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ANOMALOUS WOMEN IN FIFTEENTH-CENTURY CASTILIAN BALLADS



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September 2006

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- 3 MAY 2007

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## ABSTRACT

In this thesis I examine anomalous women in fifteenth-century ballads. As well as taking into account the exterior socio-political factors moulding the *romancero* development, I look closely at the internal workings such as the literary tools affecting women's depiction. Scholarship has already produced a number of studies with respect to women in the *romancero*. However, there has not yet been a comprehensive study, and so in this thesis I am looking to establish paradigms of acceptable and unacceptable behaviours and attitudes with respect to their literary depiction. Having logged the details of almost three hundred ballads, only a dozen or so stand out as containing women not conforming to an ideal and orthodox type that dominates the genre. I consider these ideal women (religious and secular) in Chapters II and III respectively. The subsequent chapters address women who are anomalous women within sub-categories. 'Provocative *Doncellas*' includes *El caballero burlado*, also known as *La hija del rey de francia*, *Rosaflorida*, and *¡Hélo, hélo por do viene*. 'Serranillas and Women in the Natural Environment' looks at *Estáse la gentil dama* and *Fontefrida*. The chapter on 'Dissatisfied Women' considers *Romance de la bella malmaridada*, *Rosa Fresca*, and *Romance de Durandarte*. Finally, I consider *Mora Moraima* as a paradigm of the 'Ethnically Marginalised Woman'. For the most part I use Brian Dutton's *El cancionero del siglo XV: c. 1360-1520*, although some versions Dutton's *cancioneros* are incomplete, therefore I note when I use another source for the text.

## CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I examine anomalous women in fifteenth-century ballads. As well as taking into account the exterior socio-political factors moulding the *romancero* development, I look closely at the internal workings such as the literary tools affecting women's depiction. Scholarship has already produced a number of studies with respect to women in the *romancero*. However, there has not yet been a comprehensive study, and so in this thesis I am looking to establish paradigms of acceptable and unacceptable behaviours and attitudes with respect to their literary depiction.

Fifteenth-century Spanish balladry offers a fascinating reflection of both popular and *culto* literary depictions of life in the Middle Ages. Two main characteristics make it a form appealing beyond other types of literature. First, the ballads contain themes appealing to the masses: sex, honour, war, religion, hunting, and fantastical elements. The earlier historical and Carolingian ballads (based on the French epics) principally reflect fact. A further attractiveness lies in their vitality. Ramón Menéndez Pidal suggests their dynamic framework enabling them to embrace the themes is key to their widely held dissemination, allowing them to become popularised:

El romancero no se estancó ciertamente en estas imitaciones de la epopeya francesa, ni se contentó con aquellos recuerdos y renuevos de la antigua materia épica castellana, sino que continuó haciendo, a su modo, lo que la vieja epopeya había hecho: poetizó la vida heroica actual, y éste es otro de los aspectos más característicos del romancero español, comparado con las demás colecciones de baladas, a saber, su vigorosa inspiración en la vida política y militar de la nación en los siglos XIV y XV. (1973: 28)

Secondly, from a literary standpoint, due to the trajectory of its development, the ballads are a unique combination of both erudite and vernacular evolution. Frank Lynn Odd, in the introduction of his PhD thesis claims: 'propounding theories of origin, tracing the derivation and development of individual romances, establishing historical content and relevancy, delineating the cross currents of contamination, signalling the outcroppings of *refundiciones*' is often superfluous to investigations on the *romancero* (1974: III). I disagree: contextualising and evaluating Spanish balladry as an art form both historically and sociologically from a literary perspective is intrinsic to the comprehension of the thematic content, motifs, and evolution of the



form, whichever the pertinent aspect may be and so I will address these supposed redundant points in my analyses.

It was originally believed that ancient ballads, *cantilenae*, yielded the epics. In 1914, H. R. Lang returned to the theory that the tradition is ancient and that the *romances* inspired the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century chronicles. This theory was based on ballads' octosyllabic and quartet composition, a form used by Galician poets. When the Spanish ballad first became a popular area of study in the nineteenth century, however, the Romantic view rejected Lang's philosophies and hypothesised that it should be principally attributed to communal composition, a theory known as *el pueblo poeta*, detracting all ownership, responsibility, and attribution to the individual poet. According to Lucy A. Sponsler, neotraditionalist scholarship then adopted the converse theory that older ballads were condensed versions, or excerpts, from the epics (1975: 12). This formula ties in with the emotive aspect of the ballad, which elicits the passion of the listener and performer in a hyperbolic manner. The minstrels created the epics for the courts because, according to Sponsler (although she does not provide evidence), 'only nobles had time to listen to lengthy epics' (1975: 24). Truncated versions modified by the *juglares* were subsequently performed for, and adopted and disseminated by, the common people, who then became the main architects of the ballad. This would also explain the genus of bellicose compositions that dominated the slightly earlier wave of composition.

Principally, the focus of literary production on women is evident. Yet, although they comprise over half the medieval population, they do not appear to play a significant role in the active creation of medieval literature. Indeed, Miguel Ángel Pérez Priego notes:

Es ciertamente llamativa la casi total ausencia de la mujer como creadora en ese panorama literario. La mujer que, como tema lírico, objeto a un tiempo de los loores y las quejas del poeta amante, es el auténtico centro de la creación poética, diríamos que sólo de una manera fugaz aparece como verdadero sujeto literario. (1989: 7)

Eileen Power suggests a reason for this could be because 'it is certain that the overwhelming majority of peasant women or general domestic servants received no education' (1975: 86). However, the ballads' linguistic characteristics enabled women to contribute to the form, overcoming a need for academic perpetuation. An absence of adjectival phrases, yet an abundance of verbs of movement meant the texts were easily committed to memory so women had no need to know how to write them down. The lyrical verse of the Spanish ballad facilitates easy recollection, as opposed

to a conventional intellectual method of remembrance or distribution. The octosyllabic assonantal rhyming metre of the *romance* was already well instilled into the culture of the peninsular by the popular Mozarabic lyrics or *jarchas* of the eleventh century. Otto Zwartjes cites Álvaro Galmés Fuentes whose extensive study on the *jarchas* concludes the connection between the two forms of literature: ‘de otra parte, parece obvio que las rimas romances no estén encuadradas en un sistema métrico ajeno, sino en su propio sistema, lo que vendría a confirmar nuevamente la métrica romance de las jarchas’ (1995: 1604). We can also infer from the conclusion that rhyming assonance in both these oral forms of literature is imperative for its survival.

Broadly, Bárbara Mújica defines the *romancero* as ‘una colección de poemas de tipo épico-lírico breve que deriva del cantar de gesta’ (2002: 40). However, its origins are still held in debate. As touched upon in Menéndez Pidal’s quotation above, it is held the characteristics of the *romancero*, which Frank Lynn Odd claims to be ‘uniquely and revealingly Spanish’ in fact, are not (1974: iv). Ballads have a tradition in other European countries as well: namely Scotland, England, France, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, and William James Entwistle is convinced by their ‘unity as a literary type’ (1939: 17). Although Menéndez Pidal says there are many differences in their composition and style, the more current theories of C. Colin Smith conflict with his opinion: Smith posits the European forms have many similar characteristics (1973: 12 & 1996: 5). Edith Randam Rogers finds symbolism in particular is the linking mechanism between the ‘diversity within the universality of ballad diction’ (1980: 3).

Following the Middle Ages, Spanish scholarship was disdainful of the roots of its most popular form of poetry, which is in deep seated contrast to the German romantics who embraced popular verse, *Naturpoesie*, citing it as a pure and valuable form of poetry, or according to Smith ‘breathing the spirit of primitive uncorrupted man’, far above the erudite *Kunstpoesie* (1996: 10). Now, scholars such as Menéndez Pidal resonate the German veneration of more primitive versions of the Spanish ballad: ‘estos romances derivados de las gestas son no sólo la porción más antigua, sino también la más original del Romancero’ (1973: 18). Nevertheless, it is ironic the *romance* came into vogue through its exposure to the vernacular, but then was re-popularised by those who scorned its accumulated ‘lowly associations’, such as the Marqués de Santillana whose prefacing words to his works Smith records: ‘Ínfimos

son aquellos que sin ningund orden, regla nin cuento fazen estos romances e cantares de que las gentes de baxa e servil condiçión se alegran' (1996: 17). Smith proposes this easily facilitated distribution spurred accomplished poets to write down and gloss ballads, and subsequently those originating from the masses were 'brought to perfection of text and of music by a number of individuals in the late fifteenth century' (1996: 19).

Furthermore, due to the invention of printing press by Johannes Gutenberg in 1450, maintained by the Catholic monarchs' prolific support of literature and the Seville printing industry, *pliegos sueltos* were distributed and in this way fossilized versions of the ballads were created. Although the dissemination of the current variants was increased, the *romancero* did not produce new songs in the fifteenth century. Menéndez Pidal's adage that this form 'vive en variantes' and that it 'se refunde en cada una de sus variantes, las cuales viven y se propagan en ondas de carácter colectivo' (1972: 78), illustrates the multiplicity of recensions and also that a text's survival lies in its multiple versions.

Two extrinsic political factors were responsible for an ensuing development of literary focus on societal behaviour (and especially of women) in place of military activities. First, following civil wars and plagues, there was a gradual stabilisation of European politics in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Secondly, the focus turned inward, and an epoch of *receltiberización* originating in the region of Castile stamped out Germanic elements in the peninsular. Although this initially led to disorganisation of the nobles, on the Andalusian front, nobles and peasants were amalgamated in creating a national resistance and maintaining common ideals. This perpetuated the bellicose strain of ballad in the form of *romances fronterizos*, but as politics settled, the orientation changed to a focus on entertainment. Hence it increasingly appealed to a heterogenic audience or as Menéndez Pidal posits 'de interés más general' (1973: 15). At this point the Spanish ballad entered into an even more passionate arena, including the themes now at the forefront of medieval Spanish balladry, and also which are interesting from the point of view for synthesising theories of women's characters. The Pidalian school of thought further contextualises the sociological transition of the ballad with 'así el pueblo recibió como suya esa poesía nacida para los nobles; éstos mezclados con aquéllos, escuchaban con interés incansable al juglar que venía a recitar las últimas refundiciones de los viejos poemas' (1973: 15). All in all, due to the limited nature of entertainment, this social



intermixing provided vast opportunity to act as a catalyst for the ballads' transmission and mutation. Hence it can be inferred they are a socio-cultural melting pot of the contemporary era's principles and in this way they reflect the diversity of historical literary female character types.

As modern-day scholars, we are compelled to disentangle historical and political legacies enmeshed in literature. Current thoughts on the interpretation of literature are conflicting: Power views sources as 'socially restricted, and the outlook they reflected was bound to be narrow and uniform' (1975: 14). However, Vera Castro Lingl argues 'it has become evident that, especially during the Middle Ages where the division between history and literature is not so clear-cut, these two fields of work should not be regarded independently' (1995:12). This is because applying a current theoretical model to the archetypal woman of medieval literature also means we need to take into account that medieval society was androcentric, patriarchal, and misogynistic. However, the fact that these terms themselves are anachronistic means we must consider the differing societal codes of the Middle Ages and modern society. It is therefore important to be sensitive when considering contemporary theories dealing with women, and moreover, in addressing social theories and moral philosophies such as patriarchy, androcentricity, and *machismo*, there is the possibility research such as this could be misinterpreted as feminist or misconstrued as forming part of a political agenda. Nonetheless, the intention is to maintain a scholarly perspective throughout the analysis of women who have been empowered, whether it is sexually, politically, or spiritually. So as to ensure there is no rupture in impartiality, references will only be with respect to balanced theories of gender and gendered contextualisation.

As well as glossing and editing the ballads, refined poets imitated them. The erudite poets were inspired by the oral tradition, and also by the historical accounts of the Castilian or French epic. Menéndez Pidal refers to these as *romances semipopulares*, and implies they took advantage of the popular form, often assimilating variants as their own, or 'poetizando episodios hasta entonces no tratados; baste recordar que entonces entraron por primera vez en el Romancero las aventuras amorosas y las desdichas del rey Rodrigo' (1973: 40). In fact, the majority of *romances* in Brian Dutton's tomes can be attributed to a recognised author. The tone is less dynamic, possibly more conservative, and the content infinitely less gripping. They are less attractive to the scholar overall because they are not gritty

episodes, and on a more practical level, they do not assimilate to the oral tradition because of their form. I would go as far as to say many of these particular ballads could almost be seen as laments, because they are often mournful, prescriptive monologues in the male voice, seemingly with little plot or direction. As I clarify in Chapter III, this interpretation complements the influence of courtly love on the erudite ballads. Menéndez Pidal compares them with the *romancero viejo*: ‘recuerda algo la sencillez de los viejos, pero es más pesado, más narrativo, menos dialogado, aun cuando se eleven a las alturas de la inspiración, como sucede a los aludidos del rey Rodrigo’ (1973: 40). In the same vein, the slightly later wave of *romances artísticos* (once again, a term created by Menéndez Pidal), or *romances artificiosos*, were produced by poets whose motives were to: ‘comprender el romance como forma artística y a componer romances por su cuenta, desarrollando plenamente una tendencia que apuntaba ya desde fines del siglo XV’ (1973: 42). However, there are few similarities between them and the *romance viejo* except for the assonance and metre (although, of course, some would say that is the basis of the *romance viejo*). It is unfortunate that, although these ballad forms feign a perpetuation of the oral tradition, in essence the poets have destroyed the quintessential innovation characteristic of the *romance*. The *romances artísticos* and *semipopulares* often share characteristics with the traditional ballad, such as various literary techniques, mythological allusions, rhetoric, maxims, implicit moral reflection, imitation of medieval language, and often even the plot presented to the readers is *ex abrupto* even though the body of the poem includes over-elaborate detail. The structures are more regulated and not free flowing like the *romance tradicional*, and ‘no descubren en éstos nada de primitivo’, which takes us back to why *Naturpoesie* is such an appreciated art form (1973: 45).

Aside from scholars’ observations of the lack of women’s input into literature, due to them being the main transmitters of the ballad, and the nature of the development of the ballad, they were most likely the greatest contributors, or, I would term them, ‘passive artists’ of the *romancero*. Manuel Alvar, in putting forward the importance of the traditional word, quotes Manuel Milà i Fontanals who illustrates why the oral is more a female rather than male tradition, in effect giving women ownership of the earlier threads of the ballad tradition:

la poesía popular ha sido transmitido por las mujeres. Sirveles para entretener y adormecer a los niños, para divertir las largas horas destinadas a tareas domésticas y

solitarias, para darse aire, según dicen, en las faenas más activas del campo'. (1970: 32)

An issue arising from this, as I will address later, is that narrative voice plays a key part in women's depiction in the Spanish ballad; hence authorship also affects literary depiction. However, in deep contrast to my opinion, Power's theories imply the ballads could not in any way represent women's views of themselves or of the society perpetuating them: 'women themselves remained all but inarticulate. We hardly ever hear of women's views of themselves' (1975: 12). I would volunteer perhaps this opinion is formed because Power writes primarily as an historian as opposed to a literary scholar.

The most relevant point coming from the insertion of the *culto* ingredient into the *romancero* tradition is that the ballads may now be recorded with a skewed register due to the gender of the editors or composers because there is no input from women in the transition of the form from becoming oral to written. Vicenta Blay Manzanera's study in *Cultural Contexts / Female Voices* (2000) of female and male narrative voices has been helpful in providing a framework for the formulation of my ideas on the interpretation of gendered voice in the ballad. (See the appendix for the table analysing narrative aspects of the relevant ballads in Dutton's collection.) As we see in the erudite ballads discussed above, 'muchas de las composiciones estudiadas son poemas narrativos en los que se pone en boca de mujer canciones tradicionales o cultas, pero desprovistas de marcas de femininidad' (2000: 23). As I mention, none of the three hundred ballads or so (this figure includes *variantes* and *glosas*) in Dutton's collection are attributed to women composers. Yet, specific field studies which have been helpful for my work on the oral tradition by Margaret G. Sleeman (*An Edition and Study of Judeo-Spanish Ballads Collected in Britain*, 1991), Gloria B. Chicote (*Romancero tradicional argentino*, 2002), and Rina Benmayor (*Romances judeo-españoles de Oriente: nueva recolección*, 1979) show that even in the present day, women are held to be the main oral transmitters of the ballads, a tradition likely to stem from their being less literary-inclined, and hence balladry constitutes a form of entertainment through a medium they know best. This includes daily repetition and rehearsal as they go about their daily chores.

An exploration of Dutton's seven volume edition of transcriptions of *cancioneros* between 1360 and 1520 (whose sources I mainly draw upon) illustrates the lack of contribution from women in the literary arena. As Alan Deyermond notes,

Dutton's tomes 'include the work of only half a dozen named and two anonymous women poets, and all but one of these are represented by only a few lines' (1983: 44). Of these women's contributions logged in Dutton's fifteenth-century collection, none are in ballad form. Because the eruption of literature was so colossal, it is hoped no female's compositions were lost in the 'extraordinary outburst of poetic activity seen in Spain at the close of the Middle Ages – the work of some seven hundred poets survives as a whole or in part' (1983: 44). Dutton's publication is renowned as an inclusive collection of *cancioneros* from the late Middle Ages, and since its publication almost two decades ago, only Jane Whetnall's 'El cancionero general de 1511: textos únicos y textos omitidos' (1993) and her 'Adiciones y enmiendas al Cancionero del siglo XV' (1998) has been seen to further augment his works.

Dutton is meticulous in transcribing, rather than editing the volumes (an issue I will address later in this introduction), edition being an obstacle that current scholars must consider when studying the oral tradition.<sup>1</sup> However, it must be noted that due to the survival trajectory of some ballads, Dutton's collection has already been observed not to be exhaustive because it is a compilation of *cancioneros* which already has passed through the censor of assembly. A major source contributing to Dutton's collection is Hernando de Castillo's *Cancionero general recopilado por Hernando de Castillo (Valencia, 1511)*. In the 'escasez de testimonios manuscritos y el carácter marcadamente serio de la poesía impresa', Whetnall concurs with Dutton: 'es lógico que Hernando de Castillo hubiera querido prescindir de estas obras, para no duplicar lo que andaba muy accesible al público lector en ediciones recientes' (1995: 507 & 512). Ballads such as *Gerineldos*, *Mariana*, and *Doña Alda*, which are integral to the *romancero* would be useful to include in my study because they are relevant to the depiction of women. However, they escaped being committed to paper in this era and so are not included in Dutton's compilation. This may also be because their tradition existed more extensively in socio-cultural spheres less associated with the

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<sup>1</sup> The value of Dutton's of texts as transcriptions is immeasurable. However, for clarity's sake I attempt to regularise them with some basic edition, transcripts of which are found in the Appendix. I will use, respectively, *i* and *u* only for vocalic, and *j* and *v* for consonantal values. *ff*-, *rr*-, and *ss*- will return to single consonants, as will *ll*- only if it corresponds with modern usage, and *nn* will be transcribed as *ñ*. *ç* will remain before *a*, *o*, and *u*, yet otherwise will be transcribed as *c*. As far as possible I will accent the compositions by modern standards, including *fuése* (se fue), *y* (allí), and *á* (ha), and as needs be in the case of pronoun-verb compounds and the archaic imperfect verb endings -*íe*. The modern method of word division will be followed except in the cases of the pronoun-verb compounds and forms which have been elided such as *aquesto* or *deste*. I shall also add punctuation and supply capitalisation.

editors of the *cancioneros*. For example, *Gerineldos* plays a prominent role in the Sephardic tradition. When the project headed by the Spanish Inquisition expelled some 200,000 Jews from Spain in the summer of 1492, after the same people had helped the Spanish army defeat the Muslim forces in Granada, *Gerineldos* also lost its prominence in Spain. In the same vein, Smith notes Menéndez Pidal also cites *Doña Alda* as ‘strongly represented in the modern oral tradition of the Jews of N. Africa and of the Near East’ (1996: 152). On the other hand, *Mariana* was only extracted from the modern oral tradition in 1870, although Smith confirms ‘it is certainly ancient’ (1996: 206).

Analysis of Dutton’s collection shows around half of the ballad forms or their derivatives contain direct references to women. Their importance is such that they are either the protagonist or, from an audience point of view inspire the composition. However, as men transcribed the ballads, the depiction of women in the *romancero* will have always been censored by a male point of view. In a similar vein, this possible bias in their recording may also be extended to the erudite versus vernacular strains that have developed through the different modes of dissemination.

There is the tendency of poets to attribute works to themselves due to their editing and their inclination to include *glosas*, notwithstanding the evidence of Dutton’s volumes that two strains of ballads had developed: popular and refined. Having logged details of all the *romances* recorded by Dutton from the fifteenth-century sources, it is most apparent that late medieval poets use the structure of the *romance* as a form for communication of their works, as opposed to the form being reserved for sung poems that have acquired status through their popularity. Common features include stress on the seventh syllable, assonantal rhyme (either single or double-vowel assonance), pithy episodes, *ex abrupto* beginnings, and an unobvious denouement. This rapid and irresolute nature is a feature of the *romances* which renders them ambiguous and open to interpretation by the listener. Menéndez Pidal’s adage makes clear that they know how to ‘saber callar a tiempo’ (cited by Smith 1996: 33). This adds to the air of obscurity surrounding the depiction of women, hence rendering them more alluring subjects. Also, bearing in mind male censorship of the compositions, the layers of narrative still bring ambiguities to conclusions drawn on representations in the ballad.

Also in this period, parallel to the *romances artificiosos* that sprung up, came religious ballads. Socio-homogeneity was taking its toll because in the early Middle

Ages, contemporary opinion came from only two sources: the Church and aristocracy. Hence we can deduce that the newer types of ballad were affected because, as Power reveals, they 'were formed on the one hand by a narrow caste, who could afford to regard its women as an ornamental asset, while strictly subordinating them to the interests of its primary asset, the land (1975: 9). Taking into account the secular roots of the *romancero*, and even though the Church is an arena whose constitution is most alienating to women, it is surprising that it took until the late Middle Ages to make use of the oral tradition as a vehicle for the rigid conveyance for women's deportment. According to Jean Pierre Dedieu, catechetic control was manifest in medieval society:

Priests encouraged parishioners to send their children to school. Thus, secular and religious education were to take place together [...]. They were to teach children to make the sign of the cross, and to recite the *Pater*, the *Ave María*, the *Credo*, the *Salve*, the Ten Commandments, and the General Confession; attendance at such sessions was mandatory. To induce the adults to attend, all present would receive forty days' indulgence. (1992: 3)

Julio Rodríguez Puértolas confirms religious ballads' interception of the oral tradition was a decisive movement: 'aparte del histórico, pueden verse como muestra del género *a lo divino*, ya que se trata de la introducción del tema religioso en un género que hasta el momento era profano y laico' (1987: 44). Nevertheless, it could be argued that because religious erudite poets worked both as editors and composers, such as fray Ambrosio Montesino who was a pioneer for expanding the repertoire of the *romancero* into the clerical arena, it is possible their purposes were not to use the ballad form as a sermonising discourse. However, as I discuss in Chapter II, looking at the influences on the writings of the main composers of the religious ballad, and though it could be viewed as cynical, I would claim the appropriation of the *romancero* was a calculated move on behalf of the Church.

Of Dutton's collection, just less than fifteen percent are religious ballads. Many focus on the birth of Christ, some are in the form of prayers, and there are several veneration of saints. The most relevant theme, however, is that of the Virgin Mary, who is frequently alluded to in the religious ballads. The political climate again may have contributed to the sway of the thematic content of the current ballad production. 1492 had seen the arrival of Christopher Columbus in the Americas and the bloody conquest of its lands and people. In the ensuing hegemony, the New World generations of indigenous and *mestizos* followed the imposition of the Western norms and culture, and as a result, an unconventional strain of Catholicism was

adopted, mixing it with various prevalent indigenous religions. As a result, many Virgins were assimilated with Catholicism. On the peninsular itself, the multiplicity of the Virgin Mary was not as prolific as in the Americas, even though according to Power 'the succession found its most characteristic expressions in the cult of the Blessed Virgin Mary. It spread with great rapidity and soon pervaded every manifestation of popular creed' (1975: 19). This 'cult', or contemporary attitude of *marianismo* created an ideal with which the Hispanic woman must comply, containing all the positive aspects of femininity whereby Magdalenism represented the opposite pole.

I will use the ballads from Dutton's collection, supported by historical sources to analyse orthodox views of womanhood to establish an axis around which to work. It must be taken into account that due to the complexity of human nature and the discrepancy between fact and fiction, it is difficult to confirm the constitution of the orthodox woman. Also, it must be acknowledged that although the terms 'ideal' and 'orthodox' do not have identical meanings, characteristics pertaining to the majority of both are mutually inclusive in the *romancero*, as we see in the analyses in Chapters II and III. On a wider scale, the character of doña Alda is held to be the paragon of the dutiful wife, although she is not necessarily an orthodox example (and unfortunately this ballad is not found in Dutton's collection). Notwithstanding the general reluctance to rely upon the ballad to reflect reality, scholars such as David William Foster believe 'a well recognised trait is that the interest of the *romances* lies, not in repeating historical events as such, but in using those events for the beliefs, the traditions and values which they symbolize (1971: 64). Yet Smith contradicts this proposal:

The poet or minstrel is both too creative and too selective to be of any value as a historical recorder or remembrancer, and his objectives are quite different from those of the historian or from those of the author or a rhymed chronicle. (1972: 11)

The religious ballads, encapsulating the idealised woman in the form of the Virgin Mary, will be used as a platform, and then I will expand into the ballads which entered the *romancero* in the form of *romances semipopulares* and *romances artísticos*, as discussed above. They are often characterless, comprising a monologue in a male voice which laments the loss of his love (whether in the form of her feelings for him or the death of a partner). These Chapters II and III serve as a basis for the exploration of divisions between erudite and popular, religious and secular, whilst

simultaneously codifying the representations of women, laying the foundations for the remaining chapters that qualify the representation of women who are different.

On aiming to reconsider ways in which female types have been traditionally (and perhaps, simplistically) pigeonholed, certain scholars' works focusing on women in the *romancero* have been indispensable to aid me in the construction of my argument such as Oro Anahory-Librowicz's 'Las mujeres no-castas en el romancero' (1989), and Castro Lingl's 'La dama y el pastor and the Ballads of the *Cancionero general*: The Portrayal of the Experienced Woman' (1998), Teresa Catarella's 'Feminine Historicizing in the romancero novelesco' (1990), and Louise O. Vasvári's *The Heterotextual Body of the 'Mora Morilla'* (1999). Also, theses on the subject have been submitted by Castro Lingl ('Assertive Women in Medieval Spanish Literature', 1995), Consuelo Muzquiz Garza ('Women in the Spanish *Romance*', 1952), and Frank Lynn Odd ('The Women of the *Romancero*', 1974).

Anahory-Librowicz in particular offers a tripartite assessment of 'las mujeres no-castas en el romancero': the 'consentidora', the 'adúltera', and the 'seductora' (1989: 321). Although these are good starting points for categorising the women in my investigation, Anahory-Librowicz does not consider medieval women in the ballad to be dichotomous in their exhibition of sexual behaviour, and therefore she does not consider naivety or innocence to be characteristics pertaining to them, although I do not wholly agree with this interpretation. The sexual characterisation of females in the *romances* is important for interpreting the way in which women were perceived by the contemporary society composing them. This is because, as Smith observes: 'so often women are the preservers and singers of ballads, as of other folklore' (1972: 11). Catarella's research finds over two thirds of informants on the ballads are female (1990: 331). Hence, there is the implication the highly sexualised depiction of medieval Spanish woman is a fictional creation and not a true reflection; therefore, amplification of this defining characteristic is more likely to be exaggerated. José Antonio Muciño Ruiz suggests this is a sociological response to Spanish rule: 'la sexualidad que la situación religiosa, vía Inquisición, buscó controlar por diferentes medios, dando por resultado vías indirectas a su manifestación en el arte y complejas formas de comportamiento social' (1999: 213).

It is traditionally believed that the medieval woman was subservient in her existence, although Heath Dillard in fact infers 'women as a group, whatever their official responsibilities and status in a family or household, had far more conspicuous



roles in the social and economic spheres of community' (1984: 149). I will seek to prove why the literary arena tends to disprove Dillard's observation with regards women in the social spheres of community. This is primarily because after logging the details of almost three hundred ballads, only about a dozen stand out as containing women not conforming to an ideal and orthodox type that dominates the genre, who I consider in Chapters II and III. The subsequent chapters address women who are anomalous women within sub-categories. 'Provocative *Doncellas*' includes *El caballero burlado*, also known as *La hija del rey de francia*, *Rosaflorida*, and *¡Hélo, hélo por do viene*. 'Serranillas and Women in the Natural Environment' looks at *Estáse la gentil dama* and *Fontefrida*. The chapter on 'Dissatisfied Women' considers *Romance de la bella malmaridada*, *Rosa Fresca*, and *Romance de Durandarte*. Finally, I consider *Mora Moraima* as a paradigm of the 'Ethnically Marginalised Woman'. Similarly to some of the religious ballads, some versions of the above ballads in Dutton's *cancioneros* are incomplete, therefore I use another source for the actual text.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Manuscript details and sources of each ballad are given in the relevant chapter.

## CHAPTER II. WOMEN IN THE RELIGIOUS BALLAD

The religious ballads have a very different impetus from the secular *romance*, and deal principally with the birth and life of Christ, veneration of the Virgin Mary and various saints, suffering, and divine devotion. Julio Rodríguez Puértolas' outline of the work of the most prolific religious ballad artist of the time, fray Ambrosio Montesino, is: 'cristológico (infancia y pasión de Jesús)', 'mariológico (anunciación, natividad, gozos y tristezas de la Virgen)' and 'el Bautista, San Juan Evangelista, la Magdalena y San Francisco' (1987: 67). Religion was a theme with which all echelons of society could empathise because of the Catholic Church's heavy involvement in daily life. I suggest the development of devout approaches in the ballad form influenced women's representation, although this is for the main part only evident in the *romances artísticos*.

Much discussion surrounds the inception of religious balladry. We can prudently attribute the change in political and sociological climate to the focus of the popular ballad from a bellicose to a more leisurely outlook. However, it would be rash to hypothesise that the influence of the courtly ideal, which was promoted by the change of focus in European life, also reviewed the Catholic elevation of women from their original treatise as the paragon of sin. Eileen Power views this change as 'the process of placing women on a pedestal' and 'whatever we may think of the ultimate value of such an elevation, it was at least better than plunging them, as the early Fathers were inclined to do, in the bottomless pit' (1975: 26).

Catholicism in daily life was used as a hegemonic tool in the Spanish Empire. It may not have been a measured step precipitated by the Church to use the ballad form, but as Rodríguez Puértolas observes, some individuals considered the didactic nature of the religious Spanish ballad: 'en el caso de Montesino ha podido decirse que su obra es la de un predicador popular convertido en poeta' (1987: 63). Although it is contentious territory, R. H. Robbins' evidence also indicates that it is not preposterous to consider the Church as a deliberate usurper of popular works' influence because centuries earlier, in England, evangelising of similar texts took place:

By the end of the XIII century there were in existence popular secular songs to be sung (and danced to) by the people together. The Franciscan Friars took over the form and the music of these songs and substituted religious subject matter for the secular (1938: 239).

The overall implication and outcome is that compositions and publications in the name of Catholicism would influence the depiction of women in literature.

Because of the change in literary background of the known composers of the ballad, to interpret the way in which women are portrayed, it is necessary to look at socio-ecclesiastical, literary, and scholarly influences of the epoch. Whinnom recognises:

In the 1470s and '80s there appear in print for the first time in Spanish the long versified narratives of episodes from the life of Christ: Mendoza's *Vita Christi*, Román's *Trovas de la gloriosa pasión* and *Coplas de la pasión con la resurrección*, San Pedro's *Pasión trovada* and Montesino's *Coplas sobre diversas devociones y misterios de nuestra santa fê católica*. (1994: 46)

Marina Warner believes that religious interception in this stream of literature began around the time of the thirteenth century where ecclesiastical and lay currents were reconciled 'by one of the Church's most successful intellectual operations, whereby the pagan joy of the troubadours and their heirs was transmuted into the typical Christian quest for the other world through denial of the pleasures in this' (1985: 134). Therefore, it can be inferred that intertextual trends in literature, augmented by the flourishing of Spanish literature in the fifteenth century, may be predominantly responsible for both the use of the ballad form for devout writing, and also its religious content.

It is also necessary to consider the philosophies influencing ballad composition, such as the *devotio moderna* which embodies the thought that the knowledge of God should be accessible both to scholars and the illiterate. Hence the ballad form is an apt medium of transferral. With regard to Montesino's poetry, Ana María Álvarez Pellitero confirms that his oeuvre is influenced by both Ludolph the Saxon's works and also the Franciscan style, both of which write with a religious fervour based around and enhancing the image of the Virgin (1976: 100). Even though by the late Middle Ages women had become an object of worship, Power comments on the Church's earlier confusion over how to represent women, noting that: 'Janus-faced, it looked at woman out of every sermon and treatise, yet never knew which face to turn on her. Who was the true paradigm of the feminine gender, the woman *par excellence*: Eve, wife of Adam, or Mary, Mother of Christ?' (1975: 14).

Above all, the symbiotic relationship between religious and secular literature governs the way that women are depicted. Religious balladry shares elements with

the courtly love concept of the later Middle Ages. Warner detects that ‘the cult of the Virgin is traditionally seen as both a cause and effect of courtly love’, and hence the idealisation of the Mary and the lady of lay poetry coincide (1985: 134). Furthermore, the ideal promotes *Maríanismo* which became a trend dominating not only the ecclesiastical school of thought but also secular attitudes with regard to women’s superiority. It was further evident in romantic literature where Warner identifies that the Virgin Mary and other female subjects were ‘meshed in the popular mind as twin types of the virtuous and untouchable maiden’ (1985: 135). It would not have been appropriate for the Church and aristocracy, as the dominant social spheres in Spain, to have been at such odds with one another, therefore, when considering Evelyn P. Stevens’ analysis of Maríanism ‘which teaches that women are semi-divine, morally superior to and spiritually stronger than men’, the Church’s change in attitude sat more comfortably with the recognised aristocratic regard for women (1973: 91). In the following chapter I cite Vicenta Blay Manzanera’s interpretation of medieval women in the secular ballad such as the typecast María de Castilla in *Retraída estaba la reina*, which appears to imitate pious facets of the Virgin’s character.

In this chapter I will give a brief analysis of five religious ballads looking at how the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene are depicted at various stages of Christ’s life. Three of the erudite compositions, *Quien es este que en reguarda*, *En Betania estava sola*, and *Por las cortes de la gloria* are from Montesino’s *Cancionero* published in Toledo in 1508. However, the texts in Brian Dutton’s anthology are not complete, and so I consider the complete version from Rodríguez Puértolas’ *Cancionero de fray Ambrosio Montesino* (1987). Those texts which I do consider and are complete in Dutton’s *cancionero* are *Yo me estava en la mi celda*, *Yo me estava reposando*, and *Romance de la pasión*.

Ballads are an oral form of multiple similar texts, neither of which is more ‘correct’ than the other, *Yo me estava en la mi celda* being a prime example of such. I will compare the depiction of the female protagonist in two versions. The texts are believed to be linked because of the similarities in their thematic content, namely the second lines ‘durmiendo como solía’, and ‘rezando como solía’, the cyclical act of the protagonist returning to his ‘celda’ or ‘casa’, and phrasal similarities ‘cargado de pensamientos / que valerme no podía’ (lines 3-4) versus ‘cercado de pensamiento / que valer no me podía’.

S. Griswold Morley states that *Yo me estava en la mi celda* is a ‘contrahechura a lo divino’, or a *contrafactum* (1945: 278).<sup>2</sup> It is supposed to have derived from *Yo me estava reposando* composed by Juan del Encina in 1496.<sup>3</sup> John Crosbie defines the *contrafactum* as ‘adaptations of traditional *villancicos* and *romances* (or courtly imitations of the same); of lyrics, in other words, which belonged essentially to the popular oral, rather than the courtly literary, poetic tradition.’ He also disputes Juan del Encina’s record of ‘contrahechura’ claiming that Encina’s only *contrafactum*, in 96JE, is linked to a secular *villancico* he glosses:

¿Quién te trajo, cavallero,  
por esta montaña escura?  
Ay, pastor, que mi ventura.

to produce:

¿Quién te trajo, Criador,  
por esta montaña escura?  
Ay, que tú, mi criatura. (1989: 21 & 31)

Because Dutton gives the dates of the 96JE, LB1, and MP4a anthologies’ compilations as 1496, 1510, and 1498-1520 respectively, it is held that the secular version preceded the religious ballad *Yo me estava en la mi celda* by just over a decade. Nevertheless, it must be considered that due to the scarcity of textual sources from this period, compositions may have been in existence for any length of time before being transcribed. Because the dates are reasonably close, we cannot be totally sure Encina’s *romance* is not a version of *Yo me estava en la mi celda*. This operation of contrafaction inverts the issue I discuss above of religious composers converting profane literary structures, possibly for sermonising purposes. Because Crosbie argues *contrafactum* is ‘a largely coincidental textual by-product of a predominantly musical purpose’, there is reason to concede *Yo me estava reposando* as a lyrical composition could be a basis for ‘contrahechura’, as Juan del Encina is known as much for his musical as dramatic and literary talents (1989: 31). However, considering Encina’s controversial nature, it would not be obtuse to consider the contrary, though unusual – that he possibly secularised a devout poem. Another reason for my case that *Yo me estava en la mi celda* is the primary text is it is an

<sup>2</sup> *Yo me estava en la mi celda* (ID 1141) is found in Dutton 1990-91: I, 273 (LB1-464).

<sup>3</sup> *Yo me estava reposando* (ID 1141) is found in Dutton 1990-91: II, 513 (MP4a-46) and V, 59 (96JE-109).

anonymous composition from the LB1 *cancionero*. Lack of authorship implies it is not a retort to Encina's *romance*, as a minstrel would doubtfully undertake a devout task, and if a composer of a devout background did so, the authorship would likely be known. Hence I propose *Yo me estava en la mi celda* is an evolutionary type, and possibly one the few examples of the popular, as opposed to erudite, religious ballads.

Structurally, *Yo me estava reposando* is unique with its flawless ABAB CBCB rhyme scheme, invoking erudite roots. Therefore, the audience is presented with a well-fashioned female character described by conventional phrases such as 'linda señora' (line 33), implying that she physically fulfils the criteria for the ideal woman. She also does so morally when her integrity and chastity are proven because she does not appear to the speaker's petition: 'La media noche passada / ya que era cerca del día' (lines 21-22). Here is the implication that this is a formulaic reference to the Christian body and soul tradition whereby the body and soul were reunited only in heaven. The structure of *Yo me estava en la mi celda* differs, being reminiscent of a popular composition with its rhyme in -ía, and in its entirety it is also far more succinct than Encina's *romance*; it exudes a briskness reflecting the result of time paring it to a minimum, and so the impression given of 'Santa María' (line 14) is minimalist hence amplifying her pious character. Furthermore, although both versions are cyclical, the anonymous composition closely reflects the traditional oral style with the imitation of lines 1-2 'yo me estava en la mi celda / rezando como solía' brought full circle by 'a mi celda ove tornado / a rezar como solía' (lines 19-20). For that reason, in this case the internal evidence points towards it being an earlier composition, and refutes the theory that the secular is always used as a foundation for the religious ballad.

