrece causa para dexas la bondad que heredamos a los que nos han de heredar, que malaventurados seríamos si por flaqueza en nosotros se acabasse la heredad”" (146). Finally, near the end of this speech, Leriano adds that they have many reasons worth dying for, but he does not list any further examples: "“no hay cosa por que devamos temer y hay mill para que devamos morir”" (147). Hence, Leriano instills in his men the sense that they must fight out of respect for their honor and their lives and to ensure a happy future for their posterity.

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<sup>44</sup> "“Grandes aparejos tenemos para osar: la bondad nos obliga, la justicia nos esfuerça, la necesidad nos apremia;”" (147).

## Advantage

Leriano's harangue contains three messages of advantage which he intertwines.

First, the men have virtue, which according to Leriano triumphs over numbers:

‘si como sois pocos en número no fuédes muchos en fortaleza, yo ternía alguna duda en nuestro hecho, según nuestra mala fortuna; pero como sea más estimada la virtud que la muchedumbre, vista la vuestra, antes temo necesidad de ventura que de cavalleros, y con esta consideración en solos vosotros tengo esperança’ (146).

Furthermore, he continues with his interpretation of Vegetius' maxim by stating that the wise are heartened by the virtue of the few while the foolish fear the multitudes. Second, the men are told that they are righteous, as Leriano remarks that their goodness and their sense of justice oblige them to do battle and will strengthen them: “‘Grandes aparejos tenemos para osar: la bondad nos obliga, la justicia nos esfuerça, la necesidad nos apremia;’” (147). Yet moreover, understanding the advantage of their virtue, in addition to understanding the other reasons, enhances this innate virtuous courage:

‘Todas las razones, cavalleros leales, que os he dicho, eran escusadas para creceros fortaleza, pues con ella nacistes, mas quíselas hablar porque en todo tienpo el coraçon se deve ocupar en nobleza; en el hecho con las manos; en la soledad con los pensamientos; en compañía con las palabras, como agora hacemos’ (147).

Thus, Leriano believes that courage follows nobility innately and is reflected in their actions, in their thoughts while alone, and in the words they say in each other's company; yet, it needs to be fostered for it to grow. Hence within this one speech, Leriano states that with courage they can defeat the bigger army, that the men have courage naturally within them, and that knowledge of their righteous and practical responsibilities augments this inherited courage. Therefore, they have the advantages of courage and righteousness.

### **Profit (Fame) and the Aversion to Shame**

Leriano presents the profit and aversion to shame themes as two sides to one coin. With this battle, the men have the opportunity to prove themselves and gain fame, ““por gloria de fama nos conviene pelear”” (146). Yet, there is also the possibility of shame. It is an either-or situation which Leriano succinctly summarizes by saying, ““hoy se acaba o se confirma nuestra honrra”” (146). Indeed, throughout the speech, these stakes are often repeated. Leriano comments, ““sepámosnos defender y no avergonçar”” and ““assí pelead que libréis de vergüença vuestra sangre y mi nonbre”” (146). Hence, we see that everyone has an important stake, the men their blood and Leriano his name. Indeed, at the close of the speech, Leriano remarks that not only his men’s great actions but also the “loving resolve” with which they fight will bring him glory as he says, ““y no menos porque recibo igual gloria con la voluntad amorosa que mostráis como con los hechos fuertes que hazéis”” (147). However, death does not mean disgrace, as they should hope that fortune will offer them either ““honrrada muerte”” or ““gloriosa fama”” (146). Thus, the dishonor of which Leriano urges against would result from poor performance and weakness, the ““flaqueza”” of which he warns the men (146). The *arenga* therefore combines the two themes. The men should fight valiantly to avoid shame and to obtain honor, and if they do not, they will get the reverse.

### **Orders and Expectations**

Tactical explanations do not exist within Leriano’s harangue, but he does order his men with respect to their attitudes and preparations for battle. We see him commanding the men with statements such as ““assí pelead que libréis de vergüença vuestra sangre y ni nonbre”” and ““no temamos las grandes conpañas llegadas al real”” (146). Elsewhere, as



mentioned above, he attaches his own personal glory to the men's will and deeds, indirectly indicating his expectations that they serve him well. Finally, to end his harangue he orders the men to battle stations: “cada uno se vaya a su estancia” (147). Hence, Leriano lets make known his expectations regarding the comportment and actions of his men. He is relying on them to fight for their reputations and his, to be courageous in the face of the enemy, and to be responsible in their assigned duties.

### **Categories of Successfulness in *Cárcel de amor***

To introduce the *arenga*, the “auctor”/narrator tells the reader that Leriano realizes the King will attack and therefore he must harangue his men to put some “heart” into them. He writes, “finalmente, como supo que otra vez ordenavan de le combatir, por poner corazón a los que le quedavan, hízoles una habla en esta forma:” (146). Hence, the introduction offers no hint of successfulness; rather it introduces the speech within the text.

However, in the narrative immediately following the *arenga*, the “auctor” comments on Leriano's positive impact and effectiveness:

Con tanta constancia de ánimo fue Leriano respondido de sus cavalleros, que se llamó dichoso por hallarse dino dellos; y porque estava ya ordenado el conbate fuése cada uno a defender la parte que le cabía [. . .] (147).

Thus, Leriano's speech not only affects his audience positively, “con tanta constancia de ánimo,” it is successful with every man, as each knight prepares to defend his assigned position as ordered.

### Structure in *Cárcel de amor*

Leriano's *arenga* is highly rhetorical, including parallelism, antithesis, amplification, abbreviation, and metaphor. Heavily laden with such stylistic devices, the speech certainly corresponds to what Whinnom observes to be San Pedro's overall writing style:

Without, however, going into any technical detail, it is possible to say some more meaningful things about the style of San Pedro than that it is 'rhetorical,' 'elegant,' or 'artificial.' It is first of all, logic adorned, a studied, self-conscious, and thoughtful style which aspires to beauty; the laments, letters, and speeches in particular are as carefully worked and polished as any piece of verse; there is simply not the remotest attempt to imitate colloquial speech. [. . .] And in the Prison of Love the ornamentation is matched to a dense content of thought; indeed much of the ornamentation derives from the balancing of thoughts, and it is hardly possible to separate 'style' from 'content' (Diego 116).

Reviewing the sentences in Leriano's harangue, we find this balance of style and content. Within the speech, San Pedro often uses parallelisms, syncrisis (comparison and contrast in parallel clauses), antithesis, and asyndeton. Examples include:

- “que es breve en los días y larga en los trabajos, la cual ni por temor se acrecienta ni por osar se acorta, pues cuando nascemos se limita su tiempo, por donde es escusado el miedo y devida la osadía” (146) – syncrisis
- “a los sinples espanta la multitud de los muchos, y a los sabios esfuerça la virtud de los pocos” (147) – syncrisis
- “Grandes aparejos tenemos para osar: la bondad nos obliga, la justicia nos esfuerça, la necesidad nos apremia” (147) - parallelism, asyndeton
- “porque en todo tiempo el corazón se deve ocupar en nobleza; en el hecho con las manos; en la soledad con los pensamientos; en conpañía con las palabras,” (147) – parallelism, asyndeton
- “hoy se acaba o se confirma nuestra honrra” (146) – antithesis.

Even though, as previously noted, Whinnom observes San Pedro following the medieval attitude toward narration, he also suggests that the author adopted a more humanistic, renaissance style when writing *Cárcel* (Stylistic Reform 14, Diego 113-114,

Introduction 64). This is found through his abandonment of Latin syntactical structures in sentences, his rejection of rhyming prose, and his use of techniques such as *amplificatio* and *abbreviatio* in his narration (Stylistic Reform 11-14, Introduction 64, Diego 114).

With regard to *amplificatio*, Whinnom identifies three types of this technique found in San Pedro's works which can all be categorized under the method of *expolitio* (Diego 115-116). They are *oppositio* (not this but that), *aferre contrarium* (this rather than that), and *interpretatio* (synonymous or near-synonymous terms) (Diego 115-116).

All three of these types are found in Leriano's *arenga*. Examples include:

- “sepámosnos defender y no avergonçar” (146) - *aferre contrarium*
- “no hay cosa por que devamos temer y hay mill para que devamos morir” (147) – *oppositio*
- “que muy mayores son los galardones de las vitorias que las ocasiones de los peligros” (146) - *aferre contrarium*
- “como sea más estimada la virtud que la muchedumbre” (146) - *aferre contrarium*
- “cudicia de alabança, avaricia de honrra” (146) - *interpretatio*

With regard to *abbreviatio*, Whinnom finds:

[. . .] in the *Cárcel* San Pedro is ‘brevity conscious’. This shows itself in two ways: in the frequent use of the *brevitas* topic, and in the employment of the techniques of *abbreviatio*. In the *Cárcel* San Pedro returns twenty-three times to the brevity-topic, usually to finish off a speech or a letter (“Stylistic Reform” 11).

Nowhere in the harangue is this topic more evident than in Leriano's last line: “y porque me parece, segund se adereça el conbate, que somos constreñidos a dexar con las obras las hablas, cada uno se vaya a su estancia” (147). It is unclear whether or not Whinnom includes this example within his count of twenty-three instances of *abbreviatio*. However, we

can still deduce that Leriano's closing phrase follows San Pedro's goal of utilizing this technique throughout his text.

Interestingly, the line is not only an example of a speaker commenting directly on the time to stop talking (*brevitas* topic), and thus provides an easy closing, but it is also an indirect commentary on the time to stop diplomacy. Thus, it promotes the *brevitas* topic to a political level. In their studies, Villanueva and Whinnom both remark that San Pedro provides a series of steps for Leriano to undertake before a rebellion is merited. This passive effort involved entreaties by the Cardinal, the Queen, and Laureola herself to the King (Villanueva 187-193). Whinnom's characterization of the text as one without extraneous information suggests that these efforts promote Leriano as the dutiful knight and hero:

“[. . .] los distintos intentos de influir en el rey, siguiendo el plan propuesto por el Autor, forman parte del argumento, porque el héroe desesperado, caballero perfecto también, se lanza a la rebelión sólo después de haber agotado todos los recursos razonables y legítimos (Introduction 61).

Meanwhile Villanueva suggests that these steps serve to criticize the absolute power of unjust kings and are meant as a political commentary on the fifteenth century:

Los alcances políticos de Cárcel de Amor no se limitan, sin embargo, a una condena abstracta del principio cesarista. San Pedro ha debido a ver imponerse a su alrededor, día a día, medidas políticas que considera injustas y que le lanzan a una meditación atormentada sobre los límites del poder y el derecho a la rebelión de los mortalmente oprimidos. Por eso, no deja de deslizarse una serie de indicios significativos que nos permiten justificar muy bien ese fondo de rebeldía desesperada que hay en la lucha de Leriano con el monarca [. . .] (193).

With either interpretation, Leriano's line fits well with the overall political situation which has caused the upcoming battle. The time for talking is at an end; no more political entreaties will work; now is the time for action. Thus, they must leave words behind “dexar con las obras las hablas” and prepare for battle, and each man must now do his duty, “cada uno se vaya a su estancia” (147). Hence, the last lines of Leriano's *arenga* employ

*abbreviatio*, marking the end of the harangue and the end of the forces of good negotiating with an unjust and stubborn tyrant.

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In addition to these rhetorical devices, San Pedro's Leriano speaks metaphorically about life, appearing philosophical as he employs the Wheel of Fortune motif.

Noting that their future has been placed into their hands not by choice, Leriano states, “‘pues es puesta en nuestras manos nuestra salud’” (146). Thus, while they are now in control of their actions and must choose to fight valiantly, Leriano implies that Fortune has thrust this task of combat before them. He believes that Fortune is the reason for the revolution, an unfortunate violation of the chivalrous code. This incidental attitude specifically toward the rebellious situation, and not toward how they should fight, concurs with Whinnom's belief that, in his speech, Leriano is not justifying the rebellion but merely haranguing for a valiant effort to secure their reputations.

Continuing his philosophical reflection, Leriano also discusses how life is a hardship. It is full of long, hard work, but it is short on days, and this duality cannot be altered. Fear will not make the number of days increase, nor will daring make the work less. Yet we do fear, and we do dare because from birth we know that we are condemned to death:

‘esta vida penosa en que bevimos no sé por qué se deva mucho querer, que es breve en los días y larga en los trabajos, la cual ni por temor se acrecienta ni por osar se acorta, pues cuando nascemos se limita su tiempo, por donde es escusado el miedo y devida la osadía’ (146).

Yet, despite this foregone conclusion, Leriano advises that the men should consider themselves fortunate for having been presented an opportunity within their short lives to do something remarkable and glorious. Hence, they must take advantage while Fortune favors them with this opportunity: “‘No nos pudo nuestra fortuna poner en mejor estado que en

esperança de honrrada muerte o gloriosa fama” (146). Thus, we see a positive attitude toward the idea of the Wheel of Fortune and mortality.

