

*y espuela de oro calzada,
una adarga ante los pechos
y en su mano una azagay*

Spanish Ballads

*Mirando estaba a Valencia
cómo está tan bien cercada
'Oh Valencia, oh Valencia
de mal fuego seas quemada
Primero fuiste de moros
que de cristianos ganada.*

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CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction	1
1. What is a ballad?	1
2. European balladry and the Spanish <i>Romancero</i>	5
3. The history of the Spanish ballads:	7
(a) The name <i>romance</i>	7
(b) Origins and development	8
(c) The ballads in the 15th century and the Golden Age	16
(d) The ballads in modern times	23
4. The art of the Spanish ballads	25
(a) Form	25
(b) Structure and style	30
(c) Themes and sentiments	38
5. The Spanish ballads in Britain and the United States	42
6. The present edition	46
Classified book list	47

TEXTS

I. Historical ballads:	51
King Roderick, last of the Goths	51
Bernardo del Carpio	59
Fernán González	66
The Siete Infantes de Lara	75
King Sancho II and the Siege of Zamora	88
The Cid	100
<i>Fronterizo</i> ballads	114
II. Carolingian ballads	141
III. Novelesque ballads	187
Glossary	213
Index of first lines	219



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PREFACE

MY FAITH in the value of the poetry here presented is not so small that I need to apologize for this book. I am indeed hopeful that with its extensive Introduction, its notes and glossary, it will encourage many who do not know the Spanish ballads to make their acquaintance. The ballads are fine poetry, and the *Romancero* is a compendium of fact and fancy that will teach students of Spain a great deal about the country, her history and her people.

It seemed essential to produce a new book of ballads in which the great work done on ballad origins and evolution by Don Ramón Menéndez Pidal was taken fully into account and explained to readers of English, for all the theory and some of the data are important to English and American literature. Every effort has been made to incorporate in the notes, and in the book list the results of the latest research on the whole field of the traditional ballads of Spain. Mention is made of English translations of the texts, but only of those which are likely to be readily accessible (chiefly those of Lockhart and Gibson). A few explanatory notes have been adopted, with due acknowledgement, from the edition of the ballads which Guy Le Strange published in 1920 for English readers. I am indebted to Miss Audrey Peet for a number of helpful suggestions about the Introduction, and to Mr Keith Goddard and Dr B. S. J. Isserlin for help with some difficult words in the texts.

C.C.S.

ABBREVIATIONS

Canc. de Rom. *Cancionero de Romances*

Gibson J. Y. Gibson, *The Cid Ballads, and other poems and translations from Spanish and German*, 2nd ed., London, 1898

Le Strange *Spanish Ballads*, edited by Guy Le Strange, Cambridge, 1920

Lockhart *Ancient Spanish Ballads, Historical and Romantic*, translated, with notes, by J. G. Lockhart; I have used editions of 1856 and 1890

PMC *Poema de mio Cid*

Prim. *Primavera y flor de romances* (of Wolf and Hofmann, 1856), reprinted by M. Menéndez y Pelayo as vols. VIII and IX, with additions, of *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Madrid, 1899

Rom. Hisp. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero hispánico (hispano-portugués, americano y sefardí)*, Madrid, 1953, 2 vols.

Tratado M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Tratado de los romances viejos*, in *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Madrid, vols. XI (1903) and XII (1906)

INTRODUCTION

1. WHAT IS A BALLAD?

Attempts to define the ballad will meet with no greater success than the attempt to define the novel. Rather than a neatly delimited genre, ballads are a whole type and tradition of literature, touching the lyric and the sentimental folksong at one extreme, and epic at the other. They have strong connections with popular legend and folklore, and their themes are often international. Their origins and development are imperfectly known and the subject of much debate. However, if we confine our attention to the more ancient and traditional ballads of Spain and Britain, a few generalizations can be risked:

- (a) The ballad, although here presented as a poetic text, is really a song, and the tune may be as traditional as the words.
- (b) The ballad is essentially anonymous. Although it must at its origin have had a single author, usually a poet or minstrel whose profession it was to create (or adapt) and perform such works, his name was not attached to his creation because his rôle was very different from, for example, that of Shakespeare in creating a sonnet. The ballad, after its composition by the individual author, passed into the popular domain and became universal property. Anyone could sing it, and more important, anyone with the right instinct could alter it in a minor or major way. If a new version had an obvious superiority it might become the standard one over a wide area; even so, many minor variants could coexist. It follows that the ballad can hardly ever be said to have a single or a best text like a Shakespeare sonnet; moreover, it is impossible by studying all known versions—and there may

be hundreds—to reconstruct exactly the hypothetical original. The ballad is essentially fluid, *poesía que vive en variantes* (Menéndez Pidal). (For further details, see 3*b*, below. The best modern analogy is with the funny story told by a T.V. comedian one evening and repeated next day in thousands of trains, offices and bars in perhaps hundreds of different versions, each of which may produce new versions as it is propagated.)

- (c) The older ballad had, in fact or potentially, a very long life. It was part of an oral heritage, now surviving in a pure form only in the more remote and under-developed parts of Europe and America, and destined no doubt to vanish there before the advance of mass communications, entertainments and education, and of urban-industrial civilization. The printing-press as such did not kill the traditional ballad¹—indeed in 16th-century Spain it seems to have given it a considerable impetus—but it is undeniable that in recent times the ballads survived best in semi-literate societies, particularly peasant communities. New types of ballad have of course sprung up in our century, having themes and forms more suited to our times and even peculiar to our urban-industrial civilization: one thinks of the patriotic ballads of the Irish troubles of 1916–22, of the American ballads about low life and crimes of passion, and most of all, of the West Indian calypsos. Although some of these new ballads have great interest and appeal, they are radically different from the older poems in theme and in sentiment, and are mostly inferior to them as poetry; one suspects that if they are to survive it will be as semi-popular forms needing the support of the book and the gramophone record, and better known among student groups than to the populace at large. The older

¹ Sir Walter Scott, who printed most of the known Scottish ballads in his great collection *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802–3), was told by Mrs Hogg: 'There war never ane o' my sangs prentit till ye prentit them yoursel', an' ye hae spoilt them awthegither. They were made for singing an' no for reading; but ye hae broken the charm now, an' they'll never be sung mair' (quoted by W. Beattie, *Border Ballads*, Penguin, 1952, p. 16).

ballad was essentially oral; the singer produced it from his memory, performed it orally, and by purely oral means it was passed on from singer to singer and from generation to generation. Ballad poetry, more than any other poetry, needs (in the absence of the music) to be read aloud if it is to be savoured to the full.

- (d) The ballad is largely narrative in structure and tone, though it may have long passages in direct speech (particularly dialogue) and intensely dramatic moments. The narrator almost never intrudes himself upon the scene, but acts in an objective, impersonal way, like the eye of the camera; but like the camera he often selects and highlights a significant detail. Facts are stated and left to work by themselves upon the hearer's imagination. There is often considerable emotional content, but the emotion is implied, not described and insisted upon at length or in a lyrical way: in the ballad of the Prisoner, for example (No. 69), we have begun to feel intensely what it is like to be imprisoned several lines before the speaker describes his own wretchedness (*triste, cuitado*). Many ballads are about love-affairs and husband-wife situations, but are not love-songs. (Here one notes the differences between the ballad on the one hand, and the courtly lyric, the popular lyric and the folksong on the other.)
- (e) The ballad does not moralize. Treachery, cowardice and sexual misdemeanour produce their own tragedies, the point of which is implicit and does not need to be preached. (Here one notes the contrast between the ballad and that didactic verse so typical of the later Middle Ages.)
- (f) The ballad is dignified and staid. Its ending is often tragic; if 'happy', of that species of happiness which comes as a gasp of relief rather than as merriment. Humour is rarely present in the ballads (the Scottish *Get up and bar the door* is quite exceptional), though there are often ironical notes. Nationalistic themes are almost excluded; patriotism is implied rather than stated brazenly, and a noble sympathy with one's enemies is a typical feature. The theme of the

ballad is not national affairs but a small human drama, whether of a military or supernatural or amorous kind. (Here one notes how the ballad differs from epic.)

- (g) The language of ballads is rapid, plain, and unencumbered by metaphor, personification, symbol, etc., which more sophisticated poets use; but the ballads have their own simple rhetoric (see 4*b*, below). The language convinces; it is forceful without being unduly sentimental or emotional. Euphemism is not common, and there is a certain frankness about sexual matters. Nouns and verbs (*dynamic* words, of action) predominate over adjectives (*static* words). Archaism is permissible, even necessary, but it must be of an acceptable and not an abstruse kind.
- (h) The appeal of the ballad should be high among all sorts and conditions of men at all adult ages, and among children too, although they may not understand all its implications. It should not be possible for any adult, literate or not, to say 'I do not understand it'; and all should be capable of responding to its simple, universal emotions. The ballad is for all, and reminds us that the common denominator of taste need not be a low one. The ballad manner is deceptively simple and quite inimitable; modern imitations of traditional ballads by erudite poets in English (e.g. Scott, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Tennyson) and German (e.g. Uhland, Bürger, Goethe, Schiller) betray themselves by their sophisticated thought and their untypical language. (On Spanish imitations, see 2, below.) This is not, of course, to deny the excellence of the influence which the ancient ballads had upon those modern poets who studied them; Coleridge in *The Ancient Mariner* may, for example, have learned much from their directness, their rapid narration, and their power of understatement.

2. EUROPEAN BALLADRY AND THE SPANISH ROMANCERO

Ballads are known from most countries in Europe, and have been spread by colonization to North and South America. Within Europe, we must not suppose that all the ballads originated at the same time and in the same way. In some countries (certainly in W. Europe) the ballad was preceded in popular esteem by the lyric song and the epic. The first ballads can hardly be earlier than the 14th century, and the period of their greatest popularity in Spain was from the late 15th to the early 17th centuries (in Britain, 16th to 18th). Many of the early ballads in a number of countries are of a semi-epic kind, drawn either from historical epics or based upon new events and real persons; these existed in Spain, Britain, Germany and Scandinavia. With these there grew up ballads which often used the forms of the semi-epic poems or of the early lyric, but which were concerned with domestic situations, supernatural legends, folk-motifs. In some countries, notably France and Italy, the second type of ballad much predominates, the great medieval epics of France (*chansons de geste*) having left no descendants in French in the form of traditional verse. The themes of both kinds of ballad frequently migrated from one language or country to another. Many of the themes in Spain are drawn from French epics and folk legends, and some Spanish themes have become popular in N. Italy; close links exist between some Scandinavian and Scottish ballads.

The Spanish ballads—the *romances*, collectively the *Romancero*—have several features which set them apart from those of the rest of Europe. They have an absolute unity of form, in contrast to the variety of forms used in other countries. An important section of them has close connections with the medieval epic, some being demonstrably fragments of the epics. The Spanish ballads are numerous and extremely well preserved, either in MSS of the 15th and 16th centuries and printed texts of the 16th, or in the

modern oral tradition. They have, from the late 15th century onward, enjoyed the interest of scholars and the admiration of erudite poets, and they were in Spain an integral part of that Renaissance culture which elsewhere tended to an exclusive classicism and Italianism (see 3c below). Sung by all classes—from peasantry to royalty, the ballads were a truly national Spanish possession at a time when elsewhere they were an unregarded part of folk-culture.

It is the exceptional length and vigour of the ballad tradition of Spain which most impresses the literary historian, together with the fact that the *Romancero* seems to form a much more significant part of the national literature than is the case with ballads in other countries. There is no easy single explanation for this. Those who wish to speculate and indulge in generalizations about the national character are free to do so after reading the texts. What we can say is that the ballad had early and strong beginnings in Spain because it was used to keep so much of the national past alive and to give voice to collective aspirations, and that it endured longer than elsewhere because Spain clung so tenaciously to her past—to her social and economic detriment—in the 18th and 19th centuries. The beginnings at least are not in doubt, and were a source of pride to Ganimet in his *Idearium español*:

Mientras en las Escuelas de Europa la filosofía cristiana se desmenuzaba en discusiones estériles y a veces ridículas, en nuestro país se transformaba en guerra permanente; y como la verdad no brotaba entre las plumas y tinteros, sino entre el chocar de las armas y el hervir de la sangre, no quedó consignada en los volúmenes de una biblioteca, sino en la poesía bélica popular. Nuestra *Summa* teológica y filosófica está en nuestro *Romancero*.

The historical ballads constitute a vast repository of fact and legend (of a sober rather than an extravagant kind) about the more picturesque parts of Spanish medieval history: about the Moslem conquest of 711, the origins of Castile, the wars between the early kingdoms, *mio Cid* the national hero, and the closing stages of the struggle against the Moors. The novelesque or fictional ballads are an even larger store of popular characters, situations and beliefs.

The traditional and semi-traditional ballads that make up the

Romancero are, however, only a part of the ballad contribution to Spanish literature. From the 16th century to the present day, erudite poets have used the ballad form for a wide variety of purposes. Such ballads by named authors and in sophisticated style are known as *romances artísticos*—or better, says Menéndez Pidal, in order to avoid a slight upon the considerable artistry of the traditional ballads, as *artificiosos* or *individuales*. Their composition by some of Spain's greatest poets is a tribute to the qualities of the form. Some of the pseudo-historical and romantic ballads of Pérez de Hita, Góngora, Lope de Vega and Quevedo in the Golden Age still have some of the traditional manner about them, but they are richer in texture and more lyrical. In the Romantic period the ballads of the Duque de Rivas and Zorrilla are outstanding, and in the 20th century the ballads of Antonio Machado (*La tierra de Alvar González*) and Federico García Lorca (*Romancero gitano*) are among the finest poems in Spanish.

