

Cuadernos de Ilustración y Romanticismo
Revista Digital del Grupo de Estudios del Siglo XVIII
Universidad de Cádiz / ISSN: 2173-0687
nº 32 (2026)

SPAIN'S NATIONAL (ANTI)HERO: THE DEMYTHOLOGISATION OF THE CID IN THOMAS ROSCOE'S *THE TOURIST IN SPAIN*

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Recibido: 16-6-2025 / Revisado: 20-2-2026
Aceptado: 20-2-2026 / Publicado: 26-06-2026

Abstract: This paper explores the way in which the Cid is demythologised in Thomas Roscoe's series of travel books *The Tourist in Spain* (1835-1838). In the first two volumes, Roscoe continues the Romantic tradition of depicting the Cid as an idealised chivalrous hero. Nevertheless, in the third volume, the traveller condemns the Cid's dishonesty, for which he cannot be considered a hero, and claims that he is a symbol of the religious fanaticism that caused the downfall of Spain. However, in the final volume, Roscoe provides a romanticised image of the Cid again. The principal objective is to analyse how Roscoe's paradoxical views on the Cid evolve throughout the books. Furthermore, this paper aims at determining if other authors' interpretations of the Cid and Roscoe's own ideological convictions conditioned his perception of the semi-legendary figure.
Keywords: British travel literature, Romantic Spain, Thomas Roscoe, the Cid, ballads, medievalism.

EL (ANTI)HÉROE NACIONAL ESPAÑOL: LA DESMITIFICACIÓN DEL CID EN *THE TOURIST IN SPAIN* DE THOMAS ROSCOE

Resumen: Este artículo explora la forma en la que Thomas Roscoe desmitifica al Cid en su serie de libros de viajes *The Tourist in Spain* (1835-1838). En los dos primeros volúmenes, Roscoe continúa la tradición romántica de representar al Cid como un héroe idealizado. Sin embargo, en el tercer volumen, el viajero condena la deshonestidad del Cid, por la cual no puede ser considerado un héroe, y afirma que es un símbolo del fana-

1 This article was funded by the European Social Fund Plus, the Operational Programme for Castilla y León, and the Junta de Castilla y León, through the Consejería de Educación, and is part of the project «LHIBRO II. British Romantic-Era Literary Circles and the Social Dynamics of the Anglo-Hispanic Literary Exchange» (PID2023-147350NB-I00), funded by MCIU/AEI/10.13039/501100011033/FEDER, UE.

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tismo religioso que causó la decadencia de España. No obstante, en el último volumen, Roscoe romantiza de nuevo al Cid. El objetivo principal es analizar cómo las ideas paradójicas que tiene Roscoe sobre el Cid evolucionan a lo largo de los libros. Además, este artículo pretende determinar si las interpretaciones del Cid que hicieron otros autores o las propias convicciones ideológicas de Roscoe condicionaron su percepción de la figura semilegendaria.

Palabras clave: literatura de viajes británica, España romántica, Thomas Roscoe, el Cid, romances, medievalismo.

Introduction

The Romantics drew inspiration from the Middle Ages because imagining an idealised past of chivalry and romance allowed them to escape the tragic realities of nineteenth-century industrial society. The romanticisation of the medieval period contributed to the increasing interest in Spain, which was perceived by nineteenth-century authors as an exotic land that was anchored in the past. The history of Muslim Iberia attracted the attention of numerous writers who were fascinated with Oriental cultures and dreamt of modern Spain as an African country whose border with Europe was delimited by the Pyrenees. Furthermore, medieval Iberian poetry became popular throughout Europe because it was believed to be an exquisite manifestation of the spirit of the Middle Ages. According to Juan Gomis, «religious unity, defence of the faith, patriotism, independence, and fighting spirit were characteristics attributed to the "Spaniards" of the Middle Ages by nineteenth-century texts, which, amid the social and political turbulence of their century, cast a melancholy gaze towards a glorious past» (2015: 95). As a result, the Romantics were captivated by Pelayo and the Cid because they represented the chivalric qualities that were highly praised in the literature of the time. In particular, the figure of the Cid acquired special relevance in the literary sphere of nineteenth-century Europe. The Cid was considered the epitome of chivalry and hence inspired a large number of Romantic writers from different countries. Nonetheless, the Cid and his crusades against the Muslims gave rise to diverging interpretations based on ideological principles. In this manner, the Cid became an ideological tool that was employed both by liberal and conservative authors to express their convictions and to address nineteenth-century matters.

Travel literature played a major role in the consolidation of Spain as the land of chivalry par excellence and in the transmission of a mythicised image of the Cid. A large number of travellers who wrote books on their adventures in Spain exalt the medieval gallantry of the Spaniards and narrate the conflicts between Christians and Muslims that took place in emblematic locations such as Valencia or Granada. This paper focuses on Thomas Roscoe, an English author and translator who, among numerous other works, wrote four travel books on Spain titled *The Tourist in Spain* as part of the *Jennings' Landscape Annual* series.