This conceptual attitude toward life, death, and the battle corresponds well to the overall allegorical nature of the text, in which lofty, big-picture ideas matter. Leriano’s thoughts on the need to do great deeds while one has the opportunity focus on the intrinsic nature of existence as well as on virtue. Thus, his speech exemplifies the lack of a concrete vocabulary that Whinnom notices throughout the text:

Uno de los rasgos más notables de las cartas y los discursos es la ausencia de un léxico concreto. [. . .] Todo depende de las palabras abstractas: fe, dolor, virtud, perdón, piedad, dudas, tristeza, etcétera [. . .] (Introduction 65).

As we can see in the *arenga*, the abstract qualities of fate, virtue, and glory dominate the discourse.

\*

In comparing *Cárcel*’s only harangue to the medieval arts, we see again the same similarities and differences as with other *arengas*, but it most strongly identifies with political oratory. The use of salutations, threats veiled as stakes, maxims, highly formalized language, appeals to honor and advantage, and commands (in lieu of petitions) corresponds greatly to political speeches. Furthermore, Leriano’s final line that orders the men to fight, instead of concluding the argument, coupled with his mid-speech salutation, reveals the speech to be one in which the speaker is cognizant of the presence of his audience, as preachers and political orators were trained to be. Yet, the very nature of the speech, containing the commander’s orders and expectations, in lieu of requests and advice, guarantees the speech’s categorization as a harangue.

**Table 8 - Appeals and Themes in the *Cárcel de amor*'s Harangue**

Harangue	Situation	Appeal (s)	Theme(s)
Leriano's	As a besieged army anticipating the King to attack	Salutations Logic (sayings) Vanity Shame Fear Greed	Duty to selves Duty to society Advantage due to righteousness Advantage militarily (blood, knowledge) Advantage of courage w/ smaller army Aversion to shame Profit (immaterial wealth) Orders Commander's expectations

## V. Conclusion

Excluding the harangues of the *Aeneid*, this dissertation reviewed thirty-five Iberian *arengas*, written in either prose or poetry, across three centuries of the Middle Ages, and in seven works. The texts in which they were found varied from translated history to epic to chronicle/biography to sentimental novel.

Advantage and Orders/Expectations were the most dominant themes among these thirty-five speeches, followed by Duty, Profit, Aversion to Shame, and finally Vengeance. Most speeches contained several themes as well as subcategories of theme. This multi-themed character is also found in the *Aeneid*, although its most dominant themes were Advantage and Aversion to Shame, followed equally by Duty and Orders, and then Vengeance.<sup>45</sup>

Emotional appeals proved far more popular than those to *logos* or *ethos* when analyzing all thirty-five Iberian harangues as a group. This corresponds to the predominance of *pathos* that we saw in the *Aeneid*. Appeals to pride and vanity were most prevalent among the thirty-five harangues, followed by fear, prejudice, greed, love of country, shame, and revenge. However, as this investigation has shown, logic and the speaker's authority had their place within the classical and medieval harangue. We discovered appeals to *logos* in Heredia's translated speeches as well as in the *LdeA*, the *CAL*, and *Cárcel*, and we witnessed how the haranguers themselves valued reason. Alexander and Pero Niño were both educated to believe in its worth, and Leriano testified to its importance within his own speech. With

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<sup>45</sup> Aversion to Shame appears six times in the *Aeneid*'s harangues, but five of these appear in Harangue One.



respect to *ethos*, we observed Brassida, Alexander, Darius, Fernán González, and Pero Niño all use their own authority to appeal to the men. Thus, we learned that a harangue does not need to be solely emotional.

We also observed that the haranguers are nearly always successful in terms of persuasion, and when they are not, it does not reflect poorly on them. However, few authors or poets chose to remark much on the rhetorical skills and eloquence of their heroes. Their focus was on the effectiveness of the speech itself in motivating the men to fight gallantly.

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From this investigation, it is possible to characterize the medieval military *arenga* as a literary genre. This is not to deny any similarities with other medieval arts, for it certainly takes elements from the *ars praedicandi*, *ars dictaminis*, and *ars arengandi* when needed. Within the deliberative oration, it most closely resembles the political oration. Yet, its very context, that of battlefields, campaigns, orders, and expectations, contrasts so greatly with the petition-like tone of the court's discourse, that a distinction must be made. Like all of the formalized arts, it usually follows the norms of using an endearing salutation (with the exception of a few speeches in the *PFG*). Yet it keeps these short and direct with few to no flattering adjectives. The stakes of the battle are often used to frighten the men into action, just as certain political speeches often incorporated threats. The harangues generally present reasons for fighting and predict victory, and their closing lines do not summarize the speech's content. Rather they end quickly and mostly focus on directing the men to prepare for battle or actually to go forth and fight. Campaign *arengas* also reflect this forward facing attitude in their concluding lines.

As we have found, the harangues of a text can be unilateral or multilateral, depending on the author's motivations and focus. For example, Heredia attempts to capture the spirit of his source text, and thus mirrors its multilateral approach. In the *LdeA*, we are able to understand the relationship between Alexander and Darius because we hear from both of them regarding the same battles. We perceive their near-equality, and thus the poet-author capably establishes Alexander's ultimate supremacy through his hard-won victories against such a worthy opponent. Additionally, we witness the men's personal awareness of each other, and therefore, we believe Alexander's grief when Darius dies. Thus, with respect to these adversaries, character development arises from allowing the enemy to speak within the text.

Yet, in one-sided texts, such as the *PFG*, the *CMC*, the *CAL*, and the *Cárcel*, all of the attention is given to the hero of the story. In lieu of seeing battles as struggles between near equals, in the *PFG* we observe a clash between the forces of good and the forces of evil. Only the good shall have a voice, and there is no sense of the chess game of Darius and Alexander. González is righteous; the Cid is in control. No one else equals them in stature or deserves a platform from which to speak. Leriano shows himself to be virtuous even when he rebels, but the King is not observed haranguing as his cause is unjust. Likewise we do not hear from the disloyal Castilian nobles or their Aragonese allies in the *CAL*.

As we have seen, harangues can be lengthy and highly stylized or short and rudimentary in their use of rhetorical techniques. Yet, those with such limitations are not unworthy of investigation. Indeed, as seen in the *CMC*, the value of the harangue does not have to rely on how many figures of thought or speech an author can employ in his set-piece, but rather on his ability to create an oral example of the bigger motives of the text and the

actions of its characters, while matching the pace of the overall work. Indeed, we can appreciate many harangues much better when we see them in relation to the texts in which they are included.

Meanwhile, harangues lacking in figurative language do not necessarily need to be contextualized to their larger text in order to be worthy of analysis. While Heredia's *discursos* were lifted and estranged from the rest of the history, they offer examples of well-developed and complex explanations for victory, and thus find merit in their thorough content and reasoning.

Common throughout many of the *arengas* studied in this dissertation was the ability for them to correspond to and promote the dominant messages of the works. Through these harangues we saw Count González as a supreme leader fighting a religious war, Master Luna as the dutiful soldier and servant, a swift and commanding Cid concerned with land and survival, a noble Leriano concerned with virtue and reputation, a conquering Alexander, and his equal and worthy antagonist Darius. Additionally, we witnessed via the character and content of their *arengas* how the well-defined education of Alexander and Niño translated into their words, beliefs, and deeds. Thus, the harangue can contribute to a text's overall purpose.

The *arengas* of this investigation also matched the overall style of the works in which they are contained. Heredia faithfully translated Thucydides' lengthy speeches, proportionally matched their number within his entire folio, and introduced them in such a way as to orient his reader. The harangues of the *CMC* were short and concise. They moved swiftly, unburdened by heavy rhetoric and representative of the *mester de juglaría*. The *PFG* and the *LdeA*, however, reflected the literary and learned style of the *mester de clerecía* with

their analogies, metaphors, and literary and classical allusions. Additionally, the later *Cárcel* demonstrated its Renaissance style, such as we saw through the use of *amplificatio* and *abbreviatio*, while still maintaining a medieval character through its overall narrative structure. Finally, the variety of situations evidenced in Niño's concise harangues reflected the episodic nature of his biography. Therefore, we can conclude that the harangue is a versatile piece, adaptable to a variety of styles.

Through this investigation we have also observed that the harangue can reveal the intention of the author in creating his text. For example, in the *LdeA*'s *arengas*, we observed an author's need to medievalize and Christianize a classical and fascinating tale from Antiquity. In the *PFG*'s, we sensed the cleric's vehemence against the Moors, and in the *CAL*'s we were shown the utter irony of Luna's execution. Additionally, these brief monologues enabled the authors to animate their text. The battlefield harangues gave immediacy and life to the battles while the campaign *arengas* offered the authors opportunities to spout philosophy or sermonize as seen in the *PFG* and *El Victorial*.

Hence, the military *arenga* is indeed a valuable way to analyze texts, offering insight into the character of its speakers, the talents and attitudes of its authors, and the themes of the works in which it is found. Furthermore, as a versatile text, the harangue can be complex or simple in rhetorical content and/or message, and it can adopt many of the characteristics found within the medieval arts. I am confident that the military *arenga* will remain an identifiable and useful way to engage medieval texts. It is, as the Greek historians surmised, a natural and effective component of the descriptions of battlefield combat, and, as we have observed, a helpful tool in understanding the stories and characters surrounding those battles.

## Appendix

### Heredia's Translations of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*

#### Heredia's *Discurso* 10

De la otra part, Formion, capitan de la huest de los atehnienses, vidiendo que la gent de su stol se apleguavan ensemble et tenien mucos parlamentos del grant stol de los enemigos, la multitat de [los] qualles ponie grant miedo, queriendoles parlar et confortar a la batalla segunt avie fecho a la otra batalla pasada, por sacarlos de pensamiento fizo apleguar toda la gent de su stol et parloles por la manera següent:

¡O gentiles honbres et companyeros! Vidiendo el pensamiento que avedes por la multitat de vuestros enemigo, vos he fecho apleguar, no que yo digua que temais los perigos, mas por reduzirvos a memoria que nuestros enemigos, como sconfidos de nós, vidiendo ciertament que no son semblantes a nós en el huso de la mar, son venidos con tanto stol; et, si ellos han sperança en lur valentia assi como ellos mismos se loan, no son valientes sino en las batallas de tierra, en do se piensan por lur destreza aver avantaga a nós. Mas que nós seamos más diestros en las batallas de mar ellos mismos lo confiessan, pues que contra tan poco stol como el nuestro han apparellado tan grant armada. Quanto de sfuerço natural, no son más sforçados que nós; pues, no dubdedes de lur multitud porque, como sconfidos antes de agora son venidos no solos mas con aquella grant armada de lurs amistades, de que ellos mismos scubren lur vergonia mostrando que somos más ardidados que ellos; et, si no fuessemos, no esperaríamos en batalla assi pocos a tan grant armada; et somos çiertos que faremos obra de valentia; car, quando los muchos vienen sobre los pocos, pareçe que han sperança en lur multitut; mas, quando los pocos se meten sin neçessitat ardidament en batalla con lurs enemigos, es cosa magnifiesta que tal ardiemiento viene de lur magnanimidat et seso, la qual cosa considerando nuestros enemigos han miedo de nós no tanto por la multitat de nuestro stol quanto por el huso nuestro et animosidat, assi como muchas veguadas grandes huestes son stadas sconfitas por más chicas.

Toda veguada yo no metre en batalla dentro el golfo sino contra mi voluntat, porque los lenyos que han sperança en lur sotileza et de envestir et appartarse et apres tornar, estrecho lurguar lo empacha, car en poco spaçio no pueden tomar fuerça de vogua por envestir ni por apartarse, antes le[s] conviene por fuerça star en hun lugar firmes a la batalla, et en tal lugar pueden antes prosperar aquéllos que son muchos; de aquesto yo me proveire lo millor que podre et cada uno de vosotros quiera star firme en la plaça que le sera ordenada et seti obedientes a los comendamientos de vuestros sobiranos; et lo que fares sea fecho sin rumor et bien hordenadament, la qual cosa es provechosa en fecho de batalla et speçialment en mar, et stat valientment a la resistencia de vuestros enemigos como fiziestes no ha muchos dias, porque la ora semblantment eran en quantitat más de nós; et agora es de neçessitat que una de aquestas dos cosas se fagua: o que los pelloponissos se desesperen de todo de la fuerça marina, o que los pelloponissos se desesperen de todo de la fuerça marina, o que los athenienses les ayan miedo assi por mar como por tierra. Finalment vos digo que vos metades vigorosamente en batalla contra aquéstos, los quales son stados sconfidos de vós; car verament non ha tal cor ni ardimient ni lo deve aver razonablement el vencido como el vençedor (85-86).