When considering both versions in this light, the opening stanzas of *Yo me estava reposando* invite irony because of the initial language they employ invoking a religious ambience: 'gran pena' (line 4), 'mi pasión' (line 9), and 'de servir a quien servía' (line 16), falsely directing the listener before intimating that the speaker's description is of his lover, 'Servía yo una señora / que más que a mí la quería' (lines 17-18), and not a divinity. Similar to the idealised women of the following chapter, the speaker acknowledges the female as his morally superior, imitating the protagonist's actions in *Yo me estava en la mi celda*:

con la devoción que tenía  
finqué rodillas en el suelo  
delante Santa María. (lines 12-14)

However, the emotional conclusions of the ballads reveal distinct ways in which the medieval woman is presented. The speaker's 'devoción que tenía' (line 16) for the icon in the church in *Yo me estava en la mi celda*, pacifies his 'pensamientos' (line 3), and allows him to make a decision and 'muy alegre quedaría' (line 18) on the advice Death gives him in lines 7-8 'que gozaste deste mundo / que en el otro lo pagaría'. With regard to worship, medieval literature often displays an exchange of gender, that is, men pray to female icons, and women pray to male icons, so the image of the holy woman is enhanced. However, the secular woman, who, although 'que más que a mí la quería' (line 18), does not appear to the male speaker's:

ojos llorosos  
un triste llanto hacía  
con sospiros congoxosos. (lines 41-43)

Therefore the audience can infer that because 'me bolví sin alegría' (line 48), she does not have the same power and panacean qualities her divine equivalent displays in Encina's version.

I look only briefly at the two variants of *La pasión* in Dutton's collection, as only a small proportion is dedicated to the Virgin Mary.<sup>4</sup> The earlier version from the *Cancionero musical del Palacio* is dated circa 1498-99, and the later version from Hernando de Castillo's Valencian *Cancionero general* of 1511. The texts are both anonymous, rhyming in -ía, and contain almost identical wording with the exception of minute variations on the syntax and orthography. Furthermore, their structures are similar in consisting of five quatrains comprising various themes: pathetic fallacy to set the scene, images of Christ on the cross, the mourning Virgin Mary, reason for Christ's sacrifice, and Christ's entrustment of himself to God. However, beyond these similarities, most notably is the position of the four-line stanza concerning the Virgin.

The stanza describing Mary is not reminiscent of the oral tradition when considering the first three lines all contain adjectival phrases, which are usually

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<sup>4</sup> *La Pasión* (ID 3706) is found in Dutton 1990-91: II, 515 (MP4a-56), V, 342 (11CG-479), and VI, 79 (14CG-50).

sparingly used in the *romance*. The panegyric vocabulary of lines 9-11 emphasises the flawlessness of Christ's mother:

O madre excelente suya  
sagrada Virgen María  
sola vos desconsolada

In her capacity as a mother she is both divine because through the Assumption, she becomes the bride of Christ and Queen of Heaven, and also human because she suffers alongside her son. Furthermore, Warner confirms her dual substance because 'ascension into heaven also derives from the classical tradition of the apotheosis of a hero' (1985: 91). This is a complete embodiment of Blay Manzanera's description of the archetypal woman in Chapter III, and invokes the *mater amantísima* ideology of the epoch.

In the earlier version of the ballad, the quatrain in question is situated central to the other verses, and hence the significance of the role of the Virgin Mother is overshadowed by the focuses of the other verses (as described above). However, in the later version, the quatrain concludes the ballad, therefore acquires more emphasis because it does not sit naturally in this position. As a result, Mary's description and actions are underlined, especially her concluded participation in her son's suffering 'cantaréis sin alegría' (line 12). Overall, though this is only a short excerpt of text from which to glean information, it is implied to the audience that devotion of a woman to her male counterpart is posited to be paramount in the Middle Ages.

The following ballads were composed by Montesino, a preacher in the courts of the *Reyes Católicos*, who fused devout and didactic writings with a paradoxically popular framework. Rodríguez Puértolas comments:

al estudiar la técnica poética de fray Ambrosio, fueron puestos de relieve algunos elementos interesantes y significativos para delimitar el popularismo y el cultismo del franciscano, como su uso lingüístico y sintáctico, sus fórmulas y artificios expresivos, los elementos librescos que ocasionalmente maneja, las imágenes y *exempla*, el realismo y patetismo, el sentimentalismo afectivo. (1987: 63)

This initially yields the hypothesis that the depiction of the female protagonists in these *romances* will also differ slightly to their representation in other erudite religious ballads, with closer correlation to a *culto* style. It is probable these features are present in order to encourage their popularisation, as indeed Montesino's ballads were generally well-embraced by the oral tradition.



*Quien es este* is a ballad of antitheses.<sup>5</sup> On the surface, although it is Eucharistic, Débax says in general of the religious ballads, ‘revelan estos romances religiosos antiguos una composición culta y reciente, aunque a veces son transposiciones a lo divino de romances conocidos, y aunque puedan tener comienzos tradicionales’ (1982: 416). This is immediately apparent in the use of the metaphorical (almost folkloric) ‘castillo dorado’ (line 2) for the Virgin’s womb. There are no scriptural associations of Mary as mother with precious metals and stones, the only association is with reference to the dogma of the Assumption in Revelation where an angel says ‘Come, I will show you the bride, the wife of the Lamb’, also known as the New Jerusalem, whose foundations comprise ‘jasper’, ‘sapphire’, ‘chalcedony’, ‘emerald’, ‘sardonyx’, ‘sardius’, ‘chrysolite’, ‘beryl’, ‘topaz’, ‘chrysoprase’, ‘jacinth’, ‘amethyst’, and ‘pearl’ (21: 9 & 18-21). On a sacred level this adjective is also a proleptic reference to Melchior’s gift to Christ at his birth, but due to the picture of the universal order in the late Middle Ages, known as the ‘Great Chain of Being’, discussed by E. M. W. Tillyard below, an antithetical view is presented of the Virgin as she is humanised by gold, a metal of earthly connotations. Warner also reminds us that ‘gems and metals are incorruptible, immune to time’, as are any components of the Trinity (1985: 94). Alvarez Pellitero also proposes, because of gold’s impenetrable associations in the contemporary era of *Quien es este*, ‘hay que pensar en las monumentales custodias de los Arfe y en la escenografía de los autos sacramentales como realización concreta de la alegoría, de clara evocación romanceril’ (1976: 157).

Simultaneously the repetition of the imagery in lines 9-10 ‘¡O, castillo inexpugnable / de ángeles torreado!’ using *exclamatio* to draw attention to the metaphor, has celestial connotations because, for Tillyard, within the three classes of existence in the ‘chain of being’ (inanimate class, vegetative class, and sensitive class), there is hierarchy. The sensitive class comprises the lower of human society’s echelons up to God ‘as precisely ordered along the chain of being as the elements or the metals’, but more importantly, ‘although the creatures are assigned their precise place in the chain of being, there is at the same time the possibility of a change.’ (1960: 25-6). Pertinently, there were believed to be three main orders (nine in total) of angels, of which the lowest rank comprised ‘Principalities, Archangels, and

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<sup>5</sup> ID 6014 is found in Rodríguez Puértolas 1987: 203.

Angels' who formed 'the medium between the whole angelic hierarchy and man' (1960: 38). Through the eyes of a contemporary audience of the ballad, Mary would fall into this category.

The further metonymic phrase 'paraíso eres llamado' (line 12) again represents Mary as Christ's divine custodian, but concurrently suggests a mortal reference due to the phrase being closely reminiscent of Dante Alighieri's Beatrice of his *Paradiso* (28: 3): 'quella che 'mparadisa la mia mente' which Laurence Binyon translates as 'she who hath imparadised my mind' (1943: 326). Robin Kirkpatrick further confirms they both embody a parallel incarnation of love for their male counterpart: 'two figures who in different ways are the human vessels of Christ's reality, Beatrice and the Blessed Virgin' (1978: 174). Similarities between the Virgin and Beatrice are often drawn because both are paragons of virtue whose symbiotic relationship appears to aid embellish their perfection.

As I mention in the Introduction, topoi are commonly deployed in the *romancero*, although with regard to the erudite ballads, verbal rhetoric is more frequently used. However, Montesino consistently uses a variety of literary tools in keeping with the oral tradition. Alvarez Pellitero goes further, arguing that in *Quien es este* 'predomina el carácter dogmático sobre el contemplativo. Su interés radica en la configuración imaginativa de la fe, mediante metáforas y símbolos' (1976: 156). The *castillo* metaphor is repeated three times (lines 2, 9, & 19) even though Heather Arden paradoxically posits that it is 'one of the most widespread erotic images in medieval literature' (1995: 192). Given Montesino's devout background, such connotations are inappropriate with reference to the representation of the Virgin Mary. Rodríguez Puértolas also posits 'se cantaba con la tonada de otro profano' (1987: 45). Of course we can only surmise Montesino's reasons for using such symbolism. Whether it is a popularising device and indeed he was not aware of its connotations, or he was attempting to rewrite the unspoken rules of the *romancero*, for his audience, it brings with it more than devout meanings.

The profane connotations of the *castillo* are complemented by two other secular pieces of imagery connected with the Virgin. The narrative employs a floral metaphor, 'por ver la flor nazarena / en color no acostumbrado' (lines 17-18). Being integral to natural splendour, the flower not only presents the audience with a further inference of her beauty and fertility, but simultaneously, the lack of colour alludes to her chastity because flowers in bloom are usually associated with the colours pink and

red, which denote sexual activity, as I discuss with reference to young women in Chapter IV. Alvarez Pellitero concurs with this irony by stating 'en la época de los Reyes Católicos se hace especialmente viva la polémica teológica sobre la Concepción Inmaculada de María' (1976: 120). Even Susan Haskins' exposé of Mary Magdalene refers to the Virgin Mary as the 'defeminised 'Queen of Heaven'' (1993: 89). However, the Virgin became a venerated figurehead by this point in the Middle Ages, and therefore comprised for the audience another ideal facet of woman. Alvarez Pellitero puts forward how this epitome of woman came about, saying Saint Justin established the link between Eve and Mary, just as Saint Paul had done between Adam and Christ. Saint Irenaeus developed fully the comparison in that the Virgin Mary, in obeying God, is compensating for the acts of Eve, who was the first virgin who disobeyed God (1976: 120).

The floral allegory neatly precedes lines 49-51:

tú eres la fuente viva  
que manas en mayor grado  
los frutos que dio la cruz

Although the *fuentes* connotes fecundity, which translates to fertility, a characteristic sought after in medieval woman, there is cross-filtration with the secular perception of the *locus amoenus* often alluded to in the *romance*. Fecundity is an intrinsic characteristic of the *locus amoenus* assimilated to the idyllic sense of joy and pleasure also experienced in the Garden of Eden. The opening verses of Gonzalez de Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* deconstruct the typical profanity of the *locus amoenus* with a *locus sanctus*, which Micheal E. Gerli posits comprises 'un intrincado sistema de imágenes unidas' of 'asociaciones tipológicas latentes' in the Virgin (1985: 13). It illustrates not only the interdependence of profane and religious metaphor, but also the depth:

Yo, maestro Gonçalvo de Verceo nomnado  
yendo en romería caecí en un prado,  
verde e bien sencido, de flores bien poblado,  
logar cobdiciaduro pora omne cansado.

Davan olor sovejo las flores bien olientes,  
refrescan en omne las caras e las mientes;  
manavan cada canto fuentes claras, corrientes,  
en verano bien frías, en invierno calientes.

Avié hí grand abondo de buenas arboledas,  
milagranos e figueras, peros e mazedas,

e muchas otras fructas de diversas monedas,  
más non avié ningunas podridas ni azedas. (Baños, 1977: Stanzas 2-4)

However, although Elizabeth Drayson notes 'the Marian images of Berceo's Introduction frequently appear in liturgical texts', in the case of *Quien es este*, allusion to such imagery adds to the confusion regarding how the audience interprets the speaker's choice of images because the secular and the religious seem such disparate entities, and the ballad until this point in time has been a secular medium (1981: 277). However, the parallel existence of the *locus sanctus* and the profane *locus amoenus* together form a concretisation of the metaphor derived from the human world. All in all it is inferred that in *Quien es este*, the Virgin embodies both mortal and divine, and religious and secular characteristics of the idealised medieval woman.

*En Betania* is another composition by Montesino from his 1508 *Cancionero* narrating the Virgin's reaction to Christ's imprisonment before his crucifixion.<sup>6</sup> Not only because of the opening line, but also due to line 17 'más estaba retraída', Alvarez Pellitero posits the ballad to be the result of inspiration from either or all of three secular ballads (both popular and erudite); *Retraída está la infanta*, *Retraída estaba la reina*, and *Romance de doña Alda* (1976: 142). Because these ballads are already in the oral tradition, the representation of the female protagonists in them would therefore affect the audience's interpretation of the depiction of Mary in *En Betania*.

Montesino enhances and presents many different attributes of the Virgin. Firstly, she is described as 'la reina celestial' (line 2), which is endorsed through her relationship with Christ set by the biblical precedent of Christ in Majesty, written by Mark:

Again the high priest asked him, 'Are you the Christ, the Son of the Blessed One?'.  
'I am', said Jesus. 'And you will see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of the  
Mighty One and coming on the clouds of heaven. (14: 61-62)

This augments her piousness through the common rhetoric that the further from earth, the closer to divinity the individual is. The allusion to sovereignty precipitates the metaphor 'era perla oriental' (line 10), implying her majestic qualities come from within. Additionally, the polyvalent symbol of the pearl indicates eternal life, giving her immortality. The Mary in this ballad cannot avoid comparison with the 'muy casta doña María' (line 2) of *Retraída estaba la reina*, who at this point in the

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<sup>6</sup> ID 6016 is found in Rodríguez Puértolas 1987: 193.

*romancero*'s development, I would argue to be a paragon of the dutiful wife. Due to the suffering Mary undergoes in her duties to her son, she is seen as the *mater amantísima*, and consequently the ultimate paragon of the dutiful mother, who is willing to bear with him his affliction 'levarés con él la cruz' (line 69). The narrator also recounts:

que quien la viera  
le pudiera preguntar:  
'Poderosa emperatriz' (lines 29-31)

Again, another aristocratic title hints at her regality, and the emphasis on the adjective underlines her ultimate goodness, because essentially she could use her power for any means, but she chooses righteousness.

The vocabulary of *En Betania* is repetitive and limited, yet also clearly reminiscent of the vocabulary used in ballads similar to *Gritando va el caballero*. As Alvarez Pellitero points out 'será el Barroco español – época de desengañados contrastes y sentimientos distorsionados – el que proyecte sobre los Cristos y Dolorosas todo el patetismo' (1976: 144). Therefore, it is not surprising to notice the traditional demonstration of suffering permeating all characters' representation; in the narrator's description of Mary's affliction 'suspirando por su hijo' (line 3), and 'daba suspiros profundos' (line 25), and also the speaker's condolences for Christ's mother 'por vos, madre, suspirar' (line 62). Repetition can also be used to the effect of highlighting and segregating a particular passage such as 'vuestro' in the case of lines 42-46:

vuestros miedos son verdad;  
no es menor vuestra congoja  
que fue vuestra dignidad;  
vuestro hijo queda preso,  
toda vuestra libertad

The isolation of one stanza of six lines alternately ending with masculine rhyme –*ad* serves to illustrate the Virgin's emotions, underlined by the juxtaposition of 'congoja' and 'dignidad', and 'preso' and 'libertad'. Because Mary receives and is described by the anonymous character 'uno que le venía / con las nuevas de pesar' (lines 39-40), the audience feels more comfortable with his observations and description of her, an example of the honesty topos, even under the veil of reported speech by an omniscient narrator.

The final imagery I briefly wish to draw attention to in *En Betania* is the use of water imagery associated with the Virgin. Water, symbolising life and vitality, is used by the omniscient narrator to describe Mary mourning her son's capture:

hecha un mar de pensamientos  
y un diluvio de llorar;  
cada lágrima en su cara  
era perla oriental (lines 7-10)

The profundity of the sea illustrates the depth of the Virgin's soul, and all the 'pensamientos' filling it, supported by the 'diluvio', once again connoting imagery of great intensity to express her sentiments and infelicity. The ultimate metaphor links to the preceding 'reina' reference, confirming to the audience her fundamental importance (and value), and also perpetuating oceanic imagery because the pearl's origin is the sea. In William Granger Ryan's translation of Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, it is also pointed out in the story of Mary Magdalene, that the name Mary derives from '*amarum mare*', meaning 'bitter sea', 'illuminator' or 'illuminated'. The latter meanings are integral aspects of the Virgin's personality, although the first adjectival phrase is perhaps more aptly associated with Mary Magdalene (1993: II, 374). Lastly, the narrative 'por la cual iban sudores / de congoja natural' (lines 23-24) also ties in with the liquid imagery above. Whether it is translated literally as sweat, or figuratively as labours, 'sudores' connotes the suffering of Mary, and underlines that without her suffering with respect to her son, there would be no retribution, no Christ, and therefore no mortal life.

Moving away from the axis of the original post-lapsarian orthodox woman, the Virgin, the final *romance* I shall look at is dedicated to Mary Magdalene. There are two versions of the ballad *Por las cortes*, a text commissioned by doña Inés de Guzmán. Alvarez Pellitero proposes the original version to have been composed circa 1485 and published in Montesino's *Coplas* 1488-1490.<sup>7</sup> It comprises 'seis pausas o párrafos en gloria de la santísima Magdalenea en el cual copiló casi el misterio todo de su vida' (composer's words in ballad title), and is two hundred and six lines long (1976: 98). The second version was published in Montesino's *Cancionero* in 1508, and is half the length of the former. However, it contains an appendage which Alvarez Pellitero believes is 'totalmente independiente de la anterior – acaso, en su origen, un romance diverso?' (1976: 154). This statement is totally unfounded,

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<sup>7</sup> ID 6023 is found in Rodríguez Puértolas 1987: 197-201.

because its second part shares similarities to parts V and VI of the earlier version, which is clearly demarcated in the title as a six-part composition. However, there is thematic renovation in the later version, which I will look at in detail below, and which affects the way in which Mary is depicted. Whinnom believes the changes could be attributed to Montesino's translation of Ludolph the Saxon's *Vita Christi* (1994: 66).

Although *Por las cortes* embraces divine love, the thematic framework is contradictorily profane. This ambience is communicated in the way Mary Magdalene and the anonymous narrator posit her in relation to Christ. Even with regard to the later version, Alvarez Pellitero implies that Montesino, in the mode of *contrafactum*, has usurped traditional poetic characteristics (1976: 154). This is evident in the illustration of Mary's devotion to Christ, namely because: 'flechas de nuevo amor' 'ha mi libertad robado' (lines 61 & 66). As illustrated at various intervals, there are implications of profane rather than divine love, confusing Mary Magdalene and Christ's relationship. These profane overtones are more obvious in the earlier version seen in bold statements such as 'y de Dios se ha enamorado' (line 20), a phrase associated with profane rather than divine love. The fact that Mary then refers to Christ as her 'hermano' (line 199), shows multiplicity in the way Montesino wished to present her to the audience – both elevating her in their relationship to his lover but also keeping her below him as a disciple. The character of Mary glorifies herself by implying she is a confidante of Christ: 'sus secretos y sus dones / de mí los ha confiado' (lines 77-78). However, the caveat preceding this section of the earlier version 'en el cual se relata la miraglosa conversación della', thereby removes responsibility of blasphemy from the composer, narrator, and or speaker with regard to the communication of her character. It must be conceded there are also devout metaphors and comparisons drawn between Mary and Christ which imply a differential in their status. She puts herself in a subservient position by using a biblical simile 'miróme como cordero' (line 69 earlier version), and also 'se me dio / el don del apostolado' (lines 103-04). Furthermore, although there is no need to elaborate, the scene of subordination when she washes Christ's feet can be borne in mind, even though the description in both ballad versions of her 'cabello dorado' (line 26) elevates her status to regality, as the discussion of gold in *Quien es este*, above clarifies.

*Por las cortes* depicts Mary in an ascetic existence, having sought atonement. The way in which she is portrayed, almost relishing the hardship of her penance, is reminiscent of the secular ballads discussed in Chapter III where the male characters appear dogmatically masochistic with regard to their approach to love. Alvarez Pellitero cites her as an ‘ejemplo de un pecador que llora constantemente su pecado’ (1976: 154). Stylistically, even in the later, more concise text, it seems the narrator belabours her penance:

¡O, saludables corrientes!  
¡O venturoso pecado,  
que mayor es tu remedio  
que tu peligro pasado! (lines 95-98)

The style used, especially the hyperbole, is reminiscent of the *planctus mariae*, usually words spoken by the Virgin lamenting her son’s death. However, lines 95-98 are redundant because within the first twenty lines she has already confessed her sin to Christ, and the audience would already have an acute awareness of her depiction because Haskins tells us that ‘Mary Magdalene’s association with the prostitute in the popular mind began in the Middle Ages and was to stay with her until our century’ (1993: 176). For a contemporary audience, it may further highlight the depth of the devout aspect of Mary Magdalene’s character, although a scholarly perspective immediately identifies this to be a characteristic of an erudite composition through its loquacity. Alvarez Pellitero believes the earlier version to have been profoundly renovated:

dejando a un lado los cambios de la evolución lingüística y el desplazamiento narrativo de la tercera y segunda persona – lo que configura toda la pieza como un diálogo con la Magdalene –, podríamos sintetizar el sentido de la revisión en un solo punto: contención culta. (1976: 98)

Again, due to the content of the latter half of the ballad, I disagree with Alvarez Pellitero on this point. Although there is considerable revision of the fifth section of the older version where Mary Magdalene is faced with ‘mil dragones ha espantado / más onzas y escorpiones’ (lines 152-53), ‘mil serpientes / con furor arrebatado; / de víboras y de grifos’ (lines 162-64), ‘arpías crescentiles’ (line 169), still, some of these images such as the dragons and scorpions are present in the second part of the later text. The erudite compositions of the time were not consumed with fantastical elements such as this, but had Montesino considered ‘contención culta’, none of the creatures at all would have been associated with the second text, thereby contesting



Alvarez Pellitero's theory. The inclusion of such unknown animals is an unusual feature of the *romance* serving to reinforce the robustness in Mary Magdalene's character. Also, because of its reference to the Virgin Mary who, in Revelation 12: 17, faces a dragon when she gives birth to Christ, the assimilation of the two Marys ameliorates Mary Magdalene's portrayal. In particular, J. E. Cirlot's observation: 'in the Middle Ages the scorpion makes its appearance in Christian art as an emblem of treachery', combined with his remarks on the serpent which represents the feminine principle because 'the tree and the serpent are, in mythology, prefigurations of Adam and Eve', lays emphasis on the fact Mary Magdalene avoids the many vices in her way (2002: 268 & 275). However, it must be noted in the revised version, an additional feature with regard to Mary Magdalene's penance 'en los yermos / de sitio desesperado' (lines 111-12) is included. Therefore, a scene emerges congruent with Christ's time spent in the desert. Not only does she face wild and alien creatures, but so does he: 'He was with the wild animals and angels attended him' (Mark 1:13), whereas in *Por las cortes* 'que siete veces al día / ángeles la han visitado' (lines 139-140 of the more recent text). A further allusion to Christ in the ballads is the length of time of Mary Magdalene's penance. The earlier ballad text 'y treinta años de esta vida / la santa ha perseverado' (lines 187-88) is clear in its reference that she equals the time he suffered in his life for mankind, implicitly elevating her status to his. However, the later version is not clear in its reference of who suffered the penance:

la memoria del pecado,  
por cuya causa treinta años  
esta vida ha celebrado (lines 134-36)

This is another example of the revised version of the ballad being less improper towards Christ and divinity. Alvarez Pellitero perceives 'el 'Romance de la sacratissima Magdalenea' se condensa el cristocentrismo' (1976: 154). Hence the audience observe in the ballad that at times, Mary Magdalene's character follows such a close trajectory to Christ's, and even becomes one with him, as elucidated by 'y en tu Dios te has transformado' (line 18) in the later version.

The Virgin and Mary Magdalene are (eventually) paragons of virtue that the typical characters of women in the Middle Ages were evaluated against. Their characters have developed from Power's analysis of 'woman as instrument of the Devil, a thing at once inferior and evil, took shape in the earliest period of Church history and was indeed originated by the Church', to figures of atonement to be

celebrated (1975: 14). They are associated with sovereignty and piously endure long-term suffering, publicly expiating their woes. They are also virginal, or sexless as Haskins describes Mary Magdalene: 'with the intensified emphasis on her role as repentant sinner in the Middle Ages, she represented the sexuate feminine redeemed, and therefore rendered sexless' (1993: 141). In view of the latter representation analysed, Mary Magdalene is even assimilated to Christ through her penance. Importantly, the chiasmic influence of the profane in the religious ballads implies a sage approach to their integration into the popular tradition. Furthermore it clarifies whence the paradigm for non-religious female personalities in the *romancero* originates, and denotes the ascetic function of both the women in religion – their parallel existence in secular texts fuels a symbiotic relationship.

### CHAPTER III. IDEAL WOMEN IN THE SECULAR BALLAD

Although secular *romances* can be considered in binary opposition to religious works, many of them also contain formulaic archetypes of ideal women which are compatible with those found in the broader context of medieval Spanish literature. It is notable that situations depicting this archetypal woman are often concerned with love, whether it be divine or human. Drawing on the Greek philosophy of love, Anders Nygren defines *agape* as a spontaneous and unmotivated love, as empowered by God, as opposed to *eros* which encapsulates human ideas, needs, and sensuality, and is assimilated with sexuality (1982: 53-79). However, as metaphor and allegory are played upon in the ballads, at times it is confusing whether the arena is divine or human. E. Michael Gerli takes this hypothesis further by implying that, with regards the traditional lyric, which is linked thematically with the ballad, literary devices blur the distinction between divine and human love because ‘desde los albores de la lírica culta española la alegoría permitía que se pasara sin dificultad la línea entre el amor sagrado y el amor profano’ (1981: 65).

It is important to note that both these types of ballad which contain the central theme of an ideal and venerated woman, find their way into the *romancero* relatively late on in the lifespan of the Spanish ballad. A reason may be that earlier ballads have a much greater input from women in their composition, and later ones were almost solely composed by men. Therefore I believe it is imperative that consideration be given to the male role in medieval literature. Thus, although my sources have been carefully selected with the depiction of the female in mind, I will also consider how the representation of medieval masculinities could shed light on the depiction of female characters, especially in the case of ballads heavily influenced by the ideal of courtly love. Overall, these two primary chapters serve as a basis for the exploration of divisions between erudite and popular, religious and secular whilst simultaneously codifying the representations of the typical woman.

The origin of the *romances artísticos* and their religious counterparts is in the fifteenth century, and they were fortified in the sixteenth by the publication of ballad anthologies which Menéndez Pidal maintains ‘más que de imitar, trataban de contraponer un Romancero erudito e histórico al Romancero popular’ (1973: 41). The most prolific of the earlier anthologies is Hernando de Castillo’s 1511 publication of the *Cancionero General*, which is an invaluable source for Dutton’s anthology.

Later prominent works were composed by Alonso de Fuentes, who imitated the form of the ballad with *Cuarenta cantos peregrinos sobre Historia de España* in 1550, while 1551 saw the publication of Lorenzo de Sepúlveda's *Romances nuevamente sacados de historias*. Although I concede that the *culto* ballads construct, in the words of Manuel Alvar 'una historia erudita en la tradición oral', I disagree with Menéndez Pidal with regard to his inference that the erudite branch of Peninsular balladry was premeditated and intended to take over the oral tradition (1970: 163). Overall, because of the power of written literature, the perpetuation of these types of ballads should have the capability to eliminate the oral tradition which is an integral character of ballad culture. Frank Lynn Odd describes the fundamental characteristics of the 'traditional romances' as 'the end product of an indigenous and organic process of selection and shaping' (1974: iii). This highlights the contrast between them and the contrived, less free-flowing, and almost didactic tone of the erudite ballads that never evolve in the same way popular ones do, and survive only as imitations of the *romancero viejo*.

As discussed in the Introduction, technological advancement affected the expansion of the *romancero*, as did the political and artistic influences of the period. In the aftermath of political upheaval in Europe, leisure had become a primary occupation, which Roger Boase explains was a consequence of retreating 'into an anachronistic world of make-believe, and cultivated literary conventions and chivalric practices associated with a Utopian past' (1978: 5). Hence to support this, an explosion of fictional writing occurred in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The enormous paucity of Spanish verse characterising pre-fifteenth-century Spanish literature was overturned, and creators drew on the artistic influences of neighbouring countries such as France, Italy, and Germany. Boase posits this mainly to be a court culture, which could be seen as a 'troubadour revival, associated with a general revival of courtly and chivalric idealism which spread from Aragon to Castile under the Trastámaran dynasty of 1369-1516' (1978: 2). Eileen Power implies the stimulus for the incorporation of the courtly love ideal, which we see in the *romances artísticos* depicting women, comes from France's courtly love tradition 'the code in which the principles of Provençal grammar and metre were summed up in the fourteenth century was called the Laws of Love' (1975: 24).

The veneration of the idea of woman in the *romancero* is illustrated by the number of ballads that can be read as *endechas*. Compared to many of the ballads,

they are rather characterless, comprising a monologue in a male voice which laments the loss of his love (whether in the form of her feelings for him or the death of a partner). Keith Whinnom cites Ramón Menéndez Pidal and Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo's particularly derogatory remarks about poetry of this type, repeating Menéndez Pidal's words: 'insípida y artificial galantería', 'esta poesía artificiosa y amanerada', and 'este fárrago de versos, muchas veces medianos'. He summarises Menéndez y Pelayo's negativity with the expresión: 'recrea agradable el oído sin dejar ninguna impresión en el alma' (1981: 9 & 10). Around one sixth of the ballads belong to this type, where the narrator's expression contains hyperbolic emotion which medieval scholars and physicians classified as *amor hereos* and likened to a fatal sickness, and which ultimately characterises the courtly love poetry. As Michael Ray Solomon advises: 'esta enfermedad, identificada como *amor hereos* por una mala lectura de *amor eros*, fue intensamente discutida durante toda la Edad Media' (1994: 1034). Vicente Beltrán Papió agrees courtly love poetry is not mutually exclusive from the *romancero*:

la canción cortés castellana nos lleva a un problema histórico que no hemos querido soslayar: sus relaciones con otros géneros formalmente emparentados (*dansa, virelai, ballata, lauda*), que ha sido incluido en el capítulo correspondiente a las primeras generaciones, a medida que el establecimiento de sus caracteres permitía la compasión. (1988: 9)

However, this is where the structure of the verse dictates certain compositions belong to the ballad typology, hence Dutton's classification as such. Because secular literature previously had not been high up the Spanish agenda, the centuries preceding the fifteenth had been consumed by the scriptora's production of homogenous monastic literature. The later genus of *romance* was composed with the primary objective of entertaining the upper classes, whose echelons were synonymous with literacy. Poets and editors of the fifteenth-century *cancionero* such as Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, Pedro Manuel de Urrea, Juan del Encina, and Alfonso de Carvajal were often commissioned to write for the courts and palace. Therefore, needing to satisfy their clients' and commissioners' wishes, they were well accustomed to the prerogative of the medieval lady. Power explains how this assessment of the medieval lady was confined only to a certain social sector:

The exaltation of the lady was the exclusive ideal of a small aristocratic caste; those outside the caste had no part in refining any influence of the courtly ideal. It was not professed by men of other classes, nor did it necessarily apply to women of other classes. (1975: 27)

On the other hand, due to the popularity enjoyed by the *cancioneros*, fifteenth-century Spanish balladry presented to all strata of society the idea of the revered, demure, modest, subservient yet paradoxically noble female as the archetypal woman, and not the anomalistic woman.

In order to address the various facets of the character making up the archetypal medieval Spanish woman in literature, I shall base my investigation on a typical model extracted from Vicenta Blay Manzanera's description:

En general, las mujeres con voz propia obedecen a tipos a la medida de la ideología androcéntrica imperante: la *mater amantísima*, modelo de integridad, de sacrificio y de resignación ante el dolor; la esposa amante y fiel, que anhela la compañía del marido; la doncella que aspira a oficializar sus relaciones mediante el matrimonio; la amada ideal, obra maestra de Dios, cristiana y virtuosa pero ingrata a los ojos del varón. Lo más valorado en ellas es su virtud y su belleza. (2000: 20)

These models can be found in the women in the ballads *Gritando va el caballero*, *Aparición de la enamorada muerta* (also known as *Romance del palmero*), and *Retraída estaba la reina*.

*Gritando* is sourced four times in Dutton's collection.<sup>1</sup> All the editors of the *cancioneros* in which the ballad is found (two of Hernando de Castillo's editions, Juan del Encina's, and an anonymous editor from Seville) attribute it to don Juan Manuel, a Castilian who spent the majority of his life living and working in Italy from the early 1490s. Because Ian Macpherson observes the themes and vocabulary of Juan Manuel's poetry are limited, it is a logical assumption that *Gritando* gives the modern day scholar a representative cross-section of how he would portray the literary medieval woman and her position in society (1979: xxvii). I cite from the 11CG version of *Gritando*, although in fact there are very few orthographic disparities between them.

Like many of the ballads, *Gritando* is introduced *in media res*, and the anonymous narrator immediately invites the audience to sympathise with the knight by using a far-reaching verbal phrase 'publicando su gran mal' (line 2). By comparing his demoralised state with actual physical illness, the narrator immediately indicates the 'la enfermedad de amor, el llamado *amor hereos*', which Juan Casas Rigall notes 'aparece no sólo en la poesía trovadoresca desde sus inicios, sino también en Ovidio y la poesía hispano-árabe' (1995: 73). Although there is a strong Arabic influence in the *romancero*, the courtly love ideal is usually attributed to Provençal

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<sup>1</sup> *Gritando* (ID 6329) is found in Dutton 1990-91: V, 331 (11CG-455), VI, 130 (14CG-485), VI, 254 (16JE-170), and VI, 322 (20\*MM-4).

influence. Debate continues with regard to the origin of courtly love, and although it is not integral to the depiction of medieval woman, it must be acknowledged that an idealised woman has been long-established by courtly love. Furthermore, the convention of how the male represents himself also sets a familiar scene for the audience, enabling subconscious links with the characters.

The elevated state of Casta (the inspiration for the ballad) is communicated to the audience through the knight's suffering. Gradually imagery is introduced reminiscent of the Bible, and so the *caballero* is described as wandering:

por los montes sin camino  
con dolor y sospirar  
llorando a pie y descalço (lines 5-7).

This is associated with the Parable of the Lost Sheep (Luke 15: 1-7), while being barefoot is a traditional sign of penance. Deification of Casta is implied when the narrator dedicates an entire stanza (erudite ballads often are divisible so) to assimilating the living state of the *caballero* with that of an ascetic order of monks:

en aquesta casa oscura  
que hizo para penar.  
Haze mas estrecha vida  
que los frayles del Paular  
que duermen sobre sarmientos,  
¡y aquellos son su manjar!  
Lo que llora es lo que beve,  
y aquello torna a llorar;  
no mas duna vez al día,  
por más si dibilitar (lines 35-44)

Antonio Chas Aguión supports the general hypothesis of knights martyring themselves for their lovers when he cites Pierre Le Gentil who coins the phrase *martyre de l'amant*: 'plus encore que les perfections de la dame, plus encore que les effets contradictoires de l'amour, ou les qualités qu'il exige, c'est le long *martyre de l'amant* que l'on célèbre: requêtes et plaintes désolées se succèdent sans interruption, monotones, en dépit de l'incontestable virtuosité des poètes' (2000: 110). Le Gentil's observation about the register used by the narrators and speakers in this type of *romance* emphasises the self-inflicted element of the knight's suffering and worship of Casta, and in this case gives rise to the implication she is divine. We could almost go so far as to see don Juan Manuel's ballad as a profane statement because Casta has not only been immortalised by her beau in the form of a 'bulto' (line 53), but also the *caballero* 'hizo labrar un altar' (line 50).

The narrator does not just create an overall sanctified impression of Casta. Despite the notion of *amor de lonh* used by the narrator to depict the way in which the *caballero* approaches his love, he attributes tangible characteristics to her, such as her eponym in order to represent characteristics of the idealised woman. Due to the concept of family honour, the lady should remain chaste until marriage, and then remain sexually faithful to her husband, as his reputation rested on her sexual demeanours. This was principally a code created by patriarchal Iberian society whereby women were used to protect the men's reputation. Dire consequences were implied if they did not behave accordingly, thereby making them a buffer zone for their male counterparts' good standing. Distinct medieval codes of law regarding adultery and honour illustrate why it is of such interest women that were presented as sexually reserved at all times. Lucy A. Sponsler comments:

Even if a woman had been forced into such a situation through no fault of her own, or if she had been merely insulted verbally or maligned in some other way, society disdained the male protector and viewed him as emasculated until he achieved retribution and restored his *hombria* [...]. It is even more evident that preservation of the honor of men was the central motive behind this medieval Spanish tradition. First of all, it would appear that more was at stake for a man if his wife committed adultery than if she remained chaste while he philandered. (1975: 12)

Casta's virtuous chastity is confirmed by 'que murió sin la gozar' (line 14). On one level 'gozar' implies enjoyment of life they could have together, but in light of the ballad *Reduán*, in Smith's compilation, the threat in the form of a prepositional phrase 'do no goces de tu dama' (line 10) implies it has sexual connotations (1996: 117). This is supported by the double-entendre contained in the final quatrain of the ballad:

cerró la puerta al plazer  
abrió la puerta al pesar  
abrióla para quedarsse  
pero no para tomar (lines 79-83)

In the *romancero*, there is an abundance of topoi of walls and doors representing women's anatomy. Louise O. Vasvári has made a thorough investigation of the theme:

The distinction between public and private spheres also extends to distinct sexual spheres, with women in traditional societies rarely seen in public places and with men avoiding women's spaces, as expressed in the proverb 'la mujer en casa, y el hombre en la plaza'. For women their interior space is sexualised. (Gr. *gynaikeion*, Ar. *harem*.) (1999: 69)

Equally although the narrator could be describing the door to the knight's 'casa escura' (line 35), it could be interpreted as his resistance to sleeping with her. The



emotional torment of his sexual self-denial follows, incorporating the recognition that emotional attachment is not the equivalent of physical love-making. Ian Macpherson observes that don Juan Manuel selects *castañas* because they contain the lexeme *casta*, but furthermore, they are whole, ‘and not *perdida*’, therefore in keeping with her chastity (1979: xxx). It is also notable the *castañas* are very much an organic material, more in keeping with lyrical, not erudite symbolism, which contrasts with the theory it is a *culto* composition, but also aiding the audience empathise with Casta.