3. THE HISTORY OF THE SPANISH BALLADS

(a) *The Name Romance*

The Spanish ballad is called a *romance*, and the derivation of the name tells us something about the poem. It comes from a Vulgar Latin adverb *romanice*, 'in the vernacular tongue', which in a substantivized sense appears in the 13th and 14th centuries as *romanz*, *romançe*, 'poem in the vernacular' (i.e., not in the Latin of the clerks). This is used in the MSS of such diverse works as the *Poema de mio Cid*, Berceo's *Sacrificio de la misa*, the *Libro de Apolonio* and Juan Ruiz's *Libro de buen amor*. During the 14th century the word seems to have been restricted to the late epics (earlier called *gesta* or *cantar*), and in the 15th century it was naturally applied to those fragments of epic which were in the process of becoming ballads. The meaning of Santillana's statement about *romançes e cantares* (1449) is much debated—see below—but Menéndez Pidal and many others take it that *romançes* there means 'ballads'. In the MS *cancioneros* of the late 15th century and in the usage of Nebrija and Encina

the name *romance* is firmly established in its modern sense. *Romancero*, created on the analogy of *cancionero*, took longer to become established. The great anthologies of the mid-16th century appeared under the titles *Cancionero de romances* or *Silva de romances*, but the new collections of c. 1600 are called *Romancero general*.

The etymological sense is clearly 'poem (par excellence) in Spanish', which we can, without forcing it, extend to 'that sort of poem which is most typical of (or most native to) the Spanish people'. Juan de Valdés had already reached the same sort of conclusion, for metrical and stylistic reasons, in his *Diálogo de la lengua* (1535):

Y siendo assí que la gentileza del metro castellano consiste en que de tal manera sea metro que parezca prosa, y que lo que se scrive se diga como se diría en prosa, tengo por buenos muchos de los romances que stan en el *Cancionero general*; porque en ellos me contenta aquel su hilo de dezir que va continuado y llano, tanto que pienso que los llaman *romances* porque son muy castos en su romance.

(ed. Clásicos Castellanos, 1946, p. 168)

For further details, see Menéndez Pidal, *Rom. Hisp.* I, 3–8, and the bibliography there listed.¹

(b) *Origins and development*

Most Spanish scholars, and most foreign hispanists, adhere with or without reservations to the 'traditionalist' (more strictly, 'neotraditionalist') theory of epic and ballad origins, whose chief exponent, during a long lifetime of productive study, is D. Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Indebtedness to him is plain in every line of this Introduction. It must however be recognized that although the

¹ The English *ballad* derives from Old French *balade* and Provençal *balada* 'dancing-song', from Late Latin *ballāre* 'to dance'; but there seems to be no connection between the known British ballads and dancing. The word is used in English from the late 15th century (*OED*). In modern Spanish *balada* appears from the mid-19th century with reference to ballads outside Spain, but this is a loan-word. The modern French word for a popular ballad is *romance* (fem.), borrowed from Spanish, and modern French collections of ballads have been entitled *Romancéro* . . . From the Spanish there also derives the Italian *romanza* (fem.), which as a musical term has passed back into Spanish. Our English word *romance* in its variety of senses derives via Norman French from the same Latin root *romanĭce*.

traditionalist theory applies to European epic and ballad as a whole, it is not acceptable to many scholars outside Spain. The French in particular remain doubtful, though less unanimously hostile than they once were. Recent students of the British ballad have included a majority of traditionalists, some (e.g. Gummere and Kittredge) quoted with approval by Menéndez Pidal, although they adhere too closely still to Romantic ideas about communal composition. The lack of contact between scholars in different countries, and the failure to achieve an international view of what are international problems, are much to be regretted. Whatever the value of Spanish theories, Spain demands the attention of foreign scholars because of the unusual length of her epic and ballad tradition.

The first investigations into European balladry in the late 18th and early 19th centuries both contributed to the rise of Romanticism and were in turn strongly coloured by Romantic ideas. The first major collection, Thomas Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765), had an early and powerful effect on German scholars, and it was German beliefs that came to dominate in the 19th century. The collection of texts which there corresponds to Percy's was that of Herder (1773 and 1778), and the edifice of theory was constructed by Herder, Schlegel, Hegel, Grimm and others. The German Romantics esteemed all 'popular' verse and other forms of expression as something of special value. Not only was this 'natural' poetry of the people (*Naturpoesie*) much earlier than that of individual, sophisticated poets (*Kunstpoesie*), but it had peculiar virtues of spontaneity and artless charm. Here the Romantics were reviving and developing ancient ideas, already present in Plato and his followers, about the superiority of the works of Nature over anything that human artists can produce. The 16th-century humanists included the human productions of relatively unself-conscious people among the works of Nature, and took a deep interest in, for example, the popular wisdom treasured up in adages and proverbs (in this Erasmus led the way and was followed by many Spanish scholars). In a preface to the second edition of the *Romancero general* of Madrid, 1604, a writer—probably Lope de Vega

—invites the reader to compare the poetry of the ballads with the learned verse of his own day, classical in tone and already tending to be affected (*culterano*):

Si fueres aficionado a la lengua española, aquí la hallarás acrecentada sin asperezas, antes con apazibilidad de estilo, y tan mañosamente que no te ofenderá la novedad: porque como este género de poesía (que casi corresponde a la lírica de los griegos y latinos) no lleva el cuidado de las imitaciones y adorno de los antiguos, tiene en ella el artificio y rigor rethórico poca parte, y mucha el movimiento del ingenio elevado, el cual no excluye al arte, sino que le excede, pues lo que la naturaleza acierta sin él es lo perfecto.

(quoted by Menéndez Pidal, *Rom. Hisp.* II, 159)

To the German Romantics this *Naturpoesie* breathed the spirit of primitive, uncorrupted man, and in some mysterious way it embodied the soul of the nation, being composed for *das Volk im Ganzen* (Schlegel). As to its composition, they held that *das Volk dichtet* (Grimm), a singularly imprecise formula which was made only a little more acceptable by the detailed explanations attempted by students of the British ballad in the early years of this century. Some sort of communal, collective composition by *el pueblo poeta*, a 'choral throng' (or as a hostile critic has called it, a 'tribal syndicate') was envisaged; if the individual poet was mentioned, it was only to make him the mouthpiece through which the poetry-composing collectivity expressed itself.

The German and Austrian Romantic scholars had a special interest in Spain, particularly in the national theatre and the ballads. The latter were first published in collected form in modern times by Jacob Grimm (*Silva de romances viejos*, Vienna, 1815). Other collections, studies and translations are those of the Germans Diez (1818, 1821), Depping (1817), Pandin (1823), Wolf (1841, 1846) and Huber (1844), and of the Dutch orientalist Dozy (1849). The *Primavera y flor de romances viejos* which Wolf and Hofmann edited in 1856 contains the most attractive ballads in their best 16th-century form and has become the basis of many modern editions, particularly since Menéndez y Pelayo made it widely known in Spain as vols. VIII and IX of his *Antología de poetas líricos* (no date, 1899?). The French Romantics, especially Victor Hugo, had a particular interest

in the ballads, but they (like the British, discussed below) contributed much less to the process of scholarly investigation. In Spain itself the ideas of the Germans were slow to penetrate. A few of them became known in Spain by the efforts of Juan Böhl de Faber (1770–1836; father of the novelist Cecilia Böhl de Faber, ‘Fernán Caballero’), a Spaniard of German stock, who numbered among his publications a *Floresta de rimas antiguas españolas* (Leipzig, 1825). He was able to give some help with texts and theories to Agustín Durán, then working on the first collections of ballads to be printed in Spain in modern times (in five volumes, 1828–32; in two volumes under the title of *Romancero general* with 1901 texts, 1849 and 1851, vols. X and XVI of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*). As for the origin of the Spanish ballads, it was held throughout most of the 19th century by most scholars that the existing texts—recognized as being of 15th and 16th century date—descended from very ancient but similar poems now lost, which had been composed in the way outlined above. The existence of the epics of the 12th–13th centuries was explained in the light of contemporary theories about the *Iliad*: it was thought that the ancient ballads—*cantilenae*—were strung together by relatively erudite individuals to form the long heroic narrations.

Percy’s *Reliques* had, of course, deeply affected the original work and the thinking of the British Romantics, particularly Coleridge, Wordsworth and Scott. Their belief was that the British ballads had a ‘literary origin’: that is, that the poems were the work of individual minstrels who in many cases abridged and adapted what Scott calls ‘the ancient metrical romances’. These ideas are in some ways more acceptable than those produced in Germany, but the British Romantics never looked much beyond our own shores and never succeeded in establishing a solid corpus of theory, with the unfortunate result that their ideas did not weigh at all with Continental scholars.

Even so the Romantic theories of the Continent were gradually modified during the 19th century. It was realized, first, that the long epics in detailed narrative style in all cases preceded the short, epico-lyrical ballads, and that some of the oldest ballads are

in fact detached fragments of the epics (A. Bello, 1843; M. Milá y Fontanals, 1853 and 1874; E. du Méril, 1858; J. Amador de los Ríos, 1863. The contrary opinion was not easily eradicated, however, and was still being sustained as late as 1914-15 by H. R. Lang). Second, the notion of *el pueblo poeta* was attacked by Milá (1853), who held—as had Scott—that the ballads must have been the work of individual poets which subsequently became possessions of the people at large. Third, the separation of *Naturpoesie* and *Kunstpoesie*, and the priority and superiority of the former, were recognized as Romantic myths. Modern scholarship hardly uses the terms, and knowing the enormous variety and complex history of the Spanish ballads, admits all manner of gradations between the two. What finally killed the simple Romantic ideas was the emergence in France, towards the close of the 19th century, of the doctrine known as 'individualism'. In considering epic and ballad origins, this postulates an act of creation by an individual author not very different from an act of creation by a modern poet. It demands to *ver y palpar*, refusing to countenance the long series of lost and hypothetical versions which traditionalists accept, and dating ballads to only a few years before the earliest surviving text of each. The key works of this school are those of Tiersot (1892) and Doncieux (1904) on the French ballads, and of Bédier (1912-17, etc.) on the French epic.

Menéndez Pidal's work in the field of epic and ballad, from his first major publication in 1896 to the present day, dwarfs that of his illustrious predecessors. He began by modifying the ideas of Milá and Menéndez y Pelayo, and under the continued attacks of the French 'individualists' eventually constructed his 'neotraditionalist' theory, a critical edifice which is as complete and as detailed as these things can ever hope to be. Between his ideas and those of the Romantics there now remains no more than a vague affinity. 'Neotraditionalism' recognizes the part played by the individual author in the first act of creation, but it insists on the part played by the people at large, by the collectivity, in the long process of evolution which has led the ballads to assume their present forms. The original act of creation is important, obviously,

but of greater importance is the continuous creation in which each successive performer takes part as he produces his own version of the unstable ballad text. Menéndez Pidal replaces the notion of the *pueblo poeta* by that of the *autor-legión*, that is, the host of nameless individuals each of whom has contributed his mite to the development of the ballad.

Beyond this general statement it is safest to regard each type of ballad as having its own distinctive origins. Something more can usefully be said, however, about the evolution of the ballads from the epics.

As the habit of chanting the full-length epics (*cantares de gesta* such as the *Poema de mio Cid*, the *Infantes de Lara* and the *Cerco de Zamora*) declined during the last years of the 14th century and first half of the 15th, they were not simply forgotten or relegated to libraries as were the French *chansons de geste*. Instead they lived on transformed into ballads, which took over the metrical form and much of the special language of the epics (see 4b below). The old monotonous epic chant was replaced by more sprightly ballad tunes. Only certain very limited parts of the epics were reborn as ballads: the most effective and popular scenes, dramatic moments in which much direct speech was used and lyrical notes were present. The transformation of epic-fragment into ballad was the work of the *juglares*, professional poets and musicians of no mean skill, whose stock-in-trade the epics were and who knew the public taste because their livelihood depended upon it. The epic fragment sung in isolation was at first somewhat formless, lacking that economy and concentration which we admire in the ballad. But as a fragment it was relatively short; whereas to remember one of the old epics of perhaps 4000 long lines, or a whole repertoire of them, had required the special powers of memory of the trained minstrel (similar in this respect to the modern actor), or his special skill in improvisation, anyone could take away in his head the rough text and the tune of the ballad after he had heard it performed twice. The ballad thus became the possession of the people at large. Some individuals would acquire fame as active ballad-singers, but most people would be at least inactive *possessors* of ballads. All

would remember the texts with differences; an individual would have his version, but might be unable to reproduce it twice in precisely the same way; a family or a village would have its version, but with much slight variation between its component individuals; and so on. If modern investigators collect 500 versions of a ballad, no two exactly correspond. If a ballad lives in this way over a period of time it becomes *traditional*, and if it began its life in the late 14th or 15th centuries it is a *romance viejo*.