### Heredia's *Discurso* 17

Inmostenes, confortando sus gentes, dixo:

¡O valientes hombres! No se dubde ninguno de vosotros vidiendo tanta mutlitud en torno de nosotros por mar et por tierra, mas cada uno et todos ensenble fuera echado todo miedo, nos movamos vigorosament contra los enemigos, que en otra manera no podemos scapar; car en la necessitat no es menester imaginacion mas presto aventuramiento; et yo no me desespero antes veo muchas cosas que nos son en ayuda, si solament queremos durar el treballo contra nuestros enemigos animosament, no dexandoles aquesti passo por smaginamiento de lur multitut; specialment que avemos avantaga por la grant montada que ya; por qué me parece que nos sea más leugera cosa de resistirles antes que tomen tierra, que si toman tierra, car por la strechura del lugar no podran ellos todos ensemble conbatir. Nosotros, ¡athenienos!, somos husados en la art de la marineria et somos diestros a resistir semblant lugar et passo como aquí; et nuestros enemigos no son diestros de tomar tierra por fuerça, por la qual cosa vos prego que el uno con el otro vos devaes confortar por deffender aquesti passo de nustos enemigos et por scapar nuestras personas de periglo et salvar aquesti castiello (107-108).

### Heredia's *Discurso* 22

Ypocrates iva en torno de su huest, como dicto avemos, confortandola con tales paraulas:

¡O athenienos! Mi consello es pocas paraulas car tanto et más obran las pocas paraulas et los valientes hombres como las muchas; las quales no son comendamiento mas de recordança que alguno no piense que iniustament nós combatiremos porque la tierra es estranya, antes, si hemos victoria, daqui avantno osaran venir assi ardidament los enemigos sobre nuestra tierra; et, con una batalla, si soes victoriosos, guanaredes aquesta tierra strania et deliberaredes la vuestra propia; por la qual cosa vos priego que – segunt el nonbre de la vuestra tierra propia, la qual es famosa por todo, et vuestra fama et la virtud de vuestos parientes, los quales con Mironides en el tiempo antiguo prendieron aquesta tierra de Viotia con batalla et con valentia – querades vós agora mostrar sfuerço et resistir a los enemigos, valientes entro a la fin.

Tal era el consello que Ypocrates dava a su huest (115).

### Heredia's *Discurso* 23

E Brassida iva de rere como dicto es, diziendo:

¡O valientes hombres! Si yo vidies que vosotros vos dubdasedes de los enemigos porque aves fincados solos, yo no vos comandaria ni consellaria res; mas, vidiendo cómo soes fincados solos et pocos contra tanta multitut de enemigos, breument vos recordare algunas cosas, mostrando cómo debes seir famosos aquí no por ayuda de otra gent sino por vuestra virtud et valentia; por qué no vos debes dubdar de mucha gent porque no es valient, como soes vosotros, car todo lo que vosotros tenes aves ovido por vuestra prodeza et valentia, levando la victoria de todas partes que vosotros vos combatistes. Pues, no avyades

miedo de los illirios porque no vos sodes combatidos con ellos iamas, car tanpoco en el tiempo passados no vos aviedes provado con los maçedonios et, fecha la pureva, supiestes bien cómo ellos avien grant miedo de vosotros; et a mí parece que los illirios no son tales como hemos oido dir, segunt se mostrara de fecho cómo lur fama es vana et no verdadera et de la ora avant seremos ardididos contra ellos, car la valentia et el miedo es comun a todos et la ardideza et el dubdo assismismo.

Et çiertament los barbaros, de vista, como salvages, terribles pareçien a los que eran ignorantes de lur poca virtud; et lur boz, como grande et grosa, et el movimiento de lurs armas fazen miedo a los otros, mas, en el fecho de la batalla contra aquéllos que nos se espantan de amenazas vanas et se meten contra ellos ardidament, no son tales como parescen antes de la batalla, los quales tanto como son más terribles de vista et de oido tanto valen menos en la obra. Por qué, si vosotros queredes sobrir el primer lur aslato hordenadament, una hora yendo avant et otra ora resistiendo, les pleguare sin pelligro do queredes et provardes si son tan spantables como se dize o non, et si lur avantamento es vano.

Con aquestas paraulas sacava Ubrassida de poco en poco su huest de la tierra de los enemigos (115-116).

#### Heredia's *Discurso* 24

Como Ubrassida hu[v]o fecha la ordenaçion de suso dicta, él parlo a su huest por la manera que se sigue:

¡O valientes peloponissos! La tierra de do es vuestra naçion no la aves solament por fama mas las obras de vuestros fechos propios lo manifiestan no res menos. Yo vos quiero mostrar los que a mí pareçe desta batalla prsent: nuestros enemigos son puyados alla suso como vosotros veyedes, no curando de vosotros et pensando que nenguno no osara salir contra ellos; seit çiertos que qui ocn ingenyo scomete su enemigo por su provedho sabiendo los fallimientos que avienen en la huest por negligencia et deprecio, liugerament prospera al qu[e] plaze tal ingenio en fecho de batalla et no es desonesto de enguaniar lo podra; por la qual cosa, mientras ellos estan assi desordenaods, yo los scomete ant que ellos, se puedan congreguar ni armar; sobre quál subito aslto tú ¡Clearida! con toda la huest, saliendo por la otra puerta te trobaras prestament de la otra part a las spaldas de los enemigos por tal que los podamos cerrar en medio; et he sperança que con aquesta manera avremos victoria contra ellos, car una huest speçialment desordenada en un asalto subito, si vee alguna otra huest de enemigos venir sobre ella, más se smagua de aquella segunda que de la primera que la ha scometida.

Pues, cuitat vós que, como yo plegue et fiera en ellos, los firades vosotros en las espaldas; et tú ¡Clearida!, muéstrate valiente como eres seido todos tiempos, et vós, ¡senyores et amigos!, seguitlo animosament et metetvos sforçadament contra los enemigos, car aquestas tres cosas aduzen victoria a una batalaa: voluntat, vergonia et obediência; et sabet que aqui se a demostrar nuestra valentia contra nuestros enemigos, por la qual conquistaredes libertat perpetual et seredes clamados no siervos de los athenienos mas amigos de los laçedemonios; o, si por cobardeza vernedes a menos de victoria, venguades en grant servittu et se empache por vuestras occassion la liberta del avanço tratvos animosos segunt la present neçessitat, et yo vos mostrare que so presto al fecho personalment como so animosos de amaistrar otros con paraulas (116-117).

¡O valientes honbres! No fazen menester a nosotros muchas paraulas porque el apparellamiento de tal huest es más suffiçient de dar a vosotros ardimiento que paraulas ordenadas con huest ocçiosa; porque alla do somos argheos, mantineos, athenienos et isolanos, adotrinados en las batallas et todos sleidos, ¿cómo no deve cada uno de nós sperar victoria con tales et tantos combatidores?, pues que nuestros cotrariors no son sleidos mas todos de comuna mano çivilianos, los quales nos mereospreçian solament con paraulas, mas no seran firmes en los fechos porque no son husados a las batallas. Avet en memoria que somos luent de nuestra çiudad et en tierra stranya, la qual no podes iamas conquistar sino por fuerça de batalla. Yo vos recuerdo encara de una otra cosa todo el contrario de aquello que nuestros enemigos consellan a los lurs, car ellos resisten por lur tierra et nós guerreamos tierra stranya, por la qual cosa faze menester de aver victoria contra ellos; al menos no girarles la cara liugerament, car no avemos sperança sino en nosotros mismos et aqui nuestra fuerça es nuestra murallas et çiudad. Pues, la fama que aves uvido siempre por todo, mostratla agora aqui et ferit animosament contra los enemigos, considerando cómo la neçessitat en que nós somos et la stranyedat de la tierra, que son más terribles que nuestros enemigos (131-132).

¡O senyores companyones et amigos! Sabet que en tanta neçessitat somos nosotros agora cada uno por su salvaçion et de su tierra en quanta eran nuestros amigos et más; et, aviendo victoria en aquesta batalla marina, podremos scapar nós et nuestra tierra desti periglo et otrament no. Empero, por aquesto no nos devemos spantar ni mostrar como se muestran los ignorantes en las batallas como no husados en los periglos, los quales, si fallen la primera veguada, siempre son spantados; mas vosotros quantos sodes aqui, pues soes husados a los periglos, avent en memoria cuántas cosas contrarias avienen en las batallas, et avet sperança quela fortuna tornarar sobre nós; et assis apparellatvos de combatir valientment et con ardido coraçon assi como somos costumbrados de fer antes desta guerra de Saragoça, et avremos victoria counamente; pues somos gentes en grant numero, convenenos que la batalla que agora faremos sobre los lenyos semelle que seamos en tierra firme, car las prohas de los lenyos hemos fortificado pora envestir, si los marineros querran voguar valientment, eto no nos alarguemos de los amigos daqua et dalla mas star firmes et envestirlos segurament, pues es neçessario que faguamos assi, car toda aquesta tierra es contra nós et es enemigua nuestra; la qual cosa considerando nós, no devemos confugir a la tierra, pues nos es stranya enemigua, mas aver sperança en la mar et alli, si hun lenyo de los nuestros se aplegua a otro de los enemigos, no lo dexe entro a que lo haya destroido.

Et preguava a la gen darmas que conportarse a los marineros diziendo que los unos sin los otros no pudien aver victoria, et preguavalos a todos que no fuessen medrosos por las desaventuras passadas.

Car, con mayor stol et millor fornido nós combatiremos agora et recordatvos todos cómo erades reputados por maravillosos et virtuosos por la destreza que aviedes, et los que no soes propios athenienos erades partiçipantes de nuestra senyoria como francos; agora debes mostrar que no aves perdida la dicta destreza et valentia menospreçiando los corintios,



los quales aves muchas veguadas sconfidas et semblantment los çìçilianos, los quales no osavan estar en el prinçipio a resistirno quando nuestra fuerça marina era en su eser.

Encara digo a los nuestros propios athenienos [et] redugoles a memoria cómo en nuestras tاراçanas no avemos otros tales lenyos ni tal joventut de hombres darماس como aqui son; et, si el contrario conteçiesse de aver victoria contra nuestros enemigos, aquéstos de continente passaran sobre nuestra çìudat et los que alla han fincado no son suffiçientes de guerrear los enemigos vezinos que son alla, et aquéstos et ultra vosotros seredes subgetos et captivos de los saragoçanos contra los que soes aqui venidos, et los nuestros çìudadanos se diusmeteran a los laçedemonyos por aquesta sola batalla; por la qual cosa , si iamas vos mostrastes valientes, agora los deveades fer millor; et recordatvos cada uno et todos ensemble que la gent que entrara agora en el nuestro stol es toda la grant fama de la çìudat nuestra de Athena, assi de gent darماس como de marineros et de lenyos; por la qual cosa, el que ha alguna avantaga en valentia o en destreza agora es tiempo que lo muestre en esta neçessitat por su provecho et salvamiento comun.

Et comando que de contiente se reculliessen los que no eran recullidos. Tales fueron las paraulas de Niquea (141-143).

#### Heredia's *Discurso* 36

Guillippo et los saragoçanos, vidiendo que los athenienos se apparellavan, conosçieron que se ordenavan a la batalla et, ayiende sabido el ingenyo que los athenienos avien fecho a las proas de lures lenyos, ellos assimismo encoraron las poras de los lurs lenyos por seir más fuertes; et, seyendo apparellados los saragoçanos, Guillippo parlo a todos universament en aquesta manera:

¡O saragoçanos et vosotros amigos! Como el nuestro treballo passado es stado prospero, pora que el advenidero sea millor me pareçe que la mayor part de vós lo pensaes, car, si assi no lo inmaginasedes, no mostrariades tanta animosidad; et qui no comprende bien todo el fecho gelo mostraremos. La venida de los athenienos en esta tierra fue primerament por diusmeter toda la isla de Çìçilia et apres todo el Peloponisso et todo el romanient de la Ellada, los quales son tales hombres que avien et han mayor senyoria que toda la naçion ellinica por lur grant fuerça, que agora la debes aver; car, quando lo quel hombre retiene por su avantaia viene a menos de allit avant de vista et de seso, muestra que sea venido a menos de su fuerça; mas la valentia que aviemos nós enantes, con la qual assi como eramos poco husados a las batallas marinas huviemos ardimento et victoria contra ellos, se firmo más et agora somos reputados por más diestros et más valientes porque avemos sconfidos los más diestros et poderosos en mar.

Donques, pues que la nuestra sperança es fecha doble – primerament, por la valentia, apres por el huso – nos da grant animosidad, et, quanto a los ingenyos de que ellos husan, suffiçientes somos nosotros de contrastarles por semblantes, et lo que pareçe a ellos avantaga de meter mucha gent darماس sobre las cubiertas de lures lenyos sera lur nozimiento et nuestro provecho porque la mayor part son hombres poco husados en armas, los quales apenas, stando posados, podran star seguros ni lançar diestrament, et aquéllos empacharan los otros et fallira de todo; et no ayades cura si lurs lenyos son en grant numero, car el lugar do la batalla se fara es tan strecho que poco nos podran nozer.