Further comparisons are drawn by the themes of colours and material underpinning the ballad and creating a sensory atmosphere for the audience, unlike many of the popular ballads which concentrate on developing the storyline and are less attentive to description. This is in keeping with the sensual atmosphere that the narrator creates, but also serves as a way of emphasising the antitheses between the knight and Casta. Her purity is highlighted by repeatedly associating her with ‘blanco’, no fewer than six times in fourteen lines in the central section. In comparison, the knight’s suffering and ascetic existence is highlighted by his ‘casa de tristura’ (line 19) constructed of dull, bland colours and materials that evoke dolour: ‘duna madera amarilla’ (line 21), ‘paredes de canto negra / y también negra la cal’ (lines 23-24), ‘el suelo hizo de plomo / porques pardillo metal’ (lines 27-28). Because the colour of the ‘cantos’ contaminates the lime, which is generally a shade of white, the knight’s emotional state is seen to permeate all aspects, even that considered an organic, not constructed feature. The elevation of Casta far above his status, which is a unique aspect of courtly love, is confirmed when he endures discomfort of ‘vestidas ropas de luto / aforrados en sayal’ (lines 3-4) whereas she merits exquisite materials in the construction of her shrine:

el cuerpo de plata fina  
el rostro era de cristal  
un brial vestido blanco  
de demásco singular  
mogil de blanco brocado  
forrado en blanco cendal. (lines 55-60)

J. E. Cirlot notes that ‘the metal corresponding to the moon is silver’, and so the narrative voice epitomises Casta’s femininity (2002: 205). The symbolic connotations also take the listener to Revelation 21:15-21 where such materials are used in the Virgin’s representation as the New Jerusalem. Furthermore, the discussion of her ‘brial’ and ‘mogil’ uses fabrics reminiscent of bridal wear,

completing the assimilation of Casta into the Virgin Mary, whose Assumption gives rise to her status as bride of Christ.

Two final characteristics can be attributed to the ideal woman, and are implicit in the couplet describing Casta's tunic which is 'sembrado de lunas llenas / señal de casta final' (lines 61-62). She is held in high esteem when in line 62 the narrator points out to the audience her good breeding and noble roots. Blay Manzanera comments that in much medieval literature, the majority of women belong to a socially and culturally privileged class (2000: 20). Power agrees 'in the medieval world the lady of the upper classes was important in more ways than one. In the ideal of chivalry she was the adored one, the source of all romance and the object of all worship' (1975: 35).

Finally, the implications of the 'lunas llenas' merit comment for two reasons. Paradoxically, although the ideal lady needs to be chaste, a degree of sexuality in the *doncella* is venerated due to assimilations with fertility. The moon's biorhythm correlates to women's menstrual cycle, which controls sexual activity and therefore reproduction. Margit Frenk further exposes the moon as a force implying sexual union and states that 'natural symbols may not be consciously used as such and may become stereotypes but they have a surprising ability to revive once and again, like the moon' (1993: 6 & 4). Meetings between lovers in the Middle Ages were often conducted at night: the *alborada* (or dawn) is traditionally seen as the time for lovers, and the moon symbolises such meetings, where physical liaisons then took place. However, the narrator simultaneously communicates Casta's purity, so the audience infer she is virginal yet sexually ready, and fertile. Although *Gritando* does not share many typical sexual leitmotifs with popular ballads, the Babylonian belief a woman is fertile according to the moon can be translated to *Gritando*. The moon is associated with womanhood and fertility, especially when 'llena'. Not only was woman believed to be at her most fertile then, but also the adjective conjures images of anatomical parts of a woman that, when full, connote sexuality and fertility, such as the breasts and waist which comprise part of her 'gentil hermosura' (line 73).

The second ballad fully encapsulating the characteristics of integrity, resignation and self-sacrifice that Blay Manzanera posits as qualities of the ideal woman is *Aparición*. It is anonymous and from a collection in the British Library

dated around 1510 that Rennert published in 1893.<sup>2</sup> Because evidence points towards it existing in the oral tradition prior to being written down, it is held to be popular, in opposition to erudite.

The courtly love register in *Aparición* is in a similar vein to that of *Gritando*. They are both representative of the plots of many of the ballads inspired by a woman whom the protagonist is not able, whether due to her rejection or her absence, to have as his lover. *Gritando* contains an obvious paradox that the knight is unable to attain true happiness with his addressee. Yet másochistically he is satisfied by the discomfort he inflicts on himself (be it mental or physical). Macpherson succinctly puts it as ‘the courtly paradox of life and death: to be in love is a living death, and yet one comes alive only by being in love. Thus defeat can be construed as victory, and death becomes life’ (1985: 52). However, in *Aparición*, although the protagonist is addressed as ‘el escudero / triste cuytado de tí’ (lines 13-14), he does not propagate his distress. It is the ‘palmero, / romero atan gentil’ (lines 3-4) who recognises his pain. Hence the ballad does not set out with the same purpose of that of *Gritando*, an example of erudite balladry. This is immediately evident from the first couplet ‘yo me partiera de França / fuérame a Valladolid’ (lines 1-2). Even though it is similar to *Gritando* in relating the journey of the protagonist, place-names elicit authenticity in the course of the narration. Such tangible signposts aid the audience’s imagination of the scene, as opposed to the generally encountered panegyric speech of a lover. The imperfect tense narrated in the first person also implies subconsciously to the audience there is a purpose to the narrative because it has been reflected upon and reworked into a heedful commentary.

The pithiness of the ballad is admirable because in fifty lines a clear episode develops setting the scene, unfolding a plot, and has a definite denouement, within which the audience is introduced to three characters and two dialogues are recounted. This structure is most reminiscent of the anonymous, popular ballads, of which the majority contain reported speech to invoke vitality, an aspect making it appealing to the populace. Thematically, the encounter between the page and his dead lover, the ‘visión espantable’ (line 29), is also an unusual element in erudite poetry of the period, and Michelle Débax claims: ‘es tema folklórico el del encuentro con la amada

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<sup>2</sup> *Aparición* (ID 1143) is found in Dutton 1990-91: I, 274 (LB1-466).

difunta (del amor con la muerte)' (1982: 343). Consequently, this element also points towards the ballad being popular rather than erudite.

It must be noted that although the primary narrative voice is *másculine*, *Aparición* most probably will have been originally composed by a male, but primarily transmitted by females, hence analysis of the final seventeen lines comprising principally the words of the page's dead lover is most fascinating for characterisation of the ideal female. Within the fictional layers of the narrative structure, it is a male voice reporting the speech of a male and a female. Blay Manzanera points out the latter is a rare feature, with only between two and three percent of ballads comprising 'intervenciones en voz femenina' (2000: 23). Therefore, overall, on a fictional narrative level, the *escudero* is reporting his version of events with regard to both the meeting with the pilgrim and also the apparition of his dead lover, both probably embellished episodes because it is the way in which she becomes immortalised.

Not only does the narrator use an honesty topos in the form of a commonly held reliable persona (a pilgrim) to uphold his story, but also he deploys anaphora to characterise and emphasise the pilgrim's reliability as a source of events in the ballad 'palmero / romero atan gentil' (lines 3-4 and 7-8). The imploring tone implied by the further repeated couplet 'nuevas de mi enamorada / si me las sabrás dezir' (lines 5-6 and 9-10), which is underscored by the dragging sibilance prematurely builds the *enamorada* into an adored character. The characterisation of the female protagonist is undertaken through the other characters (the pilgrim and her apparition), bringing the implication they are objective views rather than the subjective opinion of her lover. The dual dialogue also not only precipitates a double vision in the ballad, but allows the narrator a further device to confirm the lady's characteristics. One must also take into account that their portrayals are through the filter of the lover who would wish to portray her as a paragon anyway.

Like many of the women in medieval Spanish balladry cited as objects of men's desire, the beautiful effects associated with the lady's burial symbolise her inner beauty. The figurative value of the precious elements described by the pilgrim is emphasised by the assonantal rhyme in *-a* and the plosive alliteration:

ataúd lleva de oro  
y las andas de un marfil  
la mortaja que llevaba  
es de un paño de París. (lines 17-20)

However, the gold, marble, and cloth also connote purity and social station. The concurrence between outer appearance and inner reality is succinctly described by Alan Deyermond as ‘the familiar rhetorical topos known in Spanish as *corteza y meollo*’, and which ‘perhaps is most familiar in Jesus’s description of the Pharisees as whited sepulchres, Matthew 23: 27’ (1996: 58). Furthermore, the ballad’s structure mirrors the characterisation of the lady: it is of a bipartite nature whereby the pilgrim’s reported speech firstly depicts her *corteza*, and that of the lady then depicts her *meollo*.

The use of dialogue leads to the question of whether dialogue it serves to draw attention to traditional amorous gender distinctions, an issue I also address with respect to several other ballads. In *Yo me partiera de Francia*, the page’s only interjection to his lover’s monologue is ‘muéstrame tu sepultura / y enterrarme yo con tí’ (lines 41-42). The gesture appropriately invokes pathos, and implies that he is willing to sacrifice himself to her, in deep contrast with her ensuing unsympathetic repudiation of his offer. On the other hand, it could also be a representation of concupiscent love, as the page is interested in being physically close to his *amiga*.

The tone of the language used by the apparition rotates full circle throughout her dialogue. At first, using indicative verb forms, it is implied she is playing the self-sacrificial role attributed to the ideal woman in medieval Spanish literature when she characterises herself as submissive:

no temas el escudero,  
non ayas miedo de mí;  
yo soy la tu enamorada,  
la que penava por tí (lines 33-36)

However, the significance of the extremely brief flicker of the penultimate couplet into a subjunctive imperative mood as opposed to the indicative form ‘tomad luego otra amiga / y no me olvidetes a mí’ (lines 47-48) is disguised by her return to submission to the page by ultimately addressing him as ‘señor’ (line 50). In the penultimate couplet the audience is given an insight into the workings of the female psyche. Although the statement could be interpreted as a plea to her lover to carry on enjoying his life, the barely perceptible use of the imperative implicates the world of *mundus inversus*, wielding an underlying power threatening traditional gender role peripheries. Débax does not argue it quite so strongly, simply remarking: ‘la enamorada quiere seguir viviendo por medio de un sustituto. Apunto a un doble

plano del amor: amor físico imposible por la degradación del cuerpo, por lo cual ella le aconseja a él ‘buscar a otra amiga’; amor fiel y eterno ‘no me olvidetes a mí’ ’ (1982: 343).

On one level this unusual aspect of the lover’s persona invokes an integrity Blay Manzanera considers the archetypal woman of the period to embody. However, conversely, it is also reminiscent of the sinister side of woman because her calculated, vicarious enjoyment of him emotionally and physically through another female reveals a shrewdness which is a characteristic shared by the anomalous women who are discussed later. Until this point, Blay Manzanera’s argument rings true that ‘muchas de las composiciones estudiadas son poemas narrativos en los que se pone en boca de mujer canciones tradicionales o cultas, pero desprovistas de marcas de feminidad’ (2000: 23). However, I would argue that lines 47-48 are the climax of *Aparición*, and instil a mark of femininity that undermines the androcentric tone that often smothers traditional texts.

The final secular *romance* I look at is *Retraída*, of which Dutton’s *cancionero* contains virtually identical versions from the *Cancionero de Roma* dated circa 1465, and the *Cancionero de Stúñiga* dated around 1462.<sup>3</sup> Much deliberation surrounds the origins of the ballad, yet few concrete conclusions have been drawn regarding its authorship and date of composition which is between 1442 and 1458. Exhaustive explorations of possible composers have been led by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1973), S. Griswold Morley (1945), Emma Scoles (1967), Cleofé Tato (1995), and Jane Whetnall (1984). Although not the focus of my study, its origins are of interest for evaluating whether women had any input into its composition or development. Both Dutton and Menéndez Pidal attributed authorship to Carvajal, with Menéndez Pidal arguing that stylistically it embodies many characteristics of his poems, such as its persistent rhyme in *-ía* (1973: 183). However, Morley strongly disagrees (1945: 274). Tato cites Scoles, who also is not wholly convinced that it is the work of Carvajal:

una assidua consuetudine di lettura de tutto il canzoniere e la familiarità acquisita con il dettato poetico de Carvajal non consentono de aggiungere elementi di qualche rilievo né per una sicura determinazione cronologica, né per la paternità del componimento: l'accostamento di spunti biblici e mitologici, il tono esasperatamente drammatico e lamentoso con cui è cantata la sofferenza d'amore, l'uso frequente dell'anafora, l'anis sillabismo e così via, sono tratti che hanno certamente riscontro anche altrove nell'opera del poeta, ma non lo caratterizzano certo nei confronti della produzione lirica coeva. (1995: 1483)

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<sup>3</sup> *Retraída* (ID 0613) is found in Dutton 1990-91: II, 351 (MN54-115) and IV, 48 (RC1-92).

The debate has strong implications because, as Tato points out ‘si se acepta la autoría de Carvajal para ID 0613 *Retraída estaba la reina*, sigue siendo ésta la primera muestra de romance de autor conocido; a no ser, claro está, que creamos responsable a Rodríguez del Padrón de alguno de los transmitidos por el *Cancionero de Rennert*’ (1995: 1482). Presented with such meticulous scrutinising, I support Whetnall’s conclusion that it is erudite, but principally my opinion is based on its content (1984: 146). *Retraída* includes a number of historical episodes, but it is unlike many of the historical ballads which Smith describes are ‘a multiplicity of legends, agreed on a few facts’, and are by definition popular because the truth was embellished and reworked until it was as appealing as possible to the audience (1996: 52). The first knowledge of the composition of *Retraída* closely follows the actual occurrence of events, in contrast to many of the historical ballads whose recordings are often several centuries after the event or historic personage. Also, correlation with historical sources such as the use of a classical reference intimating courage and leadership as aspects of the personality of Alfonso V (as opposed to a biblical or folkloric suggestion) implies an intellectual source. Hence when analysing doña María’s character, a scholarly interpretation takes into account that she is communicated through a *culto* rather than *popular* masculine filter only, possibly a reason why she is idealised in this way.

Bearing in mind Blay Manzanera’s emphasis on the honourable characteristics of the medieval woman, the female protagonist doña María in *Retraída* is a turgid example of piety: many facets of the typical woman are seen in her. Immediately the omniscient narrative voice uses the adjectival phrase ‘la muy casta doña María’ (line 2). Not only is chastity a virtue to be favoured in the medieval woman, as my analysis of *Gritando* has shown, but also the adjectival phrase coupled in this instance with the name María invokes the image of the Virgin, thereby manipulating and enhancing the audience’s first impressions of her. Because it really surrounds King Alfonso el Magno, the narrator could just have easily referred to her as the queen, or his wife, because as records show, the *Reina de Aragón* does not play a prominent part in history. The narrative carries on positing her immediate actions in a devout arena and context: ‘en el templo de Diana / do sacrificio hacía’ (lines 5-6), and

pater nosters en sus manos,  
corona de palmeria.  
Acabada su oración (lines 11-13).

An innocence surrounding her is projected by the associations with the colour in the line 'vestida estava de blanco' (line 7). However, given the evidence surrounding the postulated date of the ballad, there is a possibility Alfonso el Magno was deceased when it was composed. Why she is in white as opposed to black, the traditional colour of mourning could be to emphasise her wholesomeness, which connects to the tentative theory that this feature is pronounced due to her barrenness in not producing children. Or, it could be the Muslim influences who, alternately to Christians, wear white for mourning and black for matrimony.

The internal evidence suggesting Alfonso's absence may not necessarily just be metaphorical is implied by 'como vidua dolorida' (line 46). Notably, the simile is an unusual literary tool for a popular ballad, which points towards it being an erudite composition. However, it must be conceded the simile is situated within a metaphor purportedly representing doña María's life without her husband, and even though an earthquake did occur in 1456, the use of metaphor is an apt structure to emphasise the enormous effect of Alfonso's absence from her life. Also in keeping with topoi traditionally found in the *romancero viejo*, anaphora is used to describe the earthquake:

Quien ycava, quien bogava,  
quien entrava, quien salía,  
quien las ancoras levaba,  
quien mis entrañas rompía,  
quien proises desatava,  
quien mi corazón fería. (lines 31-36)

The form of this rhetorical tool goes beyond the hyperbolic emotion often found in the poetry of courtly love by exuding the commotion contained within the human mind when a crisis occurs. However, the formulaic pathos displayed by knights errant, and which characterises the courtly love era, is exhibited at times in *Retraída* such as when the queen first takes over the narration from the omniscient narrator in line 17:

maldigo la mi fortuna  
que tanto me perseguía;  
para se tan mal fadada,  
muriera cuando nacía.



This serves to depict the queen as emotional, yet a character very much in keeping with the time because of her emotional responses. As a result, the contemporary audience would have more sympathy with her character and predicament.

Both Menéndez Pidal and Whetnall posit *Retraída* to be a form of *malmaridada* (1984: 147). I disagree because *malmaridadas* often comprise complaints on the part of a wife who is cuckolded. Historical facts point towards Alfonso fathering two extra-marital children, but in the ballad the character of doña María does not even hint at misgivings regarding this situation. Essentially her complaints do not surround her being neglected as a wife, and she is voluntarily submissive to her ‘marido’ and ‘señor’ (line 25). This is a typical display of gender hierarchy looked upon as the norm in the late medieval period when ‘algunas ideas de la época sobre la constitución biológica de la mujer, según las cuales la mujer era una especie de hombre que no había conseguido desarrollarse debidamente en un sentido físico’ (Macpherson & Mackay 1993: 28). Furthermore, any of the queen’s complaints are masked within a compliment paradoxically exhibiting the king’s attributes such as ‘et díome por marido un César’ (line 66). By posing the king in such a masculine light, the queen’s contrasting demureness is emphasised. Although doña María does not straightforwardly exemplify the dutiful wife, as, for example, doña Alda does, she exhibits characteristics shared by doña Alda, even though they are not necessarily orthodox.

From this chapter it is notable that women in popular ballads are slightly more forceful and dynamic. I suggest the inconsistencies may arise because of the gender hierarchy in society at this time, and the more demure, virginal (yet also paradoxically sexualised) woman is part of a category of ballad that is almost didactic in implying that this is her preferred comportment.

#### CHAPTER IV. PROVOCATIVE *DONCELLAS*

Medieval women's behaviour was expected to be humble, subservient, and docile, and the comportment of the daughter was of utmost importance due to the inextricable relationship between her virginity and the family's honour. Although Lucy A. Sponsler writes on epic and lyric, her observations can also generally be applied to the *romancero* because their parallel forms maintain the same quotidian values. Her understanding of convention in medieval society is that 'a daughter who had sexual relations out of wedlock brought total collapse of social esteem and personal pride to the man responsible (i.e. the father or eldest brother) for their protection until such time as he avenged the deed, usually by violent means' (1975: 12). However, due to the often curtailed nature of the *romancero*, retribution is not the essence of the storyline, and therefore usually left out. We can infer from Oro Anahory-Librowicz's closer analysis, some fifteen years later, of *mujeres no-castas* that society was less forgiving. She is more insistent there was no escape for the female who has extra-marital relations:

En la mujer, en cambio, el honor lleva connotaciones negativas y fatalistas. Encerrada desde el principio en el estrecho marco de la conducta sexual, la honra femenina no se acrecienta, mas sí se puede arruinar con el menor "deslice" sentimental. Una vez perdida, no se puede recuperar. (1989: 321)

In the *romancero* this practice appears to be based less on religious values than on women's *honra* simply as a reflection of men's *hombria*. This is illustrated by C. Colin Smith's version of *Gerineldos* when the king discovers his page has slept with his daughter (1996: 183). The king conducts a protracted rhetorical discussion with himself, weighing up the value of his kingdom and daughter, which David William Foster points out is a debate on 'the point of honour rather than any issue of morality and sin' (1971: 180).

I consider the indiscrete behaviour of three young maidens who are the protagonists of *El caballero burlado* (also known as *La hija del rey de Francia*), *Rosaflorida*, and *¡Hélo, hélo por do viene!* The *doncellas* display highly sexualised personalities which go against acceptable medieval comportment. Their characteristics are at opposite poles to the chaste and idealised women of the *romances* discussed in Chapter III, the majority of whose characters are compared to the personae of women heavily influenced by the idea of courtly love and the

paradigm of the Virgin. As Anahory-Librowicz confirms, women of less overt sexual behaviour were better received: 'quien no acepte que la mujer pueda expresar su sentimiento amoroso hasta sobrepasar los límites del decoro, verá a estas damas bajo una luz negativa' (1989: 322). It is ironic the only women of this era revelling in sexual prowess come from popular literature. Yet we must observe the performance context of the traditional ballad. This was a world of fantasy in which women were at liberty to create peripheries of acceptable behaviour beyond those dictated by society, which in this instance had little control over the ballads' composition and manipulation. In the erudite ballads, male libido is condoned, yet women's sexuality is repressed. This is because, as Jan Gilbert writes, 'controlling women's sexual expression is crucial to their subordination' (2004: 48).

In the selected ballads, the young women's prominence in the (fictional) public eye is notable. They are all from royal or reputable families; therefore their actions present polemical, and consequently even more intriguing, subject matter. In a society which places God at its centre, morals, ethics, values, and political hierarchy are all based upon a belief in divinity, and therefore it also has the rhetorical effect of the monarch and aristocracy as being considered as God's emissary on earth. E. M. W. Tillyard affirms that the medieval world was considered theocentrically as 'an ordered universe arranged in a fixed system of hierarchies but modified by man's sin and the hope of his redemption' (1960: 3). Hence Gilbert concludes that 'the personal misfortunes and failures of the upper echelons are of even greater significance because of the ramifications for those below them' (2004: 61).

*Caballero's* earliest appearance in print is found in the British Library's manuscript and attributed to Juan Rodríguez del Padrón.<sup>1</sup> S. Griswold Morley believes the ballad to be dated around 1440, a supposition based around the date Rodríguez del Padrón's death believed to be 1450 (1945: 273). Several variants were found in the *cancioneros* of the following century, although as Michelle Débax remarks, Ramón Menéndez Pidal questions whether the earliest version of *Caballero's* origins are erudite (1982: 407). This is because, according to Débax, the theme upon which the narrative is based was a popular one during that period and spread through 'toda Europa y precisamente en Francia bajo el título 'L'occasion manquée', pero lo adaptó al modo de las composiciones trovadorescas' (1982: 407).

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<sup>1</sup> *Caballero* (ID 0778) is found in Dutton 1990-91: I, 166 (LB1-91).

Miguel Ángel Pérez Priego agrees with Menéndez Pidal that early scholarship on the ballads held Juan Rodríguez to be a ‘mero colector del *Infante Arnaldos* y de *Caballero burlado*, que son romances sueltos pertenecientes a la poesía épico-lírica internacional de los pueblos neolatinos y muestran huellas de transmisión oral’ (1993: 37). As I have already noted, debate often surrounds the attribution of ballads to particular erudite authors, especially with regard to the texts that come to the foreground in the earlier days of the printing press as part of already established authors’ *cancioneros*. In his discussion of lacunae in early ballad collections, Morley argues ‘we may attribute the gap in the 15<sup>th</sup> century collections to lack of interest in such types among the collectors, themselves lyrists of an artificial school’ (1945: 287). This explains the emergence of ballads at different points in their lifespan, perhaps based on their content and its current vogue, and therefore also how some may become attributed to erudite authors due to their personal preference and inclusion.

Although later versions substitute ‘vía’ for ‘guía’, implying the young, unchaperoned royal was originally accompanied, this fifteenth-century version of *Caballero* immediately presents the listeners with an unusual situation of a young, unchaperoned maiden making a journey between two countries who specifically stops at a castle ‘por atender compañía’ (line 6). Heath Dillard points out that the ‘indignities to which a woman might be subjected disgraced her husband or family, especially the men responsible for her safety, and her dishonour demeaned both the woman and her protectors in the eyes of others’ (1984: 169). This leads to the implication that because the *doncella*’s chastity is unrestrained, she is atypical in comparison with the conventional and accepted woman, and therefore the subject instantaneously grips the audience. Her own admission narrated in the first person ‘errado avía el camino, / errado avía la vía’ (lines 3-4), invites the audience’s sympathy with her geographical confusion, but also points towards this being a metaphor for her moral faltering because her behaviour has deviated from the accepted social norm. Even more apparent is the metaphor considering the synonyms for ‘vía’ in Spanish, on which John Dagenais cites Monique de Lope’s findings on erotic meanings and gynocologisation in the popular tradition for seemingly innocent terms such as the *camino* and *sendero* (1991: 256). The emphasis on the loss of her guide to her destination is analogous to the contemporary hunt topos when a knight loses his hounds, hawk, or falcon. Edith Randam Rogers in particular comments upon

this 'dismal hunt motif' with regard to *A cazar iba el caballero* in which it is held such symbolism ominously points towards a bad omen (1980: 33).

Because the opening narration is retrospective, it implies her reflection on the event is not condemning of her actions, and promotes the ensuing illumination of her sexual prowess. This notion is enhanced by the young lady's repetition of the same quatrain upon her encounter with the *escudero*. Her declaration to the *escudero* of being lost is a covert and coquettish admission of her sexual eagerness, and a prequel to the invitation she then bestows upon him: '¿si te plaze al escudero / lléveseme en tu compañía' (lines 15-16), almost a plea whose register is reminiscent of lines 15-16 of *Romance de la Bella Malmaridada*: 'sácame tú el caballero / sacasses me tú de aquí'. Because the *repetitio* of lines 11-14 is in reported speech, the exact point of alteration in narration from first to third person is masked, but consequently has the effect of distancing the audience from the *doncella*, in contrast to the ballad's initial effect of empathy:

Yo me yva para Francia  
do padre y madre tenía;  
errado avía el camino,  
errado avía la vía. (lines 1-4)

The anecdotic register is thus emphasised when the *doncella*'s true colours shine through, allowing the audience to enjoy the narration but simultaneously removing them far enough away that they can ironically admire her provocativeness.

Metaphor is deployed extensively in the *romancero*. Ian Macpherson has investigated of the underlying meanings and double-entendres of the *cancioneros*, in which many of the *romances* are found, believing that 'many of these poets were considerably more enterprising and ambitious, particularly in their joy and skill in handling the multiple values of words, than they have generally been given credit for' (1985: 62). The language used in the portrayal of the squire who is 'cavalgando en la su gisa' (line 8) is comfortably reminiscent of the register used in the popular ballads that Macpherson and Mackay discuss:

los dos campos de agrupación de metáforas que hemos elegido para esta comunicación estaban muy de moda en la prosa y la poesía de finales del siglo quince y principios del siglo dieciséis. El primero es lo que se puede llamar el vocabulario militar/caballeresco aplicado a las relaciones entre los sexos. (1993: 29)

*Caballero* is generally held to be an erudite composition that was traditionalised, and it is evident that later versions of the same ballad absorb and exploit the ingredients of

the *caballeresco* tradition to a greater degree, such as the fact that, beginning in the sixteenth-century texts, and looking at many later variants, the male protagonist is referred to as a *caballero* rather than an *escudero*. Pérez Priego cites María Rosa Lida de Malkiel who claims that Juan Rodríguez del Padrón's works are 'caballerescos, y no de los ciclos caballerescos clásicos, como los artúricos o carolingios, sino de ficción sentimental libre con vago fondo caballeresco, lo que concuerda muy sutilmente con el modo de la *Estoria de dos amadores*' (1993: 38). The tweak in circumstances calls upon an established literary and folkloric platform therefore invoking erotic undertones. This framework supports two key verbs in the text which Macpherson verifies comprise euphemism:

A list of some thirty verbs is amply documented as euphemisms for the sexual act in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These include *cabalgar*, *encontrar*, *justar*, *merecer*, *perder*, *ponerse*, *servir* and *vencer*, and to these one could add *conocer*, in its well-documented Biblical sense. (1985: 54)

The combination of *cabalgar* in line 8, and also the imagery that comes from a more masculine arena in lines 19-20 'y de las ancas del cavallo, / él tomado la avía', emphasises the *escudero*'s virility and meanwhile bestialises the *doncella* because in both cases in the narration she is associated with equine words and phrases. Macpherson and Mackay state: 'debemos notar que el eufemismo *cabalgar* implica que la mujer es de alguna manera un animal' (1993: 29). Furthermore, the position the knight engineers the *doncella* into can be read as very sexual. Line 20 employs inverted repetition of the *doncella*'s fundamental experience where 'errado avía la vía' (line 4), illustrating the convergence of her and the *escudero*'s psyches in a sexual sense.

The cutting closing words of the *doncella* embody a euphemism commonly found in medieval poetry. The crux and the dénouement is summed up in 'y él no supo servirla' (line 36), a line which holds three key implications. Firstly, 'servir' is a verb also deployed in *Fontefrida* and *La Bella Malmaridada*. The use of the verb can be ambiguous because it is part of a long wooing process, and although it is not automatically assimilated to sex, it is a suggestive innuendo connoting the action. The poetic familiarity with 'servir' most probably stems from its use in devout texts, which concurs with Keith Whinnom's statement that 'es más bien el instinto religioso pervertido el que produce el amor cortés' that thematically influences the *romancero* (1981: 21). In Vicente Beltrán's investigations of the composition of the courtly lyric, 'servir', in the order of most frequently occurring verbs, places only after 'ser', 'ver',

‘poder’, ‘hacer’, and closely follows ‘morir’ (1990: 53-76). As shown by Macpherson, ‘servir’ is a commonly recurring sexual metaphor in the *romance*, implying that there is a considerable amount of intertextual contribution needed in order to interpret allusions. More importantly, using this evidence in close textual analysis points towards the fact that the female protagonist is using language usually pertaining to the male protagonist. Even though she has not openly wooed the *escudero*, because it is the *doncella* who is the orator of such vocabulary, there is the inference that she assumes the male’s role, and that she is the more sexually assertive character, and in fact the more sexually experienced, which conflicts with the established ideal. However, it must be noted how prudent the girl is about her sexual display. Whatever the audience are intended to read into her actions, there is no denying that on the surface of the narration, she is inconspicuous, and there is nothing that directly tells the audience she is lacking discretion. I disagree with Smith’s insistence ‘the women characters advertise their charms and some, this without scruple; moreover, illicit love goes unpunished in many cases and even uncriticised’ (1996: 41). For the ballads to be perpetuated in such an androcentric and hierarchical society, on the surface women have to appear to be scrupulous to a wide degree in the *romancero*.

My second observation with regards the closing speech of *Caballero*, is that in the *romancero* the use of the preterite is unusual, the most common past tense being the imperfect. Louise Mirrer confirms that ‘certain conjunctions of verbal forms regularly occur (e.g., alternation of present and imperfect in dialogue)’ (1987: 443). Because the harsher preterite form as opposed to the more commonly found and malleable imperfect form implies a definite rather than continuous past, it is emphasised to the audience that an attempt at ‘sirviendo’ took place, but the action was not repeated because of his ineptitude, and his actions were curtailed. The gendered opposites of ‘él’ and ‘la’ are parentheses to the emphasised preterite, therefore they also acquire accentuation, and hence the *escudero*’s sexual incompetence is also highlighted, which is preceded by his diminished virility underlined by the repetition in lines 33-34 ‘¡o covarde el escudero, / bien lleno de covardía!’.

Lastly, it appears that there are various inferences surrounding the depiction of her character and how the composer wants her to be interpreted. It appears that the maiden is directing her speech towards the audience and specifically not towards the

*escudero*. On the grammatical side, whereas earlier in the ballad, the *doncella* uses the familiar ‘tú’ form, the third person singular (whether ‘usted’ or ‘él’) form is in evidence in the penultimate line ‘tuvo la niña en sus brazos’ (line 35). Also, it is the narrator who introduces the protagonist’s closing words with ‘bien oís lo que decía’ (line 32). Mirrer proposes that direct address to the audience is a common technique (1987: 449). Nevertheless, I disagree that the *romance* usually deals so directly with the audience – its nature is far more astute and discerning, and if a moral is to come out of the popular ballad, the audience do not usually need to be given signposts to follow. Therefore, the text has didactic implications deployed in an erudite manner, both of which are unusual for the *romancero viejo*. This capriciousness of the text reflects the ephemeral nature of the ballad itself where the audience are introduced to stories that so easily enter the world of entertainment yet that also have little impact on real life. Because it is then narrated and not reported through the character of the *doncella*, the sexually appealing aspect of her personality is less obvious, and the audience’s last view of the maiden focuses on her ingenuity rather than on her unusual situation.

Although I am analysing the only extant version of *Caballero* found in Dutton’s *cancionero*, it must be noted that the female protagonist is not explicitly royal. However, there are numerous subsequent versions of the ballad with minute variations which conclude with her words explaining (to the audience and evidently also to the *escudero*) that she is the daughter of the King of France; hence now the ballad is also referred to as *La hija del rey de Francia*. If listeners reflect on a text where the female protagonist is explicitly noble, it gives even greater impetus to her exposure to a potential perilous situation of travelling alone, exacerbating the possibility of adverse consequences that may occur.

The simple irony of the *doncella* using an ingenious lie: ‘hija soy de un malato, / lleno es de maletía’ (lines 25-26) to quell the advances of the *escudero* and actively outwit him is contrary to the accepted inferiority women should display. However, her profession to be a daughter of one of the lowest common denominators of society when she is in fact upper class or royal reveals further ironies when considering the medieval beliefs surrounding leprosy. The equation of leprosy with unclean sexuality was posited as a mortal sin by the Church in sermons, and further sustained by medieval sermonising works such as the poem edited by Manuel Alvar López *Libre dels tres reys d’Orient* where the son of the robber Dimas could only be



cured by bathing in the bathwater of Christ (1965: 42). Saul Nathaniel Brody finds in particular it is 'a readily contagious venereal disease linked with moral impurity', and that medieval medics warned that 'lepers burn with desire for sexual intercourse' (1974: 58 & 52). He further cites a contemporary description by Bartholomaeus Anglicus who enumerates various causes of leprosy, one of which is 'the infection of a child through father and mother 'as it were by lawe of herytage'' (1974: 55). In applying this to the *doncella*, she is sending out a very conflicting message to that which her leprosy comments initially elicit. She is presenting herself not only as sexually aware, but wanting to engage in sexual relations with the *escudero*.

The narrator also uses scenario to continue the atmosphere of sexual tension when the *escudero* and *doncella* set off together. Although line 21 'allá en los montes claros' holds ambivalent connotations for contemporary listeners, both point towards a similar conclusion. Mountainous settings are often associated with *serranas*, and Nancy F. Marino claims 'puede su definición ser reducida al simple encuentro entre cortesano y serrana en un ambiente rural' (1987: 3). However, although *Caballero* is obviously not a *serranilla*, any similarities to it will play on the listener's emotions, and here is the warning (whether to the *escudero* or the audience) that the young maiden may not be all she appears on the surface. Furthermore, in considering the connotations of the presence of either character in the mountains, there is a contemporary wild man tradition in the sentimental romance. Whether male or female, Alan Deyermond confirms they are associated with 'lujuria' (1993: 18). In light of the narration surrounding the *doncella* mounting the horse, or her overt sexuality, we cannot ignore the intrinsic associations with either character. However, if associating the *caballero* with lasciviousness, this is in deep contrast with the more appropriate direction the ballad takes of mountains being the scene of the *caballero andante*. Love-sick mourning and or hyperbolic exposition of emotion take place whilst the *caballero andante* is alone in the hills, which is why it is a fitting moment that the *escudero* 'de amores la requería' (line 22). Even though he is supposedly immediately rejected with the formulaic 'Tate tate' (line 23), it is evident that the *doncella* provokes his proposition. Débax's conviction that *Caballero*'s origins are French arises again when she points out mountains are a 'localización en la Francia prototípica de los romances carolingios y de las aventuras amorosas' (1982: 407). Although the ballad could be based on the French tradition of 'l'occasion manquée', I

believe the maxim is rather redundant in the *romancero* tradition because it is rarely seen as a seminal tool, as Smith argues:

the ballads often show us heroic lawlessness, the moral rightness of the criminal, a cheerful disregard of Catholic teaching, and a powerful sexual drive wholesome and triumphant; while they do not show us a reality or even a set of aspirations, they do prove that their creators and singers and printers preserved a healthily detached attitude, and a capacity to be more moved by the reverse of legalism, official morality, and so on. (1972: iii-iv)

To conclude my analysis of the *doncella* in *Caballero*, it cannot be denied that she sexualises herself to a certain degree, but also the composer uses numerous techniques to enhance her depiction as a provocative and cunning young woman. Because she has the upper hand sexually, she is in control of the situation and undermines conventional male assertiveness. The implied reason for women to be frequently rendered as provocative characters in the *romancero* is that their values include attaining a degree of freedom, which can only be represented through sexual liberty, which in turn was only able to be achieved through oral narrative.

*Rosaflorida* is another ballad whose female protagonist is the inaugurator of sexual drive. The only fifteenth-century version is located in the *Cancionero de Londres* which, for dating purposes is 1430-40.<sup>2</sup> The LB1 version which Smith uses in his study, and claims is 'older and much less highly evolved' differs from that which is currently most widely accepted, and so I draw comparisons between them (1996: 157 & 158). *Rosaflorida* is attributed to Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, but Pérez Priego notes that 'pudo ser autor de *Rosaflorida*, exclusivo de España y que no es un romance suelto sino de la familia de los que tratan de Montesinos, reflejos del poema francés *Aïol*' (1993: 37). However, usually in the circumstances of an author claiming a work to be his particularly, he would add 'suyo' to the title. In the case of this version of *Rosaflorida*, it is simply entitled 'romance', hence leading scholarship to accept its oral existence before Juan Rodríguez del Padrón committed it to manuscript.

The most distinguishing feature between the current widely-known version and the LB1 version is the first line. The far more rhythmical and hence captivating opening 'En Castilla está un castillo' (line 1) has survived and dominated over the less lively, more reticent 'Allá en aquella ribera' (line 1) of the LB1 version. Although the older text follows on with geographical reality topoi such as 'que se llamava de

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<sup>2</sup> *Rosaflorida* (ID 0771) is found in Dutton 1990-91: I, 164 (LB1-82).

Ungría' (line 2), 'un castillo, / que se llamava Chapina' (lines 3-4), and 'tres reys de Lunbardía' (line 8), Fernando Martínez-Gil's study of word order in the *romance* recommends that 'la focalización de un detalle relevante al comienzo de la actuación es crucial, sobre todo cuando el objetivo es lograr que el público se identifique de inmediato con la historia que se va a relatar' (1989: 906). He records three other popular ballads that begin in a similar way to *Rosaflorida*:

En Ceuta está don Julian / en Ceuta la bien nombrada  
En Burgos está el buen rey / asentando a su yantar  
En París está doña Alda / la esposa de don Roldán (1989: 906)

Because the highly evolved version is the text used by almost all present ballad scholars, its survival in this form reinforces the essence of oral dissemination: a written version may be returned to at any time, but the performer only has one chance to captivate the audience.