This *poesía que vive en variantes* is not necessarily degenerating as it does so; far from it. The variants that cause its evolution may be either 'positive' or 'negative'. 'Negative' when the result of simple forgetfulness, mishearing and downright stupidity, but 'positive' when they result in an acknowledged improvement of the text. (The accuracy with which the partially-historical material of the parent epic is remembered is no sort of criterion.) 'Positive' variants can hardly be produced by just anybody; each must be the invention of a person having a poetic instinct and a moment of inspiration (*un cantor en estado de gracia poética*, in a happy phrase of E. Asensio). The best ballad versions are often the result of reworking by highly cultured—though still mostly anonymous—poets of the Renaissance period in the early 16th century. It must be noted that 'positive' variants often involve a shortening of the text, to its advantage, in producing that concision and tension which are a hallmark of the best Spanish ballads. Other 'positive' variants bring about the elimination of much of the circumstantial narrative in the parent epic (details of persons, places, journeys; lines introducing speakers, etc.) and the creation of a vaguer atmosphere of *ensueño* having immense poetic appeal. Another kind of 'positive' variant is produced by a sort of deliberate crossing or confusion, in which favourite lines from one ballad become attached to an equally suitable situation in another. The last part of *Cabalga Diego Láinez*, No. 26, really belongs not to the cycle of the Cid but to that of Fernán González. Attention will be drawn to major variants of interest in the notes to the ballad texts.

The evolutionary process was for a time rather artificially helped along when, in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, there existed

a strong taste for highly condensed versions and for severe truncations which produced, for example, the much-admired brief ballads which figure here as Nos. 59, 69, and 70. Less extreme but more typical was the process which a little earlier led to the splitting up of the longer ballads into their component scenes, which then acquired an independent existence. In this way *Doliente estaba, doliente* (No. 14) was split from its continuation, *Morir os queredes, padre* (No. 15); they are printed separately in the *Canc. de Rom. 'sin año'* of about 1548, but the editor of the 1550 collection knew the complete version still, and included linking lines of equal antiquity. A similar relationship existed between a version of *En Burgos está el buen rey* (No. 25) and its continuation, *Cabalga Diego Láinez* (No. 26). Such splitting represents a last stage in the fragmentation of the original epic.

An important principle unknown to the Romantics is, then, that the longest and most detailed version of a ballad is usually the most archaic, and the briefest is the most highly evolved. Just as the pebble on the beach is reduced in size, rounded off and polished by the action of the waves over the centuries, so does the ballad evolve.

The process outlined above explains the development of the epic *romances viejos*, that is, of many of those in the groups represented by Nos. 4-26 and 41-9. Many of the novelesque or fictional ballads, Nos. 56-70, are equally *romances viejos*, having evolved in the same way, but there is far more uncertainty about the manner and date of their original composition, since for them no equivalent of the epic sources can be postulated. Some of them may be quite as ancient as the epic ballads, having originated in diverse ways (e.g. as lyrics, as poems in full rhyme, as parallelistic poems) but being fitted into the established metrical form of the *romances* once these became dominant in the late 15th century. (See, for example, the notes to Nos. 61 and 66.)

The old habit of making heroic verse out of events and people of the recent past (a fact upon which 'neotraditionalism' insists but which 'individualism' often denies) persisted in the ballads known as *noticieros* or 'news-bearing'. This kind, according to Menéndez

Pidal, goes back to the early 14th century. A particular type of this is the *fronterizo* ballad, about events on the frontier between Christian Spain and the Moorish Kingdom of Granada, here represented by Nos. 27-40. Such ballads were born as ballads only a little more extensive than their present texts, and were the work of professional minstrels. Although they were early and popular enough to become traditional, they have evolved less than the epic and novelesque ballads, because they were no doubt felt to be concise enough already.

Of a different order are the ballads called *juglarescos*, the work of more sophisticated and courtly poets and minstrels of the middle and later years of the 15th century. They are so called because the hand of the *juglar*, the original author, is to be seen plainly in them, and because, although enormously popular as songs and printed texts in the 16th century, they have suffered little development under oral transmission. In style they have a predominance of narrative passages, and make frequent use of distinctive formulae (see 4*b*, below). They give a full account of an often lengthy story, and lack the brevity and tautness of the *romance viejo*. Three kinds of *romances juglarescos* can be distinguished: that which is a new version of a *romance viejo* of epic derivation; that which is designed to fill a gap in an epic cycle (i.e. to represent an epic episode from which no *romance viejo* happens to have derived; examples are Nos. 11 and 22, of 16th-century date); and wholly new creations unrelated to any historical event or epic source, although having a pseudo-historical or pseudo-epic air. Of this third kind are some of the Carolingian ballads, Nos. 50-4. The origin of the ballads about King Roderick, Nos. 1-3, will be discussed later.

(c) *The ballads in the 15th century and the Golden Age*

Although it must be accepted that a ballad tradition was beginning to exist in the 14th century, we have no direct evidence of it. The first ballad text known is, significantly, no more than a nostalgic jotting made in a notebook in 1421 by a Majorcan student in Italy (see No. 66). Next one finds in the MS *Cancionero de Londres*, which was compiled in 1471-1500, three ballads attributed to the

Galician *trovador* Juan Rodríguez del Padrón, who flourished from about 1430 to about 1440. One of these is an already much-confused version of the famous *¡Quién hubiese tal ventura!* (No. 70). Menéndez Pidal thinks it significant that the earliest records of ballads are thus made by persons on the periphery of the Spanish world. Certainly when the first references to ballads are made by those living at the centre of Castilian culture they are unenthusiastic. Juan de Mena in his very learned *Laberinto de Fortuna* (1444) knew the ballad about King Ferdinand IV 'el Emplazado' (1312?), but referred to it as peasant verse:

segund dizen rústicos desto cantando (287g)

He also refers to Álora as the *villa non poco cantada* (190e), showing that he knew the ballad here printed as No. 34. Mena's friend the Marqués de Santillana shows a similar aristocratic disdain for the ballads in his *Proemio e Carta* or preface to his works (1449), the first critical account of Spanish poetry. In his scheme of values the classical poets occupy the upper places, the Italian and Provençal poets the middle; below them,

Ínfimos son aquellos que sin ningund orden, regla nin cuento fazen estos romances e cantares de que las gentes de baxa e servil condición se alegran.

The objection here is both to the formlessness of the ballads and to their low social category.

This lack of esteem for the ballads was shortly to be rectified, and in a most unexpected place, in the Court itself. From about 1460 the ballads began to enjoy a considerable vogue and were cultivated by court poets and musicians. In 1462 it is recorded that King Henry IV of Castile ordered a ballad about the Granadine war to be set to music; it is possible, indeed, that such *fronterizo* ballads as this had enjoyed official encouragement for some decades previously. The ballads were even more esteemed at court under the Catholic Monarchs Ferdinand and Isabel. It is not to be assumed that the ballads sung at court and to noblemen were the same as those which on the lips of villagers had been despised by Mena and

Santillana. It was customary for the court poets and musicians to *gloss* them, that is, to revise the words (without destroying their essential brevity, directness, and lack of sophistication), to polish the form and compose new tunes. In these more elegant forms the ballads began to be admitted into the *cancioneros* or anthologies of the late 15th century; 38 texts figure in the great *Cancionero general* which was compiled from 1490 and printed in 1511. The court poets and musicians helped to regularize the form of the ballads, and they began that taste for shortened versions which was to last into the mid-16th century. The Carolingian, novelesque and frontier ballads seem to have been the most favoured in the time of the Catholic Monarchs, the frontier poems receiving a special stimulus because of their value as propaganda on behalf of the war against Granada, then (towards 1492) in its bitter final stages. The enhanced status of the ballads is evidenced by the quotations made from several of them by Antonio de Nebrija in his *Gramática castellana* (1492), and by Juan del Encina's inclusion of the ballad form—full rhyme and division into quatrains being stipulated, however—among the standard Spanish forms in his *Arte de poesía castellana* (1496).

In the 16th and early 17th centuries the ballad prospered as did so much else in life and in art, in that great release of creative energies which we call the Renaissance and the Golden Age. Ballads of every type achieved enormous popularity among all classes; beloved of musicians, profitable to printers, esteemed by scholars, imitated eventually by the greatest poets of the age, known to all, they formed a unique national heritage. The feeling which the humanists and the writers who had been brought up on the classics and on Italian literature had for the ballads was infinitely stronger than that which existed in other countries for the corresponding kinds of traditional verse, and was an altogether healthy one. The reasons for this feeling, in Platonic thought as interpreted by Renaissance scholars, are well brought out by Lope de Vega in passages adduced elsewhere (pp. 10 and 30). In Spain the special esteem accorded to the ballads is in part to be attributed to that spirit of national dedication which inspired the

imperial enterprises and the wars in defence of the faith. Although the habit of making ballad-poetry out of notable contemporary events virtually ended with the fall of Granada in 1492, it was natural that a people thrilling to the news of the Gran Capitán, of Cortés and of Don John of Austria should relive in their ballads the deeds of the Cid and other heroes. But in popular favour the Carolingian and novelesque ballads ranked with the historical, and at court and among the printers the former even had an earlier vogue than the latter, so this cannot be the whole explanation. Rather one should say that the ballads picked up from the mass (*gentes de baxa e servil condiçión*) were brought to perfection of text and of music by a number of individuals in the late 15th century, and as such were found to be to the taste of the whole nation in the following decades. Moreover, the means to fix and to propagate these more artistic versions was now at hand.

Menéndez Pidal tells us that the printing-presses in the 16th century turned out more ballads than any other type of verse. The ballads were at first printed, three or four together and often with other poems, on *pliegos sueltos* (broadsheets or broadsides), that is, the single sheet printed on both sides and folded twice. These, printed from about 1506 to 1605, sold cheaply in the streets of many Spanish towns and were often produced for sale at fairs and markets; being unbound, they rarely survived for long and are today bibliographical treasures. The first printed collection of ballads was that of Martín Nucio at Antwerp in about 1548, that famous *Cancionero de romances* often called the '*cancionero sin año*'. It contains 150 texts, most of them printed from *pliegos sueltos* but some gathered from the memory of Spaniards resident in the Low Countries. Nucio's book was of pocket-size and intended for popular circulation rather than for library use. It was reprinted several times in Spain in 1550 and in the following years, with substantial alterations to Nucio's text as editors recalled or gathered superior versions, and numerous additions.

The printing of the old ballads with their music began in 1535-6 in the music-books of Luis Milán and Luis de Narváez, and continued up to that of Francisco de Salinas in 1577. In these books,

however, the ballads figure no more than occasionally among many other types of lyrics and tunes. The instrument to which the ballads were sung during most of the 16th century was the *vihuela*, having 6 or 7 strings which were plucked, but at the end of the century the modern-style guitar seems to have replaced this for the purpose.

The *pliegos sueltos* and the mid-century *cancioneros de romances* gathered in between them almost all the harvest of *romances viejos* and *juglarescos*, although a few were still being collected and published (among newly composed ballads and other verse) by Juan de Timoneda in 1573 and by Ginés Pérez de Hita in 1595. The second half of the 16th century was, however, to be the most glorious period in the history of the *Romancero*; not only did the older ballads continue in full vigour and enjoy new forms of life in *Don Quixote* and the national theatre, but beside them diverse kinds of *romance artificioso* acquired a vast popularity and esteem.

One can see in Cervantes (born 1547) how profoundly the ballads took hold of the imagination of a highly cultured but not untypical Spaniard of the later Renaissance. His *Don Quixote* may, indeed, have been inspired in a small way by a certain *Entremés de los romances* (written between 1591 and 1595) in which the language and world of the ballads affect the mind of a peasant in much the way that the books of chivalry affect *Don Quixote's*. The noble knight and his squire quote freely from the ballads, comparing their own situations with those of the ballad heroes and regarding the ballad world, like that of Amadís and company, as a perfectly real one which had only just passed away.¹ This ballad world becomes reality—*Don Quixote's* sort of reality—in the episode of the Cave of Montesinos (Chapters XXII and XXIII of Part Two), one of the most touching in the book, based on the Carolingian ballads printed here as Nos. 52 and 53.

The use of ballad themes as plots for plays began in 1579 when the Sevillian Juan de la Cueva wrote as a full-length drama *La*

¹ Sancho implies that *las trovas de los romances antiguos no mienten* when he tells an unlikely tale of King Roderick, and is supported in this by doña Rodríguez; but the Duchess laughs and has her doubts (Chapter XXXIII of Part Two).

muerte del rey don Sancho, followed by *La libertad de España por Bernardo del Carpio* and *Los siete Infantes de Lara*. That infinitely large world of events and characters which the miniature drama of the ballad-text can suggest to the imagination of the reader is here transported to the stage, helped out (as was Shakespeare in his historical plays at this time) by reference to the chronicles then in print. Cueva was followed by several anonymous playwrights and by Lope de Vega, who had such an intense feeling both for the poetry of the ballads and for the national past. He wrote some 20 plays on ballad themes, mostly during his youth. From about 1587 the *romance* metre was in use in the theatre, so that Lope and others were able to quote the original ballads and to gloss them in various ways at significant points in the action. Lope's followers did not on the whole follow him in writing ballad-plays, but one cannot omit mention of Guillén de Castro, who among eight such works composed *Las mocedades del Cid* and *Las hazañas del Cid*, of which the former (c. 1612-15) provided Corneille with the idea for his famous *Le Cid* (1636).¹

The *romance artificioso* of the later 16th century began with very feeble attempts to refurbish old historical ballads and to write new ones on material drawn from the *Crónica de España* which Ocampo had published in 1541 (held to be the original of Alfonso X, 1289, but in fact a later version of it). Of this kind are the collections published in 1550 by Alonso de Fuentes and in 1551 by Lorenzo de Sepúlveda. New ballads on historical themes were written less and less as the century advanced, although a very successful collection of old and new Cid ballads was issued in 1611 by Juan de Escobar, last printed in 1757 in its 26th edition. From about 1580 taste was turning to new types. One finds numerous pastoral ballads which continue that lyricism and delicacy of sentiment already abundantly expressed in eclogue and novel earlier in the century.