Empero breument sabet la verdat assi como la avemos sabida çiertament: que los athenienos, estrenidos de todo, son venidos a desesperacion et metense agora a periglo manifesto no aviendo punt sperança en lur armada mas al rishc de la forunta; et, si podran salir fuera de la boca del puerto, fuiran si no ferran en tierra considerando que son de todo perdidos; pues, con tal consideraçon et rishc como ellos se meten et e traen en las manos de los mayores enemigos que han ellos, firamos en ellos teniendo por iusta razon que, assi como ellos con lur furia no se podrien fartar de nuestras personas, faguamos nosotros en ellos el semblat, pues [no] nos son enemigos simples mas de todo mortales, car, segunt vós sabedes, ellos son venidos sin ocasion ni movimiento de buena razon por diusmeter la tierra, la qual cosa, si les huvies venida a fin, avrien punido los honbres cruelment et fecho morir amarament et las fenbras avrien envergonyadas et toda Siçilia avrie ovido por toda razon fama.

Por las quales cosas, en ninguna manera no deveades de seyer negligentes ni reputar a guanañcia si ellos se parten daquea car, si ellos huviessen avida la victoria, tambien se avrien tornado a lur çiudad et retornarien todos dias; mas, si los conteçe lo que nós pensamos, seran punidos como les perteneçe et la isla de Çiçilia fincara en su franqueza más firmement que no era en el principio. Buena es esta batalla et pocos tales periglos se trobaran, los quales, si fallan, nuegan poco et prosperan et ayudan mucho.

Aquestas paraulas dixo Guilippo et apres él et los otros capitanes comandaron entrar a lur gent subitament en los lenyos, vidiendo que los athenienos eran ya cerca todos entrados, Niquea, casi como spantado de las cosas que vidie – considerando el periglo que li devie venir et assi prestament seyendo sobrel movimiento et imaginando que segunt el fecho no avie dicto asaz – encara clamava a cada uno de los patrones de los lenyos et con salutaçon et dulçes paraulas, clamandolo por su nonbre proprio et de su linage, los preguava que, si jamas era estado diestro en alguna cosa, que la ora lo mostrase, et, si era de buenos parientes, que no vituperase lurs tierra et la senyoria et muchas otras cosas que los honbres dizen en tales tienpos; et no se guardava de dir ren sino lo que le pareçe seyer follia, et quanto él dizie encara no creir quel fuese abstant, et, apartandose hun poco dellos, ordenava la marina lo millor que podie por salvaçon de lur stol (143-145).

### Harangue One of the *Aeneid*

Tandem ductores audita caede suorum  
conveniunt Teucri, Mnestheus acerque Serestus,  
palantisque vident socios hostemque receptum. (780)  
et Mnestheus: “quo deinde fugam, quo tenditis?” inquit.  
“quos alios muros, quaeve ultra moenia habetis?  
unus homo et vestris, o cives, undique saeptus  
aggeribus tantas strages impune per urbem  
ediderit? iuvenum primos tot miserit Orco? (785)  
non infelicis patriae veterumque deorum  
et magni Aeneae, segnes, miserteque pudetque?”  
Talibus accensi firmanantur et agmine denso  
constitunt.

At last, hearing of the slaughter of their men, the Teucrian captains Mnestheus and gallant Serestus, come up, and see their comrades scattered and the foe within the gates. And Mnestheus: “Where then, were are you going? What other walls, what other battlements do you have elsewhere? My countrymen, shall one man, hemmed in on every side by your ramparts, deal such carnage throughout the city and go unpunished? Shall he send down to death the so many of our noblest youths? Cowards, have you no pity, no shame, for your unhappy country, for your ancient gods, for great Aeneas?”

Kindled by such words, they take heart and halt in dense array (IX, page 169).

### Harangue Two of the *Aeneid*

At parte ex alia, qua saxa rotantia late  
impulerat torrens arbustaque diruta ripis,  
Arcadas insuetos acies inferre pedestris  
ut vidit Pallas Latio dare terga sequaci, (365)  
aspera quis natura loci dimittere quando  
suasit equos, unum quod rebus restat egenis,  
nunc prece, nunc dictis virtutem accendit amaris;  
“quo fugitis, socii? Per vos et fortia facta,  
per ducis Evandri nomen devictaque bella (370)  
spemque meam, patriae quae nunc subit aemula laudi,  
fidite ne pedibus. Ferro rumpenda per hostis  
est via. qua globus ille virum densissimus urget,  
hac vos et Pallanta ducem patria alta reposcit.  
numina nulla premunt, mortali urgemur ab hoste (375)  
mortales; totidem nobis animaeque manusque.  
ecce, maris magna claudit nos obice pontus,  
deest iam terra fugae: pelagus Troiamne petamus?”  
haec ait, et medius densos prorumpit in hostis.

But in another part, where a torrent had driven rolling boulders far and wide and bushes torn from the banks, when Pallas saw his Acadians, unused to charge on foot, turn to flight before pushing Latium – for the nature of the ground, roughened by waters persuaded them for once to dismiss their horses – then, as the one hope in such straits, now with entreaties, now with bitter words, he fires their courage: “Friends, where are you running? By your brave deeds I pray you, by your King Evander’s name, by the wars you have won, by my hopes now springing up to match my father’s renown – trust not to flight. We must hew a way through the foe with the sword. Where the mass of men presses thickest, there your noble country calls you back, with Pallas at your head. No gods press upon us; by mortal foes are we mortals driven; we have as many lives, as many hands as they. See, the ocean hems us in with mighty barrier of sea; there is now no land for our flight; are we to make for the sea or Troy?” He speaks these words and dashes on into the midst of the serried foe (X, page 197,199)

### Harangue Three of the *Aeneid*

At non haec nullis hominum sator atque deorum	(725)
observans oculis summon sedet altus Olympo.	
Tyrrhenum genitor Tarchonem in proelia saeva	
suscitat et stimulis haud mollibus inicit iras.	
ergo inter caedes cedentiaque agmina Tarchon	
fertur equo variisque instigat vocibus alas	(730)
nomine quemque vocans, reficitque in proelia pulsos.	
“quis metus, o numquam dolituri, o semper inertes	
Tyrrheni, quae tanta animis ignavia venit?	
femina palantis agit atque haec agmina vertit?	
quo ferrum quidve haec gerimus tela inrita dextris?	(735)
at non in Venerem segnes nocturnaue bella	
aut ubi curva choros indixit tibia Bacchi.	
exspectate dapes et plenae pocula mensae,	
(hic amor, hoc studium) dum sacra secundus haruspex	
nuntiet ac lucos vocet hostia pinguis in altos!”	(740)
haec affatus equum in medios moriturus et ipse	
concitatur, et Venulo adversum se turbidus infert	
dereptumpque ab equo dextra complectitur hostem	
et gremium ante suum multa vi concitus aufert.	

But with not unseeing eyes the father of gods and men sits throned on high Olympus, viewing the scene. He rouses Tyrrhenian Tarchon to the fierce battle, and fills him with wrath by no gentle spur. So, amid the slaughter and wavering columns, Tarchon rides, and goads his squadrons with diverse cries, calling each man by name, and rallying the routed to fight. “You Tuscans, who will never be stung by shame, sluggards always, what fear, what utter cowardice has fallen on your hearts? Does a woman drive you in disorder and rout your ranks? For what reason do we bear swords, why these idle weapons, in our hands? But you are not laggard for love and nightly frays, or when the curved flute proclaims the Bacchic

dance. Wait for the feasts, and the cups on the loaded board (this is your passion, this your delight!) till the favouring seer announces the sacrifice, and the fat victim calls you to the deep grooves!” So saying, he spurs his horse into the throng, ready himself also to die, and charges like a whirlwind full at Venulus; tearing the foe from his horse, he grips him with his right hand, clasps him to this breast, and, mightily spurring on his horse, carries him off (XI, page 287).

#### Harangue Four of the *Aeneid*

continuo pugnae accendit maioris imago: (560)

Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum  
ductores, tumulumque capit quo cetera Teucrum  
concurrit legio, nec scuta aut spicula densi  
deponunt. celso medius stans aggere fatur:

“ne qua meis esto dictis mora; Iuppiter hac stat, (565)

neu quis ob inceptum subitum mihi segnior ito.  
urbem hodie, causam belli, regna ipsa Latini,  
ni frenum accipere et victi parere fatentur,  
eruum et aequa solo fumantia culmina ponam.

scilicet exspectem, libeat dum proelia Turno (570)

nostra pati rursusque velit concurrere victus?  
hoc caput, o cives, haec belli summa nefandi:  
ferte faces propere foedusque reposcite flammis.”

dixerat, atque animis pariter certantibus omnes  
dant cuneum densaque ad muros mole feruntur; (575)  
scalae improviso subitusque apparuit ignis.

At once a vision of greater battles fires his hear; he calls Mnestheus and Sergestus and brave Serestus, and plants himself on a mound, where the rest of the Teucrian host throng quickly around without laying down shield or spear. Standing among them on the mounded height he cries: “Let nothing delay my command; Jupiter is on our side; and let no one, I pray, be slower to advance because the venture is so sudden. That city, the cause of war, the very seat of Latinus’ realm unless they consent to receive our yoke and to submit as vanquished, this very day I will overthrow, and lay it smoking roofs level with the ground. Am I to wait, do you suppose, till Turnus sees fit to do battle with me, and chooses to meet me a second time, beaten though he is? This, fellow citizens, is the head, this the sum, of the accursed war. Bring bands with speed, and with fire reclaim the treaty.” He ceased, and with hearts equally emulous all form a wedge and advance in serried mass to the walls. In a moment ladders and sudden flames are seen (XII, page 341).

Harangue Five of the *Aeneid*

Obstipuere animis Rutuli, conterritus ipse  
turbatis Messapus equis, cunctatur et aminis  
rauca sonans revocatque pedem Tiberinus ab alto. (125)  
at non audaci Turno fiducia cessit;

ultro animos tollit dictis atque increpat ultro:  
“Troianos haec monstra petunt, his Iuppiter ipse  
auxilium solitum eripuit, non tela neque ignes  
exspectans Rutulos. Ergo maria invia Teucris, (130)  
nec spes ulla fugae: rerum pars altera adempta est,

terra autem in nostris manibus, tot milia gentes  
arma ferunt Italae. Nil me fatalia terrent,  
si qua Phryges prae se iactant, responsa deorum;  
sat fatis Venerique datum, tetigere quod arva (135)  
fertilis Ausoniae Troes. Sunt et mea contra

fata mihi, ferro sceleratam exscindere gentem  
coniuge praerepta: nec solos tangit Atridas  
iste dolor solisque licet capere arma Mycenis.  
‘sed periisse semel satis est’: peccare fuisset (140)  
ante satis penitus modo non genus omne perosos

femineum. Quibus haec medii fiducia valli  
fossarumque morae, leti discrimina parva,  
dant animos. At non viderunt moenia Troiae  
Neptuni fabricata manu considerare in ignis? (145)  
sed vos, o lecti, ferro qui scindere vallum

apparat et mecum invadit trepidantia castra?  
non armis mihi Volcani, non mille carinis  
est opus in Teucros. addant se protinus omnes  
Etrusci socios. tenebras et inertia furta (150)  
*Palladii caesis summae custodibus arcis*

ne timeant, nec equi caeca condemur in alvo:  
luce palam certum est igni circumdare muros.  
haud sibi cum Danais rem faxo et pube Pelasga  
esse ferant, decumum quos distulit Hector in annum. (155)

nunc adeo, melior quoniam pars acta diei,  
quod superest, laeti bene gestis corpora rebus  
procurate, viri, et pugnam sperate parari.”

Amazed were the Rutulians at hear; Messapus himself was terror-stricken, his horse afraid; and the loud murmuring stream is stayed, as Tiberinus turns back his footsteps from the deep. But fearless Turnus did not lose heart; eagerly he raises their courage with his words, eagerly he chides them: “It is the Trojans that these portents are directed against; Jupiter himself has bereft them of their usual help; they do not await Rutulian sword and fire. So the seas are pathless for the Teucrians, and they have no hope of flight. Half the world is lost to them, but the earth is in our hands: in such thousands are the nations of Italy under

arms. I have no dread of all the fateful oracles of heaven of which these Phrygians boast: to Fate and Venus all claims are paid, since the Trojans have touched our rich Ausonia's fields. I too have my own fate to meet theirs – to cut down with the sword a guilty race that has robbed me of my bride! Not only the sons of Atreus are touched by that pang, not only Mycenae has the right to take up arms. 'But to have perished once is enough!' Rather, to have sinned once would have been enough, provided that henceforth they utterly loathe well-nigh all womankind, these men to whom this trust in a sundering rampart, these delaying dykes – slight barriers against death – afford courage! But did they not see Troy's battlements, the work of Neptune's hand, sink in flames? But you, my chosen troops, who is ready to hew down the rampart with the sword and rush with me on their terrified camp? I do not need the arms of Vulcan nor a thousand ships, to meet the Trojans. Let all Etruria join them at once in alliance. Darkness and cowardly theft of *their Palladium, with slaughter of guards on the citadel*, they need not fear; nor shall we lurk in a horse's dark belly: in broad day, in the sight of all, I mean to gird their walls with fire. I will see to it that they know they do not have to deal with Danaans and Pelasgic youths, whom Hector kept at bay till the tenth year. Now since the better part of the day is spent, for what remains, men, joyfully refresh yourselves after your good service, and be assured that we are preparing for war" (IX, page 125).