Due to the presence of imagery in the older text such as the bejewelled castle and features of the *locus amoenus*, Roger Wright claims that *Rosaflorida* is simply 'another collection of folk clichés' (1991: 66). However, there is no need to approach the ballad so disparagingly because the clichés bring the ballad alive for the listeners, and hence the texts become popular. Plot and characterisation are far more entertaining if presented obscurely, and therefore knowledge of symbolism and metaphor compatible with the epoch in order to interpret their multivalent meanings is integral to understanding the text, although popular literature would simply not have the same effect if it were unfathomably obscure. The process of symbols acquiring meaning is a symbiotic relationship with the medium supporting it. It is built upon and develops, and therefore becomes integral to a culture, hence, as Mariana Masera explains 'la ambigüedad del símbolo fue sustituida por la concreción de la metáfora' (1997: 387). Symbolism in *Rosaflorida* is highly deployed, although in the older text there are significant variations. I shall focus on the fifteenth-century text, yet I will also make references to the presently better-known version.

The eponymous *Rosaflorida*, literally a 'rose in bloom', connotes sexual availability, and gives rise to imagery reminiscent of contemporary medieval texts such as the French poem *Roman de la Rose* and Garcilaso de la Vega's *Sonnet XXIII*. By assimilating the female with flowers such as roses, their temporary beauty is emphasised, hence Foster posits that as one of the most frequent symbols of medieval literature, '*collige rosas* is the injunction to man to take advantage of his youth and of

the abandoned sensuality symbolised by the rites of May' (1971: 180). Elias L. Rivers concludes 'there can be no doubt the maiden is being urged to make love', in the familiar Renaissance frame of *carpe diem* (1980: 36). However, Maxwell Luria disagrees with some of these points because for him the Rose, who is the lover of the male protagonist, represents the conditions of 'wisdom', 'grace', 'the glorious Virgin Mary' and 'eternal beatitude' (1982: 205-6). I disagree with this, because as discussed in Chapter II, the Virgin is desexualised, and in the Middle Ages it was commonly held that a rose's lifespan was limited. However, from the outset the ballad, and especially *Rosaflorida*, are portrayed in an extremely sexualised light.

Lines 11-12 'enamórese de Montesinos / de oídas que no de vista' invoke *amor de lonh*, which usually pertains to *caballeresco* poetry. Rodríguez del Padrón also deals with it in *Planto de Pantisilea*.<sup>3</sup> On the surface *amor de lonh* suggests an innocence surrounding *Rosaflorida*'s personality because of an unsubstantiated infatuation. However, in considering the debate surrounding *Rosaflorida*'s authorship, and the possible compositional link between the two poems, *Pantisilea* overturns this by invoking the repute of a worldly, experienced woman who may fall in love with Hector by hearsay, but commits herself so ferociously she dies for him:

Ector, que Gloria posea,  
ame, por donde muriese  
el triste, que amar desea  
ya mi planto e fin oyese (lines 5-8)

*Rosaflorida* also overturns any innocence previously thought of her, but rather later in the ballad:

si más quiere Montesinos,  
yo mucho más le daría:  
dalle yo este mi cuerpo (lines 47-49)

Principally the line is the end of the snow ball effect of previous examples of *repetitio* where *Rosaflorida* uses materialism to build on the worth of her own body. Although the unambiguous offering of her body could be argued to be a modern-day sexual interpretation, Michael Ray Solomon confirms that 'Los teológicos del siglo XV, que por un lado intensificaron la división tradicional entre el cuerpo y el espíritu, insistían en la relación inseparable entre el cuerpo y el acto amoroso' (1994: 1032). On one hand, from these few lines, we can infer that the value of a girl's body (and therefore

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<sup>3</sup> *Planto de Pantisilea* (ID 0037) is found in Dutton 1990-91: III, 66 (PM1-8).

her virginity) is far above that of the riches Rosaflorida offers. On the other hand, it is unusual Rosaflorida takes a public approach in offering herself, (rather than her parents or guardian finding her a match), showing an undermining of the traditional behaviour of a young maiden. In the popular sixteenth-century version, the body reference is extended, and a genetic topos is used to confirm her physical attributes:

darle he yo este mi cuerpo  
el más lindo que hay en Castilla,  
si no es el de mi hermana  
que de fuego sea ardida (lines 35-38).

Repetition, which is central to my discussion above, is a common technique of the *romancero*, and is employed to significant effect in the final quarter of *Rosaflorida*. The two lines ‘si más quiere Montesinos, / yo mucho más le daría:’ (lines 39-40, 43-44, and 47-48) drives the crescendo that culminates in the hypothetical (indicated by the conditional tense) offering of riches, and eventually Rosaflorida’s body in return for Montesino’s love. As well as providing a familiar structural framework for the listeners, the anaphora is an introduction to metaphors (as I discuss above) integral to the medieval Spanish ballad that connote other meanings such as lines 41-42 ‘dalle yo treinta castillos, / todos riberas de Ungría’. The castle, which would be visualised by the audience as a fortification on a hill promotes an androcentric atmosphere, as it is usually associated with the male-orientated roles of combat and protection. However, the typical feminine anatomical connotations of an edifice (which are analysed in detail in Chapter VII) must be taken into consideration, where the interior of a building is sexualised. Furthermore, we have already seen reference to the gilded ‘castillo’ in *Quien es este*, which I point out is an (almost folkloric) metaphor for the Virgin’s womb. Anatomically, the womb is close to the vagina, which implies that the same imagery has developed in parallel in religious and secular symbolisation. In order to illustrate the importance of intertextuality for the understanding of texts, William Calin comments upon the *Roman de la Rose*, again linking Rosaflorida with the French poem, saying ‘the assault on a fortress is a fundamental image of love-conquest’ (1983: 123). So equally it could be interpreted that Rosaflorida is already offering her body to Montesinos, and the castle is a metaphor for it. This would present the audience with an accentuated view of the sexual attraction and prowess of Rosaflorida. On the other hand, if the castle is not seen as a metaphor for Rosaflorida’s anatomy, because

Rosaflorida is offering thirty of them to Montesinos, there is the underlying implication that she is usurping his masculine role, if it is not conceded that she is already doing this by courting him rather than the conventional arrangement of male courting female. Rosaflorida also adds a sexual touch because the castle's location is also promised to be close to the Ungría riverbank, which connotes flowing water symbolising vitality and fertility. In retrospect, this continues the thread which leads to the offer of her body to Montesinos, the obvious sexual undertones radiating from her behaviour marring her purity.

Rosaflorida's second enticement of 'cien marcos doro / otros tantos de plata fina' (lines 45-46) confirms her affluence, and consequently, eligible background. Notably, in the sixteenth-century version of the ballad she does not offer Montesinos money for his courtship, although the same precious metals, gold and silver, invoke similar imagery (which may be part of the formulaic characteristic of the *romancero* about which Wright complains) used in the description at the beginning of the ballad with regards the 'castillo llaman Rocha' (line 3). The preservation of gold and silver in both ballads, and also the fact that both versions are persistent with regards the inclusion of the castle, implies that these particular features must have held symbolic significance for the audience, which Masera supports in her citation of the Freudian point of view of the human psyche: 'symbols are remnants of the primal unity of experience in the human mind, when our discursive reason had not yet made a gulf between material objects and our apprehension of them' (1997: 388). Because symbolism takes centuries to evolve, symbolism in religious literature, which has a longer existence than most other types, has been carried into and is prevalent in secular literature, as the initial chapters of this discussion indicate.

Accordingly, it is interesting to note the similarities between the castle in the sixteenth-century version of *Rosaflorida*:

El pie tenía de oro  
y almenas de plata fina;  
entre almena y almena  
está una piedra zafira (lines 5-8)

and the 'castillo dorado' (line 2), metaphor for the Virgin Mary's womb in *Quien es este*. It could be argued the Peninsula architecture, especially that of Moorish influence, traditionally used gold and silver in adornment of its domes and minarets,

but I suggest there would be no need to emphasise it in description. Gilbert, in her study on Frontier ballads finds:

Indeed, such palaces – made variously of glass, precious metals, and stones – are a topos inherited from ancient literature (such as Auleius's *The Golden Ass*, otherwise known as *The Metamorphoses*, in the second century and are found in medieval Jewish, Arab, and Christian works. (2004: 37)

Therefore, it is not to say *Rosaflorida* borrowed the imagery from *Quien es este*, but the imagery comes from a literary folkloric pool, from which, once extracted and employed, the imagery connotes particular aspects of a scenario or character, but, as Gilbert confirms, most likely the original source for the imagery is religion, as indeed in the sixteenth-century version of *Rosaflorida*, the initial impression the audience gets of the female protagonist is that she is a celestial being. Arthur T. Hatto supports overlaps in literature, theorising:

so concrete is traditional poetic language and so often do parallel situations occur over wide intervals of time and space that (although parallels never meet) the key to one poem may sometimes unlock another, however remote their external circumstances (1965: 65).

William Rose points out another sharing of symbolism between religious and secular literature: 'todavía persiste el culto al número, su significado olvidado, en ritos religiosos y supersticiones populares' (1961: 455). Numerical symbolism is an important characteristic of the ballad and medieval literature in general because, as J. E. Cirlot states, 'in symbolism, numbers are not merely the expressions of quantities, but idea-forces, each with a particular character of its own' (2002: 231). Numbers are a thematically found in the *romancero*, a pattern reflected in *Rosaflorida*, which according to Rose is a dramatising tool: 'forzando al lector a repararse en ellos' (1961: 455). He also considers it a sociological requirement in order for the performer to relate most effectively to the audience:

El empleo tan frecuente de la cifra y el papel tan importante que desempeña artísticamente en el romancero posiblemente se deben a una calidad muy típica de la mentalidad popular: su tendencia hacia la concreción y la precisión. El pueblo piensa en términos de datos y hechos concretos, y es poco amigo de las abstracciones. (1961: 455)

Consequently, the need to be able to relate succinctly to uneducated and illiterate people is probably the reason few literary tools are used in the *romancero*, and in place, symbolism is frequently employed. Therefore, although 'siete condes la demandan / tres reyes de Lunbardía' (lines 7-8) highlights *Rosaflorida*'s popularity, the use of numbers, particularly three and seven, bring with them other significances.

Rose argues that although three may have meaning in religious literature of the Middle Ages because of the Trinity's composition, this meaning cannot necessarily be carried over to secular works, and usually is part of an internal theme (1961: 455). However, he then seemingly contradicts the value of the number on the following page when citing Franz Cumont 'the number three in Christian magic naturally had special power and was emphasised in folk-practice' (1961: 456), which would imply that in folk-practice, the number three also had a magical value. I support Cirlot, whose outlook is that modern analysts of the ballad may assume the creator and perpetuators of the ballad must include this number for unconscious reasons instilled in the human psyche:

Three symbolises spiritual synthesis, and is the formula for the creation of each of the worlds. It represents the solution of the conflict posed by dualism. It forms a half-circle comprising: birth, zenith and descent. Geometrically it is expressed by three points and the triangle. It is the harmonic product of the act of unity on upon duality. It is the number concerned with basic principles, and expresses sufficiency, or the growth of unity within itself. (2002: 232)

Plato also believed the soul to be comprised of three rational faculties, which was also held in the Middle Ages. These were reason, spirit, and desire. Because then, three is seen to be such a fundamental number, and its presence is reiterated later in the ballad when Rosaflorida offers thirty (three times ten) castles to Montesinos, the essential eligibility of her personality is underlined. There is even the implication that her personality is attractive to the point of magic almost playing a role in having a hold over her admirers.

Seven is also repeated in the ballad when Rosaflorida envisions the consequences of offering Montesinos her body 'siete años a la su guisa' (line 50). Cirlot writes that the number is 'symbolic of perfect order, a complete period or cycle' (2002: 223). Hence there is the implication that Rosaflorida is envisaging an ideal time with Montesinos, idealisation being a feature of *amor de lonh*. In the number seven's first appearance, its location next to the number three reinforces the significance of numerical symbolism. Seven is also present in the sixteenth-century version of *Rosaflorida* where Rosaflorida promises 'yo mucho más le daría: / darle he siete castillos' (lines 40-41). In concordance with Cumont's proposition above, seven can be interpreted to have heavy biblical implications. Thomas A. Lathrop observes a connection because 'the oral tradition very quickly raised their number to seven – that magic and mysterious number since biblical times – for no version has fewer than that



number' (1972: 29). There are almost five hundred references to the number seven or the ordinal number seventh in the Bible, the first such example being Genesis 2: 2: 'By the seventh day God had finished the work he had been doing; so on the seventh day he rested from all his work'. Estelle Irizarry notes the number's progression in literature, and she recalls the ballad *La doncella guerrera* in which seven is an integral theme throughout (1983: 63). Even though Rose posits that secular works should not necessarily take on the responsibility of these links, I would argue that by bringing together the above theories, there is often an implicit scriptural slant in the *romancero*.

In opposition to the general form of the chivalric poems that sing the praises of the addressee, such as is exhibited in *Gritando*, Rosaflorida does not exalt Montesinos' attributes. Instead, in keeping with the register of the traditional ballad, the narration is introspectively focussed on her own character, a trait which is also seen in the female protagonist of *Estáse la gentil dama*. This invokes a slightly sinister atmosphere because, as opposed to the selfish characteristic of the ideal female, or even that of the *caballero enamorado*, Rosaflorida is assuming a self-seeking role. However, narration leads listeners to believe Rosaflorida should be received in a similar way to many of the male protagonists influenced by the ideal of courtly love with regard her love-madness mentioned by the omniscient narrator 'tanta es su locanía' (line 10), and also her maid 'pareces loca sandía' (line 22). This implies that the composer wishes Rosaflorida's approach to ensnaring Montesinos to be interpreted as dogmatic, fortifying the cult surrounding *amor heroes*, which as Dagenais points out 'emerges on the side of madness, diabolic possession' (1991: 249). However, Wright plays down the potential for an audience's reaction to the display of emotion because 'we know that doctors often regarded this kind of irrational romantic attachment as a form of mental illness, but the general public attitude is usually less cynical and more sympathetic' (1991: 66). Because of the general way that Rosaflorida is depicted in the ballad, I do not concur with this suggestion. The general public attitude does empathise with the *caballero andante* roaming through the mountains bewailing his lover, but a closer look at the character of Rosaflorida reveals a sexual, resolute young lady who should not elicit, or need sympathy.

This final point is illustrated by the subliminal inferences of Rosaflorida's letter to Montesinos: 'aquesta carta / de sangre la tengo escrito' (lines 27-28). From

the epic, which has heavy French influence, and which is also the background from which the ballad *Rosaflorida* is believed to be derived, it is understood that women want to see bloodshed before they give themselves to their suitors. This is because the suitor proves his worth by shedding an enemy's blood, which can be taken as a parallel process to the female's loss of blood due to the breaking of her hymen upon the loss of her virginity consummating their marriage. *Rosaflorida* sheds her own blood, which can be taken ambivalently. Either it is a sacrificial notion that connotes great sincerity or determination. On the other hand, *mundus inversus*, she is adopting the masculine trait of drawing blood to prove to Montesinos that she is worthy of him. Furthermore, penetrating herself to draw the blood is an example of adopting the male role in sex. This theory correlates with the impetus of the ballad that *Rosaflorida* is the character making sexual advances even though typically she should be advanced towards.

I will also briefly address the issues arising from the depiction of young woman who is again the perpetuator of a sexually charged atmosphere. Unfortunately, there is less to say about her because she is not the focal point of the text, although the relevant content is pertinent to my overall discussion. *¡Hélo, hélo!*, although indexed, is overlooked somewhat in Dutton's anthology because its incomplete form does not merit it being categorised as a *romance*.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, I use Smith's version (1996: 100). Menéndez Pidal is confident about the early origins of the poems surrounding heroes such as El Cid, Los Siete Infantes de Lara and El Infante García, saying: 'fueron compuestos primitivamente en los siglos X, XI y XII, y luego, renovados y refundidos hasta en el siglo XV' (1973: 13). Hence it seems Di Stefano's statement whom Débax cites, is redundant, believing the ballad 'es fruto de una reelaboración del siglo XV al estilo de los romances fronterizos' (1982: 211). This is because, as Smith views *¡Hélo, hélo!*, it is

a good example of how an epic theme (King Búcar's expedition to recover Valencia, lately conquered by the Cid), is transformed into a romantic, sentimental episode more suited to the taste of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries. (1996: 103)

Because novelesque was in vogue in the fifteenth century, encapsulating a romantic and sentimental outlook would highlight the issues surrounding the depiction of Urraca, the fictional name for the Cid's daughter, and who is the character most removed from the *fronterizo* aspect of the ballad. Proof of this obsession with

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<sup>4</sup> *¡Hélo Hélo!* (ID 0850) is found in Dutton 1990-91: I, 185 (LB1-168).

human-interest stories is clear in the *romancero* when Louise O. Vasvári analyses Harriet Goldberg's study on core episodes in balladic folktales:

out of more than three hundred items she collected, 141 treat on relations between the sexes, and most of these recount the moment in which one person makes a successful or unsuccessful sexual request, exercising superior power, persuasion, trickery, or force. (1999: 18)

Urraca's duplicitous courting instructed by her father 'detenédmelo en palabras' (line 32) can be categorised as just this, and reinforce Sponsler's comment that the traditional ballads contain an 'austere description of women', because in fact Urraca's actions must be seen from an astute business-like standpoint (1975: 39).

*¡Hélo, hélo!*'s origins are verses 2408-2426 of the *Cantar de mio Cid*, where the fictionally named Almorávid King Búcar, based on the Moorish general Abu-Beker, attempts to retrieve Valencia from El Cid, the national hero of Spain. The narrator immediately accentuates King Búcar's masculine characterisation 'el moro por la calzada, / caballero a la jineta' (lines 2-3), the phrase being one amongst several which Macpherson and Mackay claim

son capaces, en las manos de un escritor malicioso de esta época, de llevar un doble sentido; esto no es decir que este doble sentido sea forzoso en cada contexto, sino que existe la posibilidad, según el contexto y las circunstancias de la obra, de una ambivalencia literal/erótica de la que se puede servir el poeta o escritor. (1993: 32)

King Búcar's 'lanza' in lines 15 and 80 is the most obvious phallic symbol in the ballad, but he also evinces a virile picture of himself in lines 21-24 of his soliloquy:

su hija Urraca Hernando  
será mi enamorada,  
después yo hartado de ella  
la entregaré a mi compañía

In the light of Wright's confirmation that 'in ballads an energetic lover is usually admired', he has laid down the gauntlet for a sexually charged atmosphere so that Urraca must then give a credible performance and live up to that which he has created (1992: 211). Furthermore, in promising to share Urraca with his troops, he symbolically exaggerates his male prowess by collectively drawing on the hypothetical gang-rape that would ensue. The threat of this episode is reminiscent of a scene in Lope de Vega's *Fuente Ovejuna*:

COMENDADOR Para tu mal lo he mirado.  
Ya no mía, del bagaje  
del ejército has de ser.

*Llévanla y vanse, y salen* LAURENCIA y FRONDOSO (1981: 140)

In particular, the connotations of the rape here taking place on-stage, which is very much against the rules of Greek drama, are that any such action by King Búcar would be irredeemable.

Nevertheless, initially the Cid enforces a protective atmosphere surrounding his daughter:

Venid vos acá, mi hija,  
mi hija doña Urraca;  
dejad las ropas continas  
y vestid ropas de pascua' (lines 27-30).

The anadiplosis of lines 27 and 28 serves to slow the cadence of the ballad although then contrasts strongly with his following command. Glenroy Emmons posits the register of *¡Hélo, hélo!* as a

humorous handling of the theme that indicates a real lack of animosity on the part of either singer or audience. The festive tone, verbal abuse and lascivious picture of the Moor are all reminiscent and help fill the gap between them and the old historical ballad. (1961: 258)

On the surface I would agree with Emmons, where indicators such as the Cid's horse calling out '*¡Reventar debía la madre / que a su hijo no esperaba!*' (lines 57-58) can only be received with laughter by the audience. However, the Cid's mention of Easter connotes a slightly more ominous meaning, especially considering that the suggestion has a paternal source. While I do not mention it with regards the ballad *Rosaflorida*, above, the theory applies equally to the interpretation of the female protagonist's character, where *Rosaflorida* begs Montesinos in her letter '*que me viniese a verle / para la pascua florida*' (lines 31-32). Coincidentally Easter is mentioned in both *Rosaflorida* and *¡Hélo, hélo!*. Easter should be seen purely as a religious festival, evoking the Passion, martyrdom, redemption and resurrection. However, this is highly contradictory because the time of year also coincides with spring, or the beginning of summer, about which G. H. Roscow writes: 'The association of adultery with this season would have been natural enough. Summer begins with May Day, traditionally a time for choosing sexual partners' (1999: 194). The familiar British frolicsome lyric 'Sumer is icumen in' is a *contrafactum* from an earlier Latin Easter hymn on the Passion on which R. T. Davies writes (1963: 52). The connection implies that reproduction and sexual arousal will always be associated with the time of year at which the holy festival falls. Therefore, I would suggest that there is

something rousing about the way in which the Cid combines her flirtation with a holy festival, especially as the patriarchal code of honour is based not only upon protecting to the greatest extent the daughter's virginity, but also not to place her in the position that her reputation may be sullied, which, although a contrived situation, it is.

The final point on Urraca's depiction is her comportment whilst stalling King Búcar. Frank L. Odd sees the role of women as 'the diplomats of the ballads' (1983: 360). However, I suggest Urraca's behaviour is all too practiced to be solely seen as diplomacy. Knowing very well that she is a 'doncella muy hermosa' (line 35), her stance immediately has harlot-like connotations because 'se paró a una ventana' (line 36). Her positioning is similar to Morayma's, which is discussed in depth in the final chapter. Although she remains inside the castle, by clearly making herself visible on the boundary between the private feminine and the public masculine space, her body-language is symbolic because the window can be seen as a point of entry into the female domain, and consequently the female body. By being situated and specifically looking down on the male domain, she also assumes a comfortable position of authority. Her speech, is in keeping with the genre 'siete años ha, rey, siete, / que soy vuestra enamorada' (lines 43-44) as I show in the analysis of the number seven above, yet with its natural rhythm and flow, there is no indication from the narrator that it is not smoothly rolling off her tongue.

In this chapter we see the depiction of three maidens of mainly high social statuses who, though should be preserving their reputations, are in grave danger of ruining them. Whether it is explicit or not within the plot, close critical analysis of the texts leads to the conclusion that they overstep the boundaries of accepted decorum. This is communicated to the audience through either the *doncella's* own recital of events, their actions narrated by the narrative voice, or the underlying implications generated by the composer and or performer. Anahory-Librowicz posits that the representation of fallen women is a popular concept: 'la dama corrupta, me parece ser un ingrediente genuinamente popular: la revancha del pueblo ante el caprichoso deseo de una mujer de rango social elevado' (1989: 326). As is the case today, the more socially prominent fallen, or falling, women create a more fascinating storyline, or as Smith puts it: 'when they fall, fall the harder' (1972: 13). As a result, even though the *romancero* does not traditionally openly acknowledge the maidens' disgrace, these ballads appeal to the listeners' sense of entertainment and humour in their subtlety.

## CHAPTER V. SERRANAS AND WOMEN IN THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

The majority of the *romancero* exudes a bucolic atmosphere, which Colin C. Smith suggests is the result of sociological influence: 'the ballad survived amongst the popular people, hence its evolution can be found in many rural areas' (1996: 22). It is therefore inferred that peasants were assimilated with the countryside, and higher social classes with the urban lifestyle. However, erudite ballads such as *Gritando* or *Aparición*, and whose protagonists are above the echelons of the commonalty, have a natural ambience. This chapter deals with women in the natural environment at their focal point: *Estáse la gentil dama* and *Fontefrida*. I also analyse the glosses of *Fontefrida* by Gonzalo de Tapia and Carasa, and make references to the earliest transcribed version of *Gentil dama*. Both ballads establish women as unconventional yet not incongruous to their contemporary settings, so I establish how the environment supports and enhances their anomalousness either through direct transfer of symbolism or association of features with specific values.

Crucially, the female protagonists' originality and strength lies in their sexual empowerment and potency, which Vera Castro Lingl acknowledges can be a powerful weapon:

Like men, these assertive women use a variety of methods to achieve what they want. Both men and women use physical force, tricks, and diplomacy in their search for power. Nevertheless, women seem to make use of a weapon which is seldom employed by men: their sexuality. Women's mysteriously unknowable sexuality gave them a weapon which they knew best how to handle in their favour. (1995: 17)

Their strength of character, which Estelle Irizarry believes is 'a persistent motif in medieval Spanish literature' is in contrast to the comportment and depiction expected of medieval women established in Chapters I and II (1983: 65). From my analysis of the content of Brian Dutton's compilation of fifteenth-century ballads, I find predominantly characterisations of restrained women, so therefore I disagree with Irizarry's statement. However, the *romances* surrounding women depicted in this light have a relentless reputation of survival, which is evident in their trajectory from the Middle Ages to the forefront of the oral tradition in the contemporary era. *Gentil dama* differs from *Fontefrida* because as a *serranilla* or *pastorela romance*, folklore and myth as opposed to an everyday setting play dominant roles in the communiqué of the noble lady as the sexually provocative figure. Yet it is not to say that

*Fontefrida* does not emit characteristics of the *serranilla* as Eugenio Asensio observes the ballad, ‘cuyas líneas estructurales recuerdan las de la pastorela o serranilla’ (1970: 235). Francisco Rico also believes that thematically *Fontefrida* exemplifies the same genre ‘explicable por el común esquema de pastorela y por la coincidencia en el rechazo del personaje que solicita al otro’, as does Smith (1990: 5 & 1996: 194).

*Gentil dama* is one of the earliest encountered transcribed versions of a popular *romance*.<sup>1</sup> The first known transcription (in Catalan) was written down in a notebook in 1421 by Jaume de Olesa, a Majorcan law student in Italy, and is currently preserved in a manuscript of the National Library of Florence. I use Deyermond’s source (1996: 49). Aurelio González notes the importance of this moment because the *romance* ‘hasta ese momento había vivido sólo en la memoria colectiva, en las múltiples variantes de tradición oral’ (1999: 192). The variant in Dutton’s collection comes from a *cancionero* compiled by Burgos, the secretary of Iñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana whose distinction for *serrana* (mountain-woman) compositions is celebrated. The Marqués de Santillana is considered the first poet of the fifteenth century, as well as being a politician and soldier.

*Gentil dama* is a *serranilla*, a type of ballad believed to be derived from the French *pastourelle*. Nancy F. Marino describes its basic plot as comprising ‘lo que sucede cuando un caballero (chevalier) que, viajando por el campo en primavera y a veces quejándose del amor de una dama, ve una muchacha de clase baja’ (1987: 4). Although I concede the *serranilla*’s plot usually contains these principal elements, it is highlighted that in the *pastourelle*, it is part of the game that the woman resists her propositioner whereas in the *serranilla*, the female protagonist is often the dominant, aggressive, and more forward character, as confirmed by Rafael Lapesa: ‘A veces, con un principio de narración, la serrana aparecía asaltando al caminante en algún paraje montañoso. A tono con lo agreste de aquellas soledades, apresaba y desvalijaba al viajero antes de ofrecerle sus servicios’ (1957: 47). However, Marino notes: ‘no todas las composiciones en que protagonizan serranas son serranillas’ (1987: 1). She goes on to explain that the *serrana* is at times violent and grotesque, and due to her environment is considered less refined than her French counterpart because her life in the mountains is further from civilisation: ‘la serrana no posee la timidez, ni la belleza delicada de la *bergère*’ (1987: 4). This prominence of this

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<sup>1</sup> *Gentil dama* (ID 5042) is found in Dutton 1990-91: VI, 294 (17\*OM-11).

specific type of *serranilla* has been famously fuelled by the Marqués de Santillana, whose most celebrated compositions, amongst others, are *La serranilla de Boxmediano*, *La vaquero de Finojosa*, and *Menga de Mançanares*.<sup>2</sup>

Although there are some distinctions between the standard *serranilla* and *Gentil dama* which I look at below in conjunction with close textual analysis, there is an apparent fundamental feature which both the *serranillas* of the Marqués de Santillana and *Gentil dama* revolve around. Most evident is that the *dama* is seen to usurp masculine power not only by refusing to submit herself to androcentric convention, represented by the will of the *pastor*, but also through her active usurpation of the phallogentric world, deployed in an erotic fantasy, which Nancy K. Miller describes as ‘bypassing the dialectics of desire’ (1988: 35). However, notwithstanding the lady’s unconventional behaviour, the depiction of the *dama* will always be under the auspices of an androcentric discourse. Not only medieval society dictates the convention, but also contemporary society still occasions the notion that women should not be sexually dominant, and this is why society and scholarship interpret *serranas* as particularly threatening even though throughout the interpolation of the *pastourelle* and *serrana* genres we see both sexes asserting themselves. This comes about because in the exertion of power, even though the woman’s power is an intangible force as opposed to the physical connotations masculinity brings with it, there is something ominous and less well received in society about a woman exerting her authority. Barbara F. Weissberger cites Judith Fetterley’s explanation why:

Though one of the most persistent of literary stereotypes is the castrating bitch, the cultural reality is not the emasculation of men by women but the *immasculation* of women by men. As readers and teachers and scholars women are taught to think as men, to identify with a male point of view, and to accept as normal and legitimate a male system of values, one of whose central principles is misogyny. (1997: 177)

One of the principal framework parallels of *Gentil dama*, although inverting the stereotypical *serranilla*, is social inequality, an element which I comment on with respect to *Rosaflorida* and *Caballero*. As Bruce W. Wardropper notes, the *serranillas* ‘rediscovered the joys of artistic condescension, and of imaginatively expressing amorous adventure across the lines of the social classes’ (1962: 179). Usually this was reflected by a peasant woman and a socially higher-class male. However, in *Gentil dama*, this is the reverse, with the female protagonist introduced to the

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<sup>2</sup> Respectively, ID 3429, ID 3434, and ID 3432.



audience as the 'gentil dama' (line 1). Marino is contradictory in her comparisons of the French and Spanish equivalents of the *serrana* when debating their social class. Whereas above, she implies generally they are rustic, she concludes 'la mayoría de las serranas de aquella época son lindas y hasta cierto punto refinadas a pesar de su ambiente rural' (1987: 6). One of the reasons for the blurring of prescribed behaviour over class divisions may be because of the discourse created whereby the countryside was assimilated with peasantry and the city with gentry and literacy, and taking into account the customary comportment of the period Margit Frenk quotes from Agustín Redondo's analysis:

Para las masas rurales, acostumbradas a vivir en contacto con la naturaleza y con el ritmo de ésta, las relaciones sexuales libremente consentidas entre un hombre y una mujer, sobre todo cuando son solteros [...], no constituyen un pecado mortal, ni siquiera un pecado. (1989: 51)

Therefore, with reference to the symbiotic existence of humans and nature, even though our female protagonist is a *gentil dama*, the listeners may pardon her free-willed actions because of the atmosphere surrounding her.

The physical distance between the *dama* and the *pastor* in line 5 'hablábame desde lejos' represents their social differences. Line 5 could also be seen as a reality topos, alluding to the contemporary medical belief on which Michael Ray Solomon writes where women were 'dangerous agents of contagion' (1997: 74). The shepherd is wise to keep his distance because Solomon views *Gentil dama* as containing a pattern of epidemiology whereby 'her ability to 'infect' the shepherd depends on her voice. Medieval theories of contagion and infection identified the air as the medium through which disease was transferred' (1997: 74). Furthermore, their physical distance is represented by an emotional isolation of the *dama* because in the majority of the ballads, naming the protagonist brings about familiarity. Because she remains unnamed throughout the *romance*, fundamentally she does not make an alliance with the listener, thereby affecting her depiction and rendering her calculating. This is especially true from the shepherd's point of view. If the audience envisages the situation from his position, her anonymity invokes a degree of sinisteress because it is a barrier and a defence mechanism that does not allow the shepherd to become close to her, even though he reveals facts about his own life. However, disputably in the earlier version, rhetoric plays a role in partly rupturing this theory as it is introduced by the *dama*, implied by the only conjugated verb:

Gentil dona, gentil dona,  
doña de bel parasser,  
los pies tingo en la verdura  
esperando este plaser (lines 1-4)

It could be inferred that total anonymity makes the ballad more popular, hence the survival of the 17\*OM version.

In conclusion, with regards the status of the *dama*, because of her evident nobility, her sexuality is accentuated (as discussed in Chapter III where nobility is seen as an appealing feature of the medieval woman in literature). This possibly renders the *dama* more threatening than some of the traditional *serranillas* found in the *Libro de buen amor*, who are most definitely not to be taken lightly as Irizarry describes them as ‘bullies’ (1983: 62). Because the lady has more influence on the situation by virtue of being socially superior, she is therefore implicitly responsible for any sexual contact, and as Gloria Chicote observes there is enough evidence to support the belief: ‘la dama representa un orden social superior, pero también proclive a la corrupción’ (2002: 72). There are some significant differences between the conclusions of the earliest and the fifteenth-century text with regards the portrayal of the personality of the ‘dama’. In the earliest version she goes so far as to curse him with the hemistichs ‘Allá vages, mal villano, / Dieus te quera mal fesar’ (line 21-22), not just communicating her displeasure at his rejection, but implying she believes it is her right to have sex with him because of her social superiority, which accentuates the issue of social hierarchy. In 17\*OM, this is not so evident as there is no slight of the *pastorcillo*’s humble background, only a indistinct implication of an affront on the part of the *dama* who says ‘vete con Dios pastorcillo’ (line 25), which is offset by the diminutive she uses. Because the *pastor* has the last word conceding: ‘Ni aunque más tengáis señora, / no me puedo detener’ (lines 39-40), a further outburst is implicitly quelled and allows him to depart thereby asserting his masculinity.

As the *romancero* well illustrates, binary oppositions are often deployed in order to establish contrasts facilitating easy recall, and are also appealing to the audience. The patronising yet simultaneously affectionate use of the diminutive in line 11 ‘ven acá tú él pastorcico’, is punctuated by the familiar second person singular pronoun and the imperative, drawing attention to, and reinforcing line 8 where the shepherd has already subordinated himself by using ‘gentil mujer’, all in all highlighting the disparity of the central characters’ social statuses and their power

distribution communicated by the register used in the speech of both. It is notable in Jaime de Olesa's *Gentil dama* that the male protagonist is not a shepherd, but 'll'escudero, / mesurado e cortés' (lines 5-6). Such adjectives imply the page has more social status than a shepherd, and therefore a lesser degree of social inequality with the *dama*. Although both livelihoods continue to highlight their social disparity, the allusion to his personality helps the audience to empathise because they feel privy to his intrinsic characteristics. The change of occupation of the male protagonist could simply be attributed to the current politics of the time, but of course it could be hypothesised that a shepherd, unlike a squire who may have spent much time celibate in service, is a character more able to withstand the temptations of the coquettish *dama*. On the other hand, a shepherd tending his flock is a more credible situation than a page tending sheep 'al ganado en la cierra' (line 17 of the original version).

It is also important to look at the way in which the natural environment serves to depict the *dama*'s character. If we are to consider *Gentil dama* to be part of the *serranilla* genre, implicitly, the retrospectively ironic epithet of 'gentil dama' (line 1) could refer to the consequences of her supposed previous sexual conquests. It is feasible the latent symbols evidence the lady being pregnant. This hypothesis originates in lines 2-3 where she is 'paseando en su vergel / los pies tenía descalzos', which suggests the idea of grass being penetrative matter between her toes. We can also attribute observations from Miguel Garci-Gómez's analysis of Berceo's *La abadesa embargada por el pie* to the *dama*'s state in *Gentil dama*: 'es bien sabido el significado sexual de pisar, común en el español de ambos mundos para expresar la idea y la imagen del L. *calcare*, (más arriba), la de cubrir el macho a la hembra', which has the ultimate purpose of impregnating the female (1989: 21). Daniel Devoto further notes with reference to the above text: 'el efecto mágico fecundante se deba a una hierba 'malvada' que preña a las que pisan (1974: 31). This adds to the *dama*'s attractiveness because of her sexual experience.

When taken in conjunction with her physical description discussed below, an analogy to the lady's expectant state simultaneously exemplifies her usurpation of the shepherd's role as the male and conventional dominant sexual force, because the audience visualises the lady playing out the role of the male in the act of intercourse when Garci-Gómez's theory of the 'pie-falo' to the lady's bare feet (1989: 13). Similar to the contemporary belief the male foot size is representative of penis length, Louise O. Vasvári states 'the female foot is traditionally considered to have symmetry

with, or, alternately, to contrast with the size of her unseen parts' (1999: 77), therefore illuminating her *pies descalzos* serves to highlight her sexuality. Garcí-Gómez explains 'en la multitud de fantásticos relatos el falo fue representado por el pie y por una yerba; el coito, por la acción de pisar' (1989: 9). The female undertaking this role is an example of the literary device *mundus inversus*, deployed extensively in the ballad for dramatic effect. However, it must be noted a possible flaw in this argument the possessive pronoun in line 2 'paseando en *su* vergel' (my italics), whereby if it is not just to be considered a transcription error, taking this into account could render the *dama*'s actions incomprehensible in that she is self-impregnating. Also refuting this argument, it must be acknowledged that in Jaume de Olesa's transcript, the lady is *waiting* for pleasure, and not actively creating it. Nonetheless, Weissberger confirms the discrepancy between conventional gendered acts is often due to literary derivation:

As Carolyn Dinshaw has shown, innumerable medieval texts associate acts of signifying – not only writing, but also glossing, allegorizing, and interpreting – with the masculine, while identifying the surfaces on which these acts are performed – the text, the literal sense, the hidden meaning – with the feminine. The age-old association of the pen with the phallus implies the metaphorical identification between writing and male penetration of the female. (1997: 179)

In conclusion, whether the lady is pregnant or this is a possible future consequence, walking bare-foot on the grass has the effect of beholding her as a figure of eroticism, because women's point of existence was often perceived to be reproductive.

From the outset of *Gentil dama*, the *locus amoenus* indicates the characters are in a highly-charged sexual arena, or, as Castro Lingl pithily words it, the ambit created by the characters and the narrator conveys a 'propitiousness of the place for love-making' (1998: 134). This *locus amoenus* is created by both the characters and the narrator with ambivalence regarding which character initiates carnal tension, and depending on the version we look at. In the earliest transcription, as noted above, the lady describes the setting. However, the third person narrative in the 17\*OM version can be taken to be either anonymous narration, or the shepherd's because manuscript content does not cater for speech indicators. If we interpret it to be the shepherd narrating the tale, and this is attributed to the entirety of the text, I would then argue his appreciation of the sexual experience of the lady is rather less innocent than the passive role some critics believe him to play such as Alan Deyermond 'the sexual initiative being taken not by a knight but by a lady, and the reluctant object of that initiative being not a shepherdess but a shepherd' (1996: 53), and Castro Lingl (1998:

140). This point will be taken up in my discussion of the narration of the ballad, although here it is obviously relevant when considering scene-setting and characterisation. Most probably the audience would interpret the symbolic images of the *locus amoenus* through the *pastorcico*'s eyes:

paseando en su vergel,  
los pies tenía descalzos  
que era maravilla ver (lines 2-4)

The use of a glade immediately connotes fertility; Vasvári cites Margit Frenk's work 'in which the elements, plants, and animals are identified with human sexual life' (1999: 10). As we have already seen, there is frequent assimilation of female protagonists to either fruit or flowers hence emphasising a sexual state of readiness for consuming, or indeed consummation.