¹ In his *Avertissement*, written to justify his construction of the play and his handling of 'history', Corneille quotes the historian Mariana on the Cid's marriage and then two ballads, whose authority he tries to establish by saying that 'Ces sortes de petits poèmes sont comme des originaux décousus de leurs anciennes histoires'. Both ballads are, however, not *viejos*, still less epic fragments, but of late 16th-century date.

There was a great vogue for *morisco* ballads which, deriving vaguely from the *fronterizo* tradition of the 15th century, exaggerate the romantic and exotic qualities of the now defeated Moors. The outstanding work here is Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* (1595), a sort of historical novel interlarded with old ballads and original poems, but there are fine compositions in this genre too by Lope de Vega and by Góngora (including adaptations to contemporary themes which Menéndez Pidal calls *africanos* and *de cautivos*). A host of other poets acquired a temporary fame as ballad-makers, particularly when their work began to be collected into anthologies (mostly called *Flor de romances*) which were in turn eventually collected together in the great *Romancero general* of 1600-5. In this the change of taste is seen to be complete, for the collection consists entirely of *romances artificiosos* and the *viejos* are excluded. Later, in the hands of Quevedo and others, the heroic and pastoral themes declined still further and the ballad acquired an amusing but unworthy air as the *jácara* or poem of low life.

A useful test of the popularity of a genre is the frequency of parodies of it. Occasional ones are recorded quite early in the 16th century, but they did not become common until its later years. The *morisco* ballads of Lope de Vega were parodied from about 1585, the Carolingian from 1582 by Góngora, himself a masterly composer of serious ballads. These parodies are witty and affectionate rather than sour. Cervantes does not make fun of the ballads in any way in *Don Quixote*; while the exaggerated heroics of the books of chivalry were obviously fair game, his respect for the Spanish heroic past in the ballads is never in question. It was not Cervantes who 'laughed Spain's chivalry away' as Byron thought, but rather the following generation in the person of Quevedo (born 1580), who was the first to parody a Spanish historical ballad. His *Pavura de los Condes de Carrión* (1606) not only pokes fun at the treacherous Counts—the original epic had done that—but makes a comic figure out of the noble Cid himself; and this would not be a bad way of dating the beginning of Spain's decline from greatness.

We may note finally that the *romancero* was highly valued in the

Golden Age by historians who, like Sancho Panza, tended rather uncritically to accept its statements as hard facts. The relatively recent *fronterizo* ballads were particularly valuable to writers on Andalusian affairs, such as the Sevillian Gonzalo Argote de Molina in his genealogical work *Nobleza de Andalucía* (1588). He has interesting versions of a number of ballads, and provided for posterity the only known text of the very ancient *Cercada tiene a Baeza* (No. 27). Argote has a section on the ballads in his *Discurso sobre la poesía castellana* which he prefixed to his edition of the *Conde Lucanor* (1575) in which he not only shows how much he valued the ballads for historical and linguistic reasons, but hints (though he knew nothing of the epics) at the relationship between the ballad material and the medieval chronicles such as that of Alfonso X:

En el qual género de verso al principio se celebrauan en Castilla las hazañas y proezas antiguas de los reyes, y los trances y successos assí de la paz, como de la guerra, y los hechos notables de los Condes, Caualleros y Infançones, como son testimonio los romances antiguos castellanos . . .

En los quales romances hasta oy día se perpetúa la memoria de los passados, y son vna buena parte de las antiguas historias castellanas, de quien el rey don Alonso se aprouechó en su historia, y en ellos se conserva la antigüedad y propiedad de nuestra lengua.

(d) *The ballads in modern times*

In the 17th century there seems to have been some decline in the popularity of the *romance artificioso* and a total loss of interest among poets and scholars in the *romances viejos*. Nor was it possible that this interest could revive under the neoclassical taste of the 18th century. The traditional ballads lived on vigorously among the populace, but nothing was heard of them. The intense interest of Romantic scholars in Germany and later in other countries was nurtured largely on ballad texts printed during the 16th century, and these also formed the almost exclusive basis of the great collections made by Agustín Durán between 1828 and 1851. In fact, there was an astonishing unawareness in Spain of the *estado latente* in which a rich ballad tradition was still managing to survive among the country people. It was on the periphery of the Peninsula that the modern oral tradition began to come to the attention

of poets and scholars: in Portugal, where in the 1820s Almeida Garrett recalled or collected a few ballads, and in Catalonia, where Milá and others began to tap rich sources from 1853. Collections from Asturias and Galicia followed, and from Andalusia, although here the tradition was evidently very weak by the end of the 19th century. In Castile proper it seemed that no ballads remained, and the fact was for a time accepted and explained. Fittingly, it was Menéndez Pidal himself who, more or less by accident, began the recovery of the Castilian ballads in the small town of Osma in May of 1900. In small amounts at first but in increasing quantities as trained collectors, musicians and folklore experts got to work, the full wealth of the ballad tradition of all parts of the Peninsula came to light. It is probably true to say that it is still not fully known, although at present declining rapidly under modern pressures; certainly much study of the material gathered during the last hundred years remains to be carried out. Outside the Peninsula interesting collections have been made in most of the countries of South and Central America, the ballad tradition there being somewhat less rich than that of Spain but possibly more archaic. Considerable attention has been given also to the ballads which survive orally to the present day among the Sephardim, that is, the descendants of the Jews who were expelled from Spain in 1492. In northern Europe, Italy, etc., these quickly lost their old Spanish language and folklore, but those who took refuge in countries of inferior culture, such as lands of the old Turkish empire and Morocco, have preserved a dialect (Judeo-Spanish) and popular literature of enormous interest. Although there is evidence that they received some texts during the 16th century, most of the ballads known among these Jews are of pre-1492 date, and their importance can be imagined; for example, the early long version of *¡Quién hubiese tal ventura!* (No. 70) is known only from a Sephardic source, and such fine ballads as *En París está doña Alda* (No. 44) and *Todas las gentes dormían* (No. 49) are today remembered only among the Jews, not in Spain. Despite terrible losses suffered by the Balkan Jews in the Second World War, the Sephardic tradition seems able to survive in many cities of the Middle East, in Israel

itself, and even among the numerous emigrants to the United States.

It would be foolish to pretend that the modern versions collected from the oral tradition in Spain, Spanish America, and among the Sephardim are all pearls of great poetry. All too often they are inferior when compared with 16th-century texts, seeming confused, rambling, full of rather childish and unwarranted additions, and often spoiled by intrusive religious and moralizing notes. Occasionally, however, they have isolated features of interest, preserving ancient variants of which the 16th-century printers took no heed; and sometimes, of course, the oral tradition has preserved ballads which escaped the notice of those printers altogether, such as *Vengo brindado, Mariana* (No. 68). We can say that 'the people' during the last three centuries has had the desire to preserve and to enjoy, but not that instinct for cutting and adapting which its ancestors had in earlier times. (Some authorities, such as Child and Meier, together with most of the French individualists, hold that 'the people' has never at any time enhanced the texts in its possession, but only caused their degeneration.) Even so, the length of the oral tradition in Spanish is extraordinary, as is its diversity. Doña Alda, *la belle Aude*, created in the French *Chanson de Roland* some time shortly before 1100, popular for a while in successive versions of that poem, has been dead on her native soil and in her native language for perhaps six centuries, but she survives to the present day and in a form amply worthy of her origins, among the expelled Jews. The magic of

Un sueño soñé, doncellas

is not easily forgotten.

4. THE ART OF THE SPANISH BALLADS

(a) *Form*

The Spanish ballads undoubtedly owe a part of their diffusion in time and space to the excellence of their form. There is, more-

over, only the one form, not a variety as there is in the ballads of Britain and of other countries (but see below). This sameness is a source of strength rather than of monotony, since it makes for easy learning and facility of creation and adaptation.

The ballad line has eight syllables, this octosyllable being the basic line of many Spanish strophic forms, of such antiquity that it is already found among the lines used in the Mozarabic lyrics of the 11th century. The line has a fairly strong stress on its 7th syllable, and may have other subsidiary stresses placed in a variety of ways earlier in the line which allow a diversity of pace and rhythm. If the line has a masculine (*agudo*) ending that syllable counts for two, in the usual Spanish way, and carries the stress:

1 2 3 4 5 6 7,8
que a / tie / rra / quie / re / lle / gar

The ends of the lines are not rhymed in the way that is normal in modern English, French, Italian or German, that is, in full or consonantal rhyme, but in *assonance*, in which vowels alone correspond and consonants are disregarded. The assonance unites the ends of the even-numbered lines only, and may be of a pair of vowels, such as *í-o*:

Rey don Sancho, rey don Sancho,
no digas que no te aviso,
que de dentro de Zamora
un alevoso ha salido

or of a single stressed vowel such as *ó*:

Tres Cortes armara el rey,
todas tres a una sazón:
las unas armara en Burgos,
las otras armó en León

In some ballads it will be observed that there is what appears to be a mixture of double-vowel and single-vowel assonance. Such a case is that of No. 44, *En París está doña Alda*, in which most of the 29

rhymes are of the single type in *á* (Roldán, *acompañar*, *calzar*, etc.) but in which a few are double, in *á-e* (*grande*, *deshace*, *sangre*, *Roncesvalles*). In fact all these rhymes are really the same, and all assonances are double. Up to the end of the 16th century at least the single-vowel rhymes of such a ballad were usually read—or better, sung (by popular singers though not, it appears, by court musicians)—with the addition of an extra *-e*, Roldán-*e*, *acompañar-e*, *calzar-e*, etc.), thus producing a poem in which all the rhymes are in double-vowel assonance, *á-e*. In the 16th century the ballads were often printed with this extra *-e* and it survived in song too in archaic areas such as Andalusia until the early 19th century and to the present day among the Sēphardim of Morocco. It appears also in some traditional lyrics of the 16th century. Although this *-e*, called ‘paragogic’, was clearly necessary at one time to equalize the rhymes and to fit the musical accompaniment, it is no mere poetic licence but a very ancient habit of Spanish epic and ballad whose origins lie as far back as the 10th and early 11th centuries.

Normally each ballad has only one assonance maintained throughout, but there are plenty of cases in which a ballad has 2, or even 3 or more, assonance-series. Such are Nos. 10 (*á-o*, *á-a*, *á*) and 12, and even in the very short ballads No. 23 (26 lines) and No. 46 (28 lines) there are changes of assonance. Such a change of assonance shows that the ballad is ancient, since different assonance series correspond to successive paragraphs or series (*laises*) in the original epic. The more recent ballads, such as the *fronterizos* and the new Carolingian creations of the 15th century, even if of great extent, never have more than a single assonance. In the late 15th and during the 16th century older ballads were sometimes rewritten to reduce this variety of assonance-series to a single uniform rhyme.

We may note before leaving the subject that assonance is so typical that it has been called *Spanish rhyme*. It is however known in some medieval Latin verse and in the oldest French epics. The old Spanish epic is written in it, as are the earliest Mozarabic lyrics and much popular-style verse in Castile, Portugal, etc. It had an astonishing revival in the mid-19th century, being used by Bécquer

to rhyme a great variety of strophic forms, and is much used by 20th-century poets as a compromise between the restrictions of full rhyme and the formlessness of blank verse (which is less successful in Spanish than in English).

In length the ballads vary considerably. The shortest, including *Que por mayo era, por mayo* (No. 69) have only 16 lines; the longest in this book, *Medianoche era por filo* (No. 54) has 412, but another very famous Carolingian ballad of Conde Dirlos extends to 1366. Different periods have had different tastes in this matter of length. The tendency of the epic fragments was, as explained above, to contract as unnecessary details were eliminated, and this tendency reached an extreme in the early 16th century with the taste for beginnings *ex abrupto* and for endings which stopped short of the dénouement, producing suspense and mystery. The *romances juglarescos* of the 15th century are often of the type called by Menéndez Pidal *romance-cuento*, more similar to the ballads of other countries in that they tell a full story. New ballads of the later Golden Age, and new versions of the old ballads then made, also tend to be full narrations in which everything is duly (and rather prosaically) explained, and the same is largely true of versions circulating in the modern oral tradition. The average length of the ballads in this book, excluding the rather untypical *Medianoche era por filo*, is about 50 lines.

It is of course possible to print the ballads in long lines of 16 syllables, treating each octosyllable as no more than a hemistich or half-line, and allowing the assonance to fall at the end of every line. Such a method of printing is in fact in better accord with the metrical origins of the ballad form and a useful reminder of those origins. Although the 12th-century *Poema de mio Cid*—the only full epic text we have—appears so highly irregular in its versification, which may not have had a syllabic basis at all—the tendency in what we can find or reconstruct of later epic texts in the 14th century was towards a greater predominance of 16-syllable lines, though still with much irregularity. The old ballads which were fragments of epics took over and consolidated this tendency towards the line of 16 (or 8 + 8) syllables. Two factors helped to

establish the ballad line as a perfectly regular double octosyllable: on the one hand the fact that courtly and erudite poets became interested in the ballad in the later 15th century, and they naturally preferred regularity to disorder (as Santillana implied); on the other, the fact that the ballad had a full and often lively tune, which replaced the old and evidently freer chant of the epic. By mid-16th century the double octosyllable had become established, although one still finds even then rare lines of 9, 7 and even 6 syllables. Whether we write our ballads down in long or short lines seems immaterial, since no one now seriously disputes the origins of the ballad line in that of the epic. The MSS from the earliest times (1421), and the 16th-century printers, use the short line, although long lines are used by Nebrija (1492) and by Salinas in his music-book (1577). Most modern editors use the short line (Menéndez y Pelayo in Spain and Le Strange in Britain are exceptions). Short lines are used here because they are more pleasing to the reader's eye, but more than that, because the short line seems better to express the rapidity and the intense emotion of the ballads. But it is proper to remember, with Menéndez Pidal, that the ballad tune has a musical phrase of 16 (occasionally 32) notes, never of 8, and that the British ballad tunes similarly have a long phrase.