Roscoe's trip to Spain had to be postponed until the autumn of 1835 because of the outbreak of the First Carlist War in 1833 (Saglia, 2007: 130). As a consequence, he could not base *The Tourist in Spain: Granada* (1835) and *The Tourist in Spain: Andalusia* (1836) on his own travel experiences. Nevertheless, he was able to draw on first-hand observations for the last two volumes of the series: *The Tourist in Spain: Biscay and the Castiles* (1837) and *The Tourist in Spain and Morocco* (1838). In the travel books, Roscoe's reflections on the Cid alternate between the Romantic myth and an apparent aversion to the idealisation of the semi-legendary figure. The premise of this paper is that the traveller's

ideological beliefs are the principal cause of his criticism of the Cid and the ballads and chronicles that glorify his feats. Roscoe's background was liberal, since he was the son of William Roscoe, a banker and intellectual who became a Whig Member of Parliament for Liverpool and ardently opposed slave trade. William Roscoe's ideological influence was such that a group of liberal reformers from Liverpool known as the Roscoe circle originated around his figure.

This paper examines Thomas Roscoe's demythologisation of the Cid in his series of travel books *The Tourist in Spain*. The primary objective is to analyse how Roscoe's interpretation of the Cid evolves from a romanticised conception of his chivalric qualities to a negative portrayal of his corrupted character that condemns his role as an intolerant oppressor. Moreover, this paper aims at determining to what extent Roscoe's perception of the Cid was conditioned by other authors' ideological views and by his own convictions. First, the different uses of the figure of the Cid as an ideological tool by authors who could have influenced Roscoe are explored. Second, Roscoe's references to the Cid in his travel books are studied to elucidate the reasons behind the change in the way he is depicted.

The Cid as an ideological tool

This section explores the multiple ways in which the Cid was perceived by different authors who could have directly influenced Roscoe, either because it is known that he had access to their works or because he mentions them in his travel books. The main purpose of this framework is to understand the context in which Thomas Roscoe wrote his series of travel books, as well as to clarify the diverse reflections and perspectives that could have conditioned the traveller's own interpretation of the Cid.

In France, Simonde de Sismondi was the first author to write a commentary on the *Cantar* and the ballads of the Cid, which he included in his work *De la littérature du midi de l'Europe* (1813). Sismondi's work is particularly significant because it was first translated into English by Thomas Roscoe in 1823, which could lead one to believe that the traveller's views on the Cid and the Muslims were influenced in some way by the Swiss author. Sismondi mentions some of the prototypical chivalric traits of the Cid, such as his bravery and strength, but he emphasises his humanity, a special quality that led to his becoming the most prodigious warrior in Europe. In addition, Sismondi, whose political views were liberal (Galván and Banús, 2004: 38), praises the freedom of the Cid by accentuating that he was not blindly loyal to the Christian monarchy and, since he was respected by Christians and Muslims equally, he decided to support the latter when Alfonso VI expelled him from Castile. Furthermore, Sismondi displays sympathy for the Muslims by defending that they were tolerant towards the Christians and that literature flourished in the Iberian Peninsula during their rule. As a matter of fact, he states that the *Cantar* and the ballads were taken from a chronicle that was written by two Muslim pages of the Cid after his death. According to Sismondi, «the poem, though a most Christian performance, bears some traces of its Arabic origin. The style in which the Divinity is spoken of, and the epithets which are applied to him, bear traces of a Moorish, rather than of a Catholic pen» (1823: 158). Therefore, Sismondi describes the Cid as the archetypically romanticised national hero of chivalric Spain, but he also provides a positive image of the Iberian Muslims and attributes the origin of the *Cantar* and the ballads to them.

In 1808, years before Sismondi's work was published, the Cid became popular in Great Britain thanks to Robert Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid*. Southey made use of different

sources, among which were the *Cantar* and the ballads, to create his own chronicle of the Cid. Since it was published at the outbreak of the Peninsular War, several authors have argued that Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid* can be interpreted as a propaganda tool aimed at promoting the alliance between Great Britain and Spain to defeat the French invaders (Graver, 2001; Galván and Banús, 2004; Saglia, 2012; Perojo Arronte, 2022). Although Southey does not make direct reference to the Peninsular War in the introduction to the *Chronicle*, he utilises the *Reconquista* as a symbolic narrative in which Islam is represented as a corrupt religion whose propagation brings moral depravity and barbarism into the world, whereas the Christians from the North of the Iberian Peninsula are depicted as a free people who, although inferior in numbers and less civilised than the Muslims, were capable of overpowering them. In fact, in an 1808 letter to his brother Henry Herbert Southey, the British poet affirms that the Spaniards «have so many ballads about "*Mio Cid*", and have so many traditions about him, that Ruy Diez, dead as he is, will do more against Bonaparte than all the kings of Europe have done» (Wood Warter, 1856: 99). Thus, Southey nurtures the conservative image of the Cid as a national hero who fought to free Spain from the yoke of the Muslims with the objective of inspiring an insurrection against the French. When Roscoe mentions the Cid in *The Tourist in Spain: Granada*, he recommends the reading of Southey's *Chronicle*, as well as the works of other two British authors: John Gibson Lockhart and Felicia Hemans.