The *dama*'s initial proposition is subtle in tone with a 'voz amorosa' (line 9), yet paradoxically brazen in content, which is reminiscent of the *serranillas* and in contrast to the detached manner of the shepherd 'con gran saña' (line 7). There are two principal indicators of her motives being sexual; siesta time and food:

si quieres tomar placer  
siesta es de mediodía,  
y ya es hora de comer.  
Si querrás tomar posada  
todo es a tu placer (lines 12-16)

The mid-fifteenth-century transcription of the ballad omits these references, and in contrast the female protagonist is brutally obvious with her terminology 'Thate escudero este coerpo, / este corpo a tu plaser' (lines 9-10). However, in the 17\*OM version, the repetition of *placer* reinforces the underlying reason for her conversation, compounded by the evident symbolism. Firstly, Roger Wright claims that encounters of this type and at this hour were common in medieval poetry (1991: 89). This is most probably because, as it was custom for most people to have a siesta at this hour, lovers could be left to cavort covertly as they wished, but, more obviously, the action of lying down invokes such ambivalence as does the English euphemism 'going to bed' or 'sleeping' with someone. *Gentil dama* follows a precedent set by the thirteenth-century poem *Razón de amor con los denuestos del agua y el vino*, found in Enzo Franchini's anthology (2001: 220). In order to make obvious the dénouement, line 33 immediately precedes a complete description of the *locus amoenus*:

Sobre un prado pus mi tiesta,  
que nom fiziese mal la siesta.  
Partí de mí-las vistiduras,  
que nom fiziés mal la calentura. (lines 33-36).

Hence here, even though this is part of a dream-vision, the siesta is seen as an introduction to sex. Similarly to *Gentil dama*, the protagonists have never met before thereby further eroticising the ambience. However, it must be noted that *amor de lonh*, is a formulaic product of the troubadour wooing process, rendering *Razón de amor* a rather different encounter from that of *Gentil dama*. Due to the composition of the *romancero*, the phrase ‘tomar posada’, although in contemporary Spanish would more naturally be made use of by conjugating the infinitive ‘posarse’, could be interpreted as simply as to lie down, as a synonym for siesta, rather than taking a room at an inn. In observing the *romancero*’s syntax, Fernando Martínez-Gil explains the reason for such syntactical inconsistencies: ‘los romances se componían según unos moldes métricos y rítmicos definidos y bien establecidos en la tradición; como consecuencia, su sintaxis está en buena medida determinada por las imposiciones prosódicas a las que debe sujetarse el verso’ (1989: 895). However, if we are to accept ‘tomar posada’ in the conventional sense, Vasvári’s observations are relevant to the understanding of line 16 as an example of the female (anatomy) being attributed to the female protagonist: ‘inns, taverns, and boarding houses are even more appropriate female symbols than just houses in general by virtue of the fact the male visitor stays in them only temporarily’ (1999: 77).

Secondly, the reference to food by the *dama* is both etymologically and symbolically linked to sex. Vásvari cites Ria Lemaire who shows *coita* is derived from the Latin verb *coquo*, -ere, *coctum* meaning ‘cook, burn, disturb or perturb’ (1999: 17). Also, eating is generally held to be synonymous with love-making not only because of its pleasurable connotations, but ironically because it is also one of the three instincts comprising survival; feeding, reproducing, and fighting. In considering the *serranilla* aspect of the ballad, her pronouncement in line 14 is also reminiscent of the legend of the toothed vagina because she wishes to consume the shepherd’s genitals with her own genitalia. Both women make men their victims and something to be consumed. However, there is a subtle inversion used by the *pastor*, paradoxically creating a subconscious link between the protagonists, because Solomon believes he turns the lady’s temptation around and uses it as a defence by

creating ‘images of hunger and chaos as a means to counter his surging desire for pleasure’ (1997: 74).

When the shepherd refuses to acquiesce with the *dama*’s wishes, she continues to tempt him with what she has most obviously on offer: ‘hermosuras de mi cuerpo’ (line 27), about which she declares ‘yo te las hiciera ver’ (line 28). Francisco A. Marcos-Marín notes Edmond Faral has synthesised the most natural canonical pattern in the description of any living creature, following a top-down scheme (1999: 23). However, it would be logical to assume *Gentil dama* to be largely unaffected by erudite incursions because of Gareth Alban Davies’ commentary on contemporary erudite poetry that is insistent on the formulaic *descriptio puellae* (1975: 296). In spite of this, in the ballad, firstly the lady’s feet are described to the audience, albeit on the part of the shepherd, and only in the final third a full description her physical attributes given, starting at her waist ‘delgadita en la cintura’ (line 29), then circulating up and down her body. Although often the anonymous *romances* are in the female narrative voice, they seldom convey a register concurring with that of the female; hence a good deal of the compositions may not be loyal to the representation of women, even if in the female voice. Nonetheless, here is the influence of the female voice in the narration of the ballad because with regard to the dissemination of *Gentil dama*, a woman would be very likely to put herself in the shoes of the female protagonist. Although the highlighting of her features is directed at the shepherd, it appears to be an introspective description rather than from a male’s point of view. Another feminine element of the lady’s representation is evident in the content of her description. Marcos-Marín writes on the Mozarabic *jarchas*, which I mention above were influential in the *romancero*, that they frequently alluded to a thin, round and red mouth and a shining white face and neck’ (1999: 26). So here, the evidence points towards an insight into how a medieval woman fantasised her depiction should be, although it of course could only be achieved in fiction.

The sensuality exuded by the *dama* is evident in the conventional and self-elevating description of her beauty in lines 30-32:

blanca soy como el papel  
la color tengo mezclada  
como rosa en el rosal

Line 30 is unusual because the *romancero* rarely contains similes, although Deyermond particularly comments ‘the red / white contrast is standard in descriptions

of female beauty' citing Garcilaso de la Vega's Sonnet XXIII beginning 'En tanto que de rosa y azucena / se muestra la color en vuestro gesto' (1996: 57). It could simply be a literary tool to allow a greater rapport with nature to convey her beauty, but also, more unusual, medieval paper was not the pristine white we know today. The simile could be a facetious statement on the *dama*'s part to fit in with the typical red / white contrast although to simultaneously allude to her lack of purity. This gives off the air that, although incongruous to the message pervading the rest of the ballad, in fitting in with nature, herself and her actions are to be condoned as part of a natural course.

As noted above, there is similarity between the *Abadesa embargada por el pie* and the possible pregnant state of the *dama*, an interpretation invoked through symbolism, and which is again reinforced here when considering lines 30-32 and the connotations of the colour red. Interpretation of beauty could be limited to racial qualities in favour of the fashionable Visigoth female, which is discussed in reference to *Mora Moraima* in Chapter VII. Inasmuch as Deyermond associates the combination of red and white in general with feminine beauty, J. E. Cirlot limits his analysis to 'the usual symbolism of white as the feminine colour' (2002: 53). This accounts for red as a deviation from the standard white skin-tone, corresponding with the modern day when we say if a lady is expectant (not a natural state for all women), she glows. Garci-Gómez picks up on this combination of colour surrounding pregnant women also in the Middle Ages, noting particularly a *copla* in the traditional *cancionero*, from where the transcribed ballads are generally found:

En mi huerto hay una yerba  
blanca, rubia y colorada;  
la dama que pisa en ella  
della queda embarazada. (1989: 10).

In considering the 'yerba', or in our *dama*'s case, the corresponding 'vergel' is seen as the male reproductive organ, the woman will then, when pregnant, exude some of the male's characteristics ('blanca, rubia y colorada') because she is at this point carrying the child who shares their chromosomes, or the characteristics of both parents. To substantiate this, Cirlot rhetorically explains 'the passionate quality characteristic of red pervades the symbolism of blood, and the vital character of blood informs the significance of the colour red' (2002: 28). Hence the colour red is associated with blood which is part of the lifeline, also invoking creation, but above all intimates to the audience that the *dama* is not by any stretch of the imagination a virgin.



Finally, before moving on to the other motifs thrown up by the lady's description of herself, the significance of the 'rosal' of line 32 must not be forgotten. From the vast euphemistic and symbolic pool of the *romancero*, both *Gerineldos* and *Mariana*, which Smith sees as important works, allude to female anatomy using this symbolism (1995: 206). When the page Gerineldos, who has just implicitly made love to the princess is asked by the king where he has been, he impertinently replies:

Del jardín vengo, señor,  
de coger flores y lirios,  
y la rosa más fragante  
mis colores ha comido. (lines 59-62)

In some versions the princess sends her page into the garden. In whichever is considered, she is likened to a rose and the double entendre embodied in assimilating her with the 'rosa más fragante' not only highlights the princess as the most revered lover, but also from the juxtaposition of the images conjured by the red or pink rose and the white 'lirio' the listeners infer bloodshed from the breaking of the princess' hymen. In *Mariana*, the female protagonist invites don Alonso, her former lover who has just informed her he is about to take someone else as his bride, to settle on her 'escaño florido', which, although a ruse in order that she can poison him, is most clearly a euphemism for their usual act of love-making. These associations must be not least because a garden is a pleasurable place to be, and so of course is a woman's genitalia. Garci-Gómez plays down the importance of the literary tools employed because, whereas I believe they highlight and bring a sense of anticipation to the ballad, he states only: 'las metáforas, eufemismos y símbolos, las 'hojas de higuera' del lenguaje ruboroso y circunloquial, ni sofocaron la concupiscencia, ni paralizaron las pulsiones del sexo, ni mermaron la potencia de los órganos de la reproducción' (1989: 8). In *Gentil dama*, the lady is subtly inviting the shepherd to consider her sexual organs as a prelude to her more blatant following reference to a more obvious erogenous zone: because the breasts are a more pertinent feature of the female, they therefore do not require such subtlety in their depiction.

Marcos-Marín states that in fourteenth-century literature such as the *Clam de Amor*, firm breasts were important in the physical depiction of women (1999: 27). In comparison, the jealous Areúsa of Fernando de Rojas' *La Celestina* insultingly describes Melibea's breasts as 'unas tetas tiene para ser doncella como si tres veces hobiese parido: no parecen sino dos grandes calabazas' (2001: 207). Hence the *dama*

is perpetuating perhaps a laboured contemporary illustration when she tells the shepherd ‘las teticas agudicas / que el brial quieren hender (lines 33-4), or in Jaume de Olesa’s version the page ‘les titilles agudilles / qu’el brial queran fender’ (lines 11-12). This depiction of female sexual organs hardened through pre-coital sexual arousal, envisioning being carried through to actual penetration supports my hypothesis the ‘gentil dama’ has subverted the traditional gender role in providing the phallic symbol. On the other hand, Vasvári supports Deyermond’s slightly different interpretation that with particular respect to *Gentil dama*, the robe-tearing nipples ‘can symbolically stand for the tearing of the hymen’ (1999: 62). I disagree with this in light of the evidence established above, markedly that the ‘dama’ is not a virgin, and this would only be relevant if the shepherd had deflowered her. This scenario is neither possible because it is evident this is their first encounter. All in all, it is the *dama*’s endeavour to have sex with the man of her choosing, and this is why she pays such homage to her physical attributes, and hence she convincingly plays Oro Anahory-Librowicz’s labelled role of the ‘seductora’.

We may further interpret the lady to be preying on the shepherd in the metaphor ‘el cuello tengo de garça / los ojos de esparver’ (lines 35-36) embodying the rhetoric of *corteza y meollo* frequently employed in Spanish literature. Contemporary society would be aware of the symbolism of the sparrow-hawk as a hunting bird, as Donald McGrady’s declares: ‘en la literatura existe una relación metafórica entre la caza y el amor’ (1989: 543). In particular, here the narrator implies to the audience there is something even more sinister about the lady than is explained in the narrative or conversation. In medieval Spanish balladry, hunting metaphors were consistently used to illustrate the male pastime of men’s extra-marital affairs with women. Often the hunters’ birds were synonymous with their fortune, as the audience learn in the version of *Blancaniña* that Smith uses in lines 13-14 when her lover curses her philandering husband: ‘Rabia le mate los perros / y águilas el su halcón’ (1996: 197). It must be noted that Smith’s interpretation is subjective due to medieval punctuation being non-existent, and could equally be *Blancaniña*’s lover who utters the statement. Whichever, the transfer of the hunters’ fortune to their birds implies their synonymousness, but this is usually applied to men; hence here it appears here that the use of birds of prey is an inversion of traditional gender roles. This is also discussed below with regard to *Fontefrida*, and supported by Foster’s version of *El Conde Niño* where specific gender association is illustrated by lines 49-50: ‘De ella

naciera una garza, / de él un fuerte gavián' (1971: 148). Although the sparrow hawk is not seen to be menacing in this context, the embodiment of masculine *cazador* qualities in the lady's personality implicitly and dangerously undermines the shepherd's sexuality as he is turned into the pursued rather than the pursuer. The specific huntress analogy is in stark contrast to the image of the shepherd who is presented as a protector of innocuous livestock in his preoccupation of 'mi ganado en la sierra / que se me iba a perder' (lines 21-22). This literary device *mundus inversus* has the function of exaggerating the plight of the shepherd because of the usurpation of his traditional dominant masculine gender role. The power of the lady is embellished for the same literary reasons.

In conclusion, in *Gentil dama*, it is notable bucolic inflexions heavily affect the way in which the lady's character is presented and interpreted. Principally, it is through this particular symbolism and euphemism that sexual discrepancies are highlighted and sublimate *mundus inversus*. The most threatening consequence is the unspecified peripheries of this gender role inversion.

*Fontefrida* is more obvious in its exhibition of a female exerting her power, yet also less ominous. Whereas the lady of *Gentil dama* is combined with the natural environment to a threatening effect, *Fontefrida* is presented to the audience almost in a satirical light because of the quotidian situation, as opposed to the protagonists being posed in any fantastical or folkloric environment. However, it is not to say that the ballad itself is not rich in literary symbols, imagery and allusion, which, as Rico informs us may be due to the varying influences on its composition: 'los datos a mano apuntan que *Fontefrida* es el fruto de un fecundo intercambio entre las tradiciones castellana, catalana e italiana' (1990: 32).

*Fontefrida* appears three times in Dutton's *cancionero*.<sup>3</sup> The earliest MP4a transcription is anonymous and dated circa 1498. A slight variance is found in Hernando de Castillo's *Cancionero General* versions but the 11CG is identical to its 14CG *refundición*. In this chapter I comment on the slight variation between the MP4a text and Hernando de Castillo's text although it must be taken into account that Dutton notes at the foot of the MP4a version 'Falta el folio 84' (1990: II, 519), implying the version is incomplete. The ballad is believed to have been in existence significantly before its transcription, and Rico traces its course:

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<sup>3</sup> *Fontefrida* (ID 0735) is found in Dutton 1990-91: II, 519 (MP4a-46), V, 327 (11CG-439) and VI, 129 (14CG-462).

Según el alcance que asignemos a la miscelánea de Jaume d'Olesa, nos inclinaremos a situarlo más cerca de la Nápoles del Magnánimo o de la Bolonia de hacia 1400, o, quizá mejor, lo pondremos en el entorno de Alfonso, pero antes de pasar a Italia, antes de 1420. (1990: 32)

A number of glosses accompany *Fontefrida*, which in my opinion are extremely useful because they shed light on male erudite influence on a popular tradition held to be significantly influenced by the female voice. I move onto these latterly in my analysis of *Fontefrida*. The earliest transcriptions of the glosses by Gonzalo de Tapia and Carasa both emerge at around the turn of the century. Gonzalo de Tapia's gloss occurs across three *cancioneros*.<sup>4</sup> However, Carasa's gloss, dated 1510, appears only once.<sup>5</sup> There has been frequent speculation with regards the confluences of *Fontefrida* with both *Gentil dama* (Deyermond 1996) and (Rico 1990), and *Por mayo era, por mayo* (Asensio 1970). I will not enter into this discussion, but I will point out similarities and familiar borrowings we see between ballads, which are usually on a thematic and symbolic level.

Opening lines of the ballad are of utmost importance in order to seize the listeners' attention. In order to do this, it often follows a lyrical course, and although may not be a particularly edifying content, it does, as Asensio notes, 'suele ser el trozo más estilizado' (1970: 254). Hence in both versions on a structural level, the fricative alliteration in the repetition of the phrase in the opening lines of *Fontefrida* 'Fonte frida fonte frida / fonte frida y con amor' (lines 1-2) has the implication the phrase is to set the tone for the whole ballad. Whether 'Fonte frida' is the place name, or purely a symbolic foundation for the theme of the *locus amoenus*, it is effective in initially reiterating to the audience the supposed nexus of the ballad. In the course of my analysis of the *romance*, it will become obvious all raw ingredients of Ernst R. Curtius' consideration of the *locus amoenus* are present in *Fontefrida*:

From the empire to the sixteenth century, it [the *locus amoenus*] forms the principal motif of all nature description. It is a beautiful, shaded natural site. Its minimum ingredients comprise a tree (or several trees), a meadow, and a spring or brook. Birdsong and flowers may be added. (1953: 195)

I mention above that cool running water connotes vitality, unbridled passion and sexuality due to its associations with reciprocity in nature. The origins for this imagery may well come from the biblical source the Song of Songs, where the male lover uses the metaphors 'you are a spring enclosed, a sealed fountain' (4: 12), and

<sup>4</sup> Tapia's gloss (ID 1064) is found in Dutton 1990-91: I, 251 (LB1-379), V, 327 (11CG-440), and VI, 129 (14CG-463).

<sup>5</sup> Carasa's gloss (ID 0734) is found in Dutton 1990-91: I, 150 (LB1-43).

‘You are a garden fountain, a well of flowing water’ (4: 15) to describe his beau. In a contemporary secular oeuvre, this is succinctly summed up in a *villancico* (no. 34), a pithy refrain set to music in the fifteenth century recorded in Margit Frenk’s compilation of lyrical poetry: ‘En el campo nacen flores / y en el alma, los amores’ (1987: 21). The organic nature of love is highlighted in both instances, an impression which is transmitted in most examples of poetry involving this type of imagery, the organic design supported bivalently by the very nature of the framework of the *romancero* that relies upon natural evolution for its perpetuation. However, there is one very inconspicuous caveat in the undertones of the scene immediately portrayed to the listeners. In the first two lines of the ballad, the audience seem to be presented with an idyllic setting where, according to all the associations of medieval poetry, nature should be taking its course. Although the ballad cannot be construed as anything other than a secular work, the issue of its complete parallelism with the Garden of Eden cannot be ignored:

Now the Lord God had planted a garden in the east, in Eden; and there he put the man he had formed. And the Lord God made all kinds of trees grow out of the ground – trees that were pleasing to the eye and good for food. In the middle of the garden were the tree of life and the tree of knowledge of good and evil. A river watering the garden flowed from Eden [...] Now the Lord God had formed out of the ground all the beasts of the field and all the birds of the air. (Genesis 2: 8-10 & 19)

Here I draw attention to the consequences that grow out of the famed episode in the Garden of Eden, because in both *loci amoeni* an ironic incident undermines the blissful ambience created for the protagonists.

Following on from the foreboding insinuations of the Garden of Eden and its congruence with the *locus amoenus*, the narrator (who at this point is still anonymous), quickly fulfils my interpretation of the insinuation above with ‘do todas las avezicas / van tomar consolación’ (lines 3-4). I briefly talk about birds in medieval Spanish literature in connection with *Gentil dama*, where the falcon is endowed with various associations in the hunt. Curtius, above, concludes that in the same vein as flora playing a role in the *locus amoenus*, so does fauna, or more specifically, birds should conventionally add to the felicitous atmosphere created by nature. However, the jarring realisation that the scene is imbued with negative emotions is emphasised for several reasons. Firstly, although J. M. Aguirre points out ‘avecica’ comes from the courtly love strain of poetry (1972: 64), the use of the diminutive form of *aves* invokes a sense of pity, not least because the diminutive

often brings with it a sense of deprecation or condescension, as is mentioned with regard to the use of ‘pastorcillo’ by the *dama* in *Gentil dama*. Secondly, the verb form (most probably a condensing of the periphrastic future), implies there is an immanent pessimism in this particular place the narrator is describing when taken in conjunction with ‘consolación’. Although this phrase principally seems intent on invoking a negative aura, Wright’s translation of lines 3-4 belies the narrator’s objectives: ‘where all the young birds come together / enjoying themselves with the others’ (1992: 11). Of course, it could be interpreted in another way – the birds come together for solidarity in the *locus amoenus*, but the following four lines dispel this theory, therefore further rendering Wright’s interpretation as poor.

Although stanza form is not usually considered a structure true to the popular oral form, it does occur in the version of *Fontefrida* in MP4a, which indicates a form of erudite arrangement of the ballad, as opposed to Hernando de Castillo’s versions which are in the traditional continuous ballad form. Therefore, the quatrain arrangement serves to order the ballad, and in retrospective consideration, the following four lines of the MP4a version neatly encapsulate an analogy embodying the plot of the entire text:

si no es la tortolilla  
que esta sola y sin amor  
por ay fue a pasar  
el traidor del ruiñeñor (lines 5-8)

They act as a prelude to the more explicit complaints expounded later by the female (as the listeners realise by line 11) narrative voice. The arrangement of the turtle dove and the nightingale in binary opposition is instrumental for the intended interpretation of the rest of the ballad. Each of the birds receives a gendered representation, not least because of their prolific representation in literature external to the ballad. As mentioned above, often similarities exist between biblical and secular works which appear to have developed interdependently over the intervening centuries, yet whose features share common ground. In the Song of Songs the male lover refers to his beloved as a dove (1: 15), (2: 14) and (6: 9), which concurs with the literary parallel of the turtledove in *Fontefrida* representing the blameless female. Further reinforcing the virtuousness of the turtledove is Cirlot’s recognition it is a symbol of fidelity (2002: 334). Cirlot also notes the turtledove is a bird enjoying solitude (2002: 27). So in *Fontefrida* the audience are introduced to a woman who is

an independent thinker, incongruous to the society in which she exists. In stark contrast, according to Asensio, the nightingale conjures extensive *donjuanesco* associations in love songs (1970: 235). Deyermond also notes the ‘minority tradition of sinister connotations for the nightingale’ in the Greek and French tradition which may well carry over into the medieval Spanish literary tradition (1996: 14). Therefore, it is apt the narrator chooses the nightingale, a nocturnal bird, which is associated with the dark and foreboding, posited in opposition to the diurnal turtledove, which is immediately associated with clarity and light and the guileless female.

It is held by many critics such as Wright that the female protagonist is a bona fide widow (1991: 79). Asensio also believes ‘*Fontefrida* exalta la monogamia, la lealtad al esposo difunto frente a las tentaciones de Mayo’ (1970: 248). Nonetheless, why should the female protagonist not be viewed as a metaphorical widow having been betrayed by her lover? The register used by the female narrative voice, once she has opened the floodgates of culpability, inevitably paints as black and white a picture as possible of herself and an infidel lover. In the 11CG and 14CG versions, it is surely only rhetoric in order to elicit the audience’s sympathy by referring to herself as a ‘viuda y con dolor’ (line 6). Indeed, the MP4a version makes no mention of widowhood, and her plaintive ‘que oy a siete años / que perdí mi buen amor’ (lines 15-16) could refer to her present male counterpart, so from one source it is inconceivable to make such presumptions. Whichever interpretation one takes, this narrative ploy leaves no possibility in the rest of the ballad for sympathy for what I believe to be her former lover, because even his words are denounced as ‘llenas de traición’ (line 10 in 11CG and 14CG). It would be unfairly presumptuous on the part of the female protagonist to denounce the male had she not already had relations with him. Line 10 has ramifications as to how the listeners then receive the reported speech of lines 11-12 ‘si tu quisieses señora / yo sería tu servidor’ (11CG and 14CG) or ‘si te pluguiese señora / sería tu siervo yo’ (MP4a). The imperfect subjunctive and conditional tenses imply tentativeness, there even seems to be insincerity in his proposal when taking into account the narrator’s previous accusation, although it must be reiterated that the interpretation of reported speech is through the filter of the female protagonist. Furthermore, as noted in Chapter IV, ‘servir’ is a euphemism for intercourse, and cannot therefore be taken purely as an emotional commitment.

In this instance, the female protagonist is embracing some aspects of societal values by upholding fidelity and monogamy, yet in other ways she is renouncing the generally accepted dependence of women on men, and indeed, more significantly, the societal pillar of marriage by vehemently saying (in 11CG and 14CG) ‘que no quiere aver marido’ (line 19), underscored by the concluding couplet of her invective ‘que no quiero ser tu amiga / ni casar contigo no’ (lines 25-26). The MP4a version is more cryptic in its conclusion (although this may be due to inadvertent truncation), because rejection is limited to ‘vete daqui enemigo / falso malo engañador’ (lines 13-14). Her renouncement of supposed happiness in marriage is concluded in a register more in keeping with the bucolic subtleties earlier in the ballad with the quatrain:

que no poso en ramo verde  
ni en árbol que tenga flor  
si el agua clara fallo  
turbia la bebo yo. (lines 17-20)

There seems to be more intellectual interference with this version because of its form, where the ending is seemingly pared down to a minimum actually reflecting the more customary abruptness and subtleties of the *romancero viejo*. In the 11CG and 14CG versions, ‘prado’ is substituted for ‘árbol’, continuing the framework of the *locus amoenus* and implying the female protagonist is aware of the physical side of relations the meadow connotes, or more specifically the masculine interpretation of love, especially as she continues her rhetoric with the consequences of the masculine idea of relations – the sexual side ‘por que hijos no haya no’ (line 20).

The woman exudes a despondency rarely conveyed in this manner in fifteenth-century Spanish literature even though men of the *caballero andante* type mournfully exhibit their sorrows and endure sufferings in order to atone for their wrongdoings or to attract women. As I analyse in Chapter VI, women unhappy with their lot in love may complain bitterly, but they do not totally reject pleasure in such a focussed, routine way, as the protagonist of *Fontefrida* does in the 11CG and 14CG versions: ‘no quiero placer con ellos / ni menos consolaçión’ (lines 21-22). She is uneventful in her rejection, inverting societal values through individual experience, and, as the ballads stand unglossed, seems a woman independent before her time and willing to stand alone yet communicating her situation with insightful nuance.

I now move onto discussion of the glosses of *Fontefrida*. Birte Stengaard calls ‘all additions to the basic text glosses’ (1991: 177). Yet the glosses of *Fontefrida* are



not just additions, but manipulative reinterpretations of the ballad. They could be seen as an aid to modern scholars for understanding the original, although my view is that they reinterpret the text from a phallogentric viewpoint. However, Macpherson notes with respect to *motes*, that Hernando de Castillo was conscientious about logging the details of those composing the glosses, so as a contemporary, he viewed their work as integral to the source compositions (2004: 9). Nevertheless, we must take into account he is a male, erudite editor even though Keith Whinnom claims Hernando de Castillo's meticulous work exercises little personal selectivity, and is just an all-embracing collection of texts of 'a restricted and coherent period, and the climax of the development of the *canción* before the Italianising revolution' (1994: 119). Nonetheless, since Hernando de Castillo's inclusion of the glosses in 11CG and 14CG, apart from Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1976), scholarship has ventured little work on glosses of the *romancero*.

Both glossers add narration to the texts in a male voice even though the protagonist of the ballad is female. In Carasa's, we see influence of Provençal troubadour poetry, because the lover's *endecha*-invoking acceptance of misfortune is central to the theme of the poem: 'llorando está el caballero / con dolor muy dolorido' (lines 1-2). His choice of vocabulary de-masculinises the ballad with a beginning almost identical to *Gritando*. The opening is uninventive in the art of poetry and the anaphora is seemingly used by accident merely because the composer could not think of another word to use. The gloss's readership would be aware of the original, so retrospectively the composer is removing empathy from the ballad's protagonist by replacing her with a character with whom the audience are unfamiliar. Correspondingly, the narrator instantaneously provides sympathy for the *caballero* by placing emphasis on the verb because it precedes the subject. The *romancero*'s verb-subject-object order is commonplace because it elicits more emotion than subject-verb-object sentence structure, an arrangement it needs to retain through oral perpetuation.

Throughout *Fontefrida*, it seems the female protagonist's primary role is renouncing emotional gratification, not physical satisfaction. However, in the glosses, this is inversed, and the register becomes androcentric by focussing on the male's point of view rather than the female's. Elaine Hatfield confirms it is not just folklore, but biological determinism 'that women are genetically programmed to desire one, deeply intimate, secure relationship, while men are programmed to desire

anonymous, impersonal, casual sex' (1983: 234). The narrator's choice of vocabulary confirms this physical rather than emotional desire, and this type of androcentric feature is maintained throughout the gloss when taking into account Whinnom's declaration with regard to nouns that have sexual connotations:

*Deseo* is always in this context physical desire; but *voluntad* can mean, as well as 'libre albedrío', 'deseo' and 'delectación'. In several texts, *gloria* is a euphemism for sexual consummation, and, indeed, I should like to suggest that it covers almost the same range of meanings as Provençal *joi*.' (1994: 123)

As we see in *Gritando*, the knight must match his emotional suffering with physical suffering, illustrated his celibate life like the ascetic order of the 'frayles del paular' (line 38). Similar to *Gritando*, Carasa employs the euphemism 'de toda gloria extranjero' (line 3). This is a very male-orientated school of thought to take, which Carasa then transfers also to the female protagonist of *Fontefrida* 'por que gloria no se acuerde' (line 22), indicating the audience should interpret 'nunca posa en ramo verde / ni en prado que tenga flor' (lines 23-24) as a physical rather than emotional renouncement.

The glosses of *Fontefrida* are apt at shifting the blame from male to female. In *Fontefrida* it is indicated the female protagonist is treated badly by the male, or men in general; hence she vehemently rejects the advances of the *ruiseñor* and the audience's sympathies lie with her rather than him. However, the reverse is evident in Carasa's gloss where the female is overtly 'publicando su pasión / con estremada porfia' (lines 37-38), and so the narrator is seen to blame the woman for her selfishness also affecting the male's emotions. In spite of the skilled deployment of bird imagery in the ballad, this stanza is incongruent to the generally accepted connotations the listeners would infer from the use of the birds because the nightingale is known for its song, and the turtledove (who is doing the singing here) is known for being taciturn. Carasa's *culto* deciphering, which is illustrated further by the erudite simile use 'más amarga que la hiel' (line 46) of *Fontefrida* is more than a simplistic explanation of the woman's emotions, but in fact is a restoration of the original text that jars the natural flow and organic nature the ballad usually emanates.

The immediately obvious erudite feature of the glosses is the division of the text into stanzas. Tapia, like Carasa does so into twelve and thirteen stanzas (LB1 and 11CG versions respectively) which makes it easier to break down the original and reinterpret it with the author's own version. The major difference between the *cancioneros* versions of Tapia's gloss is the discrepancy in the order of the stanzas,

which reveals the bearing editing has on texts. In particular, as mentioned with regard to Carasa's gloss, Tapia's is imbued with the masculine courtly love ideal which was in vogue in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Europe. Although the LB1 text waits until the second stanza to append the ballad, the version in the *Cancionero General* immediately opens with 'Andando con triste vida / yo halle por mi dolor' (lines 1-2). The gerund form of 'andar', which is reminiscent of the male voice laments found in fifteenth-century poetry, and according to Vicente Beltrán is one of the most frequently found intransitive verbs in the courtly lyric (1990: 54). Therefore, the overall ambience is evocative of Pierre Le Gentil's *martyre de l'amant*, where it is construed that although to die in the name of one's beau would be apposite, living a life of suffering in the name of one's beau would be more so, which is echoed and emphasised in the plosive alliteration of lines 32-35 of the LB1 version:

pues quien tal perdida pierde  
 verse viva es más peor  
 que no poso en ramo verde  
 ni en árbol que tenga flor.

Interestingly, although the two glosses were supposedly composed independently, Carasa's fourth stanza contains a similar phrase to line 32: 'la perdida que perdió' (line 27) with regard to 'y el agua que ella bebía / turbia la hallaba yo' (lines 29-30), once again reiterating the hackneyed nature of the glosses.

Unlike Carasa's gloss, although the register of Tapia's has a less masculine register, this is only an intertextual implication from the contemporary literary genres, and Tapia restricts his narrator's focus to the female protagonist, keeping the narration omniscient rather than introducing another character. This contrarily renders the female protagonist not as culpable for her situation as Carasa's gloss that blames the woman not only for her suffering, but also her proposer's affliction. However, Tapia does not avoid the masculine invention of masochistic *martyre de l'amant* suffering by frequently communicating the woman's paradoxically ennobling despondency with lines such as 'que su gozo era llorar' (line 16 of the LB1 version). In the latter part of the gloss, Tapia even goes so far as to remove the blame from the female protagonist and pass it over to fate: 'Tengo el corazón partido / desventura lo partió' (lines 40-41 of the LB1 version).

The denouements of the glosses illustrate the discrepancy of their composers' intentions. It seems Carasa wants to leave a lasting impression on the audience of

acrimony on the part of the female protagonist, which builds up to the opening of the penultimate stanza describing her response as ‘más amarga que la hiel’ (line 46). Ana María Álvarez Pellitero’s remarks on this line’s other source (line 11) of Gómez Manrique’s *Lamentaciones fechas para la semana santa*: ‘amarga más que la hiel’ (1990: 127). She comments that ‘no tienen otra finalidad que subrayar la virginidad de María’ (1990: 110). The religious connotations seem out of context with the impression it is implied Carasa wants to make. I must concede that although the woman appears to renounce physical desire throughout, having had relations with the male protagonist, the allusion to a chaste icon still seems discordant. In the final stanza, the rancorous atmosphere is further perpetuated:

que dar oído al que dice  
tú fe falsa intención  
mi firmeza me maldice (lines 52-54).

It is then dashed in the final stanza with ‘a quien tan suya me hice / no le haría traición’ (lines 55-56) which ambiguously insinuates the female protagonist does not intend emotional harm to her potential suitor. Interestingly though, the lines quoted are not from any of the versions of *Fontefrida* in Dutton’s *cancionero*, and therefore seem to be another personal interpretation, or usurpation of the original text on the part of the glosser. On the other hand, although Tapia’s glosses all conclude with quotations of the most heated tirades of the female protagonist: ‘déxame triste enemigo / malo falso mal traidor’ (lines 55-56) and ‘que no quiero ser tu amiga / ni casar contigo no’ (51-52) in the LB1 and 11CG versions respectively, he precedes the citations with a softening blow ‘no me des ya más fatiga / que harta me tengo yo’ (lines 53-54 and 49-50), implying an emotional frailty on the part of the female speaker.

Hence on interpreting the character of the female protagonist, we must take into account that when looking at the glosses they are an extremely stylised way of looking at love, consistent with contemporary literary convention, and not the open personal statement that *Fontefrida* appears to be. Furthermore, there is a significant degree of ambiguity as to whether the additional male character or the original female is being alluded to, mainly due to the lack of textual punctuation. However, we must be aware the glosses are emasculated versions of texts originally in the voice of a woman. Because the ballads were and are principally transmitted by females, this allows them to be the characters and also to contrive their own plot through multiple

narrative voices, so the interpretation of an erudite male will pose some juxtapositions such as the one noted above which is summarised by Whinnom: 'there is little doubt that the *cancionero* poets are obsessed with physical desire and the tantalising prospect of its consummation rather than with the nebulosities of semi-neoplatonic ideas' (1994: 127). All things considered, taking into account the layers of narration, we must look at the fictional layers of narrative with lucid eyes and paradoxically remember it is the literal depiction of women that is fascinating, and if men choose to represent women in a different light, it must be accepted at face value as a literary depiction.

## CHAPTER VI. DISSATISFIED WOMEN

In medieval Spain, women were dependent on men for survival, and saw marriage as their doorway to security. Anne J. Cruz confirms this idea prevailed because stress was on the importance of the male patriarchal role, and consequently it was given that the wife should follow in moral and economic subservience (1992: 160). Yet Heath Dillard proposes that during the Reconquest of Spain, it was difficult for women to find partners due to unequal gender ratios caused by combative deaths and the increase of men gaining their livelihood through errant occupations such as knights or squires and they were even averse to taking a woman's hand in marriage:

a young knight or squire would characteristically obtain a horse before he found a wife. Horses were likely to be both cheaper and more plentiful than desirable brides [...] a wife would tie him down with family obligations. To yoke a man in matrimony and prevent his moving on, it was necessary for communities to make marriage an attractive proposition for bachelors. (1984: 24)

Hence I suggest that it is unusual to come across a woman who rejects her partner, although not entirely at odds with the superficial paradigm of the courtly love style where it was convention that the woman rejected her suitor until the last possible moment.

The three ballads analysed in this chapter have a central theme of rejection on the part of the female protagonist. The women of the *Romance de la bella malmaridada*, *Rosa Fresca*, and *Romance de Durandarte* can be placed on a sliding scale of involvement with their partners, ranging from marriage, to courting, to a conjectured relationship. In turn, their reactions to their suitors or lovers are variable. Yet it must be emphasised that their similar actions underpin the anomalousness and also independence of their characters, hence they stand out from those discussed in Chapter III.

The only ballad version of *Bella malmaridada* in Brian Dutton's *cancionero* is found in a *pliego suelto* printed by Jacobo Cromberger from Seville dated circa 1520.<sup>1</sup> However, seemingly unfounded, Anne J. Cruz challenges Dutton's comprehensive collection by claiming 'the poem in ballad form is first collected in Juan de Molina's *Cancionero* of 1527' (1992: 151). This is shorter, only twenty lines long compared to twenty-four line 20\*RG version. In contrast, the husband returns at the end of the ballad and finds his wife and her lover planning their escape, similar to the longer and

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<sup>1</sup> *La Bella malmaridada* (ID 5016) is found in Dutton 1990-91: VI, 326 (20\*RG-3).

more widely-known versions of today. Colin C. Smith surmises *Bella malmaridada* ‘was probably composed in the late 15<sup>th</sup> century’, and because it has a number of textual offshoots ‘achieved a great popularity in the following one with musicians and *glosadores*’ (1996: 201).<sup>2</sup> S. Griswold Morely notes speculation over whether the original form of the poem was *romance* or *villancico* (1945: 282).<sup>3</sup> The refrain and closing stanza of the *villancico* version lament the metaphorical imprisonment of the life of an unhappily married woman but this poem describes her situation less illustratively in comparison with the ballad, which comprises a story within a poetic structure:

Mugeres casadas  
que tal padecéis,  
si vida tenéis,  
sois muy desdichadas;  
seréis lastimadas  
si sois como yo.  
¡Cativo se vea  
quien me cativó!