#### Harangue Six of the *Aeneid*

Haud tamen audaci Turno fiducia cessit  
 litora praecipere et venientis pellere terra.  
*ultra animos tollit dictis atque increpat ultro,*  
 "quod votis optastis, adest, perfringere dextra  
 in manibus Mars ipse viris. Nunc coniugis esto (280)  
 quisque suae tectique memor, nunc magna referto  
 facta, patrum laudes+. Ultra occurramus ad undam  
 dum trepidi egressisque labant vestigia prima.  
 audentis Fortuna iuvat . . ."  
 haec ait et secum versat, quos ducere contra (285)  
 vel quibus obsessos possit concedere muros.

But fearless Turnus did not lose his firm hope of seizing the shore first, and driving the approaching foe from land. *Nay, he raises their courage with his words – nay, he chides them:* "What you have desired in your prayers is now possible – to break through with the sword! The war god's self is in your hands, men. Now let each be mindful of his wife and home; now recall the great deeds, the glories of our sires! Let us meet them at the water's edge, while they are confused and their feet falter as first they land. Fortune aids the daring . . ." So saying, he ponders with himself whom to lead to the attack, and to whom he can entrust the beleaguered walls (X, page 193).

Harangue One of the *Libro de Alexandre*

- Torno a fus vafallos quel fedien derredor (964)  
enpeço a fablar a vna grañt sabor  
amigos dis veyedes grado al Criador  
pone se nuestra cofa toda via mejor
- Todos nuestroσ contrarios viñienos a las manos (965)  
han de fincar con nufco sol prender los queramos  
todo nuestro laσeryo aquí lo acabamos  
nunca contraſto avremos ſy eſto quebrantamos
- Lo que dona Vitoria noſ ouo prometido (966)  
avelo Deus graçias leal mente atenido  
fiſo noſ buen conpieço quando Menona fue vençido  
maſ aquí jaσ el cabo e el preſçio conplido
- De oro e de plata vienen todos armados (967)  
todos Relanpaguean tanto vienen afeytados  
eſtos con Dios a vna tenedlos por Rancados  
que por fer buen bernaje eſtan mal aguifados  
[.....]
- Mienbre vos la materia por que aqui venimos (969)  
mjenbre vos las ſoberuñas que de Dario priſiemos  
noſ nin nuestros parientes nunca deſque naſçiemos  
por vengar nuestra onta atal façon toujemos
- Se bien que por aqueſto todos ſomos pagados (970)  
la vna por que todos fodes omes granados  
la otra por que fueſtes de mi padre criados  
la terçera que σodes comigo deſtrañados
- Mientras metre en calcuno de qual guiſa me quiere (971)  
aquel me querra maſ el que mejor firiere  
el que pedaços fechos el eſcudo trayere  
el que con el eſpada enbota firiere
- A los que fueren Ricos añadir en Riqueſa (972)  
a los que fueren pobres ſacare de probeſa  
quitar a los ſieruos que bjuan en franqueça  
non dare por el malo vna mala corteſa
- Lo que a mi vierdes non quiero que al fagades (973)  
ſy delante no fiero non quiero que firades  
maſ quando yo firiere quiero que vos firgades  
mientes querre meter commo me augardades
- Quierouos breue meñt la rraçon eſtajar (974)  
que non tenemos ora por luengo ſermon far  
de toda la ganancia me vos quiero quitar  
aſaσ he yo del preσ non quiero mas leuar
- Auelos con ſus dichos mucho eſcalentados (975)  
ſol non lo entendien tanto eran corajados  
todos por a feryr los eſtauan amolados



non cuydauan en ellos aver fendos bocados

Harangue Two of the *Libro de Alexandre*

Dixoles grañt effuerço quando fueron plegados (983)

varones tengamolnos por omes venturados  
çabet que fy non fuefemos tan ayna vujados  
fueran en todo en todo ydos y derramados

Mañ el nuestro señor façenos grant caridat (984)

oy noñ façe señores de nuestra heredat  
faremos en los griegos vna mortaldat  
que nunca en este mundo ganaran vengedat

Commo ha de feyer quierouos vos lo deçir (985)

cercarlos en medio que non puedan fuyr  
no çabran maguer quieran a qual parte yr  
o dar fe han a prifion o avran a moryr

Afás dixera Dario confeio aguiçado (986)

mañ era otra guiça de los dioses ordenado  
por çu ventura dura non ly fue otrogado  
que el ax de la rrueda jasie trañornada

Harangue Three of the *Libro de Alexandre*

Quando vio Alixandre tal façaña de gentes (1341)

començo con cuero malo de amolar los dientes  
dixo a fus varones amigos e parientes  
quierouous deçir nuevas meted en ellos mientes

Afás auedes fechas fasiendas muy granadas (1342)

ya fon por todo el mundo vuestras nuevas sonadas  
fon todas fobre nos noñ las tierras acordadas  
onde es menester que traygamos las espadas

Agora noñ deuemos por varones preçiar (1343)

quando con todo el mundo avemos a lidiar  
noñ pocos ellos muchos podremos noñ honrrar  
avran por contañella de nos que fablar

Trahen grandes rriqueças theforos fobejanos (1344)

todos andan por nuestros fy oujeremos manos  
non vos y quiero parte amigos y hermanos  
nunca averan pobreça los que faldran fanos

Quando ovo Alixandre la Rason acabada (1345)

por ferirfe con Dario auje cara tornada  
viñole vn barrunte de la otra encontrada  
fiçolo perçebir de vna fuerte çelada

Harangue Four of the *Libro de Alexandre*

- Afas entendie Poro cuydolos Retener (2079)  
enpeço a altas boçes a toso maltraher  
amigos en mal preſçio vos queredes poner  
nunca en eſti mundo lo podredes perder  
Amigos vuestro Rey non lo defenparedes (2080)  
ſy Poro aquí finca vos mal preſçio leuaredes  
tornat a la façienda ca rrafes los vñcredes  
por quanto en el mundo ſea oy vos honrraredes  
Tanto non pudo Poro deçir nñ predicar (2081)  
non los pudo por guiſa nñguna acordar  
torno el e enpeço de lñdiar  
en cabo quando vio que non q[u]erien tornar  
Parientes e amigos que eran mal carnales (2082)  
eſtos eran a lo menos quince ſeñas cabdales  
mal quiſieron morir que ſeyer deſleales  
bien andante fuera Poro ſy todos fueran atales

Harangue Five of the *Libro de Alexandre*

- Elloſ plorauan dentro las mulleres al puerto (253)  
commo oi toujeſ cada vna a ſu marido muerto  
el Rey Alixandre dauales grañt confuerço  
diſiendoles amigos tenedes me grañt tuerto  
Sy nos de aquí non nos mauemos en pas nunca bñuermos (254)  
de premia e de cueyta nunca eſcaparemos  
por tres meſes o quatro que nos y laçraremos  
atamaña flaqueſa demostrar non deuemos  
Qui al ſabor quiſiere de ſu tierra catar (255)  
nunca fara bernaje nñ fecho de preſtar  
maſ es en vna veſ todo a oluñdar  
ſy ome quiſier preſçio que aya a preſtar  
Elçides ſy non oujeſ a Eſpaña paſado (256)  
maguer era valient non ſerie tan contado  
Bacus ſy non oujeſ el ſu lugar lexado  
non oujera el Regno India ganado  
Nos por aqueſto todo doſ Raſones auemos (257)  
la vna que los Regnos de Dario ganaremos  
la otra que de cueyta por ſiempre mas yxiremos  
efforçados amigos que alegres tornaremos  
El ſabor de la tierra faſe muchos meſquinos (258)  
e que a grante rrepoyo bñuen de ſus veſinos  
Naſon ſi non oujeſe abiertos los camñnos  
non auria ganado tan Ricos velleçinos

- Io lexo buena madre y buenas dof hermanas (259)  
muchas Ricas çibdades y muchas tierras planas  
estas con las que non son nonbradas  
todo non lo preocio quanto tres auellanas
- Sy supiefedes exas tierras quantas han de bondades (260)  
veredes que mal feches por que tanto tardades  
efforçaduos amigos en vuestras voluntades  
por poco non vos digo que mugeres semejades
- El non pudo tanta Retorica saber (261)  
que les podiese la dolor del coraçon toller  
quanto mas yuan yendo mas se querian doler  
non semejauan en los coraçones a don Baler
- Grañt cosa fue del rrey e de coraçon (262)  
nunca torno cabeça nin dexo su raçon  
o serie tan alegre en su tierra o non  
non semello en cosa que fiesiese tal varon
- Desque perdieron tierra fueron mas aquedando (263)  
fueron contra Alia las cabeças tornando  
fueron de las lagremas los ojos mondando  
fueron poco a poco las rraçones mudando

#### Harangue Six of the *Libro de Alexandre*

- Entendio Alixandre luego las voluntades (787)  
dixo les ya varones quiero que me oyades  
muchas vezes vos dix fy bien vos acordades  
de can que mucho ladra nunca vos temades
- Una cosa que dixo deuedes bien creer (788)  
que aue rrica tierra e sobra grant auer  
ca nunca fizo al fy non sobre poner  
que nunca fuydo en aquesto veyer
- Todo esto auremos maguer es cosa puesta (789)  
Dios non vos lo dara jaciendo vos en cuesta  
efforçad fijos dalgo tornemos la rrepuesta  
que en quanto que dixo a fi mismo denuelta
- Muchos mas vos deuedes por esto a alegar (790)  
commo omes que auen tal cosa a ganar  
que puesto an los fados todo a vos lo dar  
solo que vos querades un poco aturar
- Muchas ave de gentes mal de las que el diç (791)  
mal todos son gallinas y de flaca rrays  
tanto ofarien alçar contra nos la çerujs  
quanto contra açor podrie la perdis
- Mas traye vna uispa de cruda vedegame (792)  
que non farie de molcas vna luenga exame

tanto avrien ante vos effuerço n̄n leuame  
 quanto brufcos ante lobos quando auen grant fame  
 Señor dixeron todos en todo te creemos (793)  
 de aquí adelante nunca mal dubdaremos  
 fola que tu nof b̄uas por rricos nos tenemos  
 por las bafas de Dario vn figo non daremos

#### Harangue Seven of the *Libro de Alexandre*

Pero dixo el rrey quexar non vos deuedes (845)  
 fomos e meiores y rrafes los vencredes  
 encara fyn todo efto otra Raçon auedes  
 que fabe todo el mundo que derecho tenedes  
 Por que vençio a Menona es afi enflotado (846)  
 cuydafe que yra fienpre en tal eftado  
 fy fupiefe el loco commo es engañado  
 ferfie de fu locura mucho marauillado

#### Harangue Eight of the *Libro de Alexandre*

Fuel viniendo el feſo Recobro fu fentido (896)  
 fue del mal mejorado el pero non bien guarido  
 dixoles ya varones pueblo an defcolido  
 non vi tan grant conçeio fyn feridas vençido  
 Avn feyendo byuo judgadesme por muerto (897)  
 de buena gente que fodes trahedes mal confuerto  
 veo que mal ōabedes avenir en depuerto  
 por verdat vos desir tenedes me grant tuerto  
 Nuestro vecino Dario fy fueſe buen guerrero (898)  
 leuarfeme podrie commo a vn cordero  
 en las tierras agenas laſaria feñero  
 todo nuestro laçerio non valdria vn dinero  
 Mal fy algunos mejes me pudiefen guarir (899)  
 aven eſta vegada non querria moryr  
 non lo fago tanto por amor de beuir  
 mal por que me querria con Dario combatir  
 Solo fobre el caualllo me pudiefe tener (900)  
 ante m̄s vis vaſallos en el campo ſeer  
 auriense los de Prefia fyn grado a vençer  
 a fariedes los m̄os lo que ōoliedes fer  
 Andaua por las hueſtas vna grañt alegria (901)  
 por que en el ſeñor entendien mejoría  
 pero dubdauan muchos que con la ofadia  
 farie por aventura de cabo rrecadia

Harangue Nine of the *Libro de Alexandre*

- Quando vido Alixandre pueblos tan fobeianos (1195)  
que todo jaçie lleno las cueftas y los llanos  
dis menefter es amigos que traygamos las manos  
Por vno que matamos çiento naçieron (1196)  
o rribiçaron todos quantos nunca morieron  
creo que los actores efto tal entendieron  
quando de las cabeças de las fierpes dixeron  
Contan las actoriftas que diçen muchas bafas (1197)  
que fue vna firpiçiente qu auçe fiete cabeças  
quando le tollen vna fiete le naçien efpefas  
femella que es efto eftas nuevas mefmas  
El luchador Anteo efta virtud auçe (1198)  
quanto maf lo echauan mayor fuerça cogie  
maf vedogelo don Ercoles que con el contendie  
femeia que agora Dario efo querrie