Lockhart offers an alternative perspective on the Muslims in *Ancient Spanish Ballads*, an anthology of Iberian ballads that was published in 1823. According to his biographer Andrew Lang, Lockhart declared himself «a *moderate* Tory» and despised Southey's rigid conservative politics (1897: 43). Consequently, Lockhart's moderate ideas are observable in the introduction to *Ancient Spanish Ballads*, which presents a rather liberal discourse — probably inspired by Sismondi, whom he mentions as one of his sources— that promotes an appreciative and almost laudatory evaluation of the Muslims. Firstly, Lockhart depicts Islamic rule in the Iberian Peninsula as a glorious age of progress. Secondly, he claims that the Christians were not mistreated by the Muslims, which enabled a harmonious coexistence in spite of their differences. Finally, in a manner comparable to Sismondi's *De la littérature du midi de l'Europe*, Lockhart characterises the Cid as a free man who can be considered the hero of the Muslims as well as of the Christians, since he fought on both sides. Interestingly, Diego Saglia has argued that Lockhart idealises the past of the Iberian Peninsula in terms of liberty and religious tolerance as a way of reflecting on the Catholic Emancipation in Great Britain and Ireland (2018b). Therefore, Lockhart makes use of the ballads and the figure of the Cid to create a narrative that suits his ideological views on a nineteenth-century matter, just like Southey had done in relation to the Peninsular War. Lockhart's work seems to have been extremely influential for Roscoe, since he mentions it on several occasions in *The Tourist in Spain: Granada*, and he includes a passage from «Serenade» on page 25 and another one from «The Flight from Granada» on page 269. Moreover, Roscoe regards Lockhart as his «friend» (1835: 276) and there is correspondence between them that suggests that they knew each other personally and that they had a good relationship.[2]

Another British author who draws inspiration from the Cid to address contemporary affairs is poet Felicia Hemans. According to María Eugenia Perojo Arronte, it was due to the publication of Hemans's *Songs of the Cid* (1823) and *The Siege of Valencia* (1823) that

2 Liverpool Record Office is in possession of a letter written by Lockhart in 1839 to support Roscoe's application for a post at the Liverpool Mechanics' Institution. Reference number: 920 ROS/2433 (http://archive.liverpool.gov.uk/calmview/Record.aspx?src=CalmView.Catalog&id=920+ROS%2f2433&pos=1).

«the Cid was consolidated as an icon of nationality and chivalric values» (2022: 85). In her poems, Hemans provides a romanticised depiction of the Cid that eulogises his valour and fierce patriotism. Nevertheless, in contrast to Southey, Hemans was a liberal who was intimately acquainted with William Roscoe —Thomas Roscoe's father— and his Whig circle in Liverpool (Saglia, 2000: 29). Thus, although her poems exalt some of the Cid's chivalric features that were normally praised by conservative authors, her political beliefs were liberal. As a matter of fact, commenting on Hemans's poem «The Cid's Rising», Saglia asserts the following:

> As part of a discourse on present-day Spain, it casts the national hero as the politically charged embodiment of a force that returns in order to renew a never-ending fight, and therefore surreptitiously introduces into the collection an antidote to recent reversals such as the failed anti-Austrian uprisings in Italy and the perilous state of Spain in mid-1823 (2018a: 149).

Consequently, it could be argued that Hemans wrote her poems on the Cid with the purpose of converting the semi-legendary figure into an inspirational emblem of the liberal reform. As stated above, Roscoe recommends Hemans's poems on the Cid in *The Tourist in Spain: Granada*, and he refers to her as «our sweet and impassioned poetess» (1835: 288), making clear that he held her and her poetry in high esteem.