Although the octosyllable has dominated for so long, it was not always quite so exclusive. There is plenty of evidence that in the 15th century a variety of other strophic forms could be used for ballads and ballad-like poems, including octosyllables with full rhyme, couplets, ballads with refrains, etc. At the height of its popularity in the 16th century, however, when the great power and coherence of the *Romancero* began to be felt, collectors and editors and musicians came to feel that all true ballads should be in octosyllables, and most of the metrically variant forms were assimilated to this single pattern. Learned poets of the Golden Age occasionally experimented with ballads in diverse forms, and the 6-syllable *romancillo* enjoyed a vogue (Góngora's examples are particularly charming), but most of these belong to the class of the *romances artificiosos*. Division into quatrains and the use of refrains are especially to be condemned in a form whose great merit is its

freedom in extent and its power to flow on. (The division into paragraphs by sense, followed in this book, is a purely arbitrary one and reflects natural pauses.) The basic ballad form has never ceased to have an appeal for the greatest poets of the language, even in the Golden Age with its classical and erudite tendencies,¹ even in the Romantic period when poets often altered or rejected traditional forms, even in modern times when poets often reject predetermined forms as insincere. Its variety of possible effects, simple strength, musicality and noble traditional flavour have an enduring charm.

(b) *Structure and style*

There is nothing primitive or uncouth about the structure and style of the ballads. Theirs is a very special art, evolved down the generations and found agreeable to the taste of millions of individuals.

Most of the Spanish ballads are relatively short poems which deal with one scene, one episode or one very closely connected series of events. In many cases nothing is said about the events which led up to the ballad-situation, even though this may result in some obscurity; and often there is lacking that logical conclusion which modern readers might expect. This *fragmentismo* is a central feature of the Spanish ballads. As we have seen, the older ballads are in many cases fragments of epics, and they show it. If a passage is torn from its context, much in it will remain unexplained, and its beginning may seem especially abrupt. Listeners and readers in the

¹ Lope de Vega, one of the greatest composers of *romances artificiosos*, was not ashamed to include a couple of them among his more erudite verse in the Italianate metres when he published a collection of his *Rimas* in 1604. His preface contains this justification: he says that the 'Romances no me puedo persuadir que desdigan de la autoridad de las *Rimas*, aunque se atreve a su facilidad la gente ignorante porque no se obligan a la corresponsión de las cadencias. Algunos quieren que sean la cartilla de los poetas (*i.e.*, *poets' primers or elementary schoolbooks*); yo no lo siento así, antes bien los hallo capaces, no sólo de exprimir y declarar cualquier concepto con fácil dulzura, pero de proseguir toda grave acción de numeroso poema. Y soy tan de veras español que, por ser en nuestro idioma natural este género, no me puedo persuadir que no sea digno de toda estimación' (quoted by Menéndez Pidal, *Rom. Hisp.* II, 159-60).

16th century were of course still familiar with the surrounding contexts, and knew that in the ballad which starts

‘Morir os queredes, padre,
¡San Miguel os haya el alma!’ (No. 15)

the speaker is Princess Urraca and the *padre* is King Ferdinand I. Moreover, this accident of *fragmentismo* was, by a collective stroke of genius, turned into a positive virtue when ballads of non-epic origin, such as No. 70, were shortened to give equally abrupt beginnings and endings. The modern reader need not feel unduly ignorant if he requires notes to explain a ballad-situation. Towards the end of the 16th century one comes across versions which are much less abrupt, for in them introductory and explanatory material has been added to aid the failing epic memories of listeners. The ballad quoted above is then made to start with the lines

Por una sala adelante
sañuda va doña Urraca;
palabras iba diciendo
que el corazón me quebranta:

which, although attractive in a way, greatly lessen the tension.

Important stylistic consequences follow upon this *fragmentismo*. The ballad is concise and compact, fast-moving, and not a word is wasted. The narration is simple and straightforward, in proper logical order, although sometimes it takes great leaps. The ballad states circumstances and facts, never motives, and it cannot pause to analyse the emotions of the participants. There is no place for the spaciousness and variety of incident of the epic. Static descriptions are kept to a minimum, and everything is concentrated upon the action and the words spoken as the instinct of successive singers and poets gets to work with what Menéndez Pidal calls its *enérgico esfuerzo depurador*. Adjectives are few, never of the kind called ‘idle’ (e.g., *green grass*). If there is a need for static description, a few features are given and must serve to conjure up the rest in the imagination; Diego Ordóñez goes out to his jousting

de dobles piezas armado
y en un caballo morcillo (No. 18)

The Carolingian and *fronterizo* ballads constitute important exceptions to this. Here the tone is more completely narrative, and there are full descriptions of places, dress and movements as the ballad seeks to impress the hearer with the exotic and the picturesque:

Por esa puerta de Elvira
sale muy gran cabalgada:
¡Cuánto del hidalgo moro!
¡Cuánta de la yegua baya!
¡Cuánta de la lanza en puño!
¡Cuánta de la adarga blanca! (No. 29)

At the opening of the ballad we are often taken up bodily and plunged into an action that is already well under way, suddenly immersed in its total atmosphere. A single line with a place-name may suffice to set the scene:

En Burgos está el buen rey . . . (No. 25)
Caballeros de Moclín . . . (No. 32)
Por los caños de Carmona . . . (No. 45)

Or one of the protagonists may be abruptly named:

Preso está Fernán González . . . (No. 7)
Cabalga Diego Láinez . . . (No. 26)

Or more dramatically still, the protagonists may be directly addressed:

'Buen conde Fernán González . . . ' (No. 9)
'Dadme nuevas, caballeros . . . ' (No. 36)

But the most striking of ballad openings, and no doubt the most highly evolved, are those in which a speaker begins in direct speech, often a tirade, his name completely unannounced and perhaps not mentioned at all later in the ballad; many of these are powerful exclamations, often reiterated:

'¡Afuera, afuera, Rodrigo! . . . ' (No. 16)

'¡Oh Belerma!, ¡Oh Belerma! . . . ' (No. 53)

The ending of the ballad is also of great importance. A few have a somewhat weak and anticlimactic air (e.g., No. 20). Others have an extraordinary air of inevitability (e.g., Nos. 18, 34). In others the ending is plainly a temporary one, meant to lead thoughts on to a consequence or even to a ballad sequel, the next in the cycle (e.g. Nos. 10, 12, 15, 17). In a few ballads the ending has undergone that severe truncation which transforms a rather pedestrian narration into something of great lyrical power (No. 69) or something which causes the imagination to soar (No. 70). In all cases the endings have a great instinct for understatement, of knowing when not to explain or insist, of *saber callar a tiempo* in Menéndez Pidal's phrase. The brevity and economy of narration is, it might be said, less a poetic device than an outlook on life, that of an austere people with a taste for the dramatic.

As has been said earlier, most ballads have a completely impersonal narrator. In a few the *yó* intrudes, with a variety of possible effects. In a few cases the protagonist himself is the narrator, so that the *yó* has a natural place (Nos. 59, 60, 69). In another the effect is to put a useful notion of distance between the observer and the scene observed, giving an extra dimension:

Por aquel postigo viejo
que nunca fuera cerrado,
ví venir pendón bermejo (No. 19)

Rather similar in effect is the apostrophe to the town, from an observer stationed outside and above it:

Álora, la bien cercada,
tú que estás en par del río (No. 34)

Such worthwhile effects might have been more widely adopted, but of course there was almost no precedent in the epic tradition for the direct intervention of the narrator.

If the narrator scarcely ever comes alive, the protagonists often express themselves in direct speech whose vigour can rarely be paralleled in other genres. It was natural that the ballads should inherit from the epics the capacity for dramatization in direct speech, for many of the best passages of the epics which were detached as ballads were of precisely this kind, and in essence the epic was as much drama as narrative. The direct speech is usually a dialogue, often a spirited dispute, sometimes a series of question-and-answer passages developed in parallel structure and involving antithesis, for which the ballad line seems to be especially telling (e.g. Nos. 8, 20, 64). There is a fine vigour about the way in which the Moorish kings issue instructions to their generals (Nos. 28, 29), lyricism in the occasional soliloquy (Nos. 3, 12, 69) and pathos in Doña Alda's account of her dream (No. 44). Sometimes the ballad consists entirely of direct speech (Nos. 16, 46, 69), and the ballad that is wholly in narrative is rare (Nos. 4, 56). The balance between narrative and direct-speech elements, the economy of the former and the power of the latter, the invariably neat way in which speakers are introduced and removed with the minimum of fuss—these constitute one of the great achievements of the ballad genre.

Another notable feature of ballad-language is repetition, particularly in first lines. These have an intensely dramatic effect. Some are exclamatory and imitate the repetitions of everyday speech at emotional moments:

‘¡Afuera, afuera, Rodrigo! . . .’ (No. 16)

‘¡Abenámbar, Abenámbar! . . .’ (No. 33)

Sometimes there is a quiet note of desperation:

‘Que por mayo era, por mayo . . .’ (No. 69)

and at others a solemn note of doom:

‘¡Rey don Sancho, rey don Sancho! . . .’ (No. 17)

Narrative lines frequently use repetition too, as a means of underlining a significant point:

Doliente estaba, doliente . . . (No. 14)

But it seems that very often the opening repetition is intended simply to have an incantatory effect, lifting our minds from everyday reality into a world of make-believe. Here the words have an insistent jingle in no way different from that of the nursery-rhymes which charmed us as children:

Fontefrida, Fontefrida . . . (No. 61)
 'Rosa fresca, Rosa fresca . . . ' (No. 62)

Alliteration is frequently a part of this jingle, the sounds *m* and *c* being the most favoured:

Yo me era mora Mo^faima,
 morilla de un bel catar . . . (No. 59)
 Yo me adamé una amiga . . . (No. 60)
 La bella malmaridada . . . (No. 65)
 Por los caños de Carmona . . . (No. 45)
 En Castilla está un castillo . . . (No. 48)
 A cazar va el caballero . . . (No. 67)

As the ballad develops there may be further repetitions, sometimes for necessary emphasis, but also because of the musical appeal of a word or a line. There is poetry too in the very names of places and persons, those of the Carolingian ballads in particular having an exotic appeal (*Melisenda*, *Belerma*).

The language of the ballads is, in one way, of an extreme plainness, and helps to make them such admirable texts for beginners in the language. A poem which is to be recited or sung must communicate its sense immediately, since there can be no pause for thought and no turning back the page. But there is more than this utilitarian reason for the ballad's simplicity: a desire to fix the attention on the scene and its attendant emotions, not on any special beauties of language. Even so, the ballads are full of exquisite, pithy or forceful lines which, aided by their music, stay in one's mind as permanent possessions. Brevity and neatness are constantly sought, and it is not surprising that a number of ballad lines are listed as proverbs by Golden Age authorities such as

Covarrubias (1611) and Correas (c. 1630) and that others were quoted in real life and in the drama because they summed up a complete situation and were known to all. Of the poetic figures commonly used in more sophisticated verse we find only simile in the ballads, and this is (as it had been in the epic) rare and when used, simple in character. The ballads use a dry and vigorous Castilian, dramatic by reason of its seemingly spontaneous exclamations and repetitions.

In another sense the language of the ballads has its curiosities and complexities. Two factors must be borne in mind: that the ballad manner derived in large measure from the epic manner, and that (like the epic) the ballad was meant to be communicated orally by one performer to an audience. One finds in consequence a number of formulae dear to the hearts of the *juglares*. They are not mere fossils, because each serves a definable purpose, but it is clear that on occasion they are useful as line-fillers (that is, aids to composition and particularly to improvisation). Such are

bien oiréis lo que dirá

which can be varied to fit into assonances other than -á. This announces the beginning of a speech or a change of speaker, as it often does in the *Poema de mio Cid* (e.g. line 70). A narrative formula for 'meanwhile' is

ellos en aquesto estando

which corresponds to *PMC* 2311. Both these involve a perhaps necessary slackening of the tension of the ballad. A formula intended to increase the tension is the apparently tautological but very vivid

llorando de los sus ojos

which is found on numerous occasions in the *PMC* (e.g. 1, 277) and in many other medieval texts. Other narrative devices taken over from the epic enable the performer to bring a scene to life as though it were happening before the eyes of the audience. The

lively opening to ballad No. 21, *Hélo, hélo, por do viene*, corresponds to the minstrel's exclamatory *Afévos . . .* in the *PMC* (e.g. 152). The use of the 2nd plural *viérades* in e.g. No. 34 derives from the minstrel's address to his audience (e.g. *PMC* 170), and what Menéndez Pidal calls the 'ya' *actualizante* (e.g. No. 18) is similarly an aid to realistic narration (compare *PMC* 1448). Rather different is the device adopted in certain *fronterizo* ballads (e.g. No. 29), in which rapid phrases each beginning with an exclamatory *¡Cuánto . . .!* attempt to impress a richly varied scene upon the listener's mind in a manner already known to the epic *juglares* (compare *PMC* 726-30). Readers acquainted with the epic texts will note in the ballads other less important features which show a continuity of tradition and of outlook between the two.