Harangue Ten of the *Libro de Alexandre*

- Encubrio fu defyerro quando fueron llegados (1441)  
refirio los fofoiros que tençe muy granados  
començo de fablar con los ojos mudados  
ca entendie que todos eftauan deferrados  
Amigos dis deumello a los dioses gradeçer (1442)  
que tan grandes quebrantos nof dieron a veyer  
pero nof bien deuemos firme meñt creyer  
que merçet nof avra[n] en caba a aver  
Somos mucho fallidos contra el Criador (1443)  
non lo obedeçemos commo atal ſeñor  
que fomos engañados en el nuestro ſeñor  
que las culpas fon grandes e el yerro mayor  
Maf es de tal natura efto es la verdat (1444)  
mager yrado fea no oluiða pçedat  
fer nof hand en pueç efto tamaña caridat  
que avn bien deçiremos a la fu mageſtat  
Otra coſa nof deue demaf confortar (1445)  
que ſabemos que muchos tales coſas paſar  
Tiro tan poderofo commo oyeftes contar  
vna muller lo ovo en cabo a matar  
El rrey Serfis que ovo tan eſtraño poder (1446)  
ques façie en el mar en los carros traher  
e podie en los canpos con las aues correr  
abeç pudo en cabo vna beſtia aver  
Sy nof que Dios lo quiſo fuemos deſbaratados (1447)

a varones conteçe feamos efforçados  
 bjuo es vuestro rrey vos todof fodes fanos  
 creo que verna ora que feremos vengados  
 Efy solo non cahe que non quiere luchar (1448)  
 efy non fue vençido que non quiſo lidiar  
 todos los que quiſieron buen preſçio ganar  
 ſiempre dellas e dellas ouieron a tomar  
 Non vos vençio effuerço maſ vençiouos ventura (1449)  
 quiſouos dar por ellos Dios mala majadura  
 que trayemos con noſ otros enbargo e orrura  
 caſtrados e mugeres eſta fue grañt locura  
 Deſde aqui otra guiſa ſomoſ a aguiſados (1450)  
 llegemos quantas gentes pudieremos llegar  
 dexemos eſtas nuevas que ſolemos leuar  
 ca por fiero ſe quiere la façienda buſcar  
 Ellos en enfloto de lo que auien fecho (1451)  
 ternan que lo fiçieron por effuerço derecho  
 peſara a los dioſes auer les han deſpecho  
 perderan la ventura noſ cogeremos el pecho  
 Commo eran las gentes todas deſcoraſnadas (1452)  
 non era marauilla que eran mal cuytadas  
 non les podie deçir palabras tan ſenadas  
 que toller les pudieſe de los cueres las plagas

#### Harangue Eleven of the *Libro de Alexandre*

Mando ante ſy Dario ſus varones venir (1651)  
 fiço cara fermofa quierefe encobrir  
 dixo el bendicite por la orden conplir  
 rreſpondieron ellos Domīnus ſuperion Recodir  
 Amigos diſ eſte ſiglo e eſti tenporal (1652)  
 ſienpre aſi andido oras bien oras mal  
 ſuele en pues vno ſyenpre venir al  
 el mal en pues el bien e el bien en pues el mal  
 La Rueda de ventura ſienpre aſi coRio (1663)  
 a los vnos alço a los otros premio  
 a los muchos alçados luego los deçendio  
 a los que decendio en cabo los pullo  
 Aſaſ ſo deçendido por miſ graues pecados (1654)  
 jaçemos ſo la rrueda yo e vos mal fadados  
 ſon los venediços a los muros pullados  
 ſomos de lo que femos noſ e ellos cameados  
 Pero cuydo que la rrueda non prodra ſeyer quedada (1655)  
 tornara el viſieſto mudara la moneda  
 ſera nueſtra ventura pagada e maſ [qu]eda

- avran los venediços a pechar nof la rrienda  
 Por verdat vos lo digo afi vos lo conuengo (1656)  
 quando vos bñuos fodes e çerca mñ vos tengo  
 quanto de mñ enperio en nada non me tengo  
 nunca fere vengado fy por vos non me vengo
- El la vuestra lealtat que avedes conplida (1657)  
 en oms deñti ñiglo nunca fue tan oyda  
 del Criador del çielo la ayades gradefçida  
 el que todo la çabe e nada non oluñda
- Por lealtat avedes grante laçerio leuado (1658)  
 los parientes perdidos e el mñedo oluñdado  
 guardafes vuestro rrey muchas veçes Rancado  
 del Criador vos çea eñto gualardonado
- Sy ouñefe Maçeo tal lealtat conplida (1659)  
 non çerie Babñloña tan ayna perdida  
 el que a fu ñeñor da tan mala cayda  
 deñpues aya mal ñiglo agora mala vñda
- Los que de no fallieron a los griegos pañaron (1660)  
 nunca en eñti ñiglo tan mal non barataron  
 el rrey Alixandre al que la mano beñaron  
 non los preçiara nada que çabe que fañaron
- Pero con eñto todo al vos quñero deçir (1661)  
 devemos enuññar lo que es de venñr  
 nunca puede al ome el mal tanto noçir  
 fy antes que avenga lo çabe perçebñr
- Sy non fiañe tanto en vuestra conpañia (1662)  
 de lo que deçir quiero nada non vos diria  
 mañ ññe que çodes todos oms ñin villañia  
 de toda mñ façienda rres non vos encorbriria
- Los griegos ñon venñdos por a mñ conñeguir (1663)  
 non es façon nñn ora que podamos fuyr  
 mañ quiero eñperarlos en el canpo morir  
 que con tan fiera carga en eñti ñiglo beuñr
- En el çu colimeñt non quñero yo entrar (1664)  
 non quiero de fu mano beneñçio tomar  
 con la cabeça pueden el enperio lleuar  
 non pueden otra guññfa comñgo pleytear
- Los que fañta agora me avedes guardado (1665)  
 guardat bien vuestro preñçio que avedes ganado  
 façiendo commo el bueno que muere aguññado  
 eñe aue acabada vñda e preñçio acabado
- Nof Reññpuño nññguno de todos los varones. (1666)  
 que eran eñpantados de las tribulaçiones  
 Narboñones e Belfus Rebolujen los grinoñes  
 ca llenos de venñno tenñen los coraçoñes .
- Reññpondiol Atrabatos mañ non fue todo nada (1667)

dixo señor bien diçes es cofa aguiçada  
pefanos de la onta que tu al tomada  
o murremos nos todos o sera bien vengada  
Los vnos son tu sangue los otros tus criados  
todos por a feruïrte somos aparellados  
avn tan rrafes mjeñt non seremos Rancados  
ante que mal pregas seremos nos dapnados

(1668)



Harangue One of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*

Otro dia mañana el sol querie apuntar  
Aramado es myo çid con quantos que el ha  
Fab[l]aua myo çid commo odredes contar  
Todos yscamos fuera que nadi non raste (685)  
Sinon dos peones solos por la puerta guardar  
Si nos murieremos en campo en castiello nos entraran  
Si vençieremos la batalla creçremos en rictad  
E vos pero vermuez la mi seña tomad  
Commo sodes muy bueno tener la edes sin ar[t] (690)  
Mas non aguijedes con ella si you non uos lo mandar

Harangue Two of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*

Ya caualleros apart fazed la ganança (985)  
Apriessa uos guarnid e metedos en las armas  
El conde don Remon[t] dar nos ha grant batalla  
De moros e de xristianos gentes trae sobeianos  
A menos de batalla non nos dexaire por nada  
Pues adellant yran tras nos aqui sea la batalla (990)  
Apretad los caualllos e bistades las armas  
Ellos vienen cuesta yuso e todos trahen calças  
E las siellas coçeras e las çinchas amoiadas  
Nos caualgarmeos siellas e huesas sobre calças  
Çiento caualleros deuemos vençer aquel[l]as mesnadas (995)  
Antes que ellos l[l]egen a llano presentemos les las lanças  
Por vno que firgades tres siellas yran vazias  
Vera remont verengel trans quien vino en alcança  
Oy en este pinar de teuar por tol[l]er me la ganança  
Todos son adobados quando myo çid esto ouo fablado (1000)  
Las armas auien presas e sedien sobre los caualllos  
Vieron la cuesta yuso la fuerça de los francos  
Al fondon de la cuesta cerca es de llano  
Mando los ferir myo çid el que en buen ora nasco  
Esto fazen los sos de voluntad e de grado (1005)

Harangue Three of the *Cantar de Mio Cid*

Al terçer dia todos iuntados son  
El que en buen ora nasco compeço de fablar  
Oyd me[s]nadas si el criador uos salue (1115)  
Despues que nos partiemos de la linpia xristiandad  
Non fue a nuestro grado ni nos non pudimos mas

Grado a dios lo nuestro fue adelant  
Los de valençia çercados nos han  
Si en estas tierras quisieremos durar (1120)  
Firme mientras son estos a escarmentar  
Passe la noche e venga la mañana  
Apareiados me sed a caualllos e armas  
Hyremos ver aquel[1]a su almofalla  
Commo omnes exidos de tierra estraña (1125)  
Al[1]i pareçra el que mereçe la soldada

Harangue One of the *Poema de Fernán González*

- Quando fueron juntados començo de fablar, (300)  
qualquier se lo veria que avia grand pesar:  
“Amigos, ha mester de consejo tomar,  
de guisa que podamos tal fuerça rencurar.  
Nunca a los navarros mal non les meresçiemos, (301)  
nin tuerto nin sobervia nos nunca les feziemos;  
muchos fueron los tuertos que d’ellos resçibiemos,  
por gelo demandar nunca sazon toviemos’  
Cuide que se querian contra nos mejorar (302)  
e d’aquesta querella querian nos sacar;  
la querella que avemos quieren nos la doblar,  
a mi e a vos otros envian desfiar  
Amigos, tal sobervia nos non gela suframos, (303)  
que nos vengüemos d’ella e todos y muramos,  
ante que tanta cuita e tal pesar veamos:  
¡por Dios, los mis vasallos, no los acometamos!  
En nos los cometer es nuestra mejoría; (304)  
por quanto ellos son mayor cavallería;  
nos non mostremos y ninguna covardia;  
en dudar nos por ellos serie grand villania.  
Sepades que en la lid non son todos iguales, (305)  
por cient lanças se vençen las faziendas canpales;  
mas valen cient caveros d’un coraçon iguales  
que non fazen trezientos de los descomunales.  
Ha y buenos e malos, que non puede al ser, (306)  
los malos que y son non podrien atender,  
aver se han por aquellos los buenos a vençer,  
vemos nos muchas veçes tal cosa conteçer  
Muchos son mas que nos peones e caveros, (307)  
omnes son esforçados ed de pies muy ligeros,  
d’asconas e de dardos fazen golpes çerteros,  
traen buena conpañia de buenos escuderos.  
Por esto ha mester que nos los cometamos; (308)  
si ellos nos cometen, mejoría les damos;  
si ellos entendieron que nos non los dubdamos,  
dexar nos han el canpo ante que los firamos  
Otra cosa vos digo, e vos la creeredes: (309)  
muerto sere en pelea o en quexa me veredes;  
vere los castellanos commo me acorredes,  
mester a vos sera quanta fuerça tenedes.  
Si por alguna guisa al rey puedo llegar, (310)  
los tuertos que me fizo cuedo le demandar;  
no l’podrie ningun omne de la muerte escapar,  
non avrie, si el muere, de mi muerte pesar.”

Quando ovo el buen conde su razon acabada, (311)  
 mando contra Navarra mover la su mesnada;  
 entro les en la tierra quanto una jornada,  
 fallo al rey don Sancho a la Era Degollada.

Harangue Two of the *Poema de Fernán González*

Quando ovo acabada don Nuño su razon, (348)  
 començo el buen conde, esse firme varon;  
 avie grand conplimiento del sabio Salamon,  
 nunca fue Alexandre mas grand de coraçon  
 Dixo: “Nuño Lainez, buena razon dixiestes, (349)  
 las cosas commo son assi las departiestes,  
 d’alongar esta lid creo que assi dixiestes,  
 quien quier que vos lo dixo, vos mal lo aprendiestes.  
 Non deve el que puede esta lid alongar, (350)  
 quien tiene buena ora, otra quiere esperar;  
 un día que perdemos no l’podremos cobrar,  
 jamas en aquel día non podremos tornar.  
 Si omne el su tienpo quiere en valde passar, (351)  
 non quiere d’este mundo otra cosa levar  
 si non estar viçioso e dormir e folgar;  
 el fecho d’este muere quando viene a finar.  
 El viçioso e el lazado amos han de morir, (352)  
 el uno nin el otro non lo pueden foir,  
 quedan los buenos fechos, estos han de vesquir,  
 d’ellos toman enxiemplo los que han de venir.  
 Todos los que grand fecho quisieron acabar (353)  
 por muy grandes trabajos ovieron a passar:  
 non comen quando quieren nin çena nin yantar  
 los viçios de la carne han los de ovlidar  
 Non cuentan d’Alexandre las noches nin los dias, (354)  
 cuentan sus buenos fechos e sus cavallerias;  
 cuentan del rey Davit que mato a Golias,  
 de Judas Macabeo, fijo de Matatias.  
 Carlos e Valdovinos, Roldan e don Ojero, (355)  
 Terrin e Gualdabuey, Arnaldo e Olivero,  
 Torpin e don Rinaldos e el gascon Angelero,  
 Estol e Salomon, otro su conpañero.  
 D’estos e d’otros muchos que non vos he nonbrados (356)  
 non fablarian mas que sin non fuessen nados,  
 si tan buenos no fueran, oy serien olvidados,  
 seran los buenos fechos fasta la fin contados.  
 Por tanto, ha mester que los dias contemos, (357)  
 los dias e las noches en que las espendemos,

quantos en valde passan    nunca los cobraremos;  
 amigos, bien lo vedes    que mal seso fazemos.”  
 Caveros e peones    ovo los de vençer, (358)  
 a cosa que el dezia    non sabien responder,  
 quanto el por bien tovo    ovieron lo a fazer;  
 su oraçion acabada,    mando luego mover.