Finally, it is essential to analyse the perspective of Spanish liberal José Antonio Conde, who played a major role in the diffusion of the image of the Muslims as progressive intellectuals that were tyrannised by the Christians. The dominant narrative in nineteenth-century Spain was that of the Reconquista, in which the Christians from the North of the Iberian Peninsula were portrayed as Spaniards who recovered the lands that had been wrested from them by the Muslim invaders. This nationalist discourse was used to legitimise the collective history of the Spanish people (Álvarez Junco, 2001: 209), since defining their supposed historical continuity was essential to consolidate the idea of Spain as a nation, or what Benedict Anderson calls an «imagined community» (2006). In this narrative, the figure of the Cid began to be considered a symbol of patriotism and independence. However, in his work *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España* (1820-1821), Conde provides a history of Islamic Iberia that is based on Arabic sources. Therefore, Conde's work was revolutionary because it permitted a re-evaluation of the events that took place in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages from the perspective of the Muslims. In addition, Conde was the first author to demythologise the Cid by revealing that the Arab chronicles portray him as a traitorous and atrocious mercenary:

> The celebrated warrior, our Cid Ruy Diaz, does not make the same figure in the works of Arabian writers as in the narratives of our own chroniclers: in the latter, humane as valiant, he is described as receiving and protecting the fallen Gafo, whom he carries out of the press and beyond the reach of danger on his own shoulders; while in the Arabian annals, perfidious as cruel, he is represented as burning alive the Governor of Valencia, although that general had laid down his arms, or as violating all his promises and trampling the most sacred compacts beneath his feet (Conde, 1854: 1-2).

Conde's work is crucial for this paper because Thomas Roscoe appears to have been influenced by it in a direct and an indirect manner when he was writing *The Tourist in Spain*.

Although the first English translation of *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España* was not published until 1854, there is evidence that Conde's work had been circulating throughout Great Britain for decades. In 1826, Spanish liberal José Joaquín de Mora, who was living in exile in England, published *Cuadros de la historia de los árabes*, for which he made use of Conde's *Historia* as his principal source (Rodríguez Gutiérrez, 2009). Moreover, in 1827, Robert Southey published a review of Conde's work in the first volume of *The Foreign Quarterly Review*. In 1829, two poems that are based on the information contained in the *Historia* were published in different literary annuals: Lord John Russell's «The Captive of Alhama» and Charles Swain's «Abdoulrahman III. An Historical Sketch» (Medina Calzada, 2024: 281-2). Furthermore, in the same year, Washington Irving published *A Chronicle of the Conquest of Granada*, which includes direct references to Conde, and in 1832 he published *The Alhambra*, which, according to Ricardo Villa-Real, contains more than twenty passages from Conde's *Historia* that have been recreated or transcribed (1988: 8-9). Irving's works serve as evidence of the gigantic impact that Conde's work had and are fundamental for this investigation because Roscoe used them as primary sources to write the first two volumes of *The Tourist in Spain*.

As explained above, Roscoe's trip to Spain had to be postponed and, as a consequence, he had to draw on other travel books and scholarly publications, among which were Irving's works on Granada (Carrasco Urgoiti, 1989: 252-253; Saglia, 2007: 130). Additionally, in a footnote in *The Tourist in Spain: Andalusia*, it is mentioned that «the old historians, with Conde, Bourgoing, Laborde, and the Roman writers, Pliny and Caesar, supplied the author with materials for some of the reflections in the text» (1836: 39). Considering that Roscoe knew Spanish because he had translated some Spanish works into English for *The Spanish Novelists* (1832), there is no doubt that Roscoe had direct access to a copy of Conde's *Historia* and that he used it as a source of information for the second volume of his series of travel books.

It can be observed that Roscoe had read a large number of works associated with the Cid before he wrote his travel books on Spain. As a result, it can be assumed that he was influenced by the wide variety of ideological interpretations of the Cid that have been examined above. On the one hand, Roscoe had read Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid* and Hemans's poems, which, from a conservative and a liberal perspective respectively, project an idealised image of the Cid characterised by his lionheartedness and impassioned gallantry. On the other hand, he had translated Sismondi's *De la littérature du midi de l'Europe* and he had read Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads*, in which the emphasis is laid on the Muslims and their beneficial contribution to the Iberian Peninsula in terms of literature and science. Finally, one of Roscoe's sources for his travel books was Conde's *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España*, which portrays the Cid as a barbaric villain. The following section explores Roscoe's depiction of the Cid in the four volumes of *The Tourist in Spain*.