Whichever, the theme was so well absorbed in the European consciousness that as well as dominating the Italian *novella*, it comprises a strong appearance in medieval French oral literature as the *chanson de la malmarieé*. Cruz claims it also inspired Lope de Vega’s drama *La bella malmaridada* written in 1596, which is conceivably a gloss of the original ballad text (1992: 146).

On the surface, *Bella malmaridada* presents the audience with characters in probably the most ordinary milieu of all the ballads of this discussion, and indeed probably of all the *romancero*. The ballad is atypical in its content because it registers quotidian complaints. It does not have the contrived fictional situation which usually faces the audience of the *romancero*, such as noble or mysterious protagonists posited in fantastical situations. Lucy A. Sponsler points out a reason may be that: ‘the ballads have diminished the heroic emphasis in the epics, accentuating instead daily human contact and emotion’ (1975: 41). The scarcity of such content such as is contained in *Bella malmaridada* is explained by Michael Nerlich who believes if there is a ‘return to cultural forms then considered vulgar, it is because the society of that day had reached a state of development in which intellectual curiosity was directed

<sup>2</sup> Other than those I look at, the textual offshoots include *coplas* (ID 4160), and a gloss of *canción* (ID 0255) which is (ID 0254). I disregard these texts due to their fragmentation and indirect link to the ballad form.

<sup>3</sup> The *villancico* version (ID 1030) is found in Dutton 1990-91: I, 240 (LB1-345).

toward everything unknown, alien, foreign, and exotic' (1986: 66). Although it is difficult to isolate the pure oral forms and their intellectually influenced counterparts because the era of scholarly interception of the *romancero's* trajectory corresponds with its written dissemination, Nerlich's theory equating to interest in otherness would explain why there was so much *culto* interest in *Bella malmaridada*.

Although on one level exoticisms arise from the disparity of social statuses, or anything opposite to oneself, by the time the ballads were written down, otherness in *Bella malmaridada* could also be a gendered issue because women's perspective was not at the forefront of literature. However, in some of those I analyse above, the implicit narrators are also the stars of the same, with which Teresa Catarella concurs:

Women both signify and are signified; they are both the speakers of the ballads and the spoken-about. This double-faceted dimension of the *romancero novelesco* reveals the unique correlation between the narration and the narrators in orally-transmitted poetry. (1990: 332)

Yet I believe women still to be not completely understood within the literary ambit because of the gender-orientated shift occurring when the *romance* becomes disseminated on paper as well as orally.

In contrast to the ballads I have already looked at, it appears from the outset that in *Bella malmaridada*, the male protagonist who plays the propositional role. It immediately opens with sycophantic hyperbole when the male protagonist addresses the wife: 'La bella malmaridada / de las más lindas que yo vi' (lines 1-2). This has the effect of fulfilling the representation of the physically ideal woman through the masculine gaze, which of course in a phallocentric arena would imply for the audience the male voice of the narrator had a more substantial authority. Cruz shows the ambivalence of the narrative voice in *Bella malmaridada* in socio-cultural terms, noting at the time the oral tradition was becoming affected by erudite scholars' influence:

as their roles diminished outside the family structure, women's subservience was to manifest itself in literature by the increased silence, not only of female writers, but of their poetic voice. Heavily influenced by the Italianate style, both cultured and popular poetry adopted a masculine persona, converting the woman into a fetishised object of male desire. (1992: 150)

Furthermore, when the lady's physical description is coupled with the *caballero's* subsequent emotional analysis 'véote triste enojada' (line 3), her character is weakened emotionally, and therefore simultaneously her implied suffering and distress are venerated as well as creating a sympathetic platform for the audience to



empathise with her in order there is some retribution in her future actions. Interestingly, Sponsler infers from many of the ballads that medieval women view 'woman as weaker and more vulnerable than man' (1975: 40). However, when considering women's anomalousness in the early Spanish ballad, they do not conform to this stereotype. On the other hand, we can see in the case of *Bella malmaridada*, Sponsler's argument holds fast, but I argue narrative voice plays a part in this depiction of the female. Oro Anahory-Librowicz contends, citing a couplet from a ballad, that sympathy can only be found with the female protagonist if the voice is hers: 'La clave se hallaría en el verso de la protagonista: 'El marido tengo viejo, / cansada estoy de servir', que haría de la dama una malmaridada capaz de suscitar simpatía' (1980: 324). I strongly disagree with this statement because in the case of *Bella malmaridada*, sympathy is evoked from the moment the knight relays his encounter with the wife. Also, whether the audience feel sympathy for the wife or not will most probably be influenced by their gender.

Because the first half of the ballad comprises the speech of the *caballero*, it is difficult to deny he is the proposer of relations rather than the woman being so, because by default he has the opportunity to ask 'si has de tratar amores / vida no dejes a mí' (lines 5-6). However, one could surmise the wife should not have been in a position where the knight could have seen her because traditionally a woman's arena was inside the home and a man's outside, therefore she was putting herself in a position of danger of losing her reputation. Faithful to the direct nature of the *romance*, in lines 5-6 the *caballero* uses vocabulary that Andrew M. Beresford states connote physical love as opposed to emotional love because 'amores' is one of the 'words dealing directly with love and love-making' (2005: 33). However, we must take into account Keith Whinnom's caveat on the ambiguity and double meanings of 'versos amorios' in the *cancioneros*, and so interpretation is subjective (1981: 34). Whether alluding to the physical aspect of love or not, María Pilar Martínez Latre proposes that amorous themes are a prominent characteristic of medieval and early modern Spanish literature: 'El tema básico que conforma la historia de las ficciones sentimentales es el amoroso. Este tema axial en literatura universal repercute en la función actancial de los personajes y moldea el espacio y tiempo de la fábula' (1989: 569). Nevertheless, I suggest in considering the ballads I have already looked at, and in the immediate example of the *caballero* in *Bella malmaridada*, thematic strands

point towards sexual relationships being more central to the lives of the ordinary people who were entertained by the *romancero*.

In the same way the knight exudes traditional dominant masculine characteristics by wooing the wife, she also exudes conventional subservient feminine traits in more than one way. Firstly, she appeals to the virility of the knight whose obvious masculine autonomy would allow him to carry out such a deed: 'sácame tú el caballero / sacasses me tú de aquí' (lines 15-16). Eileen Power outlines this feminine subservience, or if this is considered too strong a term, women's lack of independence because 'the fact which governed her position was not her personality but her sex, and by her sex she was inferior to man' (1975: 10). It may not be significant that the familiar second person subjunctive form is used by the wife, because this is purportedly reported speech on the part of the knight, and he initiates the conversation using the familiar form himself in lines 5-6. However, in the modern day version cited in Smith I would argue it is significant the wife addresses the *caballero* in the second person singular, yet notably she addresses her husband in the third person singular (1996: 197-8).

Secondly, 'servir' is a definite sexual act, and the wife echoes the carnal tension created by the knight 'te sabré muy bien servir' (line 18), using this as an enticement to him to carry out what possibly began simply as flirtation. It is at this point one may consider the wife to have reversed the roles of propositioner and proposed to, because she is realising his whim by creating another story within an already fictional framework. Even if we take her suggestion of serving him on an innocent level, the physical side of the relationship cannot be ignored by her blatant visualisation of them sharing a bed in lines 18-19 'bien te haré la cama / en que ayamos de dormir'. Thirdly, the wife's promise of performing the stereotypical gendered role of looking after the knight by cooking for him in lines 21-24 complements the modern day adage of a woman's role to be a whore in the bedroom and a chef in the kitchen:

guisaré te yo la cena  
como a amador gentil  
de gallinas y capones  
y otras cosas más de mil.

Whether the wife accepts her marital role or not is an interesting question. Although it is obvious she perceives her role to be one of subservience, ambivalence

shrouds this supposition because the narrative voice is masculine, and probably that of the knight. I would argue it is not unusual for the woman to complain, as we can see by the same theme running through connected literature, but her inference she is prepared to act upon her dissatisfaction is unusual due to the dependence women had upon men in the Middle Ages. Also, it is debatable whether her sad and angry state (line 3) is due to her husband's philandering, which the knight later communicates, or whether the verbal, mental, and physical abuse threatened by her husband causes her afflictions:

mucho mal dice de tí  
que jurava y perjurava  
que te había de ferir (lines 10-12)

Dillard implies physical maltreatment by the husband was almost commonplace, and therefore socially this probably would not have had a great impact on the audience had her melancholy been based solely upon her beatings: 'as for punishing her, wife beating, permitted in canon law, was not altogether unknown' (1984: 92). In this case, the *villancico* and *glosa* are more illuminating because they are able to create a more general story of why the wife is considered *malmaridada*.

Many of the ballads express infidelity in an inferred or euphemistic fashion, and on the part of the husband often under the guise of hunting, the most prominent example being *Blancaniña*, sometimes linked thematically to *Bella malmaridada*. However, the extremely candid nature of *Bella malmaridada* does not need to rely upon symbolism to highlight the husband's infidelity, which the *caballero* openly relates to the wife:

que a tu marido señora  
con otras damas le vi  
besando y abraçando (lines 7-9).

The unequal implications for male and female infidels are better highlighted in the more extensive modern version where the husband returns and the audience are faced with him believing to have caught his wife making a cuckold of him. However, Dillard explains it is social convention a wife is considered a second-class citizen, the idea being precipitated from the Church:

we should not dismiss the ecclesiastical ideology as lacking influence on medieval conceptions of the female sex, but experience did not reinforce the theory that a wife, perhaps one's own above all, was inferior to a virgin or a widow. (1984: 68)

The climax of the truncated 20\*RG version does not mirror the modern one, and the audience are therefore less directed towards the wife's infidelity in comparison to other versions where the husband reacts to finding the knight with his wife. Once again, the gloss of *Bella malmaridada* has to be relied upon in order to interpret the abrupt 20\*RG version, although I would reinforce my *caveat* on glosses that they are male erudite interpretations of a form of poetry usually attributed to popular female composition.

It is notable that the register of the gloss is significantly different from that of the ballad. The *culto* influence takes the focus away from the woman herself, rendering it both androcentric and egocentric, in keeping with features of courtly love poetry. These confluences with the courtly love aspect are evident in content and tone, with common elements at the forefront such as the natural environment from which the narrator most naturally communicates his lamentations: 'por una selva me fui / do hallé muy aquejada' (lines 7-8). The interjection supposedly narrated on the part of the wife in lines 84-85 then also carries on similar scenic features: 'quiero irme a una montaña / do jamás oiga su nombre' which sits awkwardly because it is reminiscent of a very male-orientated way of grieving over love, or lamenting one's bad lot in life, reflecting the tone of ballads such as *Gritando*.

The language and vocabulary used is very much from the vein of courtly love. I presume the narrative voice of the gloss to be one and the same as the *caballero*, not least because the gloss chronologically follows excerpts of *Bella malmaridada*. However, as stated above, the focus becomes on the *caballero*, taking away the wife's opportunity for communicating her feelings by using vocabulary formerly attributed to her own suffering 'yo quedé con tal tristeza' (line 14). The knight cannot even claim his affliction to be vicarious, because, by making the ballad courtly, he re-familiarises them with masculine misery, usurping the wife's distress, and evading the original crux. Although Power claims the courtly code 'made use of romance to cover up the assumed inferiority of woman', I would argue it highlights her inferiority when applied in circumstances such as these because the male voice comes to the forefront (1975: 10). The inclusion of a classical reference to an Arthurian legend in lines 34-35 'cuanto dicen que Tristán / le causó su linda amiga' highlights the erudite effect on the gloss, giving it a cosmopolitan slant and irrevocably also bringing with it focus on the masculine arena because of the allusions to the male torment suffered when Tristan, who was the nephew of the king of Cornwall, fell in love with Iseult,

his uncle's betrothed having mistakenly drunk a love potion that left them eternally in love with each other. Therefore, even the undercurrents of the gloss turn the focus of the ballad around to the masculine suffering, and specifically of the knight if the wife hypothetically passes over him as a choice of lover, whereas the audience or readers of the gloss should be ultimately concerned with the wife's anguish at her maltreatment.

Aspects of the typification of the ideal female looked at in Chapters II and III are also present in the gloss. They are especially evident in the seventh stanza where the wife's emotions are highlighted by the assonantal 'o' sound invoking a whimpering tone:

La dama deque esto oyó  
recibió tantos enojos  
que diez mil suspiros dio  
y angustiada allí lloró  
sin poder limpiar los ojos  
llorando como una mora (lines 61-66).

The simile is an erudite feature unusual for the ballad. However, more noteworthy is its racial aspect, which on its own implies a denigrating attitude towards the moors. However, coupled with the earlier mention in line 36 'pues conoces que en mi mora', it seems the wife is alluding to her own roots. The ballad does not allude to this feature, and neither does the gloss further expand on it. However, the wife's emotions coupled with the racial aspect evoke lines 4-7 of lyric 499 in Frenk's anthology, of which the protagonist is *morenica*:

La niña, cuerpo garrido,  
llorava su muerto amigo  
so el olivar,  
que las ramas haze temblar. (1987: 233)

Although the lyric mentions the female protagonist's race, Frenk does not include it in the *morena* section and I have found no evidence to distinguish the Moorish display of emotion from the Christian. However, it is important to note that emotions are not a feature generally included in the traditional oral forms such as the ballad because as Sponsler points out, this would constitute superfluous material whereas 'the ballad as a genre tends to be brief and dramatic rather than descriptive, and it usually deals with people involved in action situations' (1975: 33).

The defining feature of the gloss upholds the conviction that all texts stemming from the ballad are heavily influenced by androcentric scholarship. Rather

than treating the ballad as a personal complaint, the female voice of the gloss, supposedly being the wife's, is undermined by the erudite male viewpoint that homogenises women. The first occurrence of this is when the narrative voice of the wife admits there are many in her situation, or worse off: 'yo mejor que mil mujeres' (line 88). The attractive characteristic of the *romance* usually is that every story told personalises the characters, tailoring them and their situation to such a degree the audience feel they know both intimately. However, the glosses seek to undermine this when the wife begs the knight 'si me libras de esta llama' (line 96), her narrative voice not only subordinating herself to androcentricity, but collectivising all women. This impression does not come across in the ballad itself, and therefore is an inaccurate reinterpretation. The notion the female protagonist buys into of dissimilarity between women and men is re-stated almost apologetically by the female narrative voice under the guise of the wife in lines 103-04: 'vivirás tan a plazer / cuanto nunca con mujer', where she once again alienates and generalises about the female gender. Finally, though, whether it is the wife herself, or the narrative voice, she mirrors her subordination to the knight with her subordination in the ballad: 'si de darme tus favores / tu señor serás contento' (lines 111-12), bringing the audience back to the notion that women needed men for survival. This further reaffirms the gloss's mission of drawing attention to women's collective reliance upon men.

There are two versions of the *Bella malmaridada canción*.<sup>4</sup> The longer MP4g version is similar to the MP2, although derives its length by repeating the second couplet 'acuerdesete quan amada / señora fuiste de mí' of the MP4g as a refrain. When analysing the two versions side-by-side, the narrative voice is of her lover rather than husband. This undermines the point of the ballad because in the MP4g version the focus shifts from the wife by referring to the knight's suffering 'Mas pues no te pena nada / cuanto yo peno por ti' (lines 9-10). The only allusion to the wife's predicament is not surrounded by emotion or hyperbole, and briefly states 'tú lloras de malcasada' (line 25).

The final point on the texts relating to *Bella malmaridada* is a candid commentary on intimate details of the female protagonist's marriage. Dutton's labelling convention '[ID 1030 E 0255]' 'E' meaning 'lleva estribillo', and *estribillo* comprising the shorter MP2 version of the *canción*, implies the text is independent.

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<sup>4</sup> The *canción* versions (ID 0255) and (ID 4084), are found in Dutton 1990-91: II, 437 (MP2-163) and II, 594 (MP4g-506).

However, because it does not quote directly from the ballad but follows the general structure of the 20\*RG gloss, it appears to be more akin to the longer MN17 gloss.<sup>5</sup> The narrative voice, like Quesada's 20\*RG gloss on the *romance* alternates verses narrated by the male and female voices, and the sixth verse is particularly revealing as to how the author wishes to portray the woman. A more in-depth story is invented that warrants closer attention by the audience or readership, and which gives concrete reasons for the wife's unhappiness, even comparatively more than the ballad itself.

veo pasar mi niñez  
triste mal como no deve  
mi marido con vejez  
quiere holgar y no puede  
todas dicen ay de mí  
la muy malaventurada  
aunque veis que soy casada  
tal me estoy como naçí (lines 45-52)

Although there are no other references to sex in the *villancico*, there can be only one interpretation of this stanza. Similar to the ballad, the female protagonist voices her intentions to serve the knight as a wife was conventionally supposed to: both in the kitchen and bedroom. The fabrication of a deeper history of the renowned 'bella malmaridada' is retrospective to the ballad, and is a witty retort to the frowned-upon promiscuity of women. Although in the ballad the husband is publicly seen to be attempting to sleep with other women, the *villancico* ridicules the husband whose virility is undermined by his wife's claims. She complains her husband cannot sexually enjoy her in line 48, and again refers to her supposed virginal state in line 52. It is a surprising male view-point to be present in erudite poetry but reflects Sponsler's comment that 'a new deeper development of woman's personality, emotions, amorous interests, and physical passions is maintained in these learned ballads as well' (1975: 39). The LB1 *villancico* is a learned response to a ballad, reflecting the currents of the period, and the frank exposé of what could comprise a woman's complaint within marriage, but more importantly it mocks and undermines the masculine façade of sexual prowess.

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<sup>5</sup> The *canción* gloss (ID 2843) is found in Dutton 1990-91: II, 89 (MN17-33).

There are two textually different versions of *Rosa fresca*.<sup>6</sup> Hernando de Castillo's 11CG and 14CG versions and Fadrique de Basilea's 17\*OM have negligible differences, although the shorter 11CG version beginning 'Rosa fresca rosa fresca' (line 1) has notable discrepancies. The longer version has lengthy glosses which are illuminating as to how the contemporary erudite poets interpreted it.<sup>7</sup>

*Rosa fresca* differs from *Bella malmaridada* in that the female protagonist rejects physical necessity for a male partner, with the implication that the raw emotion of being wronged affects her decision to rebuff her suitor. Dissimilarly to the wife in *Bella malmaridada*, Rosa eschews anything but honesty and fidelity as integral to the function of a relationship. I will firstly look at this short twelve-line version because its isolated existence and possible lack of relation to the well-known version means it does not instigate the glosses other versions do. The analysis below illustrates the probable reasons for its extinction over the longer version and even by virtue of numbers at this contemporary point in the ballad's trajectory, the popularity of the longer version is evident, pointing towards its imminent survival over the second 11CG version. The key issue with the glosses is the possible female's perspective. Alan Deyermond corroborates there is importance in contemplating the opposing sexes' works in parallel:

I do not suggest that literature by women can always be clearly distinguished from that by men of the same time and country. Nevertheless, the literary map of fifteenth-century Spain takes on a different aspect if these writers are given their due place, just as the overall picture of women's writing in Spanish changes if late medieval authors are included. (1983: 29)

The second 11CG version shares its opening line with the longer texts, and also generally its thematic sentiments echo those of the longer versions where a former lover reminisces about the past yet his love is spurned: 'y ahora que os serviría' (line 11). However, it is obvious this ballad's extinction has occurred because the content is lacking in depth, dynamism, and character compared to the version which has maintained its popularity until today. It is an anonymous version of the ballad, found only in Hernando de Castillo's 11CG collection, yet omitted from his later 14CG. I surmise that other than overlooking its incorporation in the later collection, a reason for its exclusion could be because 14CG comprises revisions of

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<sup>6</sup> The versions of *Rosa fresca* are the shorter (ID 6336) and (ID 0714). (ID 6336) is found in Dutton 1990-91: V, 335 (11CG-463). (ID 0714) is found in Dutton 1990-91: V, 325 (11CG-437), VI, 128, (14CG-460) and VI, 295 (ID 17\*OM-12).

<sup>7</sup> The gloss (ID 0767) is found in Dutton 1990-91: I: 161 (LB1-76), V, 325 (11CG-438), VI, 128, (14CG-461).



11CG, possibly a decline in popularity of the version meant it was not justified in including in 14CG. There is also the possibility the version is a fragment, although Hernando de Castillo does not give indication of this. Further dispelling this hypothesis is the cyclical nature of the closing line 'veo me triste morir' (line 12) which neatly brings the ballad full-circle with its complementary opening narrative 'que nacistes con más gracias' (line 3).

Although the shorter version has a traditional rhyme scheme, its content has an erudite aspect of the courtly love style, similar to the erudite ballads I discuss in Chapter III. Power's comments on courtly love echo the sentiments expressed in the shorter version because:

the lady stood in a position of superiority towards her lover as uncontested as the position of inferiority in which a wife stood towards her husband. Love was, as it were, feudalised; the lover served his lady as humbly as the vassal served his lord [...] He must not only bear himself with the utmost humility towards her, showing infinite patience in the trials to which her caprices and disdains must (by all the rules) submit him, but must strive unceasingly to make himself worthy of her by the cultivation of all the knightly virtues. (1975: 24)

This is illustrated by the male protagonist's attitude 'nací para sufrir' (line 8) and *exclamatio* such as in the line 'ay de mí desventurado' (line 7). The ambivalent sexual euphemism so often present in the courtly love poetry is also present in the other versions, although its repetition in consecutive lines 'que os pudiera bien servir / y ahora que os serviría' (lines 11-12), reflects the physical aspect of servitude the male expects to exhibit.

Even though the twenty-two line version of *Rosa fresca* is lengthier, it is still brief yet extremely turgid. Because of the brevity of narration, the performer has no choice but to communicate a pithy, blunt construal of medieval relationships and values. Even the tripartite structure of the ballad, of which the central third is the female protagonist's attack on her ex-lover's behaviour, affects the audience's acceptance of the characters. Because the *señora* is given only one chance to state her case and is not able to respond to the male protagonist's final word, the audience sees Rosa in a slightly neglected light, and therefore feels inclined to protect her. Also, it is obvious that the lover, who has been absent for such a long period, disregards the crux of her accusation which is 'querades casado amigo' (line 13), and his only defence to the argument thrown at him refers to his location during the intervening years: 'que yo nunca entré en Castilla / ni allá en tierras de León' (lines 19-20).



Geographical location often plays a role in establishing the setting and the characters of the ballad as more realistic for the listeners, although Roger Wright states of the ballad 'despite being printed in a Castilian version, seems to be set in Aragon' (1991: 82). However, in *Rosa fresca*, Rosa others and elevates the inhabitants of Castile and Leon by using both a complimentary adjective and simile to describe the male protagonist's supposed family: 'que tenéis mujer hermosa / e hijos como una flor' (lines 14-15). Simultaneously, because she is subordinating her own attributes below those of the unknown characters, this raises sympathy with her on the part of the audience, but also reveals an innocence, although which could equally be construed as ignorance, surrounding her knowledge of the Castilians.

It is odd Rosa chooses to use flower imagery because her previous lover has already used that symbolism in direct reference to her in the opening lines of the ballad. Nonetheless, this could simply be put down to lack of spontaneity on the part of the composer, because such imagery is extremely popular in the literature of the period. Frenk notes the timelessness of such organic symbols:

We have to go back to pre-Christian times, to Indo-European or even pre-Indo-European times. And it is indeed astonishing that those most archaic symbols should preserve their vigour till our days, and that we, modern readers, may still be able to understand how images of fountains and rivers and trees and flowers had the power to convey what ordinary language will forever be incapable of expressing. (1993: 22)

So although the male protagonist has already named Rosa after the most regal of flowers, as discussed in Chapter IV with regards the ballad *Rosaflorida*, Rosa's elevated description of his children perhaps implies an element of jealousy, which she communicates by turning the same imagery back to him. It is interesting his response then does not mention her name, but addresses her as 'señora', a more formal version in keeping with the defensive register he has to then adopt in comparison to his earlier mellower advances.

The ballad's versatile ability to change pace is influenced by the protagonists' standpoint and communicated within their repartee. Although the female protagonist is initially a character created for the audience who is to be flattered: 'tan garrida y con amor' (line 2), in the same way women of the courtly love texts are, the courtly love aspect is paradoxically dismissed by the rhythmic first line, which Smith puts forward is intended 'to have an incantatory effect, lifting our minds from everyday reality into a world of make-believe' (1996: 35). The incantatory effect is perpetuated throughout the male-voice narrative not only by the *repetitio* of lines 4 and 6, but also

throughout the male protagonist's initial speech which is littered with soft 'o' and 'u' vowel sounds:

cuando yo os tuve en mis brazos  
no vos supe servir no  
y ahora que os serviría  
no vos puedo yo aver no (lines 3-6)

However, Rosa's retort emanates venom enhanced by the repetition of the fricative phrase in 'vuestra fue la culpa amigo / vuestra fue que mía no' (lines 7-8), and brings a realistic emotional element. Because the female protagonist is able to change the tone so suddenly and evoke such a defensive response from the male protagonist, it is impressed upon the audience her persona is not subservient and spineless as expected of women.

The attribution of the blame is well apportioned to the male protagonist, and the interesting feature of the ballad is how Rosa deals with his actions and vehemently turns the audience against accepting his philandering, which is so often tolerated, or even expected, in medieval Spanish literature on the part of males. Her former lover immediately expresses regret for his actions in the 17\*OM version when instead of describing Rosa as 'garrida', the word 'crecida' (line 2) is employed, suggesting he feels he has missed an opportunity and also from which the audience infer he holds nostalgia for the past. The ballad moves full circle when this lament of wishing to turn back time is echoed in the ultimate couplet: 'sino cuando era pequeño / que no sabía de amor' (lines 21-22). The ending of the ballad seems to be weak excuse, which contributes to the male protagonist's acceptance of the blame. The indicator of his admission he has erred is at the beginning of line 21 denoted by the word 'sino' and whether the protagonist is conceding or not he has a family in Leon, he is most certainly admitting to having behaved foolishly in the past. However, his weak defence certainly empowers Rosa as a character, and also as a female representative within the *romancero*. This is not only due to her face-to-face invective, but also fundamentally because of the intrinsic magnetism she holds for her ex-lover (or whether he is simply trying his luck again), and to which she feels no need to give in, Rosa has an unsurpassed dominance over the male protagonist.

It is a pity only one poet chose to gloss this ballad in the relevant era, and although uniquely the scholar could be female, a comparison of a male's and female's glosses would prove most interesting. As opposed to the eclectic nature of the

*romance tradicional*, which is usually considered a conglomeration of many voices and influences, similarly to the *romances artificiosos*, glosses can usually be precisely attributed to one author. However, historical evidence may obstruct the true root of literature, such as in this instance where S. Griswold Morley believes the gloss on *Rosa Fresca* to be the work of Florencia Pinar (1945: 278). Yet Dutton's anthology remains firm in attributing the gloss to Florencia Pinar's brother, the contemporarily more esteemed poet of the *Corte de los Reyes Católicos* (1990 – 91 VII: 418). Smith involuntarily implies it may have been the male Pinar who glossed *Rosa Fresca* by virtue of the fact 'the ballad was popular at the court of the Catholic Monarchs in about 1495, and throughout the Golden Age' (1996: 196). The gloss of *Rosa Fresca* is possibly the only relevant piece of erudite work in Dutton's anthology I have to consider from a female perspective, of which there are two barely differentiating versions. Although Garci Sánchez de Badajoz also glosses *Rosa Fresca*, a text which is only included in Ferdinand Joseph Wolf's later anthology *Primavera* of 1856, for consistency I am principally looking only at texts whose formation is at the latest in the fifteenth century therefore I do not want to incorporate an analysis of his version. However, it must be taken into account Pinar's gloss has been incorporated by two male editors into their *cancioneros*, and because there are orthographical and vocabulary distinctions, it is difficult to gauge how much either Hernando de Castillo or the unknown editor of the LB1 *cancionero* may have altered the ballad in an androcentric manner before committing it to their manuscripts. One would assume there has been a degree of editorial input into any sources in the *cancioneros*, and because of their temporal background, and the fact there are mutual inclusions in both the LB1 and the 11CG and 14CG *cancioneros*, one would expect the texts themselves to be more similar, whereas if the *cancioneros* were more disparate, it would not be unusual to see inconsistencies because it would be accepted they (especially the traditional as opposed to erudite texts) had different sources and influences.

Apart from the noted discrepancies, I will use the 11CG gloss as a textual basis. The main feature of the gloss in general in comparison to the ballad is it allows for an extended interpretation of the ballad which is treated as the original text. The expansion of protagonists' characters in the glosses further gives rise to their versions of events through reported speech, such as is the case of the *Respuesta de la dama* (lines 31-81), although through the filter of the performer. In particular in this excerpt, the character of the *caballero's* messenger is developed, which yields an

interesting reading of a vassal's attitude towards the opposite sex. However, it must be noted this depiction of the messenger filters through levels of both editing and fiction itself; by the author Pinar, the editor of the *cancionero* in which it is included, the anonymous narrative voice, the character of Rosa, and lastly the messenger himself who is seen to have an input into the exposition of the knight because it is said 'dijo lo que sospechava / y lo que de vos creía' (lines 62 – 63).

Confessions of fallibility in the male's comportment are less frequently occurring in the *romancero* than elucidation of the female's misbehaviour, and also more infrequently reacted to, although obviously in this chapter we do see such anomalous responses to male infidelity in *Bella malmaridada*, *Rosafresca* and *Durandarte*. The disapproval in the gloss of *Rosafresca* is indicated not only by Rosa herself, but also by the *servidor* whose use of the verb *sospechar* connotes distrust and negativity towards his master and, although an inconsistent rhetoric is employed in the gloss, it is through his character a tentative motion is communicated, telling the tales of his master's exploits as if he wishes to protect Rosa. Notwithstanding the filters of narration, I believe it is important to point out how the servant alludes to the philandering of his master in the quotation from the original ballad versions: 'y en lugar de recaudar / el dijera otra razón' (lines 60 – 61). Due to the syntax of the section, where the previous line clearly shows the subject is 'vuestro servidor' (line 10 of the 11CG ballad version), it can only be inferred the direct object of the protection is the master, and not Rosa. However, in theory, the vassal should protect Rosa's former lover instead of Rosa not only because he should feel a degree of commitment to him, but also in a patriarchal system it would be presumed he would feel more kinship with a man. Furthermore, his discomfort with the situation is unusual given medieval Spain was rife with infidelity on the part of men and therefore socially acceptable. Although Dillard only exposes the conventions applied to infidelity within marriage, it is assumed that in a betrothed or unofficially corroborated relationship, consequences of a similar but lesser degree would also apply. Dillard states 'adultery was an offence of which a married man was capable, but he was not punished by his wife', yet 'a man could kill both his wife and her lover when he found them committing adultery (*in flagrante*), and he would not be punished for homicide' (1984: 203). Unusually, the servant does not appear proud of the phallocentric attitude his master displays, although I would suggest it is through a feminine filter the messenger plays a heroic role that at times in both glosses undermines typical

male androcentricity. However, with regards the gloss, lines 60 – 61 take rather different effect, and in the context of the gloss as opposed to the ballad text, the couplet is quoted with reference to Rosa herself and not in fact the vassal's master, who, in the ballad it would be presumed to be referring to, which I discuss in the following paragraph. This is the most concrete example we have in the gloss of the original meaning of *Rosafresca* being manipulated to suit an individual composer's interpretation of the ballad, which appears significantly changed from the original.

The *servidor* is not simply a literary tool to expose Rosa's lover's exploits, but initially in the 11CG gloss, the language the female narrator uses for his exposition implies he is present to invoke sympathy for the female protagonist:

No me acuerdan las razones  
que el mensajero de enojos  
deshizo las conclusiones (lines 52-4)

These three lines could be interpreted in two ways; firstly, had Rosa not already been suspicious (which is implied) of her former beau's affairs, 'enojos' could be interpreted as malicious anger on the part of the *servidor*. Secondly, which is my reading, is that the anger of the messenger is to be taken as vexed and upset emotion, which is communicated through Rosa, but also possibly reminiscent of a partisan, emotional female attitude. Rosa, also supposedly the female narrator, then subsequently mirrors the emotions of the messenger with her feminine version of distress: 'y despinte los renglones / con el agua de mis ojos' (lines 55-6).

Although it is unresolved whether it is the brother or sister Pinar who is the author of the gloss, it would be compatible with Florencia Pinar's style of employing irony in her work. Hence it is doubly paradoxical that in these lines it could be the female mind is engaging with the erudite world on two levels; not only may Pinar be putting quill to paper in place of the traditional association of women with the oral ballad form, and who, as we can infer from their noted absence in Dutton's collected *cancioneros*, were incongruous to the literary arena. But also even within the fictional framework, through the female narrative voice, Rosa inserts allusion to the erudite world with the imagery of the 'renglones despintos', implying it is Rosa's tears writing the lovers' fate. The implication here is Rosa is actively trying to reassert her control of the situation, which is atypical female behaviour seen rarely except in the ballads I particularly look at in this discussion. However, the metaphors

and emotions constructed are contradictory because Rosa then tries to claim the messenger has been insensitive in his transmission of events to her:

No cuidandose acordar  
que era vuestra mi afición  
él comiença de hablar (lines 57–59).

In the LB1 version the messenger plays a more active role in soiling the character of his master, which is the significant difference between the 11CG and LB1 glosses: ‘diziendo sus presunçiones / que erades falso cruel’ (lines 55 – 56). The reported speech discharges Rosa from responsibility for characterisation of the *caballero*, and also the use of the second person singular form ‘erades’ reinforces the nature of the gloss as a dialogue between two ex-lovers. This therefore reminds the readers that the *caballero* will have a chance to reply; hence the readers’ sympathy can stay with Rosa. Contrary to 11CG, the metaphor Rosa uses does not take control of the situation, but allows the messenger to make up her mind for her by subordinating her to the effect of her ex-lover’s actions:

no me acuerdan las razones  
de ella pero sin las dar  
eran darme a mi prisiones (lines 52 – 54).

The shackles Rosa talks about in line 54 are also a contradiction because the essence of *Rosafresca*, communicated throughout the gloss, is that Rosa does not feel the need to conform to the typical behaviour of a woman Dillard puts forward: a woman was obligated to show a man respect, obedience and fidelity (1984: 93). The ballad and its glosses clearly show the *caballero* she owes him nothing. As opposed to the contemporaneous style of poetics, this is indicative of Florencia Pinar’s poetic ‘temperament’ where, as Deyermond explains, ‘the imagery enables her to say about herself indirectly but very clearly things which the conventions of the time prevented her from saying explicitly’ (1983: 50).

In the same way that in the ballad, the *caballero* does not directly reply to Rosa’s accusations, often the intervening commentary between the ballad quotations in the gloss do not relate to the citations. Rosa’s ultimate manifesto in the gloss is surprisingly weak and unfocussed culminating only in her questioning whether she herself affected the *caballero*’s decision to take a new wife and family: ‘Y si os fui desdeñosa / y os traté con disfavor’ (lines 77-78). This is in comparison to a smarter, elongated defence on the part of her former lover who strongly refutes the stories as

‘un testimonio falsado / con dichos engañadores’ (lines 86-87). He then evokes sympathy from the readers by using emotive vocabulary, once again reminiscent of *caballeresco* poetry: ‘yo muera sin confesión / sin reparo y sin mancilla’ (lines 99 – 100). Because the gloss draws to a close with a defined heading ‘fin’ (line 103) in the LB1 version and ‘Cabo’ (line 103) in the 11CG version, more weight is given to the non-ballad content of the *caballero*’s speech in the final stanza:

quiero luego en un momento  
 declarar mi pensamiento  
 por salir de este empalago  
 con tal fe que yo os empeño  
 mi fe de buen amador (lines 106-10)

However, his feeble excuse which closes both the gloss and the ballad fully undermines the persuasiveness of the preceding rhetoric, which is turgid with vocabulary found in the courtly love tradition. I would ask, in light of the aspect of Florencia Pinar’s other works, whether Pinar intentionally creates an agonisingly compelling speech on the part of the *caballero* knowing that because of gloss convention, the evasive, anticlimactic couplet ‘sino cuando era pequeño / que no sabía de amor’ (lines 112–13) cited from the ballad will follow, and hence destabilise the sincerity of the knight’s discourse.

In conclusion, due to the continuous characterisation in the gloss, Pinar creates a convincing but alternating justification of both the protagonists’ behaviour, and consequently by the midpoint of the gloss, during the *Respuesta de la dama*, the readers believe the *caballero* is in the wrong. However, this depiction is momentarily undermined by the section entitled ‘Dice el caballero’ (line 82) because, as the readers are all aware of the ballad’s innate presence in the gloss, its intraexistential state will always be considered an overture to the commentary and the sentiments communicated in the ballad will usually undermine the gloss’s inferences, as they do in the case of Pinar’s gloss of *Rosafresca*. Additionally, there is an emanating sense of irony in the gloss due to the original ballad text.

The final ballad is *Durandarte*, which comes in a plethora of textual versions.<sup>8</sup> *Durandarte* is a ballad included in six different editions of *cancioneros* compiled in the early sixteenth century. Although the MP4g is truncated, the MP7, 11CG, 14CG, 17\*RM, and 20\*DS versions are all similar with only some minor orthographic

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<sup>8</sup> *Durandarte* (ID 0882) is found in Dutton 1990-91: II, 595 (MP4g-514), II, 612 (MP7-59), V, 336 (11CG-465), VI, 131 (14CG-495), VI, 302 (17\*RM-5), VI, 314 (20\*DS-1).



discrepancies. In order to be consistent I use the 11CG version as the base text, drawing comparisons when necessary. I will move on to look briefly at the 11CG gloss composed by Diego de Soria. The ballad has evident influences from two dominant cultures – the Carolingian *chansons de geste* where the anthropomorphism of Roland's sword *Durandel* at the battle of Roncesvaux came about, and also, as Smith points out 'his further evolution into a symbol of constancy in love seems to be purely Spanish and more in keeping with the world of *Amadís de Gaula* than with that of the Carolingian heroes' (1996: 168).

I suggest Belerma's character is anomalously incongruent to the courtly love tradition which David William Foster argues strongly to be the basis of *Durandarte*:

the context of the poem is unmistakeably courtly. The woman refers to the practices of courtly love, such as the service of the woman and feats of valour in her honour, the knight's publication of his amatory allegiance, and so on. (1971: 168)

*Durandarte* is a ballad at odds with the tradition, and I believe Belerma is represented as a fatal woman who became dissatisfied with her situation rather than simply playing the role of the woman who superficially rejects the man's attention as occurs conventionally in the courtly love tradition. The courtly love paradigm secures Belerma's channel to communicate her dissatisfaction with *Durandarte*, yet creates a situation where he has to defend himself rather than appeal to her resistant nature. In the context of the ballad, I will further discuss, (which can also possibly be applied to a wider ambit), whether the readers are to believe the sword named *Durandarte* has actually metamorphosed into a person, or in fact if the sword is simply a phallus bivalently representing masculinity and also loyalty and fidelity in amorous love which Belerma only saw fit to spurn.