The apparent anarchy of the verb-tenses used in the ballads may alarm those brought up to a strict view of the matter. Such lines as

Ya cabalga Diego Ordóñez,
del real se había salido (No. 18)

are strange to modern eyes, but the ballad has a logic of its own. Historical presents, intended to make the whole action live again in the imagination, are very common. Where liberties are taken beyond this it is, as in the epic, a matter of freedom being necessary in what was originally an oral genre with much improvisation in its performance, and a variety of verb-forms had to be available to fit the rhythms or the assonances. Menéndez Pidal, following Spitzer, suggests that the deliberately vague time-sense of the ballads accords well with their geographical and historical vagueness.

There is, finally, a strongly archaic flavour about much of the ballad language. In part this is because Old Spanish elements were still living during the great vogue for ballads at the end of the 15th century and were not too impossibly old-fashioned when the texts were printed in the 16th. In part too the archaisms were and are retained with great affection in so traditional a genre whose subject-matter goes back many centuries. The archaism can be spoken no more self-consciously than it is, for example, in the

English nursery-rhyme (*Whither shall I wander?*). In the verb-system one notices such Old Spanish features as *haber* meaning 'to possess', *ser* and *estar* not so clearly differentiated as in modern usage, and the habit of forming the compound tenses of some verbs with *ser*. Very commonly the *-ara* form of the verb, now a subjunctive, appears still in its Latin pluperfect sense (*amaveram, amaram*). Occasionally, as in the epic, the present subjunctive (e.g. *dígame ora ese cantar*, No. 70) or the imperfect subjunctive (e.g. *prestáseme tu puñal*, No. 49) are used as imperatives. Other archaic features are the use of the split future (e.g. *Dáoslo he yo, mi señora*, No. 58), the survival of the article beside the possessive (e.g. *los mis moricos*, No. 28; *un vuestro servidor*, No. 62), and the appearance of *ese* in its very ancient function of a definite article (e.g. *ese buen rey don Fernando*, No. 14). Other more isolated Old Spanish words and forms are listed in the glossary. The principle followed in printing the texts has been to modernize the spelling in every case where this could be done, since there seemed to be no point in maintaining the spelling *Ceupta* (No. 1), for example, as other recent editors do. On the other hand some archaic spellings must be retained for metrical reasons; thus, in the line

Non era nada, mi fijo (No. 25)

non and *fijo* must be so spelled for the correct syllable-count.

(c) *Themes and sentiments*

The ballads have a wide range of subjects. Given the origin of the genre in the military feudal epic, one might expect a large number of them to deal with war, but outside the *fronterizo* group few actually describe battles (No. 41 is one). The Zamora ballads (Nos. 14-20) are not concerned with the siege as such, and the main point of *Las huestes de don Rodrigo* (No. 3) is not the fighting but the king's lament. It has been well said that the masculine world and the bloodthirstiness of the epic correspond to the rough solidity of Norman architecture, whereas in the ballads we move into the gentler, more feminine and more delicate atmosphere of 15th century Gothic. In the older Castilian ballads the common

themes are still feuds between noble families and disputes between king and vassal, but in the Carolingian and novelesque ballads the favourite subjects are tense situations between lovers or between husband and wife. However, any situation having inherent dramatic qualities and allowing the development of vigorous question-and-answer can be used. The distinction between historical and novelesque ballads is a useful one here. In the historical the small drama is played out by two protagonists against a background of larger events. Although they are not mentioned specifically, we are aware that in the wider area just outside our view courtiers and retainers are present, whole armies are deployed, siege-towers rise, and the fate of cities and kingdoms is being decided. Nationally-known places and persons are mentioned, giving an air of historical reality, even though there is no insistence upon these facts. Even so, the broad sweep of the epic is forgotten and its grandeur is diminished. We are no longer interested in the Cid's total achievement, but in a series of picturesque personal incidents. Although the Franks still fight for Christian Europe and Roland still embodies the feudal virtues in *Ya comienzan los franceses* (No. 41), we are more likely to remember Doña Alda alone with her terrifying dream (No. 44). Sentimental incidents are developed out of the military action of the epic. The ballad *¡Afuera, afuera, Rodrigo!* (No. 16) is an altogether fictitious development, based on the fact that in the epic of Zamora it was briefly said that Urraca and the Cid had known each other as children. Jimena has a whole new cycle of ballads about equally fictitious aspects of her affair with the Cid. But even here we are still aware of the broad backcloth, of the far-reaching consequences of the small scene before our eyes. In the novelesque ballads, on the other hand, there is none of this: only the protagonists are and will be concerned. Place-names are rarely mentioned and are quite superfluous. The protagonists have melodious but unlikely names: *Melisenda, Rosa fresca*. We cannot think of an historical time and a real place even if we try.

A further important division in the themes follows upon this. Most of the Castilian ballads, despite their vagueness (in comparison

with the epic) and their tendency towards sentimentality, preserve a sober down-to-earth attitude. It is pointless to talk of 'realism'; but the people are credible and the things that happen to them are feasible. Even the tale of the Infantes de Lara is perfectly credible, given the fierce habits of the 10th century. In the Carolingian ballads, however, we move into a different world. Here are magic and mystery, significant numbers, sexual symbols, dreams, fairy castles, in short, something much more akin to that fantastic image which the Middle Ages have implanted in many modern minds.¹ The novelesque ballads partake of both tendencies, depending on their origin: Moraima (No. 59) lives in a very real Southern Spanish street, and the Prisoner (No. 69) in any very real prison; but Conde Arnaldos (No. 70) comes from remote, romantic France.

While most ballads are concerned with scenes and people for their own poetic sake, two more general themes do emerge. One is justice, a proper revenge for wrongs committed. In the tale of the Infantes de Lara justice is exacted privately and bloodily. If the matter is put to the king, in a king-and-vassal situation so typical of epic and ballad, the ballad usually takes the side of the vassal, the king being shown as either unjust (Bernardo del Carpio, Fernán González) or ineffective (Cid and Jimena). The second general theme is simply that life is tragic. In the ballads about King Roderick and in the Zamora group, we have the makings of great tragedies: human failings have the direst consequences, and events follow upon each other with a dour inevitability. People are painted in their true undistinguished grey, rather than in villainous black and saintly white, and there are no 'heroes'. This tragic sense is strongly present too in the *fronterizo* ballads, and is always enhanced by the refusal to indulge in moralizing sentiments and to add 'they lived happily ever after' endings.

The ballads have their own simple morality in sexual matters.

¹ This feeling for the supernatural is strongly present in many of the Scottish ballads. In them, however, it pervades the whole poem, whereas in the Carolingian ballads of Spain the supernatural is mostly present as an incidental only.

Their attitude to the crimes of lust ('crime' seems a better word than 'sin', because the ballads are wholly unecclesiastical in tone and rarely use the word *pecado*) is interesting and varied. The Castilian ballads are somewhat puritanical and do not deal with situations of this kind for the most part, and this itself is significant. But there are examples: the ballads of King Roderick, in which, as a result of his seduction of La Cava, the king loses his realm (and in other ballads survives to do a particularly horrifying penance); No. 7, in which a lustful *arcipreste* is punished. In No. 16, a very shifty kind of Cid mentions the possibility of divorcing his Jimena if Princess Urraca still wishes to marry him, as she has brazenly implied, but Urraca protests that she does not want this as she would be damned for it. Some of the Carolingian and Breton ballads, in contrast to the Castilian, deal with sexual affairs as favourite themes, and in a surprisingly immoral way. The women characters advertise their charms and seem to be without scruple; moreover, illicit love goes unpunished in many cases and even uncriticized. It is curious to note that some of these ballads were provided with suitably moral endings in the prudish days of the later 16th century: Gerineldos marries the princess, and a bishop is called in to marry Melisenda and Ayuelos, but even then they are not taxed with any crime or sin. The two ballads about the unhappily married girl (Nos. 64 and 65) do, however, have highly moral endings, although it is likely that here logic and the extra drama of the husband's return influenced the author more than the demands of traditional morality. A variety of attitudes to sexual crime is displayed in the ballad of Conde Claros, No. 54, the archbishop and the nuns being among those who beg the king to pardon the errant Count. The ballads, in short, owe surprisingly little to church teachings, and they are equally far from the artificial (and more brutally uncivilized) standards of the Golden Age *drama de honor*. No Calderonian father, discovering a page-boy in bed with his daughter, would have been content merely to lay a sword between them, and in silence too (No. 55). The common-sense attitude of the ballads in these matters is in line with that seemingly unheroic but in fact brilliantly laconic and convincing statement that

Sobre Baza estaba el rey,
lunes, después de yantar

Despite their antiquity and their remote heroic origins, the ballads are full of that naturalness and warm human sympathy which all great literature must have.

5. THE SPANISH BALLADS IN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

British and American scholars and poet-translators have an honourable place in the history of the Spanish ballads. There is a likelihood that the ballads attracted attention early because they figure so largely in *Don Quixote*, a favourite book with 18th-century readers in England. In the notes to his translation of *Don Quixote* (1781) the Rev. John Bowle shows a direct acquaintance with a number of Spanish ballad anthologies, and in 1812 Thomas Rodd published texts and translations of 22 ballads mentioned in Cervantes' book. There is evidence that readers in Britain were drawn to the romanticism of the Moorish ballads even earlier, however. These they knew through Ginés Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* (1595), which seems to have been widely known in the original or in French versions during the 18th century. The Moorish ballads were mentioned as true examples of popular poetry by Thomas Blackwell in a contribution to the Homer debate (1735). Thomas Percy translated two of Pérez de Hita's ballads in his *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) and began to work on others from the same source in his *Ancient Songs chiefly on Moorish Subjects translated from the Spanish* (1775, but not printed until 1932). Thomas Rodd published translations of the ballads from Pérez de Hita's book in 1801, and in 1803 translated the whole novel.

Of much greater importance was the interest taken in the Spanish *romancero* as a whole by some of the leading writers of the

Romantic movement in Britain, for whom, as for the French and German Romantics, the spirit, colourfulness and exotic notes of the ballads had great appeal. At first matters were not helped by the opinion of Robert Southey (1808), a fine Hispanist, who translated the *Chronicle of the Cid* and a few *fronterizo* poems, that the ballads did not deserve their high reputation and were much inferior to the Scottish ballads. This view did not long prevail. There were translations of a few ballads by Byron, Scott and Lord Holland, but the real fame of the Spanish ballads in Britain began when John Gibson Lockhart (1794–1854) published his translations in parts in *Blackwood's Magazine* in 1822 and issued them in book form as *Ancient Spanish Ballads, Historical and Romantic* in 1823. Lockhart was a considerable figure in literary affairs as editor, reviewer, novelist and poet; he was married to Scott's daughter Sophia and wrote a famous *Life* of the great novelist, and he edited the *Quarterly Review* from 1825–53. His collection of ballad translations was enthusiastically received by *Blackwood's Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Review* in long review-articles which praised Lockhart's versions and expressed admiration for the originals. The latter were esteemed for their simplicity, freedom from excessive adornment and (in comparison with the Scottish ballads) refinement of tone, and it is clear that they were admired too for their noble national spirit and—often mistakenly, as we now know—for their archaic and popular quality. Lockhart's collection, with an interesting introduction and scholarly notes, included some 50 ballads drawn from all groups and arranged in chronological order of the events they describe, as in Depping's edition of 1817. His choice is often faulty, however; he has good *morisco* and *fronterizo* texts, but his *Cid* ballads are poor ones and he has none about Zamora. Although Macaulay declared Lockhart's versions to be superior to their originals, it is now plain that his knowledge of Spanish was far from perfect, and some of his mistranslations have aroused the ire of Spaniards. He took unjustified liberties with his texts, embroidering the very simple originals with bright threads of rhetoric and archaism which are to be regretted. This is how he starts his version of *Que por mayo era, por mayo* (No. 69):

'Tis now, they say, the month of May, 'tis now the moons are
 bright;
 'Tis now the maids, 'mong greenwood shades, sit with their
 loves by night

But he could do better, as in his translation of *En París está doña Alda* (No. 44):

In Paris sits the lady that shall be Sir Roland's bride,
 Three hundred damsels with her, her bidding to abide

All this was very much to the taste of contemporaries. Lockhart's ballads, sometimes in beautiful editions with romantic engravings, were very widely read, and went into 9 editions by 1890. They were so well known as to be thought worth parodying: 'Bon Gaultier' (Martin and Aytoun) composed three pseudo-Lockhart poems entitled *The broken pitcher* (mock-Moorish), *Don Fernando Gomersalez* and *The Courtship of our Cid* (1842-4), which occupy the first places in the collected *Bon Gaultier Ballads* (1845, and in its 17th edition by 1904). Martin declared that 'Lockhart's *Spanish Ballads* were as familiar in the drawing-room as in the study', and they seem as much a part of the Victorian scene as purple velvet and the *Monarch of the Glen*. Another collection of some 40 ballad translations by Sir John Bowring, *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain* (1824) seems to have received less wide approval, despite the interest of Bowring's attempt to render the texts into a sort of English assonance. Finally we may note the much more faithful but less spirited renderings of the ballads by the Rev. J. Y. Gibson in *The Cid Ballads and other Poems and Translations from Spanish and German* (1887, 2nd edition 1898).