The demythologisation of the Cid in *The Tourist in Spain*

In the first two volumes of the series, which focus on Granada and Andalusia and were published in 1835 and 1836 respectively, the references to the Cid are scarce but considerably illustrative of Thomas Roscoe's views on the semi-legendary figure. In the first volume, Roscoe narrates the events that took place during the Granada War in the fifteenth century and describes the Christian army as «that dauntless Iberian chivalry, worthy the sons of Pelayo and the great Campeador» (1835: 49). Moreover, the reference to the Cid is accompanied by the following explanatory footnote: «Ruy Diaz de

Bivar, the famous Cid, of whom so much has been chronicled and sung; witness our Poet-laureate, Mr. Lockhart, Mrs. Hemans, &c. &c.» (1835: 49). Roscoe employs the romanticised image of the Cid as a symbol of chivalry to allude to the Spaniards of the fifteenth century, implying that they inherited his valour and strength. In addition, Roscoe emphasises that numerous authors had written about the Cid and recommends the works of Robert Southey, John Gibson Lockhart and Felicia Hemans to learn more about him. In the second volume, Roscoe refers to the eleventh century as «the chivalrous age of the Cid» and mentions the «heroism of Rodrigo» (1836: 74). Once again, Roscoe idealises Spain's past through the figure of the Cid and accentuates his chivalric qualities. Furthermore, in a footnote on that same page, the British author explains the Arabic origin of the word «Cid» and claims that it «was frequently conferred on great men, and sons of kings,» but he declares that he «has abstained from entering on a subject of mingled history and romance, which has been so fully and admirably treated by abler pens» (1836: 74). Thus, Roscoe clarifies that the Cid's story does not suit the purpose of the book because it combines historical facts with legendary myths, and, as the advertisement at the beginning of the volume states, «the Author conceived it judicious to adhere to the strict line of historical information» (1836: VI). However, he praises the works of other authors —probably alluding to Southey, Lockhart and Hemans— who had written about the Cid.

Although Roscoe does not include any other reference to the Cid in the first two volumes of *The Tourist in Spain*, it is essential to analyse the way in which he represents the Iberian Muslims. To begin with, Roscoe portrays the Muslims as chivalrous and valiant and he claims that they were respectful to the Christians, with whom they coexisted peacefully: «sentiments of mutual honour and esteem, often founded upon congeniality of sentiment for what was great and disinterested, had knit the high Castilian and Moorish knights and gentlemen in bonds of chivalrous brotherhood» (1835: 181). Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that Roscoe's idea of coexistence is conceived from a classist perspective, since he blames the «superstitious ignorance and ferocity of the lower orders of both nations» for the conflicts between Christians and Muslims (1835: 181). Thus, Roscoe states that fanaticism was the principal cause of the religious wars that took place in the Iberian Peninsula. This argument reflects the author's liberal way of thinking because he understands religion from a rational perspective that rejects religious extremism and intolerance. Moreover, Roscoe extols the intellectual and industrious character of the Muslims and the extremely beneficial advancements that they brought into the Iberian Peninsula. According to Roscoe, «poetry, science, and philosophy owed their highest degree of perfection to the zeal and learning of the Moors» (1836: 42). As a matter of fact, the British author argues that the fall of the Muslims led to a state of decay and degeneration that was still visible in the nineteenth century:

> The other cities and kingdoms of Andalusia, as they successively fell before the Christian, participated in the desolating system, which the pride of conquest and religious hatred dictated […] As the same barbarous spirit of cruelty and fanaticism still exists, it may be of use to trace its fatal effects through the most eventful period of the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, and Charles V (1836: 44).

Therefore, Roscoe blames religious zealotry for causing the end of Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula and, as a consequence, for the backwardness of nineteenth-century Spain. Roscoe's interpretation of Spain as an intolerant nation whose doom was caused by religious radicalism once again unveils the author's liberal beliefs.

Special attention must be given to *The Tourist in Spain: Biscay and the Castiles* (1837), the third volume of the series and the first that is based on Roscoe's own travel experiences and recollections. The traveller's visit to Burgos during his tour of Old Castile inspired him to reflect on the Cid. Nevertheless, his views on the semi-legendary figure curiously present a significant contrast to the idealised image that he provides in the previous volumes. Roscoe begins by commenting that Spaniards tend to romanticise the past because of the loss of values that characterises the decadent state of nineteenth-century Spain:

> It is something for the Spaniards that, though the present offers few examples of heroic virtue, or honour, or patriotism, they can yet point to the past, when there was glory in Spain, though connected with a system of things in itself undesirable; for, when chivalry was proudest, their courage most undoubted, and their manners the best recognisable in their history, there still existed unhappy causes of dissension (1837: 64).

Interestingly, Roscoe criticises the idealised vision of Spain's past by emphasising that the «chivalrous age of the Cid», as he refers to it in the second volume (1836: 74), was actually marked by corruption, disunion and conflict. In fact, according to the traveller, that is the cause of his lack of excitement for visiting Burgos:

> This circumstance, in my case at least, stifled much of the enthusiasm I should otherwise have experienced at beholding the scene, or in perusing the chronicles of her heroes, who, however adventurous or brave, were still but the representatives of an exclusive and oppressive class of men. Such was the feeling, damped and alloyed, with which I looked upon the birthplace of the Cid, celebrated by romancers until his character in history almost appears doubtful (1837: 64-65).