The folklore and literature surrounding the protagonists of *Durandarte* also have a significant enough degree of intertextual influence over the interpretation of the characters *Durandarte*, *Belerma*, and *Gaiferos*. These are worthy of consideration when looking at characterisations of the protagonists because they affect the performers' and composer's depiction of them. Hence, *Durandarte* is known for his heroic endeavours in combat, as well as being perpetuated as a devoted admirer. The evolution of *Belerma*'s characterisation in particular is intercepted by novelistic fiction, elucidates by Peter N. Dunn:

si tenemos que calificar en pocas palabras a Belerma a base de estas señas, diremos: desfachatez, crueldad, traición, malicia. La *femme fatale* de *Durandarte* resulta ser una desvergüenza. Al llegar a este momento del relato de

Don Quijote, el lector de 1615 recordaría que, sin duda los romances, Belerma no era modelo de ternura y constancia. El romance *Durandarte, Durandarte* (Wolf *Primavera y flor*, 180) refiere como ella traicionó su amor. (1973: 196)

Dunn goes on to point out that Miguel de Cervantes draws comparisons between Dulcinea, the object of Don Quijote's desires and Belerma, concluding there are 'señas de Belerma que apuntan a su desvergüenza sexual' (1973: 199). However, intertextual influences aside, in opposition to Foster's courtly love view of *Durandarte*, I would also argue that due to an audience's acceptance of certain forms of literature (be it poetry or prose), it is the very structure and nature of the traditional ballad that is inverse to the courtly love tradition and therefore leads to the interpretation that Belerma is anomalous from the beginning, contrasting with the stereotypical woman.

In re-positioning *Durandarte*, Belerma subverts the traditional courtly love genre of the male courting female, an action akin to *Gentil dama*. Although *Durandarte* does not avoid the formulaic vocabulary and phrases of the courtly love poetry, such as the climactic death he threatens in line 22: 'moriré desesperado', this is undermined by his bitterness in the preceding line 'que por no sufrir ultraje' (line 21) where such negative vocabulary would not usually have been used in direct reference to his lover. Initially, Belerma implies that his actions imbue gentlemanly traits, when describing him as a 'buen cavallero provado' (line 2). However, the compliment is seen as derision when Belerma's real agenda is revealed by her use of sarcasm to fight her case in line 5 'y dime si te acuerda' and by addressing him as 'ahora desconocido' in line 11. It is unusual for a female to use this tone in the courtly love aspect. Also, in reply, the register used in defence by *Durandarte* has a subtle hint of derogation from the outset, inferred by his opening line 'palabras son lisonjeras' (line 13) because the term connotes a degree of disingenuousness. The ballad develops into an attack and defence, which is not structurally reminiscent of *amor cortés*. I must also point out that although *Durandarte* is from a traditional background, because of ballads' inclusion in essentially erudite corpuses and the arrival of the *romances artificiosos*, it is prudent to take into account the sharing of ideas between forms and genres, elucidated by Juan Casas Rigall:

Aplicando un criterio amplio, junto a las composiciones que entran de lleno en esta categoría, también tendrán cabida en la selección poemas de aire tradicional con contaminaciones cortesas, poemas morales, y burlescos que encaran desde sus respectivas ópticas asuntos amorosos, elogios femeninos de circunstancias – no siempre diferenciables del loor amoroso – y, en fin, poemas deliberadamente ambiguos. (1995: 18)

This dispels Foster's conviction of its existence as a courtly love piece of poetry. I would suggest it is a ballad with only some bare aspects of *amor cortés*. Hence, this means Belerma is a character rather more out of the ordinary than the typical female of the courtly love poetry who would reject her suitor because of convention.

The bipartite structure of the ballad further highlights a stereotypical gender inversion. In general, Belerma focuses on the masculine aspect of the constitution of their relationship with bellicose allusions (I use the MP7 text here because of the erroneous transcription of line 8 'oublicavas' instead of 'publicavas' in the 11CG version):

cuando en justas y envinciones  
publicavas tu cuidado  
cuando venciste a los moros  
en campo por mí aplazado (lines 7-10)

Paradoxically her memories of the relationship appear to be the instigation for the ballad: 'yo te ruego que hablemos / en aquel tiempo pasado' (lines 3-4). However, in the second part of the ballad, the vocabulary of Durandarte is far more emotional and sensitive, with negligible reference to combat. Smith notes this structure is often the nature of the *romance* where 'within a military setting, they go on to deal with the human drama or the tragic personal situation which has arisen out of the battle or siege or expedition' (1972: 10). But because of the division within the ballad, I would argue Belerma's appreciation of Durandarte's actions reflects her characterisation as a resilient female who empathises more with the stereotypical masculine aspects of life, and the opposite could be said for Durandarte. Risibly, Sponsler claims ballads to depict medieval women as 'weaker and more vulnerable than man' (1975: 41). Conversely, *Durandarte* is a prime example of a woman carving her own way and resisting the stereotypical path she could take, and through her actions in no way is a weaker figure than Durandarte.

As well as history, folklore is infused deep in the roots of the *romancero*. Hence it is not unusual to come across magic in ballads such as *Mariana*, or the paranormal in ballads such as *Aparición*. Consequently it is also not implausible that a character who has sprung forth from a sword is fully embraced. However, taking into account the enormous weight of sexual euphemism and symbolism in the *romancero*, which have widely featured in this discussion, I suggest that the concept of Durandarte as a sword has not yet been fully explored. The ballads' popularity was

due in part to their familiarity, which stemmed from thematic empathy such as a bucolic atmosphere and rustic protagonists, or from prior knowledge of their representational elements. J. E. Cirlot demonstrates how symbolism is instilled in collective society: 'there are two aspects of the interpretation of the unconscious: what the symbol represents in itself (objective interpretation), and what it signifies as a projection or as an individualised 'case' (subjective interpretation)' (2002: xlvi). How far the two aspects are mutually inclusive or exclusive is a grey area because of the way symbolism changes and mutates over time. However, I will discuss the two aspects of interpretation of the unconscious with respect to the sword as the basis for Durandarte's character, and consequently hypothesise as to what may have caused Belerma to reject his offerings.

Firstly, *¡Oh Belerma!*, *¡Oh Belerma!*, a ballad Smith includes in his anthology, illustrates the background of Roland's sword named Durandel and how it became the deceased knight at the battle of Roncesvaux (1996: 168-170). In it, characteristics manifestly associate with the sword, supporting his characterisation as a 'buen cavallero provado' (line 2). In *Durandarte*, Durandarte laudably demonstrates his prowess by fighting in the name of his sweetheart: 'en campo por mí aplazado' (line 10), hence the evolution of the sword in particular as a representation of fidelity in love. However, individualised interpretation may be coincide with objective interpretation, which is expounded by Cirlot's consideration that the sword's 'primary symbolic meaning, however, is of a wound and the power to wound, and hence of liberty and strength' (2002: 308).

The most pertinent symbolism Cirlot attributes to the Western type of sword form in particular, 'with its straight blade, is, by virtue of its shape, a solar and masculine symbol' (2002: 308). This aspect of Durandarte's characterisation is very much overlooked bearing in mind Mariana Masera puts emphasis on the universality of symbolism in considering 'traditional poetry has a limited number of topoi, motifs, and stylistic sources known and shared by all the people' (1997: 387). In order to draw parallels between the imagery Belerma conjures for the audience during her invective against Durandarte I do not need to reiterate Ian Macpherson and Angus Mackay's work on the significance of the double entendres surrounding jousts and their components. The composer or performer would have been well aware it is even more sensational that Belerma, the female protagonist narrates the stories of Durandarte's 'galas y envinciones' (line 7). This is underscored by the fact events are

being carried out by a knight whose persona comes from an object with phallic connotations; Macpherson and Angus Mackay state the 'espada' to be representative of the 'órgano viril' (1993: 32). Just as in the ballad *Gerineldos*, where the king lays his sword between the dormant lovers, his blade being the symbol of the dominant phallus, Durandarte is presented as the 'órgano viril' in an episode riddled with sexual overtones.

The pertinent question is why Belerma rejected a supposedly virile, compassionate knight in a *femme fatale* manner. The *romance* is a form whose perpetuation relies upon originality and Power notes:

In chivalry the romantic worship of a woman is as necessary a quality of the perfect knight as the worship of God [...] Its characteristic manifestation was not a general reverence for womanhood, but a wholly original concept of love which was to inspire much of the finest literature of the Middle Ages. (1975: 20)

Hence because the ballads are rarely conducive to fairytale endings and sexual tension breeds a compelling storyline, Durandarte may be characterised as a paradigmatic male and in order for the ballad to reject convention it should follow that Belerma is not compatible with the model of the romanticised woman.

The gloss on *Durandarte* was composed by Soria around the end of the fifteenth century.<sup>9</sup> It presents a distinct interpretation of Belerma's character as more yielding than in the ballad. Likewise, the character of Durandarte is less defensive and cutting than he is portrayed in the ballad. Overall, the gloss plays down the intensity of the argument of the ballad, which is mostly the effect of its extended length. The tone is also different, illustrated by a listlessness in the earlier half of the denouement captioned 'Habla el auctor dando fin' (line 122):

Estos dos enamorados  
cuyo mal mis ojos ciega  
disimulan sus cuidados  
y entramos viven penados  
él que pide y él que niega (lines 123-27)

This unpartisan atmosphere created by the narrative voice in the conclusion of the ballad fails to replicate the stark reality the ballad constructs. This is because the ballad itself presents the audience with strong and forceful characters, each of whom at times is the object of empathy of the listeners thereby creating an entertaining plot. In the concluding words of the 'auctor', even the regular octosyllabic rhyme has the effect of softening the events of the ballad.

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<sup>9</sup> The gloss (ID 2029) is found in Dutton 1990-91: V, 336 (11CG-466).

However, compared with the conclusion, the body of the gloss is slightly more aggressive. In contrast to the vocabulary of the ‘auctor’ who refers to the protagonists as ‘enamorados’, the character of Durandarte uses antagonistic language, exaggerated by the use of anadiplosis, to refuse Belerma in his most unambiguous rebuff:

Tratadme como a enemigo  
enemigo reprovado  
pues es verdad lo que digo  
“Que si amor quieres conmigo  
tenéislo muy mal pensado” (lines 107-11)

Nevertheless, retrospectively the harshness is played down when Belerma uses the same rhetorical device although employs opposite vocabulary in creatin her defence in the first half of the gloss:

Nunca te puse en olvido  
siempre fuiste deseado  
deseado y aun temido  
“Ahora desconocido  
di porqué más olvidado” (lines 56-60)

This excerpt also illustrates Belerma’s subordination of herself to Durandarte by declaring her awe of him in line 58. In the ballad Belerma appears to have a certain amount of control over their relationship, such as indicating where Durandarte should fight in her name (line 10). Yet in the gloss her persona is presented as dependent on him in line 22 ‘y en la fe que tu me diste’ and lines 6-10:

Que no pudiendo olvidarte  
viéndote averme olvidado  
torno ahora aquí a rogarte  
“Durandarte Durandarte  
buen cavallero provado”

Correspondingly, Durandarte’s control is emphasised in the gloss:

mis disculpas verdaderas  
llevaré de grado en grado  
que las vuestras lastimeras  
“Palabras son lisonjeras  
Señora de vuestro grado” (lines 77-81)

This has the effect of removing any courtly love aspects because, as I cite Power above, *amor cortés* depends on the man being at the whim of the woman.

As is true with the majority of the glosses on the ballads I have come across, they are lacklustre reinterpretations of the original ballad text. Although they

sometimes throw light on different interpretations, principally they have the effect of obliterating the sharpness of the ballad that permeates both the plot and characterisation. Hence, in *Durandarte*, the readers are presented with a depiction of the protagonists that suggests a dynamic gender power balance in opposition to a contemporary formulaic literary reflection of the characters in the gloss.

CHAPTER VII. THE ETHNICALLY MARGINALISED WOMAN

Even though there is evidence that the Arabic *jarchas* strongly influence the metrics of the *romancero*, the *lingua franca* of the *romancero* is usually Castilian. However, thematically there is relatively little Moorish cultural influence on the medieval Spanish ballads, which may be contextualised by Marcial Rossell:

Las catedrales, los grandes monasterios y las instituciones que de ellos dependían, ampararon y protegieron con largueza, en la medida que la inseguridad de los tiempos lo permitía, a las artes y a las letras, mantenidas por la savia y la influencia de la cultura en parte musulmana, en parte judaica y en parte cristiana. Sobre este trípode se levantó la cultura española. (1928: 478)

Therefore, although the *musulmanes* could in theory contribute one third of the Spanish cultural component, in practice this does not permeate into the arts and entertainment. The allusions to Moorish culture are an intrinsic aspect of the storyline of *Mora Morayma*, the final ballad I look at in this discussion, and consequently it is widely debated whether it has racial motivation, principally demonstrated by the continuous dispute whether the text should be categorised as *fronterizo* or *morisco*. Colin C. Smith posits that ‘the ballad may certainly be termed *morisco*, but it is neither about war as the fifteenth-century *fronterizo* ballads are, nor sentimental and self-consciously exotic as are the *morisco* poems of the late sixteenth century’ (1996: 192). Louise Mirrer-Singer, notably concerned that the categorisation of the ballad affects the racial aspect of *Mora Morayma* quotes Cirot’s opinion that: ‘est le type du vrai romance moresque: non pas qu’il soit forcément une production moresque: mais l’auteur se met au lieu et place d’un moresque et adopte ses sympathies et ses passions’ (1985: 158). On the other hand, Roger Wright purports *Mora Morayma* to be a ‘romance *fronterizo*, since it has the same matter-of-fact approach to the problems inherent in relations between Christian and Muslim’ (1991: 75). Although these arguments take into account the face-value content and style of *Mora Morayma*, J. M. Solà-Solé has already delved deeper into its roots, concluding that ‘a base de presuponer un cantarcillo árabe en el origen de nuestro romance, no anduviera muy lejos de la realidad’ (1965: 145). Hence it would appear it is racially posited text because it is inconsistent with the probable ancestry of the other ballads amongst which it is located.

The intensity of Morayma’s character is compounded because she is a member of two minority groups, where Anne J. Cruz and Mary Elizabeth Perry cite ‘women,

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*conversos*, and *moriscos*' to be the main ones (1992: xiv). Throughout Cruz and Perry's publication, it is implied that 'minority' is synonymous with 'marginalised' or 'oppressed'. For that reason, a précis of the ballad's protagonist depicts a woman who, particularly in oral literature, not only appears to be ethnically and spiritually incongruent with her Christian counterparts who are central to previous ballads, but significantly, and similar to the women in the latter chapters, she also does not display the same reserved comportment as the stereotypical Visigothic paradigm of woman that I establish early on in the earlier chapters of this discussion. I will take racial motivation for the ballad into consideration for the purpose of analysing both the protagonists' behaviour, and with respect to Morayma, this is because it is the key characteristic that sets her apart from the stereotypical Christian women considered to be paradigmatic in the romance.

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Brian Dutton located *Mora Moraima* in four different *cancioneros*.<sup>1</sup> The ballad also has been glossed by Pinar, the brother of Florencia Pinar.<sup>2</sup> The LB1 variant, which S. Griswold Morley believes to be 'later than 1471, but, according to the editor, contains allusions showing it to be no later than the last decades of the fifteenth century', is longer (1945: 275). Orthographically, the LB1 version appears older than the 20\*MM, 11CG and 14CG songbooks, not least because it sports a paragogic 'e' which Smith claims is a 'very ancient habit of Spanish epic and ballad whose origins lie as far back as the tenth and eleventh centuries' (1996: 27). However, the extra nine lines of the LB1 were seemingly not merited and hence the version has not survived in the oral tradition today, and obviously was not even replicated in *cancioneros* a few decades later. Because of this disparity between versions, I believe it is important to consider the extra lines that do not appear in the favoured version and what the readers and listeners could have gleaned from them. The only differences between the 20\*MM, 11CG and 14CG texts are minor orthographic discrepancies, and I will cite from the 11CG text.

As I mention in Chapter VI, the exotic is always an attractive subject. Morayma is unequivocally vociferous in her self-representation as different because she is a Moor, and so through her character the performer immediately makes the listener aware of her roots by lyrical use of the recurrent lexeme of one of the most

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¶ The allusions to Moorish culture are an intrinsic aspect of the storyline of *Mora Moraima*, and consequently it is widely debated whether the text has racial motivation, which is demonstrated by the continuous dispute whether the ballad should be categorized as *fronterizo* or *morisco*. C. Colin Smith posits that 'the ballad may certainly be termed *morisco*, but it is neither about war as the fifteenth-century *fronterizo* ballads are, nor sentimental and self-consciously exotic as are the *morisco* poems of the late sixteenth century' (1996: 192). On the other hand, Roger Wright purports *Mora Moraima* to be a '*romance fronterizo*, since it has the same matter-of-fact approach to the problems inherent in relations between Christian and Muslim' (1991: 75). Although these arguments take into account the face-value content and style of the ballad, J. M. Solà-Solé has already delved deeper into the ballad's roots, concluding that 'a base de presuponer un cantarillo arábigo en el origen de nuestro romance, no anduviera muy lejos de la realidad' (1965: 145). Hence it would appear that the ballad is a racially posited text because it becomes inconsistent with the probable ancestry of the other ballads amongst which it is located. I will take racial motivation for the ballad into consideration for the purpose of analysing both the protagonists' behaviour, and with respect to Moraima, this is because it is the key characteristic that sets her apart from the stereotypical Christian

<sup>1</sup> *Mora Moraima* exists in two variants. (ID 0753) is found in Dutton 1990-91: V, 333 (11CG-459), VI, 320 (20\*MM-1G), and VI, 131 (14CG-491). (ID 7385) is found in Dutton 1990-91: I, 158 (LB1-61).

<sup>2</sup> The gloss (ID 6335) is found in Dutton 1990-91: VI, 320 (20\*MM-1).

basic units of the Moorish identity: ‘Yo me era *mora Morayma*, / *morilla* de un bel catar’ (lines 1–2). The perception of Morayma as ‘other’ is further strengthened in her narration where she is active in presenting herself as part of the marginalised population, using the vehicle of racial sensibilities. Through her retrospective admission that she was duped by Maçote’s plea, she provides the audience with an ethnic divide by being prepared to take in a self-proclaimed murderer who declares ‘un cristiano dejo muerto’ (line 13). Often in ballads, binary oppositions are used to enhance polemical situations, and we see this is the essence of *Mora Morayma* which emulates the polarities of *Estáse la gentil dama*. Although I do not agree, Mirrer-Singer argues that *Mora Morayma* is a pro-Christian text, emphasising the Islamophobic conditions of the time, which is why there is such cause for highlighting the significance of a Moor supposedly posing as a Christian. Because Morayma is quick in defending her actions: ‘cristiano vino a mi puerta, / cuitada por me engañar’ (lines 3–4) and presenting herself as the victim, to me it implies a racially driven text but with the opposite effect to Mirrer-Singer’s argument.

Morayma is eroticised by a dichotomous process whereby firstly, it must be borne in mind that ‘otherness’ is attractive and fascinating subject matter that can bring with it eroticisation in its own right. So because alterity is an integral part of the ballad, and the characters are eventually acknowledged as alien to one another, there is a promotion of attraction to the unknown, not just between Maçote and Morayma, but also between the audience and Morayma. Roger Wright writes that ‘sexual attraction across religious divides was, and is a powerful story line’, which is how *Mora Morayma* becomes such a potent ballad (1991: 65).

Secondly, the outward characteristics of the Moorish girl add to the processes eroticising her, and possibly outweigh alterity from a cultural or religious point of view. Although being Moorish does not make Morayma a *morena*, the lexeme she emphasises at the beginning of the ballad invokes the *morenita*, whose presence in the traditional lyric Bruce W. Wardropper confirms is strongly sexual (1960: 418). Louise O. Vasvári suggests that brunette lasciviousness compares with the representation of the traditionally more frigid Visigothic girls of the medieval and early modern period (1999: 44). Thus by allusion Morayma is darker skinned than her Visigothic sisters, whose blonde hair and green eyes were features borne by the original Iberians, and she is implied to be a highly-sexed character. Although whiteness is generally held to be a sign of purity, I would disagree with this

representation necessarily also expanding into literature especially where the scandalous is prevalent, and we can see that ballads such as *Blancaniña* strongly seek to annul this proposal. Nonetheless, the connotations of the cause of a dark skin pose a better explanation for darker women's apparent open sexuality. Vasvári indicates that Moraymais one of many similar women in a broad literary context where 'sisters in other folk traditions include the English *nut-brown maid*, the German *das braune Mädel* or *schwarzbraunes Mädchen*, the French *brun(ett)e*, and the Hungarian *barna kislány*' (1999: 41). However, it is conceded that the eroticisation of the darker woman has an even earlier origin, which accounts for Margit Frenk's analysis that 'far from being a merely external feature, is the equivalent of sexual experience and readiness, and this, as I argued in a recent paper, is clearly the connotation of most Spanish *morena* songs' (1993: 9). As I have mentioned in previous chapters, the Bible has significant inspiration on much traditional literature, due to the longevity of the text and its prolific presence in many cultures, and the Song of Songs reveals a reason for this. The Bride, on the commencement of her epoch of sexual activity seemingly ashamedly announces:

Do not look down on me; dark of hue I may be because I was scorched by the sun,  
when my mother's sons were displeased with me and sent me to watch over the  
vineyards; but my own vineyard I did not watch over! (1: 6)

Not only do the rays of the sun invoke images of the phallus, but being touched by the sun also alludes to male penetration bearing in mind that J. E. Cirlot confirms that the sun is a paragon of masculinity in his analysis of symbolism: 'the sky is symbolic of the active principle' (related to the masculine sex and to the spirit) and 'solar passion', so to speak, with its heroic and fierce character, clearly had to be assimilated to the masculine principle' (2002: 303). A number of traditional lyrics also feature *morenita* protagonists who claim to have been burnt by the sun, implying their loss of virginity, such as number 137:

Blanca me era yo  
Cuando entré en la siega;  
diome el sol, y ya soy morena. (Frenk, 1987: 65)

Following on from the theme of colour and hue, the bivalence of the lexeme Morayma deploys must also be noted. Perpetuation of her sexuality is connoted by the etymology of 'mora' (line 1) with regards it being synonymous with *zarza*, the word for blackberry. As mentioned in Chapter V, there are links between food and sexual appetite, also evident in the ballad *Vengo brindado, Mariana*. Therefore it is

possible to see the female sex organ linked to the blackberry when taking into consideration Vasvári's observations on their similar hues (1999: 57-58). Her extensive argument for 'mora' to be considered a symbol for the vagina concurs with the evidence of Miguel Garci-Gómez, and presents Morayma as a sexual icon (1999: 54-57) and (1989: 13) respectively. However, her theories could be considered tenuous because there is little continuation of a fruit theme in *Mora Morayma* (and themes in a ballad are generally repeated throughout). Furthermore, the shape of the blackberry is far from congruent with that of the vagina yet Phyllis Bartlett points out that, more visually evocative is D. H Lawrence's repeated assimilation of the organ to a fig (1951: 585).

Nevertheless, it is generally proposed that the black or red fruit representing the vagina indicates menstrual fluid or the breaking of the hymen. I would say that the ambience denoted by the image of the ripe fruit mirrors the sexual readiness exuded by the protagonist, which also coincides with the biblical reference in the preceding paragraph. Whichever theory is considered, within the narrative, Morayma consciously or unconsciously presents herself as inherently sexually provocative fulfilling the qualifications of Oro Anahory-Librowicz's 'seductora' (1989: 324).

Because symbolism is so greatly drawn upon in traditional literature, it would not be implausible also to consider the implications of the etymology of the name of the male protagonist. Bearing in mind the evolutionary circumstance of the *romancero*, it was obvious that a couple of centuries years earlier, when it is perfectly feasible that the ballad was in its conception, Jacobus de Voragine put great worth on the etymologies of the Saints who were the subject of his '*Legenda Aurea*'. If Voragine's view is typical of that of the period, which William Granger Ryan ratifies, it is likely that the same values would be transferred to all appellations:

To him, a name is the symbol of the person who bears it, and in its letters and syllables can be found the indication of what a person's life, with its virtues and its triumphs, is to be. So he dissolves the compound of the name. (1993: I: xvii)

Hence, Vasvári seeks to justify how Maçote may connote the phallus (1999: 13). I would suggest that in lines 11-12, the manner in which Morayma reports Maçote to mimic her rhyme scheme and rhythm implies she wants the audience think he is appeasing her: 'yo soy moro Maçote / hermano de la tu madre'. This is because it compares to Morayma's introduction to the audience, and could be interpreted as setting up a subconscious echoing of her initial allusion to sexuality through

onomastics. However, more obviously Vasvári suggests that a closer look at the Spanish root of his name ‘mazo’ reveals allusion to his sexual organ (1999: 13). I disagree because the ballad is perceived to have Arabic roots and as ‘mazo’ is a word from the Peninsula, it would be unlikely for something to gain retrospective connotations. The only tentative suggestion I can offer for ‘mazo’ being phallic, which means mace or war club, is the fact that its bulbous end often had multiple spikes which are penetrative objects, which is a reason for the sword to be considered phallic. If the ballad is to be interpreted as vocal sexual interplay, enhanced by the way Maçote responds to Morayma, it is rendered less ruthless than the rape some scholars hold it to be. J. M. Solá-Solé, although fails to extend his observations to that of my point above, is also interested in the origins of Maçote as the male protagonist’s name. His opinion contradicts that of Vásvari because on one hand he points out that the name is ‘provisto del sufijo despectivo *-ote*’, indicating that Maçote is presented to the audience in a deprecating light, and on the other hand he claims ‘es casi seguro que nos hallamos ante el nombre propio árabe *Mas’ūd* (raíz S’D, ‘ser feliz’), que en catalán, y muy particularmente en mallorquín, ha dado lugar al nombre propio Massot’ (1965: 138). I posit that although the ballad is sure to have Arabic influences and roots, its trajectory through the Spanish population will have given less importance to the Arabic meaning, and etymology, being so important to the *vulgo* population, would take precedent.

The further implication that Morayma is half-heartedly proclaiming her innocence is also on a sexual level because it is her own narration and reported speech that includes repeated euphemisms for virginity and female sexual organs. Garci-Gómez plays down the importance of the literary tools employed in the *romancero* by means of his statement: ‘las metáforas, eufemismos y símbolos, las ‘hojas de higuera’ del lenguaje ruboroso y circunloquial, ni sofocaron la concupiscencia, ni paralizaron las pulsiones del sexo, ni mermaron la potencia de los órganos de la reproducción’ (1989: 8). However, I agree with Vasvári that ‘such metalanguage, which may cast off direct grossness while making it worse through innuendo, creates a tension which is incomparably greater than if the forbidden terms were spoken outright’ (1999: 9). Furthermore, Morayma’s sustained use of such metaphor satirically emphasises her sexuality in a relentless way that on one hand confirms her promiscuity but on the other hand almost devoids her of responsibility for the consequences because of its

perpetuation that implies the inevitable, which in María Helena Sánchez Ortega's words is 'the view of women as the supreme embodiment of carnality' (1992: 197).

In the *romancero*, there is an abundance of topoi of walls and doors representing women's anatomy, and *Mora Moraima* is one ballad that commands control of this thematic metaphor. Modern literature still sees this analogy in Hispanic texts such as García Lorca's *La casa de Bernarda Alba*: stage directions in the drama such as the 'habitación blanquísima' represent the sterile lives of Bernarda's daughters. The walls of the house correspond to the daughters' enforced chastity. Again, the *romancero* also contains biblical allusion to walls and doors representing chastity and the female honour in the Song of Songs:

What shall we do with our sister when she is asked in marriage? If she is a wall, we shall build on it a silver parapet, if she is a door, we shall bar it with a plank of cedar-wood. I am a wall, and my breasts are like towers. (8: 8-10)

Vasvári has made a thorough investigation of the theme, and clarifies the reason for the assimilation:

The distinction between public and private spheres also extends to distinct sexual spheres, with women in traditional societies rarely seen in public places and with men avoiding women's spaces, as expressed in the proverb 'la mujer en casa, y el hombre en la plaza'. For women their interior space is sexualised (Gr. *gynaikeion*, Ar. *harem*). (1999: 69)

And so what better way to represent this with a quotidian symbol which could equally feasibly be an innocent reference. This sexualisation of the interior is deployed in the ballad *Blancaniña* where the female protagonist's husband follows the metaphorical path taken by the knight who transgresses various thresholds within the house, concluding with supposed entry into her bedroom, obviously implying that coitus has taken place between her and the knight. The audience would be well aware of the symbolism, and because Morayma is convinced by Maçote's command 'ábrasme las puertas, mora' (line 7) in such a short space of time, hence, 'abríla de par en par' (line 22), it would indicate she is not an innocent victim. The successive rapid exchanges between the two characters indicate a swell of sexual tension supported by crescendoing repetition of conjugations of 'abrir' during the ballad. This culminates in a climax analogous to coitus when Morayma recounts 'fuérame para la puerta / y abríla de par en par' (lines 21-22) which is punctuated by plosive alliteration. *Álora, la bien cercada* is subtly reminiscent of an inversion of this edificial literary parallel (the sacking of the city containing undertones of the rape of a woman), demonstrating that women's genitalia and stone constructions are common complementary themes in

the *romancero*. Bearing this analogy in mind, and on a smaller scale the symbolic nature of the imagery in the *romancero* in general, if so many scholars (as discussed below) read the ballad as a racially motivated text, I am surprised that it has never been suggested that *Mora Morayma* could be read as the reconquering of a Spanish city.

Narrative voice plays a large part in the audience's reception of a text. With regard to the inherent nature of the ballad, Cruz is quick to point out that 'until very recently, literary history thus inferred the status of high culture to the poetry of men, and limited female expression to the less-respected genre of 'popular poetry'' (1992: 145). She implies we are now to discard this theory, and reconsider the input men had into traditional poetry such as the ballad. However, I support this generalisation by literary history to a degree because of the evidence surrounding the existence of the *romance* in the female arena. But this issue affects the pertinent questions of how the narrative voice implicitly comes from a defensive feminine stance in the employment of rhetoric and how much the characterisation of Morayma exudes authenticity under the auspices of a female compositership. These are essential considerations in the scholarly interpretation of the fictional representation of a marginalised female in late medieval Spanish literature.

As we know, woman's weapon today is often her sexuality, which in turn allows her to escape blame for situations. So then the contemporary credence that María Helena Sánchez Ortega alerts us to that 'society believed them to be endowed with sexual energies capable of weakening, effacing, or corrupting men's wills' affects the interpretation of *Mora Morayma* (1992: 197). This implies that any audience would have blamed the implicit sexual intercourse between Morayma and Maçote on her from the outset, so in order to counterbalance societal expectations, the character of Morayma throughout the ballad must come from a defensive stance. Hence her self-representation needs empathy and the female narrative voice avoids excessive social elevation, positing herself as a principal female character of equal social standing to that of the probable contemporary audience. For this reason, she initially refers to her ethnicity and looks in line 2: 'morilla de un bel catar'. The juxtaposed adjectival and noun combination 'bel catar' not only signals her beauty, but has the effect of shifting the blame for the consequences at the end of the ballad onto her family and religion. Alternatively, J. M. Aguirre interprets this as 'la vanidad de la narradora', which, although the audience are most probably on

Morayma's 'side', purports Morayma not to be an innocent victim in the ensuing sexual act (1972: 55). Because she needs to portray herself in the best light possible to avoid the inevitable blame on her, the information the audience are given in its course cannot carry the same supposedly objective register as ballads with an omniscient narrative voice. It also has to be taken into account that within the bounds of fiction, the events of *Mora Morayma* are posited in the past, the female narrative voice having had the benefit of hindsight and reflection. On one hand this implies that she has had time to prepare a defence, but on the other hand her defence weakens because her memory can be discriminatory against Maçote in recounting his words and selecting and manipulating his side of the plot. The distinction between intra- and extra-diegetic narrators must be taken into account here considering J. Rodríguez Puértolas declaration of a 'mujer nueva' de fines del medievo', cited by Anahory-Librowicz (1980: 323). Because attitudes to women changed during the life-span of the ballad, the disseminator would manipulate their representation in order to make the ballad as appealing as possible to the contemporary audience.

Still, Morayma's immediate entry into the ballad brings her to the attention of the audience, and evokes early empathy with her character. Her self-proclamation of her innocence continues through her register and choice of language. Her repetition of 'cuytada' (lines 4 and 17 of 11CG, 14CG, and 20\*MM) and 'mezquina' (lines 11, 19, 27, and 29 of LB1) manipulates the listeners by inviting their pity rather than an indignant attitude. Remorse is also apparent in her use of the imperfect tense in line 1: 'yo me era mora Morayma'. Here there is even the implication of the conjecture that she is narrating the tale having been ostracised by her family, which is probably the first ballad we have seen that is congruent with contemporary society's usual approach to loss of virginity out of wedlock, as Anahory-Librowicz notes:

Lo primero que salta a la vista es que el honor femenino y masculino no se apoyan en los mismos criterios [...] honor del hombre es un concepto amplio y dinámico [...] en la mujer, en cambio, el honor lleva connotaciones negativas y fatalistas [...] Una vez perdida, no se puede recuperar (1989: 321).

This is a reasonable theory if we accept standard grammatical rules. Yet it is also not out of the question to consider it an example of anacoluthon that has been transferred to all subsequent versions of the ballad. Although Louise Mirrer points out in her notes on tense in the *romances*, grammatical patterning is often disregarded, and she puts forward the 'theory of the *Romancero* as an atemporal poetic language, separate



from and unrelated to ordinary Spanish' (1987: 443). I disagree, and would argue simply that the poetic language arises through default, not design, and is the product of accidental trends of 'ordinary Spanish'.

However, it is important to consider further linguistic patterns when looking at the representation of Morayma in the debate whether she is guilty of a sexual motive when inviting Maçote into her home. It is logical her character should be taken in by his proficient knowledge of Arabic; although once again, it her retrospective narration must be taken into account when she claims innocence because 'hablóme en algaravía / como aquel que la bien sabe' (lines 5-6). Morayma narrates the story reporting Maçote's speech in a way that his language is influenced by Arabisms: 'allá' (Allah) (line 8) and 'alcalde' (line 14), although her own narration is even more turgid with Arabic calques: 'algaravía' (line 5), 'mezquina' (line 9), and 'almejía' (line 19), which makes her claim rather redundant because ambiguously one could then argue that on the surface it is her narration that gives Maçote any Muslim identity. Furthermore, it her insinuation that that he learned Arabic just to rape her is rather tenuous. This is highlighted when considering the Arabesque repetends in the additional nine lines of the LB1 version: 'començóme de' (lines 26, 28, and 31) and line 20 of the 11CG and 14CG versions.

In the LB1 text, the final lines that are not included in the other versions of the ballad undermine the need for subtleties that are incorporated in the common version of *Mora Morayma*. Morayma is outright in her accusation against Maçote:

començóme de abraçare  
de que yo lo vi mezquina  
començéme a gritos dare  
de que esto vido el cristiano  
con un puñal que traía  
començóme a degollare (lines 26-31)

The anaphora appears to compound the clinical effect of her accuser's attack which is in stark contrast to the body of the text that uses ambivalence to keep the audience suspended. Furthermore, her claim of line 31 is far-fetched, because as a consequence she would be unable to narrate the story. Therefore, it is easy to see why the LB1 version may not have held the same allure as the more concise versions simply because of its lack of allusion and inference. Whereas the texts otherwise are brought to a halt at Morayma proclaiming 'y abrila de par en par' (line 22), which rounds off the thematic door euphemism, to all intents and purposes the denouement is left open

to interpretation. However, the LB1 conclusion ‘y aun oviera de callare’ (line 33) is reminiscent of a closing door where in this phraseology Morayma intimates that the preceding eight lines comprise the crux of the event. The extra nine lines have great effect on the characterisation of Morayma where the actions she describes appear to reposition her in an innocent frame. Because her only defence is to give loud shouts, which are curtailed when Maçote begins to strangle her, on one hand her femininity is emphasised through her inability to physically fight back. On the other hand, Morayma’s choice of a modal auxiliary verb in the imperfect subjunctive puts doubt into the audience’s mind that her submission was the harsh ideal she narrates. Of course the composer’s issue with scansion has to be taken into account, but under the surface the implication is that her submission may have had another motive, especially when taking into account the content of the rest of the ballad.

It has long been debated whether the female protagonist of *Mora Morayma* is victim or harlot – whether she was raped or whether she invited sexual activity, or a mixture of both. Although for the large part, on the surface Morayma presents herself as the victim, it must be conceded that within the bounds of the plot, she narrates Maçote as the first to make approaches, and combined with her unrealistic attempts at resistance such as donning her ‘almejía’ (line 19) even though ‘no hallando mi brial’ (line 20), there is therefore marginal propensity for sympathy with her. Morayma is convincing in presenting evidence of Maçote’s fear: ‘que un cristiano dejo muerto, / tras mi viene el alcalde’ (lines 13-14). Finally, his claim to be a relation: ‘hermano de la tu madre’ (line 12) is also a very unlikely scenario. Or, if she does not, and it is a reason to support his entry into the house, there are hints at incest because Morayma is aware of the underlying sexual tension. Even though Maçote wields a strong case, the audience know it is a trick, and should also expect Morayma to be suspicious to a certain extent. As a result, her complicit sexuality is acknowledged on letting the door fly wide open, and it negates Maçote’s characterisation as a rapist. However, the popularity of the text implies a contemporary admiration of her forwardness, even in a culture generally intolerant of the Moors. Although sexuality is seemingly a theme relished throughout the *romancero*, it is peculiar how little moral resemblance to the real world *Mora Morayma* bears where a daughter has disgraced herself and her family, even if the ballad does not elaborate on the post-coital ordeal.

Although Vasvári supposes Morayma to be a brunette harlot, I would argue that the audience cannot ignore one small element of innocence that would rather categorise Morayma as one of Anahory-Librowicz's 'consentidoras' who flaunts her recently found sexuality (1999: 41 & 1989: 324). The situation implies that in a contemporary society the audience are to see Morayma in a pejorative manner not only because she is a Moor but also because she is responsible for promulgating sex, rather than an inaugurator as are some of the more experienced women of the *romancero* that I look at in previous chapters. However, whether Morayma is a favoured character or not, in order for the ballad to survive in the oral arena, it is critical that the ballad demonstrates originality, which in *Mora Morayma* is seen in the individuality of the female protagonist and the situation she engineers, as are the other women I analyse.

## CONCLUSION

Even though each chapter concludes its findings within a specific category, it would be wrong to leave this discussion without an overarching summary of those categories combined. All the women that I focus on in the latter chapters are exceptional in their behaviour and attitudes. It is notable that they exude a confidence that is not shared by their socially accepted paradigmatic counterparts, and this self-assuredness stems from a sexuality that neither the characters, the narrators, nor the audience feel is necessary to quell.

They bring the ballads alive, which plays a significant role in their prolonged survival, as many of them still circulate today in oral form. Yet the number of fifteenth-century ballads fossilized in *pliegos sueltos* and *cancioneros*, but extinct in the current oral repertoire is more than ten-fold those in circulation. They contain female protagonists who do not exhibit coquettish, demanding, sexual behaviour, and on the contrary are often the object of a mourning lover whose formulaic lamentations do not distinguish her or the composition in any way. Often, although not always, these *romances* are erudite compositions where masculine rhetoric appears to repress women's sexuality, and focuses on an idealistic, prescriptive depiction.