It will be noted that while the ballads were, thanks to Lockhart, probably more widely known in Britain than in Germany, British scholars contributed nothing much to the *study* of the ballads which was being so brilliantly begun in Germany and in other countries. Even Lockhart's introductory essay has nothing to say on the question of ballad origins, and is very inexact on the matter of metrics. Lockhart did however recognize that the ballads 'form by

far the oldest, as well as largest, collection of popular poetry, properly so called, that is to be found in the literature of any European nation whatever', and noting that neoclassical taste still persisted in the Spain of his day, he urged the Spaniards to pay due attention to their heritage: 'While hundreds of volumes have been written about authors who were, at the best, ingenious imitators of classical or Italian models, not one, of the least critical merit, has been bestowed upon those older and simpler poets who were contented with the native inspirations of Castilian pride'.

Independent criticism of the ballads in the United States began with Longfellow's essay *Ancient Spanish Ballads* in his book *Outre-Mer* of 1833, but this is a brief general appreciation rather than a scholarly investigation. Longfellow included three very spirited ballad translations in the essay, and quoted others by Lockhart and Byron; the American's are far superior, and lead one to regret that he did not carry this work further. His poem which was inspired by ¡*Quién hubiese tal ventura!*—one cannot call it a translation—will be mentioned in its place (No. 70). Other translations—of an explanatory rather than of a literary kind—are given by G. Ticknor in his great *History of Spanish Literature* (1849), which contained a study of the ballads far superior to anything published up to that time.

In our own century the attempts to translate the ballads have been given up, either because it is assumed that a knowledge of Spanish is now more widely held, or more likely because the impossibility of doing justice to such plain, simple originals has been recognized. The scholars who have carried on the study of the British ballads so admirably—Child, Kittredge, Gummere, Gerould and others—seem on the whole to have been unaware of how much the Spanish tradition had to offer them. It was left to Professor W. J. Entwistle, a Hispanist chiefly, but an expert in several fields, to take the necessary broad view in his *European Balladry* (1939). He also wrote many specialized studies of the Spanish ballads; these, and work by other British and American Hispanists (Morley, Fitzmaurice-Kelly, Atkinson and Wilson) are mentioned in the Classified Book List and in the notes to the ballads.

6. THE PRESENT EDITION

No claim for the originality of the selection of these 70 ballads can be made. Most are taken from the *Primavera y flor de romances* published by Wolf and Hofmann in 1856, in its second edition by Menéndez y Pelayo in 1899 (as Vols. VIII and IX of his *Antología de poetas líricos*), and a few—Nos. 27, 40, 41, 45, 55, 68—are taken from the Appendices in which Menéndez y Pelayo added further texts to the original *Primavera*. To take the ballads from this single source, as others have done, was obviously convenient for the present editor. But there is more justification than that: the *Primavera*, based in the main on the great *cancioneros de romances* of the mid-16th century, contains the best of the traditional *Romancero* set down at the moment when, by common consent, it had reached perfection. Before that mid-16th-century moment, as has been explained, one finds a certain formlessness in the relatively few texts available; later, texts of the same ballads suffer from the tendency to add explanatory matter, moralizing notes and unwanted praise of the 'good old days', while the modern oral versions are almost always inferior as poetry to those recorded in the 16th century, whatever other features of interest to scholars they may have.

In selecting 70 texts from the 198 of the *Primavera* and others added by Menéndez y Pelayo two criteria were applied: that there should be representatives of most groups of the *romances viejos* and a few of the *juglarescos*, and that their poetic quality should be high. The majority of texts is in consequence similar to those published in other small anthologies, but this is not a disadvantage, since the reader will be assimilating an important part of that poetic culture which is (through such editions in the last 60 years) common to Spanish speakers in many countries.

The spelling of the texts has been modernized in all cases, except (as explained in 4*b*, above) where archaic forms must be retained for metrical reasons. Accents have been supplied in accordance with modern rules, and some liberty has been taken with punctuation. Quotation marks have been supplied in place of the dash

used by Spanish printers. Some division into 'paragraphs' has been attempted, in keeping with the sense.

Any titles that could be assigned to the ballads would be purely arbitrary ones; the best way of referring to them is by the first lines, and they are indexed in this way.

CLASSIFIED BOOK LIST

Except for No. 1, the numbers correspond to those of the sections in the Introduction. Chapters in general Histories of Literature are not listed. For a bibliography of R. Menéndez Pidal's work on the *Romancero*, see the list compiled by Ruth H. Webber in *Romance Philology*, V (1951), 15-25.

1. Texts

Cancionero de Romances de Amberes (c. 1548), ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1914; 2nd ed., Madrid, 1945

Romancero general (1600, 1604, 1605), ed. A. González Palencia, Madrid, 1947, 2 vols.

Las fuentes del Romancero general, ed. A. Rodríguez-Moñino, Madrid, 1957, 12 vols. (a facsimile ed. of the most important *romanceros* which appeared from 1589 to 1597)

For examples of *pliegos sueltos*, see *Pliegos sueltos españoles en la Universidad de Praga*, Madrid, 1960, 2 vols.

A. Durán, *Romancero general, o colección de romances castellanos anteriores al siglo XVIII*, Madrid, Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, vols. X, XVI

Primavera y flor de romances, ed. F. J. Wolf and C. Hofmann, Berlin, 1856; reprinted by M. Menéndez y Pelayo as vols. VIII and IX, with additions, of *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Madrid, 1899

Flor nueva de romances viejos, ed. R. Menéndez Pidal, Madrid, 1928; from 1938, in *Colección Austral*

Romancero español, ed. L. Santullano, Madrid, Aguilar, 1935

2. European Balladry and the Spanish Romancero

W. P. Ker, *Epic and Romance*, London, 1908; reprinted by Dover Books, New York, 1957

W. J. Entwistle, *European Balladry*, Oxford, 1939

English and Scottish Popular Ballads, edited from the collection of F. J. Child by Helen C. Sargent and G. L. Kittredge, Boston and New York, 1904

F. P. Gummere, *The Popular Ballad*, Cambridge (Mass.), 1907; reprinted by Dover Books, New York, 1959

- G. H. Gerould, *The Ballad of Tradition*, Oxford, 1932
- M. Milá y Fontanals, *De la poesía heroico-popular castellana*, Barcelona, 1874; ed. M. de Riquer and J. Molas, Barcelona, 1959
- M. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Tratado de los romances viejos*, in *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, Madrid, vols. XI (1903) and XII (1906)
- J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly, 'The Romancero', ch. IV of *Chapters on Spanish Literature*, London, 1908
- R. Menéndez Pidal, 'Le Romancero', in *L'Épopée castillane à travers la littérature espagnole*, French translation by E. Mérimée, Paris, 1910.
- R. Menéndez Pidal, *El romancero español*, New York, 1910
- R. Menéndez Pidal, 'Poesía popular y romancero', *Revista de Filología Española*, I (1914), 357-77; II (1915), 1-20, 105-36, 329-38; III (1916), 233-89
- R. Menéndez Pidal, *El romancero: teorías e investigaciones*, Madrid, 1928
- Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos, *Estudios sobre o romanceiro peninsular*, 2nd ed., Coimbra, 1934
- R. Menéndez Pidal, *Romancero hispánico (hispano-portugués, americano y sefardí)*, Madrid, 1953, 2 vols.

3. The History of the Spanish Ballads

(b) Origins and development

- R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Essai sur les origines du Romancero*, Paris, 1912; Spanish translation by L. de Torre, *Ensayo sobre los orígenes del Romancero*, Madrid, 1914
- P. Rajna, 'Osservazioni e dubbi concernenti la storia delle romanze spagnoules', *Romanic Review*, VI (1915), 1-41
- S. G. Morley, 'Spanish Ballad Problems: the Native Historical Themes', *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, XIII (1925), 207-28
- W. C. Atkinson, 'The chronology of Spanish Ballad origins', *Modern Language Review*, XXXII (1937), 44-61
- S. G. Morley, 'Chronological List of Early Spanish Ballads', *Hispanic Review*, XIII (1945), 273-87
- W. J. Entwistle, 'La chanson populaire française en Espagne', *Bulletin Hispanique* LI (1949), 255-68
- D. Devoto, 'Sobre el estudio folklórico del romancero español', *Bulletin Hispanique*, LVII (1955), 233-91
- D. Catalán, 'El motivo y la variación en la transmisión tradicional del romancero', *Bulletin Hispanique*, LXI (1959), 149-82

(c) The ballads in the 15th century and the Golden Age

- Rom. Hisp.* II, chs. XI-XIV
- D. C. Clarke, 'The Marqués de Santillana and the Spanish Ballad problem', *Modern Philology*, LIX (1961), 13-24 (with full bibliography)
- R. Menéndez Pidal and W. Starkie, *The Spaniards in their History*, London, 1950 (ch. X, 'The Ballads and Don Quixote'; ch. XI, 'The Ballads and the Drama of the Golden Age')

(d) The ballads in modern times

In Spain: *Rom. Hisp.* II, chs. XVIII-XXII. Interesting collections of texts are: Juan Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía popular: Colección de los viejos romances que se cantan por*

los asturianos en la danza prima . . ., Madrid, 1885; J. M. de Cossío and T. Maza Solano, *Romancero popular de La Montaña*, Santander, 1933-4 2, vols. A basic study is that of R. Menéndez Pidal, 'Sobre geografía folklórica: ensayo de un método', *Revista de Filología Española*, VII (1920), 229-338, revised and extended by D. Catalán and A. Galmes, *Cómo vive un romance: dos ensayos sobre tradicionalidad*, Madrid, 1954.

In America: *Rom. Hisp.* II, 341-56, with extensive bibliography. R. Menéndez Pidal, *Los romances de América, y otros estudios*, 2nd ed., Buenos Aires and Mexico, 1941. A fine collection of texts is that of A. M. Espinosa, *Romancero de Nuevo Méjico*, Madrid, 1953

Sephardic: *Rom. Hisp.* II, 330-41. Texts: R. Menéndez Pidal, *Catálogo del romancero judío-español*, Madrid, 1906-7. P. Bénichou, 'Romances judeo-españoles de Marruecos', *Revista de Filología Hispánica*, VI (1944), and as a book, Buenos Aires, 1946. M. Álar López, *Romancero judeo-español de Tetuán*, Madrid, 1950. S. G. Armistead and J. H. Silverman, 'Hispanic Balladry among the Sephardic Jews of the West Coast', *Western Folklore*, XIX (1960)

4. *The Art of the Spanish Ballads*

(a) *Form*

Rom. Hisp. I, ch. IV.

S. G. Morley, 'Are the Spanish romances written in quatrains?—and other questions', *Romanic Review*, VII (1916), 42-82

G. Cirot, 'Le mouvement quaternaire dans les romances', *Bulletin Hispanique*, XXI (1919), 103-42

D. C. Clarke, 'Remarks on the early romances and cantares', *Hispanic Review*, XVII (1949), 89-123

D. C. Clarke, 'Metric problems in the *Cancionero de romances*', *Hispanic Review*, XXIII (1955), 188-99

(b) *Structure and style*

Rom. Hisp. I, ch. III

L. Spitzer, 'Stilistisch-Syntaktisches aus den spanisch-portugiesischen Romanzen', *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, XXXV (1911), 192-230 and 258-308

Ruth H. Webber, 'Formulistic Diction in the Spanish Ballad', *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, XXXIV (1951), 175-278

(c) *Themes and sentiments*

E. M. Wilson, *Tragic Themes in Spanish Ballads*, London, 1958

5. *The Spanish Ballads in Britain and the United States*

Full references have been given in the Introduction. The only studies of the Spanish ballads in Britain are those of E. Buceta: 'Traducciones inglesas de romances en el primer tercio del s. XIX', *Revue Hispanique*, LXII (1924), 459-555; 'Apuntes preliminares para un estudio de las traducciones inglesas de romances en el primer tercio del s. XIX' *Estudios dedicados a A. Bonilla*, Madrid,

1930, II, 301-18; 'Datos suplementarios acerca de las versiones de Lockhart', *Revue Hispanique*, LXVIII (1926), 216-19, and *Revista de Filología Española*, XX (1933), 64-7

Music. On the music of the ballads, see E. M. Torner, 'Indicaciones prácticas sobre la notación musical de los romances', *Revista de Filología Española*, X (1923), 389-94; E. M. Torner, 'Ensayo de clasificación de las melodías de romance', *Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid, 1925, II, 391-402; J. B. Trend, 'The music of the *Romancero* in the 16th century', in his book *The Music of Spanish History*, Oxford, 1926; and Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal, 'Ilustraciones musicales', Appendix to Vol. I of *Rom. Hisp.*

Note added in proof: An important new work has appeared on Ballads Nos. 7-13 of the present collection: D. Catalán and others, *Romancero tradicional: II, Romanceros de los Condes de Castilla y de los Infantes de Lara*, Madrid, 1963.