Harangue Three of the *Poema de Fernán González*

Quando a toda su guisa    lo ovieron maltraido, (424)  
 dixo les don Fernando:    “Por Dios, se oido:  
 de quanto que yo fize    non so arrepentido,  
 no m’devedes tener    assi por tan fallido.  
 Fui yo a la ermita    por mi amigo ver, (425)  
 por el e yo en uno    amos aver plazer;  
 quando y fui llegado,    demande d’el saber,  
 por nuevas me dixerón    que era en otro poder.  
 Sope yo como era    mi amigo finado, (426)  
 mostraron me el logar    do yazie soterrado;  
 rogue a Jesucristo    que, si el fizo pecado,  
 por la su grand medida    le sea perdonado.  
 Entrante de la puerta    y fize mi oraçion, (427)  
 tal qual me dio Dios seso    e m’ metio en coraçon;  
 vino a mi este monje    commo en una vision:  
 “Despierta – dixo – amigo,    que ora es e sazon.”  
 Dixo me lo en sueños,    non lo quise creer, (428)  
 desperte e non pude    ninguna cosa ver;  
 oir una grand voz    del çielo desçender,  
 voz era de los santos    segun mi entender.  
 Esta es la rason    que la voz me dezia: (429)  
 “Conde Fernan Gonzalez,    lieva dend’, ve tu via,  
 todo el poder de Africa    e del Andaluzia  
 vençer lo has en el campo    d’este terçero dia.”  
 Dixo m’ que mal fazia    por tanto que tardava (430)  
 a aquel Rey de los Reyes    por cuya amor lidiava,  
 que fuesse e non tardasse    contra la gent pagana,  
 que por que avie miedo,    pues que el me ayudava.  
 Otras cosas me dixo    que me quiero callar, (431)  
 serie grand alongança    de todo lo contar,  
 mas vos aver los hedes    aina de provar,  
 fasta que lo provedes,    aver me he de callar.  
 En aquella ermita    fui yo bien aconsejado (432)  
 del monje San Pelayo,    siervo de Dios amado,  
 que por el su consejo    Almançor fue arrancado;  
 fui lo a buscar agora    e falle l’soterrado.

Fasta que lo sepades com' lo fui yo a saber (433)  
 por end non me devedes por fallido tener;  
 aguardar vos querria a todo mi poder  
 de por mengua de mi en yerro non caer.  
 De Dios e de los omnes mester nos ha consejo, (434)  
 si non los afinacamos, fer nos han mal trebejo;  
 trae rey Almançor muy grand pueblo sobejo,  
 nunca en la su vida ayunto tal conçejo.  
 Mil ya y pora uno, esto bien lo sabemos, (435)  
 dicho es que ha mester que consejo tomemeos:  
 majuer fuir queramos fazer non lo podemos,  
 assi commo los peces enredados yazemos.  
 Aragon e Navarra, todos los pitavinos, (436)  
 si en quexa nos vieren non nos seran padrinos,  
 non nos darien salida por ningunos caminos,  
 mal nos quieren de muerte todos nuestros vezinos.  
 Si nos, por mal pecado, fuereamos arrancados, (437)  
 los nuestros enemigos seran de nos vengados;  
 seremos nos cativos, fanbrientos e lazrados,  
 seran los nuestros fijos de moros cativados.  
 Los fijos e las fijas que nos tanto queremos (438)  
 ver los hemos cativos, valer non los podremos;  
 de nos mandaren ir, por fuerça alla iremos,  
 nuestros fijos e fijas jamas non los veremos.  
 Desanparado es el que yaze en cativo, (439)  
 mas dize muchas vezes que non querrie ser vivo,  
 "Señor del mundo – dize - ¿por que me eres esquivo,  
 que me fazes vevir lazrado e perdido?"  
 Ligera cosa es la muerte de pasar, (440)  
 muerte de cada dia muy mala es d'endurar,  
 sufrir tanto lazerio e ver tanto pesar,  
 ver los sus enemigos lo suyo heredar.  
 Contesçe esso mismo con la gent renegada (441)  
 hereden nuestra tierra e tienen la forçada;  
 endreçar se ha la rueda que esta trestornada,  
 seran ellos vençidos, de Cristus la fe onrada.  
 Non es dicha fortuna por siempre en un estado, (442)  
 uno ser sienpre rico e otro ser menguado,  
 camia estas dos cosas la fortuna priado,  
 al pobre faze rico e al rico menguado.  
 Quiere fazer las cosas assi el Criador, (443)  
 de dar e de quitar el es el fazedor  
 por entender que el es sobre todos mejor;  
 el que suel' ser vençido ser el vençedor.  
 A tal Señor commo este devemos nos rogar, (444)  
 que por la su mesura nos quiera ayudar,

que en el nos esta todo, caer o levantar,  
 ca sin el non podemos nulla cosa acabar.  
 Amigos, lo que digo bien entender deveades; (445)  
 si fueros vençidos ¿que consejo prendredes?;  
 morredes commo malos, la tierra perderedes,  
 si esta vez caedes, non vos levantaredes.  
 De mi mismo vos digo lo que cuedo fazer: (446)  
 nin preso nin cativo non me dexare ser,  
 maguer ellos a vida me quisieren prender,  
 matar me he yo ante que sea en su poder.  
 Todo aquel que de vos del canpo se saliere (447)  
 o con miedo de muerte a pesion se les diere,  
 quede por alevoso si tal fecho fiziere,  
 con Judas en infierno yaga quando moriere.”  
 Quando aquesto oyo el su pueblo loçano, (448)  
 todos por una boca fablaron muy priado:  
 “Señor, lo que tu dizes de nos sea otrogado,  
 el que fuyere yaga con Judas abraçado.”  
 Quando ovo el conde dichas estas razones (449)  
 - antes tenian todos duros los coraçones –  
 fueron muy confortados, caveros e peones;  
 mando commo fiziessen essos grandes varones

#### Harangue Four of the *Poema de Fernán González*

Mando a sus varones el buen conde llamar, (475)  
 quando fueron juntados mando los escuchar:  
 de derie que queria la serpiente demostrar;  
 luego de estrelleros començo de fablar.  
 “Los moros, bien sabedes, se guian por estrellas, (476)  
 non se guian por Dios, que se guian por ellas;  
 otro Criador nuevo han fecho ellos d’ellas,  
 diz que por ellas veen muchas de maravellas.  
 Ha y otros que saben muchos encantamientos, (477)  
 fazen muy malos gestos con sus espiromientos,  
 de revolver las nuves e revolver los vientos  
 muestra les el diablo estos entendimientos.  
 Ayuntan los diablos con sus conjuramientos, (478)  
 aliegan se con ellos e fazen sus conventos,  
 dizen de los passados todos sus fallimientos,  
 todos fazen conçejo los falsos carbonientos.  
 Algun moro astroso que sabe encantar (479)  
 fizo aquel diablo en sierpe figurar  
 por amor que podiesse a vos mal espantar,  
 con este tal engaño cuidaron nos torvar.

Commo sodes sesudos, bien podedes saber (480)  
 que non ha el poder de mal a nos fazer,  
 ca tollo le don Cristus el su fuerte poder,  
 veades que son locos los que l'quieren creer.  
 Que es de todo el mundo en uno el poder, (481)  
 que a el solo devemos todos obedeçer,  
 ca el es poderoso de dar e de toller:  
 a tal Señor commo este devemos nos temer.  
 Quien este Señor dexa e en la bestia fia (482)  
 tengo que es caido a Dios en muy grand ira,  
 anda en fallimiento la su alma mesquina:  
 quantos que andan assi el diablo los guia.  
 Tornemos en lo al en que agora estamos: (483)  
 trabajado avemos, mester es que durmamos;  
 con ellos en el canpo cras mañana seamos,  
 todos en su logar assi commo mandamos.”  
 Fueron a sus posadas, comiençan a dormir; (484)  
 començaron las alas los gallos a ferir,  
 levantaron se todos, missa fueron oir,  
 confessar se a Dios, pecados descubrir.  
 Todos, grande e chicos, la su oraçion fizieron, (485)  
 del mal que avian fecho todos se repentieron,  
 la ostia consagrada todos la resçebieron,  
 todos de coraçon a Dios merçed pedieron.  
 Era en todo esto el dia allegado, (486)  
 entraron en las armas todo el pueblo curzado,  
 las azes fueron puestas commo les fue mandado  
 bien sabie cada uno su lugar señalado.



### Harangue One of *El Victorial*

E dixo a sus gentes:

- Castellanos, ved en qué lugar estamos, cómo oy soys mirados de quantas naçiones ay en cristianos, e cómo auemos oy de ganar honrra para Castilla, donde somos naturales, e para vos mesmos. Pelead firmemente; non sea hombre de vosotros que se dexe prender, ca el que fuese preso non escaparía por eso de la muerte. Con la ayuda de dios e con la su justiçia, ellos serán bençidos, ca ellos son robadores e malhechores; non arán manos contra nos (108).

### Harangue Two of *El Victorial*

[...] Mandó el capitán que saliesen en tierra la gente de armas, que rodeasen por la otra parte de la quеста; e díxoles:

- Amigos, ya bedes en la priesa que somos, si esta agua non se toma. Subid a ellos: ya vedes que non puedo yr con vosotros – ca estava ferido de la ferida que le dieran en Túnez -; fazed como buenos.

E salieron en tierra, e hordenáronse muy bien: honbres darmas, e ballesteros, e pabesados (132)

### Harangue Three of *El Victorial*

- Parientes e amigos: Bien sabedes vos quién es el rey Aduarte, mi padre, cómo es el más honrrado rey que oy ay en cristianos, e cómo á seydo muy gerrero hombre, e batallador, e sienpre fué bencedor e nunca benzido. E cómo á puesto estatuto a sí e a todos los suyos de nunca fuir del canpo, por muy grand priesa ni fortuna de gente que benga, de dos mill honbres darmas arriba; e donde estas se acaeçieren, avnque de la otra arte vengan quantos venir pudieren, que antes mueran todos que non buelvan las espaldas. Vosotros que aquí estades e otros muchos ge lo otorgaron ansí; o que ante que bengan al fecho se pongan en tal lugar donde non les benga bergüenza, o que puedan librar guardando sus honrras. Si nosotros fuymos agora, pasaremos el mandamiento del rey, e quebrantaremos el estatuto puesto e otorgado por los nobles caballeros. Demás que ternemos dos enconvinientes: el vno, que tenemos la fuyda muy lexos, e la mar en medio, e nuestros henemigos a las espaldas, que nos siguirán hasta la muerte; el otro es que, en caso que escapásemos, non nos conbiene yr en Angliaterra, porque tal es el rey quél nos mataría, o nos desterraría, e todas las naçiones nos denostarían. Demás, bien sabíades vosotros, e avn yo, que quando el rey mi padre nos envió, que no nos enviava a bodas, mas a conquistar reynos e tierras. E el que entra en reyno ageno a conquistar, tan bién se abentura a ser benzido como vazedor; ca el pelear es en los honbres, e el benzer es en las manos de Dios. E nosotros venimos en Franzia por aber honrra; si fuymos, la honrra perdida es. ¿Qué nos aprovecha quanto avemos fecho en Françia, si agora fuymos e en la fin nos mostramos cobardes? En la fin yaze la honrra; ca el comenzar de todo es, mas afinar en bien es de pocos. Yo fago voto a Dios que ya en mi vida non calzaré espuelas, porque yo no pueda fuir.

Deçendió del cavallo, e fizolo aparear, e dixo:

- Faga cada vno ansí.

Metió mano a la espada, e lançógela por el biente, e matólo.  
E dixo:

- Los que aquí murieren, non abrán menester caballos; e si escapáremos e bençiéremos, ellos traen caballos assaz, en que cabalgaremos (227-228).