For the first time, Roscoe demythologises the Cid by depicting him as an oppressor instead of as a hero. He portrays the Cid as the personification of that «system of things in itself undesirable» (1837: 64) that perverted Spain and impeded its progress. Roscoe criticises religious extremism through the figure of the Cid, whom he blames for the cruel persecution of the Muslims. Thus, the traveller conceives the Cid as a symbol of the religious bigotry that caused the decay of Spain. Moreover, Roscoe affirms that the exacerbated literary glorification of the Cid leads him to believe that he is a legendary personage and not a real historical figure.

Furthermore, it is quite remarkable that Roscoe declares that he is not interested in reading the chronicles of the Spanish heroes. When the traveller narrates his visit to the mausoleum of the Cid in the Monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña, he claims that he is «by no means deeply versed in the ballad literature, or strongly imbued with admiration for the Gothic heroes of Spain» (1837: 79). However, taking into consideration that the traveller includes some fragments of Lockhart's *Ancient Spanish Ballads* and recommends reading them in the first volume of the series, it is curious that in this volume he declares that he does not know much about ballad literature. In addition, a few pages further on, Roscoe makes the following observation:

> To the superstitious, by nature or by religion, the legendary relations of quaint and garrulous chroniclers may supply additional motives for respect. Upon myself they produce a different effect, suggesting degrading ideas of fanaticism and intolerance;

> as, where they celebrate, in barbarous phrase, the sectarian feuds of the Papists, Jews, and Moors, of a period when all were shrouded from the light of the pure Gospel by one common circumfused cloud of ignorance (1837: 83).

Therefore, Roscoe criticises what he considers legendary accounts because they promote bigotry through the exaltation of the religious wars that took place in the Iberian Peninsula. Once again, from an evident liberal perspective, Roscoe expresses his rejection of religious extremism. Nevertheless, in a seemingly contradictory manner, the traveller asserts that «Papists, Jews, and Moors» were far removed from the «pure Gospel», which reflects a Protestant-inflected interpretation of history that emphasises the intellectual and moral inferiority of the followers of other religions.

Moreover, in his translation of Sismondi's *De la littérature du midi de l'Europe*, which was published in 1823, that is, fourteen years before the publication of the third volume of *The Tourist in Spain*, Roscoe adds a footnote in which he praises Lockhart's translations of the ballads of the Cid and indicates that he decided to use them instead of translating the ballads himself:

> The appearance of the *Ancient Spanish Ballads* induced the editor to abandon this design, under a full persuasion that Mr. Lockhart's versions were far superior to anything which it would be in his power to produce. He has, therefore, made a selection from the eight ballads of the Cid, given by Mr. Lockhart, connecting the fragments, when necessary, by an explanatory text (1823: 179).

Additionally, Roscoe explains that he borrowed some translations from Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid* and asserts that «nothing can surpass the spirit and simplicity of this version, which induces us to regret that the author has not been prevailed upon to publish a complete translation of the "Spanish Homer"» (1823: 139). Consequently, it is obvious that, although Roscoe claims that he has no deep knowledge of the chronicles and the ballads of the Cid, he actually read Southey's and Lockhart's translations to incorporate them in his own edition of Sismondi's work. Furthermore, in relation to the ballads included in Juan de Escobar's *Romancero e historia del mui valeroso caballero El Cid Rui-Diaz de Vibar*, Roscoe writes the following footnote: «Mr. Southey designates the greater part of these poems as utterly worthless. The reader, from the specimens here presented, may perhaps hesitate before he concurs in so harsh a censure» (1823: 177). Thus, it can be observed that Roscoe displays admiration and respect for the ballads of the Cid and encourages the readers of Sismondi's work to appreciate them in spite of Southey's critique.

The demythologisation of the Cid continues in *The Tourist in Spain: Biscay and the Castiles* when Roscoe reflects on a legend that, according to him, is told to all travellers who visit Burgos: the one in which the Cid deceives the Jews Raquel and Vidas into thinking that he had given them two chests full of gold in exchange for money for his military campaign, but in reality, he had filled the chests with sand. Roscoe criticises the Cid and blames him for taking advantage of his reputation to defraud the Jews hoping that they would believe him because of his past of good deeds. Although the traveller admits that the Cid lied to them with a good intention knowing that he would return their money after the war, he still condemns his dishonesty:

> This is not a bad example of the «stern virtues» of the middle ages. If the fortune of war had gone against him, the Jews, who had relied upon his honour, must have contented themselves with their boxes of sand, and such reflections as they would

> necessarily have made on the word of «that noble mirror of chivalry». Fortunately, however, for them, El Cid Campeador was enabled to redeem his boxes, in which he is represented as saying that the «gold of his truth» lay hidden! Alas, for the truth which could delude men into the belief that sand was plate! (1837: 71).