One may argue that the euphemism and symbolism so prevalent in balladry also precipitates formulaic representations of the women that I class as anomalous. However, the employment of such literary tools should be considered not as a prescription, but solely as a framework within which to build the story and characterisation. The allusions draw on an extensive folkloric literary pool, yet in a natural, organic way, which makes it easier to have empathy for the characters, and overall they are far more appealing to the audience even if socially unacceptable in the contemporary society.

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## APPENDIX I.

**ID 1141 *Yo me estava en la mi celda* (Dutton 1990-91): I, 273 (LB1-464).**

	Yo me estava en la mi celda rezando como solía, cargado de pensamientos que valerme no podía.		fuéme para la iglesia con la devoción que tenía. Fiqué rodillas en el suelo delante Santa María,
5	Por ay viniera la muerte y esta razón me diría: 'que gozaste deste mundo que en el otro pagaría'. Tal consejo como aqueste	15	púseme y allí contemplo en la devoción que tenía. Desque huve reposado, muy alegre quedaría a mi celda ove tornado
10	yo no se loo tomaría,	20	a rezar como solía.

**ID 1141 *Yo me estava reposando* (Dutton 1990-91): V, 59 (96JE-109) with minor orthographical differences from II, 513 (MP4a-46).**

	Yo me estava reposando, durmiendo como solía. Recordé triste llorando con gran pena que sentía.	25	Fuy para donde morava aquella que más quería, por quien yo triste penava mas ella no parecía.
5	Levanté me muy sin tiento de la cama en que dormía, cercado de pensamiento que valer no me podía. Mi pasión era tan fuerte	30	Andando todo turbado con las ansias que tenía, vi venir a mi cuydado dando bozes y decía: 'Si dormís linda señora
10	que de mí no sabía comigo estava la muerte por tenerme compañía. Lo que más me fatigava no era porque muría,	35	recordad por cortesía pues que fuestes causadora de la desventura mía'. Remediad mi gran tristura, satisfazed mi porfia,
15	mas era porque dexava de servir a quien servía. Servía yo una señora que más que a mí la quería, y ella fue la causadora	40	porque si falta ventura del todo me perdería. Y con mis ojos llorosos, un triste llanto hazía con sospiros congoxosos
20	de mi mal sin mejoría. La media noche passada ya que era cerca del día salí me de mi posada por ver si descansaría.	45	y nadie no parecía. En estas cuytas estando como vi que esclarecía, a mi casa sospirando me bolví sin alegría.



**ID 3706 *La Pasión* (Dutton 1990-91): II, 515 (MP4a-56), of which the only major variation with V, 342 (11CG-479) and VI, 79 (14CG-50) is that the third and fifth verses are interchanged.**

	Tierra i cielos se quexavan y el sol triste se escondía y el mar sañoso bramando sus hondas turbias bolví.		Quel criador no criado criatura se fazía por dar vida aquellos mismos por quien el muerte sufría.
5	quando el Redentor del mundo en la cruz puesto moría palabras dignas de lloro son aquestas que dezía:	15	
		20	Ya señor en las tus manos encomiendo el alma mia o manzilla inestimable o dolor sin compañía
10	‘O madre excelente suya sagrada Virgen María sola vos desconsolada cantareis son de alegría.’		

**ID 6014 *Quien es este que en reguarda* (Rodríguez Puértolas 1987): 203.**

	¿Quién es este que en reguarda de su castillo dorado puso dentro su grandeza y la gloria de su estado?	30	y de su favor privado, y en señal que en paraíso nos ha de ser revelado en su propia majestad de cuerpo glorificado,
5	Es mayor que cielo y tierra y está en él no abreviado, que la fe le hace anchura, y su poder extremado.	35	y en memoria que en la cruz fue por nos sacrificado y en minero de clemencia en la fe todo fundado, al cual gustan almas santas
10	¡Oh, castillo inexpugnable, de ángeles torreado! Por el rey que en ti preside paraíso eres llamado;	40	¡Oh, sacramento real!, tú diste de tu costado a los otros sacramentos su vigor santificado;
15	el alcaide que te vela, que los cielos ha criado, homenaje nos ha hecho de ser siempre en ti adorado,	45	cuanto menos por ingenio puedes ser investigado tanto más te manifiestas recebido sin pecado;
20	¡Oh, castillo!, por el sol que en ti tienes secrestado todo aquel es tu cativo que quiere ser alumbrado;	50	tú eres la fuente viva que manas en mayor grado los frutos que dio la cruz para el más desesperado;
25	el que bien te combatiese sería mejor librado si las armas fuesen llores de corazón quebrantado.	55	‘en ti hay más maravillas que cuantas ha Dios obrado’, y no de ellas es menor que estés sin ser apartado del cielo y cuantos lugares, Señor, fueres consagrado.
	Este es el rey de los reyes, que en pan vivo nos es dado por prenda de eterno amor		

60 ¡Oh, franqueza incomparable!  
 ¡Oh, qué don no limitado,  
 que el dador se torna don,  
 y es el don el rey que es dado!  
 Quien se lo come, en él se muda,  
 65 que él no puede ser mudado,  
 y en sí mismo lo transforma  
 hasta ser deificado.

70 Loemos los accidentes  
 de este misterio cerrado,  
 so cuyo color se encubre  
 Dios eterno y humanado,  
 do se engañan los sentidos,  
 sin ser por eso engañado  
 el oír que está en lo cierto  
 de la fe fortificado.

**ID 6016 *En Betanía estaba sola* (Rodríguez Puértolas 1987): 193**

En Betanía estaba sola  
 la reina celestial,  
 suspirando por su hijo,  
 5 rey eterno y temporal,  
 con temores lastimeros  
 de tristeza desigual,  
 hecha un mar de pensamientos  
 y un diluvio de llorar;  
 10 cada lágrima en su cara  
 era perla oriental.  
 No dormía, que congoja  
 le era causa de velar;  
 no tenía allí de estrellas  
 15 corona de majestad,  
 ni menos so el pie la luna  
 ni al sol claro por brial,  
 mas estaba retraída  
 en rincón de soledad,  
 20 cubierta de manto negro  
 de sospecha de su mal;  
 su corazón sin reposo  
 y el que menos le fatiga  
 en la cara dio señal,  
 por la cual iban sudores  
 25 de congoja natural;  
 daba suspiros profundos  
 por poderse remediar,  
 y tales que provocaban  
 las peñas a piedad,  
 30 de forma que quien la viera  
 le pudiera preguntar:  
 ‘Poderosa emperatriz,  
 qué sentís, que es vuestro mal?’  
 Son mis penas -respondiera-  
 mal sin cuento, mal sin par,  
 35 porque creo que está preso  
 mi bien todo universal’.

Así estando esta señora  
 gritos grandes oyó dar  
 a uno que le venía  
 40 con las nuevas del pesar  
 y dijo: ‘Preciosa reina,  
 vuestros miedos son verdad;  
 no es menor vuestra congoja  
 que fue vuestra dignidad;  
 45 vuestro hijo queda preso,  
 toda vuestra libertad;  
 yo lo dejo encadenado  
 en la cárcel criminal,  
 cercado de fariseos  
 50 que se lo quieren tragar;  
 su gesto, que era excelente,  
 más hermoso que cristal,  
 oscuro lo tiene y triste  
 con semblante de mortal.  
 55 Hallaréslo desgredado,  
 sin mitra pontifical,  
 la boca corriendo sangre,  
 la cabeza otro que tal,  
 y el que menos le fatiga  
 60 quiere más desesperar;  
 si lo viédeses aflijo  
 por vos, madre, suspirar,  
 no os quedaría sentido  
 ni vida sin esperar;  
 65 él desea vuestra vista,  
 que no tiene a quién mirar;  
 por eso, venid conmigo,  
 que lo quieren justiciar;  
 llevarés con él la cruz,  
 70 que no se puede mudar,  
 que el dolor si quita fuerza,  
 amor os puede esforzar’.

**ID 6023 *Por las cortes de la gloria* (Rodríguez Puértolas 1987): Variant 5  
composed 1485, 196-98.**

	Por las cortes de la gloria y por todo lo poblado de ti, noble Magdalena, maravillas han volado;		en ti les dejó dechado. 'Mi corazón vagabundo, por los vicios derramado, sabed que me fue compuesto,
5	dicen que tu corazón quien lo hizo lo ha mudado en casa del fariseo, donde estaba convidado;	50	corregido y reformado; Dios curó mi letárgica y el dormir de mi pecado
10	allí gozos temporales por eternos has trocado, y los deleites del siglo como hiel has condenado;	55	en mirarme de sus ojos con semblante mesurado, y de la primera vista me puso nuevo cuidado,
15	los servicios y galanes has por ángeles dejado; la música por suspiros; por cilicios el brocado;	60	y con sus luces secretas hizo claro mi nublado; con flechas de nuevo amor mis entrañas ha calado;
20	de ti misma te partiste y en tu Dios te has transformado, al cual con dolor inmenso confesaste tu pecado,	65	de sus palabras muy altas mi sentido fue trabado; su gesto de paraíso ha mi libertad robado
25	tus ojos tornados ríos de llorar demasiado; sus pies santos refrescaste con ungüento muy preciado,	70	porque era todo divino, reverendo, autorizado; prometiéndome los tesoros de su reino revelado;
30	y luego los alimpiaste con tu cabello dorado, retraída no de cara, que vergüenza te ha turbado.	75	de mi pan se desayuna, que del mundo le es ganado, y en mi casa se conforta cuando queda fatigado
35	¡Oh, mujer de gran ventura! ¡Oh, diferencia de estado, que en tu causa Dios del cielo es defensor y letrado,	80	del oficio de salvarnos, a que vino y fue enviado. Con su madre vi su muerte, y le vi crucificado,
40	replicando tus virtudes al fariseo malvado! Ya te es Cristo más conforme que te fue el mundo pasado;	85	a do vi el cielo confuso y al sol escandalizado, y la luna poner luto de color no acostumbrado,
45	sin servicios, sin trabajos, ha tus culpas perdonado, porque sólo se contenta del corazón quebrantado;	90	y la cruz temblar del peso desigual, no limitado. Adórote, dije entonces, árbol bien fructificado,
	su reino dálo por tuyo, pues a sí mismo te ha dado. ¡Oh, sacrosanta señora!, dinos cómo fue alumbrado		que primero diste fruto que fueses aquí plantado; bien mereces, alto cedro, ser de todos adorado,
	tu precioso corazón con hervor acelerado, porque Dios a los que salva		pues que de tales diluvios te veo tan bien regado, que son la sangre y el agua dese divino costado.

95	¡Oh, saludables corrientes! ¡Oh, venturoso pecado Que mayor es tu remedio que tu peligro pasado! Yo lo puse en el sepulcro,		por los cardos pungitivos no quise traer calzado; soledad fue mi compañía y duras piedras mi estrado’.
100	yo lo vi resucitado, y mi vista fue primera por haber perseverado, y por esto se me dio el don del apostolado.	125	Aquí se entró esta señora con corazón esforzado, con silencio por lenguaje por sanar lo mal hablado; do sus aguas deleitosas
105	En las partes de Marsella la fe santa he predicado; convertí las gentes de ella sus reyes, su principado; sus ídolos hice polvos	130	fueron lloro destemplado; cadenas hizo pedazos en su cuerpo delicado, más mayor dolor le daba la memoria del pecado,
110	con celo deificado, y di conmigo en los yermos de sitio desesperado, do nunca se vido sombra ni aguas ni verde prado,	135	por cuya causa treinta años esta vida ha celebrado; mas de esta su ciudadana el cielo no se ha olvidado, que siete veces al día
115	no frutales, no lantejas, ni de comer un bocado, mas copia de escorpiones y fuego descompasado; por él vuelan mil dragones	140	ángeles la han visitado, y en carros de nube clara sobre el aire levantado a gustar el paraíso con canto muy concertado;
120	con furor arrebatado;	145	finalmente reina ahora con el rey que la ha criado.

**ID 6023 *Por las cortes de la gloria* (Rodríguez Puértolas 1987): Variant 5A  
composed 1488-90, 198-201.**

	Por las cortes de la gloria y por todo lo poblado nuevas de la Magdalena excelentes han volado, 5 que su corazón real quien lo hizo lo ha mudado en casa del fariseo, donde estaba convidado; los aferes temporales	20	y de Dios se ha enamorado. Con alma hecha pedazos lo confiesa su pecado, los ojos tornados ríos del llorar demasiado;
10	por eternos ha trocado; los dulzores transitorios por hiel los ha condenado; los arreos y atavío ha por lodo desdeñado;	25	los pies santos le refresca con lágrimas que ha vaciado; límpialos con sus cabellos como de un rollo dorado, retraída no de cara,
15	los servicios y galanes por ángeles ha trocado; la música por suspiros; por cilicios el brocado; despidióse de sí misma	30	que vergüenza la ha turbado. ¡O, dama de gran ventura! ¿Quién te dio tan alto estado? ¡Qué se precie Dios de ti Y ser quiera tu abogado,
		35	replicando tus virtudes al que de ti ha murmurado! Ya te es Dios más conforme que te fue el mundo pasado;

40 sin servicios, sin trabajo,  
 tus culpas ha perdonado,  
 su reino dado por tuyo,  
 pues que a sí mismo te ha dado;  
 por el olvido del cielo  
 mil memorias te ha doblado;  
 45 muéstranos tu corazón  
 de qué son fue requestado,  
 porque Dios a los que salva  
 en ti les dejo dechado.

## II

50 ‘A mí, su sierva María,  
 por esta arte me ha sanado:  
 sabed que con unas voces  
 de silencio muy callado  
 despertó mi letárgica  
 y me dio nuevo cuidado;  
 55 con unas voces secretas  
 hizo ilustre mi nublado;  
 con flechas de hierba fina  
 mis entrañas ha ganado;  
 nueva vida y nuevo amor  
 60 seguí luego de mi grado;  
 está en sus altas palabras  
 mi sentido encadenado;  
 la verdura de sus ojos  
 mi libertad ha robado;  
 65 creí que es el paraíso  
 ver su gesto consagrado,  
 de bulto de realeza  
 reverendo, autorizado;  
 miróme como cordero,  
 70 no juez acelerado;  
 prometióme sus tesoros,  
 los cuales me ha revelado,  
 mas el mas rico de todos  
 es verlo glorificado  
 75 y oírlo cada hora  
 como yo que esto a su lado;  
 sus secretos y sus dones  
 de mí los ha confiado.

## III

80 Mi hermano, que era difunto,  
 por mí fue resucitado;  
 de mi pan se desayuna,  
 que del mundo le es negado;  
 en mi posada se alberga  
 cuando queda fatigado

85 del oficio de salvarnos  
 a que vino y fue enviado;  
 los hechos del cielo y tierra  
 en mi casa se han librado.

## IV

90 La Virgen, muy reverenda  
 reina del cielo estrellado,  
 de mí se sirve y se precia  
 en la cruz del hijo amado;  
 allí yo llore la muerte  
 de mi Dios crucificado,  
 95 y no menos el desmayo  
 de la madre del finado;  
 allí vi el cielo confuso  
 y el aire escandalizado,  
 y todos cuatro elementos  
 100 sus conciertos han mudado;  
 allí vi hecho tinieblas  
 el mundo y todo turbado,  
 al velo del templo roto,  
 y al sol negro y eclipsado;  
 105 la luna se puso luto  
 y el grande mar ha bramado;  
 vi las piedras quebrantarse  
 de sentir a Dios penado;  
 las esferas y planetas  
 110 sus oficios han cesado;  
 las águilas daban gritos  
 con San Juan, que allí ha  
 regado  
 la cruz santa con sus ojos,  
 árbol bien fructificado  
 115 que dio las flores y el fruto  
 primero que fue plantado;  
 las estrellas y los ríos  
 han se allí desatinado,  
 por morir su señor  
 120 como rey desamparado,  
 con voces roncadas, crecidas,  
 de dos ladrones cercado,  
 con un diluvio de sangre  
 afligido y angustiado;  
 125 mas a mí, su sierva triste,  
 más me mata su costado,  
 que lo vi romper con lanza  
 hasta el corazón rasgado,  
 el cual como fuente viva  
 130 sacramentos ha manado,  
 dos licores de agua y sangre,

precio y tesoro estimado;  
yo le puse en el sepulcro,  
yo lo vi resucitado  
135 en jardines de verdura  
después de lo haber buscado;  
merecí, después de todo,  
el don del apostolado.

## V

En las islas de Marsella  
140 su fe santa he predicado;  
convertí los reyes de ella,  
sus ídolos he quitado;  
a yermos de triste vida  
me retraje, que no hay prado,  
145 mas terribles asperuras  
y sitio desesperado;  
aguas, yerbas ni frutales  
Dios en ellos no ha criado;  
no tienen sombra de aves  
150 ni de corner un bocado;  
su soledad tremebunda  
mil dragones ha espantado,  
mas onzas y escorpiones  
nunca faltan ni han faltado,  
155 y en lugar de ruiseñores  
basiliscos han poblado,  
y en lugar de algún rocío  
de fuegos es abrasado;  
el estruendo son rugidos  
160 de aire descompasado;  
por el vuelan mil serpientes  
con furor arrebatado;  
de víboras y de grifos  
todo el suelo está cuajado;  
165 de guijas y agudos cardos  
este yermo es ladrillado,  
y por setos de reguarda  
de leones es cercado;  
de las arpías crescentiles  
170 cuanto nace es cercenado".  
Soledad es su compañía,  
breñas ásperas su estrado;  
aquí se entro esta señora  
con corazón esforzado;  
175 el silencio es su lenguaje,  
por sanar lo mal hablado;  
las aguas y sus manjares  
es un lloro muy sobrado;  
agudas penas la cama,

180 ropa el cierzo serenado;  
éranle sus pies desnudos  
entre espinas por calzado;  
mil cadenas despedaza  
en su cuerpo delicado,  
185 y por mas siente que todo  
la memoria del pecado;  
y treinta anos de esta vida  
la santa ha perseverado.

## VI

Mas de esta su  
ciudadana  
190 el cielo no se ha olvidado,  
que siete veces al día  
ángeles la han visitado,  
y en nubes de verde jaspe  
su cuerpo tan elevado  
195 la conforta el paraíso  
con canto muy concertado;  
finalmente reina ahora  
con el rey que es adorado  
de todas las criaturas,  
200 temido y glorificado;  
pues ruégale tú, señora,  
por mí, su siervo cuitado,  
que te sirvo de este metro,  
y por quien me lo ha mandado,  
205 doña Inés la de Guzmán.  
cativa de su mandado.

## APPENDIX II.

**ID 6329 *Gritando va el caballero* (Dutton 1990-91): V, 331 (11CG-455) with negligible orthographic discrepancies from VI, 130 (14CG-485), VI, 254 (16JE-170), and VI, 322 (20\*MM-4).**

	Gritando va el cavallero, publicando su gran mal; vestidas ropas de luto aforradas en sayal, 5 por los montes sin camino, con dolor y sospirar, llorando a pie y descalço, jurando de no tornar adonde viesse mugeres; 10 por nunca se consolar con otro nuevo cuydado, que le hiziesse olvidar la memoria de su amiga que murió sin la gozar. 15 Va buscar las tierras solas para en ellas abitar; en una montaña espesa, no cercana de lugar. Hizo casa de tristura 20 ques dolor de la nombrar, duna madera amarilla que llaman desesperar, paredes de canto negro y también negra la cal, 25 las tejas puso leonas sobre tablas de pesar, el suelo hizo de plomo porques pardillo metal, las puertas chapadas dello 30 por su trabajo mostrar, y sembró por cima el suelo secas hojas de parral. Ca do no sesperan bienes, esperança no ha de estar 35 en aquesta casa oscura que hizo para penar. Haze mas estrecha vida que los frayles del Paular que duermen sobre sarmientos, 40 ¡y aquellos son su manjar! Lo que llora es lo que beve, y aquello torna a llorar; no mas duna vez al día,		por más si dibilitar. 45 Del color de la madera mandó una pared pintar, un doser de blanca seda, en ella mandó parar y de muy blanco alabastro 50 hizo labrar un altar, con camfora vitumado, de raso blanco frontal, puso el bulto de su amiga en él para le adorar. 55 El cuerpo de plata fina, el rostro era de cristal, un brial vestido blanco de damasco singular, mongil de blanco brocado 60 forrado en blanco cendal, sembrado de lunas llenas, señal de casta final. En la cabeça le puso una corona real; 65 guarnescida de castañas cogidas del castañal. Lo que dice la castaña es cosa muy de notar; las cinco letras primeras 70 el nombre de la sin par murió de veynte y dos años por más lastima dexar, la su gentil hermosura quien que la sepa loar, 75 ques mayor que la tristura del que la mandó pintar. En lo quel passa su vida, es en la siempre mirar; cerró la puerta al plazer, 80 abrió la puerta al pesar abrióla para quedarsse, pero no para tomar.
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**ID 1143 *Aparición de la enamorada muerta* (Dutton 1990-91): I, 274 (LB1-466).**

	Yo me partiera de Francia, fuérame a Valladolid; encontré con un palmero, romero atan gentil:		que de la muerte de sy.’ De aquesto oí yo cuytado, a cavallo yva y caí una visión espantable
5	‘¿nuevas de mi enamorada sy me las sabrás dezir?’ ‘Ay dígame tú el palmero, romero atan gentil nuevas de mi enamorada	30	delante mis ojos vi; hablóme par confortarme, hablóme y dijo asi: ‘no temas el escudero, non ayas miedo de mí; yo soy la tu enamorada,
10	si me las sabrás dezir?’ Respondióme con nobleza; él me fabló y dixo asy: ‘¿dónde vas el escudero?, triste cuytado de tí;	35	la que penava por tí ojos con que te mirava vida non los traygo aquí, braços con que te abraçava, so la tierra los metí.’
15	muerta es tu enamorada muerta es que yo la vi; ataúd lleva de oro, y las andas de un marfil, la mortaja que llevaba	40	‘!muéstresme tu sepultura, y enterrarme yo con tí!’ ‘biváys vos el cavallero, biváys vos pues yo morí de los algos de este mundo,
20	es de un paño de París, las antorchas que le llevan, triste, yo las encendí. Yo estuve a la muerte de ella, triste cuytado de mí,	45	fagáys algúnd bien por mí: tomad luego otra amiga, y no me olvidetes a mí, que no podes hazer vida, señor sin estar así.’
25	y de tí lleva mayor pena	50	

**ID 0613 *Retraída estava la reyna* (Dutton 1990-91): II, 351 (MN54-115) with negligible orthographic discrepancies from IV, 48 (RC1-92).**

	Retraída estava la reyna, la muy casta doña María, mujer de Alfonso el Magno, fija del rey de Castilla.		que tanto me perseguía; para se tan mal fadada, muriera cuando nacía.
5	En el templo de Dyana, do sacrificio fazia, vestida estava de blanco un parche de oro çeñía, collar de iarras al cuello,	20	E muriera una vegada, et non tantas cada día, o muriera en aquel punto que de mí se despedía; mi marido et mi señor,
10	con un griffo que pendía, pater nosters en sus manos, corona de palmeria. Acabada su oración, como quien planto fazia,	25	para yr en Bervería ya tocavan las trompetas, la gente se recogía: todos davan mucha priessa contra mí a la porfia.’
15	mucho más triste que leda, sospirando así decía: ‘maldigo la mi fortuna	30	Quien ycava, quien bogava, quien entrava, quien salía, quien las ancoras levaba, quien mis entrañas rompía,



35	quien proises desatava, quien mi corazón fería. El terramote era tan grande que por cierto parecía que la machina del mundo del todo se desfazía.		
40	‘Quien sufrió nunca dolor, qual entonces yo sufría quando vi junta la flota y el estol vela hacía;		
45	yo quedé desamparada, como vidua dolorida, mis sentidos todos muertos, quasi el alma me salía. Buscando todos remedios, ninguno non me valía,		
50	pediendo la muerte quexosa, et menos me obedecía. Dixe con lengua raviosa, con dolor que me afflegía:		
55	‘¡O maldita seas Italia, causa de la pena mía, que te hice reina Juuana, que rubaste mi alegría, et tómasteme por fijo un marido que tenía.		
60	Feçiste perder el fruto, que de mi flor attendía,		
		65	¡O madre desconsolada!, que fija tal parido avía, et diome por marido un César, quen todo el mundo non cabía animoso de coraje, muy sabio con valentía, non nasció por ser regido mas por regir a quien regía.
		70	La fortuna ynbidiosa que yo tanto bien tenía ofrescióle cosas altas que magnanimo seguía; 75
		75	plascientes a su deseo, con hechos de nombradía, et dióle luego nueva empresa del realme de Sicilia. Siguiendo el planeta Mars,
		80	Dios de la cavallería, dexo sus reinos et tierras; las agenas conquería, dejo a mí desaventurada, años veynte et dos avía.
		85	Dando leys en Italia, mandando a quien más podía, sojugando con su poder, a quien menos lo temía; en África et en Italia,
		90	dos reys vencido avía.’

### APPENDIX III.

**ID 0778 *El caballero burlado* (Dutton 1990-91): I, 166 (LB1-91).**

	Yo me yva para Francia do padre y madre tenía; errado avía el camino, errado avía la vía.			Y de las ancas del cavallo, él tomado la avía allá en los montes claros, de amores la requería.
5	Arryméme a un castillo por atender conpañía, por y viene un escudero, cavalgando a la su gisa: '¿qué fazes ay donzella, tan sola y sin conpañía?'	20		'¡Tate, tate el escudero, no fagáys descortesía; fija soy de un malato, lleno es de maletía, y sy vos a mí llegades, luego se vos pegaría!'
10	'Yo me me yva para Francia do padre y madre tenía; errado avía el camino, errado avía la vía.	25		Andando jornadas ciertas, a Francia llegado avían allí habló la donzella: bien oyres lo que decía: '¡o covarde el escudero bien lleno de covardía!
15	¿Si te plaze al escudero llévesme en tu conpañía?'	30		tuvo la niña en sus braços, y él no supo servirla.'
	'Plázeme', dijo 'señora si faré por cortesía.'	35		

**ID 0771 *Rosaflorida* (Dutton 1990-91): I, 164 (LB1-82).**

	Allá en aquella ribera que se llamava de Ungría, allí estava un castillo que se llamava Chapina.			pareces loca sandía'. '¡Ay!' fabló la donzella, 'bien oyres lo quel diría: ¡ay bien vengas tu Blandinos, bien sea la tu venida!
5	Dentro estava una donzella que es llama Rosaflorida; siete condes la demandan, tres reyes de Lunbardía, todos los a desdeñado	25		Llévesme aquesta carta, de sangre la tengo escrita Llévesmela a Montesinos a las tierras do bivía: que me viniese a vere para la pascua florida, por dyneros non lo dexe; yo pagaré la venida.
10	tanta es la su loçanía. Enamórese de Montesinos, de oydas que no de vista, y faza la media noche bozes de Rosaflorida	30		Vestire sus escuderos de un escarlata fina, vestyre los sus rapazes de una seda broslida. Si más quiere Montesinos, yo mucho más le daría: darle yo treynta castillos, todos riberas de Ungría,
15	oydo avie Blandynos, él su amo que tenía. Devantárase corriendo de la cama do dormía: '¿Qué avedes vos la Rosa, qué aves Rosaflorida?	35		
20	Que en las bozes que dades,	40		

45 si más quiere Montesinos  
yo mucho más le daría:  
darle yo cien marcos doro  
otros tantos de plata fina,  
si más quiere Montesinos

50 yo mucho más le daría:  
dalle yo este mi cuerpo,  
siete años a la su gisa  
que si de él no se pagare,  
¿qué tome su mejoría?’

**ID 0850 ¡Hélo, hélo, por do viene! (Dutton 1990-91): I, 185 (LB1-168). However, due to its incomplete form in Dutton, I use Smith: 1996: 100-03.**

5 ¡Hélo, hélo, por do viene  
el moro por la calzada,  
caballero a la jineta  
encima una yegua baya,  
borceguíes marroquíes  
y espuela de oro calzada,  
una adarga ante los pechos  
y en su mano una azagaya.  
Mirando estaba a Valencia,  
10 Cómo está tan bien cercada:  
‘¡Oh Valencia, oh Valencia,  
de mal fuego seas quemada!  
Primero fuiste de moros  
que de cristianos ganada.  
15 Si la lanza no me miente  
a moros serás tornada,  
aquel perro de aquel Cid  
prenderélo por la barba,  
su mujer doña Jimena  
20 será de mí cautivada,  
su hija Urraca Hernando  
será mi enamorada,  
después de yo hartado de ella  
la entregaré a mi compañía.’  
25 El buen Cid no está tan lejos  
que todo bien lo escuchaba:  
‘Venid vos acá, mi hija,  
mi hija doña Urraca;  
30 dejad las ropas continas  
y vestid ropas de pascua.  
Aquel moro hideperro  
detenédmelo en palabras,  
mientras yo ensillo a Babieca  
y me ciño la mi espada.’  
35 La doncella muy hermosa  
se paró a una ventana:  
el moro desde la vido  
de esta suerte le hablara:  
‘¡Alá te guarde, señora,

40 mi señora, doña Urraca!’  
‘Así haga a vos, señor,  
buena sea vuestra llegada!  
Siete años ha, rey, siete,  
que soy vuestra enamorada.’  
45 ‘Otros tantos ha, señora,  
que os tengo dentro de mi  
alma.’  
Ellos estando en aquesto  
el buen Cid que asomaba:  
‘¡Adiós, adiós, mi señora,  
50 la mi linda enamorada,  
que del caballo Babieca  
yo bien oigo la patada!’  
Do la yegua pone el pie  
Babieca pone la pata.  
55 Allí hablara el caballo,  
bien oiréis lo que hablaba:  
‘¡Reventar debía la madre  
que a su hijo no esperaba!’  
60 Siete vueltas la rodea  
al derredor de una jara;  
la yegua que era ligera  
muy adelante pasaba,  
hasta llegar cabe un río  
65 adonde una barca estaba.  
El moro desde la vido  
con ella bien se holgaba;  
grandes gritos da al barca;  
el barquero es diligente,  
70 túvosela aparejada,  
embarcó muy presto en ella,  
que no se detuvo nada.  
Estando el moro embarcado  
el buen Cid que llegó al agua:  
75 y por ver al moro en salvo  
de tristeza reventaba;  
mas con la furia que tiene  
una lanza le arrojaba

80 y dijo: 'Recoged, mi yerno,  
arrecogedme esa lanza,

que quizá tiempo vendrá  
que os será bien demandada!'

**APPENDIX IV.**

**ID 5042 *Estáse la gentil dama* (Dutton 1990-91): VI, 294 (17\*OM-11).**

	Estáse la gentil dama paseando en su vergel, los pies tenía descalzos que era maravilla ver;		y mi ganado en la sierra que se me iba a perder, y aquellos que lo guardan no tenían qué comer.'
5	hablávame desde lejos, no le quise responder; respondíle con gran saña: 'Qué mandáis gentil mujer?'	25	'Vete con Dios pastorcillo, no te sabes entender, hermosuras de mi cuerpo yo te las hiciera ver: delgadita en la cintura,
10	Con una voz amorosa comenzó de responder: 'ven acá tú el pastorcico, si quieres tomar placer; siesta es de mediodía y ya es hora de comer,	30	blanca soy como el papel, la color tengo mezclada como rosa en el rosel. las téticas agudicas que el brial quieren hender,
15	si querrás tomar posada todo es a tu placer.'	35	el cuello tengo de garça, los ojos de esparver, pues lo que tengo encubierto maravilla es de lo ver.'
20	'No era tiempo señora, que me haya de detener; que tengo mujer e hijos y casa de mantener,	40	'Ni aunque más tengáis señora, no me puedo detener.'

**Earliest version of the ballad copied into a notebook in 1421 by Majorcan student Jaume de Olesa, documented by Deyermond (1996: 49)**

	'Gentil dona, gentil dona, los pes tingo en la verdura, Por hí passa ll'escudero, Les paraules que me dixo	dona de bel parasser, esperando este plaser.' mesurado e cortés. todes eren demorés:
5	'Thate escudero este coerpo, les titilles agudilles Allí dixo l'escudero: la muller tingo fermosa, al ganado en la cierra	este coerpo a tu plaser, qu'el brial quera fender.' 'No es hora d'etender, figes he de mantener; que se me va a perder, que no tienen que comer.'
10	els perros en les cadenes 'Allá vages, mal villano, Per hun poco de mal ganado	Dieus te quera mal fesar. dexas coerpo de plaser.'
	L'escorraguda es: Mal mi quero mestra Gil, e fáslo con dretxo:	
15	bien me quie [re] su muger, qui' m etxa en e[1] son letxo	

**ID 0735 *Fontefrida* (Dutton 1990-91): V, 327 (11CG-439), VI, 129 (14CG-462), and II, 519 (MP4a-46). As i discuss, the 11CG version is the focal text, and few other discrepancies exist between the variants.**

	Fonte frida, fonte frida		malo, falso, engaador.
	fonte frida y con amor,	15	Que ni poso en ramo verde
	do todas las avezicas		ni en prado que tenga flor
	van tomar consolación,		que si el agua hallo clara,
5	si no es la tortolica		turbia la bevía yo.
	que está viuda y con dolor.		¡Que no quiero aver marido
	Por allí fuera a passar	20	porque hijos no haya no!
	el traidor del ruyseñor;		no quiero plazer con ellos
	las palabras que le dice,		ni menos consolación
10	llenas son de trayción:		déjame triste enemigo,
	‘si tú quisieses señora,		malo falso mal traidor
	yo sería tu servidor.’	25	¡que no quiero ser tu amiga
	‘Véte de aquí, enemigo,		ni casar contigo no!’

## APPENDIX V.

### **ID 5016 *La Bella malmaridada* (Dutton 1990-91): VI, 326 (20\*RG-3).**

	‘La bella malmaridada, de las mas lindas que yo vi, veo te triste enojada, la verdad díla tú a mí: 5 si has de tratar amores, vida no dejes a mí; que a tu marido señora, con otras damas le vi, besando y abraçando; 10 mucho mal dize de ti: que jurava y perjurava, que te avía de ferir.’		Allí habló la señora, allí habló y dijo assi: 15 ‘¡Saca me tú, el cavallero, sacasses me tú de aquí! Por las tierras donde fueres, te sabré muy bien servir: que yo te haré la cama 20 en que hayamos de dormir, guisare te yo la cena como a amador gentil, de gallinas y capones y otras cosas más de mil.’
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### **ID 6336 *Rosa fresca* (Dutton 1990-91): V, 335 (11CG-463).**

	Rosa fresca, Rosa fresca, por vos se puede decir; que naciste con más gracias, que nadie pudo escrevir 5 porque vos sola naciste para quitar el bevir.		¡Ay de mí, desventurado, que nascí para sufrir! yo me vi en tiempo señora, que os pudiera bien servir, 10 y ahora que os serviría, veo me triste morir.
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### **ID 0714 *Rosa fresca* (Dutton 1990-91): V, 325 (11CG-437), VI, 128, (14CG-460) and VI, 295 (ID 17\*OM-12). As I note, due to few discrepancies between the variants, I use the 11CG version in my discussion.**

	‘Rosa fresca, Rosa fresca, tan garrida y con amor, quando yos tuve en mis braços, no vos supe servir, no. 5 Y agora que os serviría, no vos puedo yo aver, no.’ ‘Vuestra fue la culpa, amigo, Vuestra fue, que mía, no: enbiastesme una carta 10 con un vuestro servidor. Y en lugar de recabdar,		él dijera otra razón; querades casado, amigo, allá en tierras de León, que teneys mujer hermosa, y hijos como una flor.’ 15 ‘¿Quién os lo dixo señora? No vos dixo verdad, non: que yo nunca entré en Castilla, ni allá en las tierras de León, 20 sino cuando era pequeño, que no sabía de amor.’
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**ID 0882 *Romance de Durandarte* (Dutton 1990-91): V, 336 (11CG-465), II, 595 (MP4g-514), II, 612 (MP7-59), VI, 131 (14CG-495), VI, 302 (17\*RM-5), and VI, 314 (20\*DS-1). I use the 11CG version in my discussion due to few discrepancies between the versions.**

‘Durandarte, Durandarte,  
buen cavallero probado  
Yo te ruego que hablemos  
en aquel tiempo passado,  
5 y dime si se te acuerda  
cuando fuiste enamorado,  
cuando en justas y envinciones,  
publicavas tu cuidado,  
cuando venciste a los moros  
10 en campo por mí aplazado;  
ahora desconocido,  
di, ¿por qué me has olvidado?’  
‘Palabras son lisonjeras,  
señora, de vuestro grado  
15 que si yo mudança hice,  
vos lo aves todo causado  
pues amastes a Gayferos,  
cuando yo fui desterrado,  
que si amor queres connmigo,  
20 tenéislo muy mal pensado,  
que por no sufrir ultraje  
moriré desesperado.



## APPENDIX VI.

**ID 0753 *Mora Morayma* (Dutton 1990-91): V, 333 (11CG-459), VI, 320 (20\*MM-1G), and VI, 131 (14CG-491). I use the 11CG text, as the others only contain minor orthographic differences.**

	Yo me era mora Morayma, morilla de un bel catar.	15	hermano de la tu madre que un cristiano dejo muerto
5	Cristiano vino a mi puerta, cuitada por me engañar: hablóme en algarabía, como aquel que la bien sabe: 'Ábrasme las puertas, mora, si Alla te guarde de mal.'		tras mí viene el alcaide; si no me abres tu mi vida, aquí me verás matar.'
10	'¿Cómo te abriré, mezquina que no sé quién te serás?'	20	Cuando esto oí cuitada; començéme a levantar, vistiérame un almejía, no hallando mi brial, fuérame para la puerta y abrila de par en par.
	'Yo soy el moro Maçote,		

**ID 7385 *Mora Morayma* (Dutton 1990-91): I, 158 (LB1-61).**

	Yo me era mora Morayma, mora de un bel semejare. Hermosa de hermosura, morica de un bel cantare.	25	de que esto vido el cristiano; començóme de abraçare, de que yo lo vi mezquina començéme a gritos dare, de que esto vido el cristiano
5	Cristiano llama mi puerta, cuitada por me engañare: hablóme en algarabía como aquel que la bien sabe: 'Ábrasme las puertas, mora, si Alla te guarde de male.'	30	con un puñal que traía començóme a degollare, deque esto vi yo mezquina y aún oviera de callare.
10	'¿Cómo te abriré, yo mezquina que no sé quién te serase?'		
	'Yo soy el moro Maçote, hermano de la tu madre		
15	y un cristiano dejo muerto tras mí venía el alcalde; sino me abres, mi vida aquí me verás matare.'		
20	Aquello oí yo mezquina; començéme a levantare, vistiérame mi almejía que non hallé mi brial. Fuérame para la puerta y abrila de par en pare,		