#### Harangue Four of *El Victorial*

- Agora, amigos, bed cómo estáys en tierra de henemigos; catadlos allí todos puestos en batalla, e bien harmados, para benir a nosotros, segúnd que nosotros queremos yr a ellos; e son asaz gente, pero no son tan fuertes como vosotros, ni tan buenos. Catad a mar que tenedes a las espaldas, e cómo los nabíos están yermos de gente; non tengades fuzia a ellos. Ved cómo estades entre dos henemigos, la mar e la tierra. Pelead fuertemente; no vos dexedes bençer. Estad todos firmes de vn corazón, que por fuir non podredes escapar, que moriredes todos en la mar; pues avnque vos diésedes a prisión, bien sabedes que ya cómo los fazen los yngleses con las castellanos, e cómo son henemigos sin piedad. Si firmes estades, e bien peleardes, abredes la honrra e mucho buen despoxo. Mirad qué tierra tan rica e tan fermosa. Quanto bedes, tanto será vuestro, sólo que bien peleedes. Agora aperçebidvos, e façed como hombres buenos. Catad que ninguno no se parta del lugar en que lo yo dexo, nin vos movades hasta que ellos lleguen a vos. Llamad todos a Santiago, que es nuestro patrón de España, que él nos ayudará.

Partióse el capitán dellos, e dexólos tanto como treynta o quarenta pasos adelante; e vínose para la gente darmas. E los caballeros tenían su batalla bien hordenada, segúnd que el capitán los abía dexado, e los estandartes dellos cabe la bandera del capitán; e quantos dellos so ella pudieron caber, que abía asaz dellos, ansí d elos normanes como de los bretones. Podrían ser en la batalla del capitán hasta mill hombres darmas, castellanos e bretones e normanes. Bien podredes entender el trauajo que pasaría vn solo caballero en hordenar e regir tanta gente; e él armado de todas piezas, sinó la cabeza. Que non ove y cavallero ni peón en que él no pusiese la mano, requeriéndolos dos e tres beces, e mandándoles cómo avían de fazer (267-268).

#### Harangue Five of *El Victorial*

[...] E partieron las galeras de Roán, podía ser a la ora de prima: començando a remar, esquireció el sol, e fueron muy espantados toda la gente de las galeras e de la tierra, e dezían al capitán que dexase aquella partida, diziendo que non hera buena señal para fazer guerra. E los marineros acordavan todos que non debían partir en toda aquella luna. Vnos dezían que el sol hera ferido, e que mostrava grand mortandad de gentes; otros, que abían de ser grandes tormentas en la mar, e otros muchas cosas, cada vnos segúnd su seso.

E dixo Pero Niño:

- Amigos, non vos espantedes, non ayades temor; ca no ya de que nosotros cristianos somos, en Dios creemos, e a él adoramos. Non debemos creer en señales. Abed grande feé en Dios, que él fizo todas las cosas: él sabe lo que faze. ¿Quién es aquel que faze sus juicios e diçierne los sus fechos? Non nos fizo él a nos para que juzguemos las sus obras, mas que seamos vmilldes o ovedezcamos los sus mandamientos. Fagamos nosotros lo que nuestro es

de fazer, e faga él de nos lo que él por bien toviere. Roguémosle a pidámosle merçed que nos guíe e nos guarde, e él lo fará, que berdadera es la su palabra. El dize que con nos será en tribulaçiones, e que si lo llamáremos él nos oyrá apresuradamente. E si agora faze escuro, a poca de ora fará claro. Pero dezirvos he cómo se faze el eclypse. El sol está alot e la luna más vaja, e agora acaeçe que pasa la luna antel sol e estorba que non pase la claridad a nos, ca la luna de sí mesma es escura, e no á otra claridad sinó la que resçibe del sol; pero que es vn querpo atan stil, que en feriendo el sol en ella resçibe aquella claridad que ella lanza, non de sí, mas del sol. El sol sienpre es en su claridad cunplida; ni se muere, ni es ferido, ni más escuro agora que ante. Nos es maravilla que dos hombres, vno de Chipre e otor de Pruza, andando por el mundo se encuentran, e non fazen por eso señal: fiçieron curso, mas non señal. Ansí ficieron agora la luna e el sol, que andando cada vno con su çielo, se econtraron, e pasó la luna antel sol. Pasarase á el vno siguiendo su curso, yrse á el otro su bía hordenada, e aparesçerá claro (247-248).

Dize aquí el avtor que asaz abastaría al hombre feé e raçon para se salbar e vibir en este mundo; mas que de armas vsa mal, porque dexa el hombre de traer e aber fee en Dios e pone su fuzia en signos de las abes, e en los estornudos, e en las adebinanzas, e en los sueños. Quitado de hombre, ¿tú non sabes que en las abes non ay razón? Pues lo que Dios ascondió al hombre razonable, al qual Dios dotó e cunplió de virtud poco menos que a los ángeles, ¿cómo lo dió a la animalía bruta? Dióles Dios algúnd estinto e seso natural para buscar su bida, e guardarse de los enpezimientos; mas non les dió saber las cosas que son por benir. Ansí que estas cosas la ley las dfiende, e la razón non las sufre.

Con esta razón que el capitán dixo, plogo mucho a todos, a perdieron temor. E esclareçió el sol e el mundo; e mandó remar adelante, que fiçiesen su biaje en el nonbre de Dios.

### Harangue One of *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna*

-Señores e buenos amigos: pues la justicia es aquella virtud que da a los caballeros en las batallas segura confianza de vitoria, pensad bien cuánta justicia tiene en esta parte el Rey nuestro señor, por quien hoy peleamos, e luego sentiréis quán esforçados vos fallaréis para pelear e vencer. E si de la otra parte la generosa sangre de vosotros ha aquel deseo de honrra e de gloria que sienpre ovieron aquellos de donde vosotros venís, ved lo que la vuestra buena fortuna el día de hoy vos pone delante, e cómo al bien fazer de vuestras manos tan grandes cosas promete. Es a saber, vitoria de reyes tan poderosos, e muy çierto galardón de vuestro muy virtuoso Rey, el qual vos escogió confiando de vuestra virtud, para que la su justicia por el vuestro bien fazer hoy se demostrase, e fuese executada. Por eso estad vivos e valientes, para ferir en aquellos que justicia ni razón no tienen, antes de todo punto les fallece.

E así dió fin el Condestable a su razonamiento. El qual oydo, los corazones de todos fueron acrescentados y encendidos en deseo de honrra e gloria, e así aparejados a bien fazer, que todos deseaban que tocasen las tronpetas; ca estaban ya muy cerca unos de otros (79).

### Harangue Two of *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna*

El Condestable, que tenía la delantera, e que veyá quanto yba allí en aquel día al seruiçio del Rey, e honrra de su corona, e de los sus reynos, e a la honrra de sí mismo, e al bien de la cosa pública, començó de animar a los suyos, e esforçarlos para la pelea, como aquel que era muy sabio e valiente capitán, e avía pasado por muchos semejantes peligros; e que avía voluntad de pelear e aver honrra, e servir a su Rey. E el espada en la mano, puesto ante los suyos, con cara muy esforçado e alegre, començoles a fablar asi:

- Esforçados caualleros, buenos parientes e firmes amigos, criados leales e compañeros fieles: ya vedes los enemigos del Rey nuestro señor, e de los sus reynos, qué çerca los tenemos, e con quán poco temor de Dios han perseverado en el su desconosçimiento e deslealtad; en la batalla de Panpliega la publicaron, e agora la porfian; por ende crezcan vuestros coraçones, e las injurias resçevidas, e los daños e robos por esta gente fechos, despierten vuestra saña a mayor ira. E recordadvos de tanta honrra como el Rey el día de hoy nos ha dado, en querer que la su justiçia sea executada porlo que fizieren las nuestras manos, aviendo segura confianza en el nuestro esfuerço e lealtad. E pensad que fasta aquí peleastes por que vos pudiesen fallar diestros y esforçados; e agora peleáys por que vos llamen leales e virtuosos. Mayormente que vedes que todo nos faze favor, y esfuerça la cabsa nuestra, e non es aquí cossa que nuestra non sea: peleamos por nuestro Rey, defendemos nuestro reyno, vengamos nuestras injurias, guardamos las nuestras leyes; lo qual nuestros enemigos facen por el contrario. Pelean contra su Rey e para mejor dezir con su Rey, destruyéndole sus reynos, e acrescentan su deslealtad, declaran su desagradesçimiento, e ronpen e van contra sus leyes. Así que en las nuestras manos va la justiçia, e en las suyas viene la culpa. ¿Pues quién temerá a estos tales enemigos, que deben aver más miedo de vivir que nosotros morir? Quanto más aviendo vos hoy dado la fortuna tan buen testigo como a vuestro Rey, en cuya presençia avéys fecho e aqueste que hoy le faréys, vee. Pues yo confio en Dios, e en la justiçia del nuestro muy virtuoso Rey, e en el esfuerço de vosotros,

que si en Panpliega fueron desbaratados, que en aquesta serán vençidos. Por ende, vayamos todos de un coraçon a ferir en ellos.

Con tanta abtoridad e esfuerzo dixo el Condestable estas palabras, que meresció ser bien oído; e tanto coraçon puso en los suyos, que a todos los animó para la pelea. E después que dió fin a su razonamiento, ordenó su avanguardia, e puso su batalla e tropeles en la manera que agora diremos (164-165).

### Harangue Three of *Crónica de don Álvaro de Luna*

De tales palabras como aquestas yvan deziendo aquella noche algunos criados del Maestre; no porque no le amaban, mas la noche era tan áspera, que los trabajaba tanto que no se podían sostener de no quejarse. El Maestre, que bien entendió que su gente iba assaz trabajada, començó de yr con ellos fablando, aliviándoles sus trabajos con dichos amigables e animosos, en esta guisa:

- Buenos e leales criados, e fieles compañeros: muy poco piensa en la gloria que gana el que esta noche siente ningúnd trabajo que le venga. Menbradvos que ys non solamente a resistir a los enemigos del Rey nuestro señor, e de los sus reynos, más a vençerlos e desbaratarlos. E que la fortuna vos escogió para darvos esta honrra de vitoria, que por vosotros se faga al Rey grand serbiçio, e a la tierra socorro maravilloso. E por que en mayor presçio fuesse tenido el vuestro socorro, quiso vos dar la fortuna tan fuerte noche e tan trabajosa; por que la gloria vuestra sea mayor desde el fecho oviéredes acabado. Assí que el trabajo de que vos quexáis, vos acresçienta la gloria, e prueba vuestros coraçones, y examina vuestra virtud; por ende, alegremente e con mucho coraçón vos disponed a aquellos trabajos, que después de resçibidos vos pueden alegrar, e dar gloria sienpre duradera.

Mucho alegraron e animaron a todos las palabras del Maestre su señor. E tanta graçia tenía el Maestre en las cosas que fablaba, que luego como lo oyeron los que antes se venían quejando del mal tiempo que pasaban, se ovieron por bienaventurados en aver parte de aquellos trabajos. En esta manera fablando con los suyos andovo tanto, que llegó a la puente de Çorita ya quando quería esclareçer el día, que son tres leguas grandes de donde avía partido (226).

### Leriano's Harangue in *Cárcel de amor*

Por cierto, cavalleros, si como sois pocos en número no fuédeses muchos en fortaleza, yo ternía alguna duda en nuestro hecho, según nuestra mala fortuna; pero como sea más estimada la virtud que la muchedumbre, vista la vuestra, antes temo necesidad de ventura que de cavalleros, y con esta consideración en solos vosotros tengo esperança; pues es puesta en nuestras manos nuestra salud, tanto por sustentación de vida como por gloria de fama nos conviene pelear; agora se nos ofrece causa para dexar la bondad que heredamos a los que nos han de heredar, que malaventurados seríamos si por flaqueza en nosotros se acabasse la heredad; assí pelead que libréis de verüença vuestra sangre y mi nonbre; hoy se acaba o se confirma nuestra honrra; sepámonos defender y no avergonçar, que muy mayores son los galardones de la vitorias que las ocasiones de los peligros; esta vida penosa en que bevimos no sé por qué se deva mucho querer, que es breve en los días y larga en los trabajos, la cual ni por temor se acrecienta ni por osar se acorta, pues cuando nascemos se limita su tienpo, por donde es escusado el miedo y devida la osadía. No nos pudo nuestra fortuna poner en mejor estado que en esperança de honrrada muerte o gloriosa fama; cudicia de alabança, avaricia de honrra, acaban otros hechos mayores quel nuestro; no temamos las grandes compañías llegadas al real, que en las afrentas los menos pelean; a los sinples espanta la multitud de los muchos, y a los sabios esfuerça la virtud de los pocos. Grande aparejos tenemos para osar: la bondad nos obliga, la justicia nos esfuerça, la necesidad nos apremia; no hay cosa por que devamos temer y hay mill para que devamos morir. Todas las razones, cavalleros leales, que os he dicho, eran escusadas para creceros fortaleza, pues con ella nacistes, mas quísolas hablar porque en todo tienpo el coraçón se deve ocupar en nobleza; en el hecho con las manos; en la soledad con los pensamientos; en compañía con las palabras, como agora hazemos; y no menos porque recibo igual gloria con la voluntad amorosa que mostráis como con los hechos fuertes que hazéis; y porque me parece, segund se adereça el conbate, que somos costreñidos a dexar con las obras las hablas, cada uno se vaya a su estancia.

#### El auctor

Con tanta constancia de ánimo fue Leriano respondido de sus cavalleros, que se llamó dichoso por hallarse dino dellos; y porque estava ya ordenado el conbate fuése cada uno a defender la parte que le cabía;

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