Roscoe attacks the idealised conception of the Middle Ages by stating that the stereotypical attributes of chivalry that are normally praised by Romantic authors are in fact inventions. Furthermore, the traveller ridicules the Cid and the fact that he is considered a symbol of honour and virtue. Curiously, the expression «gold of his truth» that Roscoe quotes to deride the glorification of the Cid's righteousness comes from ballad LIII in Juan de Escobar's *Romancero*, the collection of ballads that, as explained above, he recommends reading in his translation of Sismondi's *De la littérature du midi de l'Europe*. Once again, Roscoe's views on the ballads of the Cid in the third volume of *The Tourist in Spain* contradict his own opinions expressed in previous works. In addition, Roscoe condemns that «persons have not been wanting to laud this knightly feat, and to talk of "sentiments so noble" being natural to the Spaniards; but why they should be denominated "noble", or why heroes should be complimented on such grounds as these, it would be difficult to explain» (1837: 71). Therefore, Roscoe expresses his views against the romanticisation of Spain and the recurrent attribution of chivalric values to the Spaniards. Moreover, the author suggests that the Cid should not be considered a hero because of his lack of integrity. It is hence evident that Roscoe is constructing a narrative in which the Cid is depicted as an antagonistic character whose antiheroic features are radically opposed to the idealised image of the semi-legendary figure that was popularised in the nineteenth century.

Nonetheless, in an interesting turn of events, Roscoe makes the following observation when he remembers his visit to the tomb of the Cid: «the mind is necessarily more powerfully affected when we draw near the spot where a man of distinguished merit and reputation is gathered to his fathers. And such, doubtless, was the Cid, notwithstanding the little affair of the sand-boxes, of which we have spoken rather jocularly a few pages ago» (1837: 81-82). Therefore, the traveller acknowledges the prominence of the Cid and claims that he had criticised his deceitfulness in a humorous way. Nevertheless, Roscoe derides the Spanish guide that escorted him to the tomb because he told him that the Cid defeated Charlemagne and Napoleon and that, if he were still alive, he would defeat Carlos María Isidro de Borbón too. As a result, the traveller mocks the guide's lack of knowledge of the history of Spain and his exaggeration of the feats of the Cid to criticise the way in which the Spaniards disproportionately exalt their national hero. However, Roscoe seems to contradict himself again when he reflects on the transfer of the mortal remains of the Cid from the Monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña to the Paseo del Espolón by the French general Paul Thiébault in 1809. He asserts that a large number of travellers had condemned this event, but that he admires the conduct of the French because it «unquestionably was based on a profound respect for the virtues and valour of the hero», since «they imagined, falsely no doubt, that the sight of an illustrious tomb would inspire their less heroic contemporaries» (1837: 82). Thus, Roscoe recognises the chivalric qualities of the Cid again, but he concludes by declaring that the excessive respect that the Spaniards profess for him is due to the legendary accounts that spread «degrading ideas of fanaticism and intolerance» (1837: 83). As a result, although Roscoe's ideas in *The Tourist in Spain: Biscay and the Castiles* seem inconsistent at times, it is clear that his vision of the Cid in the first three volumes of the series drastically evolves from a romanticised chivalric hero to an antihero that represents the corruption and zealotry that, according to the author, led to the ruin of Spain.

Finally, to conclude with the analysis of Roscoe's views on the Cid, the final volume of the series must be examined. In *The Tourist in Spain and Morocco*, which was published in 1838, Roscoe mentions the Cid when he narrates his visit to Valencia. First, he recalls a walk through the streets of the city in which he could hear people reciting «an old ballad, recording the virtues and exploits of Valencia's boast, its Christian conqueror and ruler, the Cid» (1838: 148). Second, Roscoe explains that Valencia was «wrested from the Moors by Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar» (1838: 149). By employing the word «wrested» to refer to the Cid's conquest of Valencia, the traveller intends to emphasise that he made use of violence to conquer the city. Although in a much subtler way, this follows the line of Conde's arguments against the Cid and the barbaric acts that, according to the Arab chronicles, he committed during the conquest of Valencia. Nevertheless, immediately thereafter, Roscoe tells the legend of how, after the Cid's death, his body was mounted on his horse and instilled terror among the Muslims who were attempting to reconquer the city. Moreover, the traveller describes how «in the old romance he is represented as mounted on his famous war-horse Babieca, his dreaded sword, Colada,[3] still grasped in his right hand, and his terrible black beard streaming down his glittering armour» (1838: 149). Finally, Roscoe states that, «from the days of their romantic Cid, and the learned accomplished Moors, a respect for letters and love of poetry» had prevailed in Valencia (1838: 150). Curiously, Roscoe seems to have recovered his interest in the ballads, and, once again, he portrays the Cid in an idealised way.

Conclusion

Two principal conclusions can be obtained from the examination of the first two volumes of *The Tourist in Spain*. The first one is that Roscoe's portrayal of the Cid continues the Romantic tradition of praising his chivalric qualities. Roscoe's recommendation to read the works of Southey, Lockhart and Hemans suggests that their characterisation of the Cid as a romanticised hero influenced his views on the semi-legendary figure. The second conclusion is that Roscoe idealises the Iberian Muslims by depicting them as a superior civilisation with prodigious intelligence and values. In this respect, it can be observed that Roscoe's ideas are very similar to those of Sismondi, Lockhart and Conde. It is hence evident that Roscoe was inspired by the liberal discourse that promoted a favourable re-evaluation of the Muslims.

However, although Roscoe's opinions on the Cid in the last two volumes of the series are contradictory, it is apparent that the traveller depicts him as an oppressor and a deceiver in *The Tourist in Spain: Biscay and the Castiles*. It is highly probable that Roscoe was influenced by Conde's negative portrayal of the Cid in *Historia de la dominación de los árabes en España*. Nevertheless, there are two aspects that need to be highlighted. The first one is that, as it has been examined above, Roscoe indicates that he used the information contained in Conde's work to write the second volume of the series. However, although the Cid is only mentioned twice in that volume, Roscoe idealises him and the Middle Ages in harmony with the Romantic tradition. The second aspect is that, if the traveller wanted to represent the Cid as a wicked character inspired by Conde's ideas, it would have been exceptionally effective to narrate the episode in which the Cid burns alive the governor of Valencia, which is the one that Conde uses to condemn the Cid's barbarity in his work. As a result, it is interesting to note that, although it is reasonable to assume

3 Roscoe is probably referring to ballad xcviii in Juan de Escobar's *Romancero*. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the sword mentioned in the ballad is Tizona.

that Roscoe drew inspiration from Conde's *Historia*, the traveller makes use of his own arguments to criticise the Cid.

As has been demonstrated, Roscoe's demythologisation of the Cid is based on his liberal understanding of religion. In the first two volumes of the series, Roscoe asserts that the downfall of Spain was caused by religious fanaticism and the end of Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, in the third volume, the traveller perceives the Cid as a symbol of oppression and affirms that the legendary tales of those considered heroes of Spain incite religious intolerance. Therefore, in a manner similar to the other nineteenth-century authors whose works he had read, Roscoe makes use of the Cid as an ideological tool to externalise his beliefs. Roscoe's criticism of the Cid is particularly interesting because it is not strictly founded on other authors' ideas, and because the third volume of *The Tourist in Spain* was published at a time when the figure of the Cid was popular in Great Britain and Conde's *Historia* had not been translated into English yet. Therefore, Roscoe's conception of the Cid breaks with the Romantic myth and the traditional idealisation of chivalric Spain and the Middle Ages.

In addition, as is the case with Conde's *Historia*, Roscoe's antagonistic portrayal of the Cid works as a counternarrative to the nationalist discourse surrounding the *Reconquista* that had already begun to materialise in Spain. In this way, Roscoe contributed to what Ramón Menéndez Pidal called «cidofobia,» an aversion to the figure of the Cid that, according to him, originated with the publication of volume xx of Juan Francisco Masdeu's *Historia crítica de España y de su cultura* in 1805 and was consolidated in Europe with Reinhardt Dozy's *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge* in 1849 (1921).

Nevertheless, the reason why the traveller mythicises the Cid again in *The Tourist in Spain and Morocco* is not clear. Perhaps Roscoe thought that departing radically from the Romantic literary tradition could be unsafe in terms of sales and popularity, or that his criticism of the ballads could upset John Gibson Lockhart, who, only a few years later, published a new illustrated edition of *Ancient Spanish Ballads*. However, it is most likely that Roscoe only depicts the Cid in a negative way in the third volume of the series because he was considered a symbol of Old Castile and the traveller associated that region with the most traditional and intolerant side of Spain. In *The Tourist in Spain: Biscay and the Castiles*, Roscoe describes Old Castile as a backward region whose inhabitants' «antediluvian prejudices» and «absurd customs» led to the «neglect of all improvement in agriculture, in manufactures, [and] in the most necessary arts of life» (1837: 55). Consequently, the traveller employs the Cid as an instrument to illustrate his unfavourable views on the primitiveness and dogmatism of the Old Castilians.

Notwithstanding Roscoe's inconsistencies and contradictions, his reflections on the Cid in *The Tourist in Spain* reveal the relevance that the semi-legendary figure had in the literary context of nineteenth-century Great Britain. Moreover, the analysis of Roscoe's travel books serves to illustrate the enormous variety of narratives that emerged around the figure of the Cid, who, whether portrayed as a hero or an antihero, was used as an ideological tool by numerous authors.

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