I

HISTORICAL BALLADS

KING RODERICK, LAST OF THE GOTHS

The ballads about King Roderick and the conquest of Spain by the Moslems in 711 are exceptional in the *Romancero* in that they are based on a chronicle. This was Pedro del Corral's *Corónica Sarracina*, composed in about 1430. If we were to view this as a historical work we might agree with Pérez de Guzmán, who in 1455 called it *trufa o mentira paladina* and said that it should be banned; but if we look at it as a historical novel we can easily see why it so attracted the poets of the day and led them to turn several of its episodes into ballads. Corral was a gifted writer who gave a definitive and highly coloured version of legends which had been elaborated over the centuries among the various parties who gained or suffered from the events of 711—the Moslems, the Gothic refugees of Asturias, the Mozarabic masses and the Mozarabic upper class.

Exactly how the invasion of 711 took place is not known. The Moslems had completed the conquest of Morocco in 710 and would in any case have been tempted to invade the pleasant land which they could see across the water. In the event, they were aided by a dynastic dispute within the Gothic state of Spain, in which the new king Roderick was opposed by the sons of Witiza, the previous ruler, and by others of his party, such as Bishop Oppa of Seville; and the Moslems found allies also among the disaffected Jews of the kingdom. The invasion seems to have been carried through with surprising ease; within a few years the Peninsula was subdued and the Moslem armies were pressing on into France.

The popular imagination and the bitterness of the defeated do not allow such momentous happenings to go unembroidered in the memory. The disaster must be seen in terms of persons and

passions, and it must be moralized. If God allowed the Christians to be defeated it must be because of their sins of lust, thirst for vengeance and treachery. So the legends began: a multiplicity of legends, agreed on a few central facts. It was said that Count Julián (or Olbán, Yllán, Olián etc.), Visigothic governor of Ceuta on the Moroccan coast, sent his daughter to be educated at the court of King Roderick at Toledo. There the king seduced her, and the girl sent word of it to her father. Julián, to secure his personal revenge, enlisted the aid of the Moslem generals in Morocco and encompassed the destruction not only of Roderick but of the whole state. Such in essence is the legend which 'explained' a great defeat, just as the *Chanson de Roland* and the *Battle of Maldon* explained and also gloried in defeats in the following centuries.

The three ballads here printed were no doubt the work of rather more cultured poets than was usual, as is shown by their general tone, by the allegorical figure of *Fortuna* and by somewhat untypical features in the king's lament. But they were early enough to become fully traditional. Other ballads describe the portents of the disaster, the affair between the king and Julián's daughter (her name, La Cava, Alacaba, apparently comes from the Arabic word for 'whore'), and the penance imposed upon the king for his sin.

On the legend, see R. Menéndez Pidal, *El rey Rodrigo en la literatura española*, Madrid, 1924, and *Floresta de leyendas heroicas españolas. Rodrigo, el último godo*, Madrid, 1925-7, 3 vols. (Clásicos Castellanos Nos. 62, 71, 84, including Pedro del Corral's text.) On the ballads, see R. Lapesa and others, *Romancero tradicional: I, Romanceros del rey Rodrigo y de Bernardo del Carpio*, Madrid, 1957; *Tratado I*, 133-75.

1

En Ceuta está don Julián,
 en Ceuta la bien nombrada:
 para las partes de allende
 quiere enviar su embajada:
 5 moro viejo la escribía,

- y el conde se la notaba;
después de haberla escrito
al moro luego matara.
Embajada es de dolor,
10 dolor para toda España:
las cartas van al rey moro
en las cuales le juraba
que si le daba aparejo
le dará por suya España.
15 Madre España, ¡ay de ti!
en el mundo tan nombrada,
de las partidas la mejor,
la mejor y más ufana,
donde nace el fino oro
20 y la plata no faltaba,
dotada de hermosura
y en proezas extremada;
por un perverso traidor
toda eres abrasada,
25 todas tus ricas ciudades
con su gente tan galana
las domeñan hoy los moros
por nuestra culpa malvada,
si no fueran las Asturias
30 por ser la tierra tan brava.
El triste rey don Rodrigo,
el que entonces te mandaba,
viendo sus reinos perdidos
sale a la campal batalla,
35 el cual en grave dolor
enseña su fuerza brava;
mas tantos eran los moros
que han vencido la batalla.
No parece el rey Rodrigo,
40 ni nadie sabe dó estaba.
Maldito de ti, don Orpas,

- obispo de mala andanza:
 en esta negra conseja
 uno a otro se ayudaba.
 45 ¡Oh dolor sobre manera!
 ¡Oh cosa nunca cuidada!
 que por sola una doncella
 la cual Cava se llamaba
 causen estos dos traidores
 50 que España sea domeñada,
 y perdido el rey señor
 sin nunca dél saber nada.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 4, from *Canc. de Rom.* of 1550.

REFERENCE: *Romanceros del rey Rodrigo y de Bernardo del Carpio*, Madrid, 1957, 35-40.

NOTES: This ballad derives as much from the *Crónica general* as from Pedro del Corral. In parts it is popular enough, but traces of the *juglaresco* manner survive (e.g. *la cual Cava se llamaba*). The section beginning *Madre España . . .* is a memory of a fine piece of rhetoric in praise of Spain, the *Loor de España*, which through the *Primera Crónica General* of 1289 and the *Poema de Fernán González* of c. 1250 ultimately derives from St Isidore (560-636). The ballad is known in the modern oral tradition from a single Portuguese version from the Algarve.

2

- Los vientos eran contrarios,
 la luna estaba crecida,
 los peces daban gemidos
 por el mal tiempo que hacía,
 5 cuando el rey don Rodrigo
 junto a la Cava dormía,
 dentro de una rica tienda
 de oro bien guarnecida.
 Trescientas cuerdas de plata
 10 que la tienda sostenían,

dentro había doncellas
 vestidas a maravilla;
 las cincuenta están tañendo
 con muy extraña armonía,
 15 las cincuenta están cantando
 con muy dulce melodía.

Allí hablara una doncella
 que Fortuna se decía:
 'Si duermes, rey don Rodrigo,
 20 despierta por cortesía,
 y verás tus malos hados,
 tu peor postrimería,
 y verás tus gentes muertas
 y tu batalla rompida,
 25 y tus villas y ciudades
 destruidas en un día:
 tus castillos, fortalezas,
 otro señor los regía.
 Si me pides quién lo ha hecho
 30 yo muy bien te lo diría:
 ese conde don Julián
 por amores de su hija,
 porque se la deshonraste
 y más de ella no tenía.
 35 Juramento viene echando
 que te ha de costar la vida.'

Despertó muy congojado
 con aquella voz que oía;
 con cara triste y penosa
 40 de esta suerte respondía:
 'Mercedes a ti, Fortuna,
 de esta tu mensajería.'

Estando en esto allegó
 uno que nuevas traía:
 45 como el conde don Julián
 las tierras le destruía.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 5a, from Timoneda's *Rosa española* of 1573.

TRANSLATION: Gibson p. 281.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* I, 170; *Romanceros del rey Rodrigo y de Bernardo del Carpio*, Madrid, 1957, 42-7.

NOTES: This is probably the oldest of the King Roderick ballads, written in the second half of the 15th century and soon so well known that in 1512 it was imitated in a ballad about the King of Navarre's loss of his kingdom. Timoneda's text has here been shorn of its last 8 lines, in accordance with Lapesa's suggestion that the ballad in its traditional form really stopped at this point. In the modern oral tradition of Asturias, a few lines from the start survive as the beginning of a ballad on a Nativity theme.

3

- Las huestes de don Rodrigo
desmayaban y huían
cuando en la octava batalla
sus enemigos vencían.
- 5 Rodrigo deja sus tiendas
y del real se salía;
solo va el desventurado
que no lleva compañía.
El caballo de cansado
- 10 ya mudar no se podía;
camina por donde quiere
que no le estorba la vía.
El rey va tan desmayado
que sentido no tenía;
- 15 muerto va de sed y hambre
que de verle era mancilla,
iba tan tinto de sangre
que una brasa parecía.
Las armas lleva abolladas
- 20 que eran de gran pedrería;

la espada lleva hecha sierra
de los golpes que tenía;
el almete abollado
en la cabeza se le hundía;
25 la cara lleva hinchada
del trabajo que sufría.
Subióse encima de un cerro
el más alto que veía:
desde allí mira su gente
30 cómo iba de vencida;
de allí mira sus banderas
y estandartes que tenía,
cómo están todos pisados
que la tierra los cubría.
35 Mira por sus capitanes
que ninguno parecía;
mira el campo tinto en sangre
la cual arroyos corría.
El triste, de ver aquesto,
40 gran mancilla en sí tenía:
llorando de los sus ojos
de esta manera decía:
‘Ayer era rey de España,
hoy no lo soy de una villa;
45 ayer villas y castillos,
hoy ninguno poseía;
ayer tenía criados,
hoy ninguno me servía;
hoy no tengo una almena
50 que pueda decir que es mía.
¡Desdichada fue la hora
desdichado fue aquel día
en que nací y heredé
la tan grande señoría,
55 pues lo había de perder
todo junto y en un día!

¡Oh muerte! ¿Por qué no vienes
y llevas esta alma mía
de aqueste cuerpo mezquino,
60 pues se te agradecería?

TEXT: *Prim. No. 5, from Canc. de Rom. 'sin año' (c. 1548).*

TRANSLATIONS: Lockhart No. 1, 'The Lamentation of Don Roderick'; Gibson p. 282; and in French, Victor Hugo under the title of 'La Bataille perdue', No. XVI of *Les Orientales*.

REFERENCES: *Tratado I*, 168; *Romanceros del rey Rodrigo y de Bernardo del Carpio*, Madrid, 1957, 47-53.

NOTES: Numerous references to this ballad and imitations of it show how much this poem was esteemed during the Golden Age. Lope de Vega glossed it in his play *El último godo*, and Cervantes has Maese Pedro quote a part of it after the destruction of his puppet-kingdom by Don Quixote (II, ch. 26). It is said that the ballad was sung by a minstrel to King Sebastião of Portugal aboard the ship carrying the expedition to Morocco in 1578; when the line *Ayer era rey de España* was reached it was taken as an omen, and a courtier ordered the minstrel to sing something more cheerful. (Sebastião and most of his army perished at Alcazarquivir a few weeks later.) The ballad survived in the oral tradition of Galicia about 1900. For the multitude of plays, novels and poems which have retold the legend of Roderick, see Menéndez Pidal's books *El rey Rodrigo* and vol. 3 of the *Floresta*.

BERNARDO DEL CARPIO

The Bernardo ballads derive from a lost epic and from legends incorporated in rather diverse forms in the chronicles. Both epic and legends were no more than pseudo-historical; they sprang up in the 12th century as a nationalistic answer to the extravagant claims made in the opening lines of the *Chanson de Roland* (then becoming known in Spain) to the effect that Charlemagne and his Franks had liberated most of Spain from the Moors. The Spaniards adapted a legend about Charlemagne's sister Berthe, and had Bernardo defeat Roland and the Twelve Peers at Roncesvaux. Of greater human interest and dramatic potentiality, however, was that part of the legend which concerned Bernardo's birth, the imprisonment of his father, and Bernardo's efforts to secure his father's release, a typical king-and-vassal situation with a fine tragic ending.

The legend is Leonese rather than Castilian; Carpio is a castle on the Tormes near Salamanca, in Leonese lands, and Alfonso II 'el Casto' ruled León from 791 to 835.

Of the three ballads, only No. 6 is a true epic fragment. The other two, in less lively narrative style, were composed in the 16th century on the basis of chronicle accounts.

On the legend, epic and ballads, see *Tratado* I, 176-216; W. J. Entwistle, 'The *Cantar de gesta* of Bernardo del Carpio', *Modern Language Review*, XXIII (1928), 307-22 and 432-52; R. Lapesa and others, *Romanceros del rey Rodrigo y de Bernardo del Carpio*, Madrid, 1957.

4

En los reinos de León
el casto Alfonso reinaba;
hermosa hermana tenía
doña Jimena se llama.

- 5 Enamorárase de ella
ese conde de Saldaña,
mas no vivía engañado
porque la infanta lo amaba.
Muchas veces fueron juntos
10 que nadie lo sospechaba;
de las veces que se vieron
la infanta quedó preñada.
La infanta parió a Bernaldo
y luego monja se entraba;
15 mandó el rey prender al conde
y ponerle muy gran guarda.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 8, from *Canc. de Rom.* of 1550.

REFERENCE: *Romanceros del rey Rodrigo y de Bernardo del Carpio*, Madrid, 1957, 176-84.

NOTES: This is an example of a wholly narrative ballad which manages to tell in concise form the main facts upon which the legend and cycle of ballads is based. A number of modern versions of it, in much extended form and with accretions from other cycles, have been recorded among the Sephardic Jews of Morocco.

5

- Por las riberas de Arlanza
Bernardo del Carpio cabalga,
con un caballo morcillo
enjaezado de grana,
5 gruesa lanza en la mano,
armado de todas armas.
Toda la gente de Burgos
le mira como espantada,
porque no se suele armar

- 10 sino a cosa señalada.
También lo miraba el rey
que fuera a vuela una garza;
diciendo estaba a los suyos:
'Esta es una buena lanza;
15 si no es Bernardo del Carpio
éste es Muza el de Granada.'
- Ellos estando en aquesto
Bernardo que allí llegaba:
ya sosegado el caballo
20 no quiso dejar la lanza;
mas puesta encima del hombro
al rey de esta suerte hablaba:
'Bastardo me llaman, rey,
siendo hijo de tu hermana,
25 y del noble Sancho Díaz
ese conde de Saldaña;
dicen que ha sido traidor
y mala mujer tu hermana.
Tú y los tuyos lo habéis dicho,
30 que otro ninguno no osara;
mas quien quiera que lo ha dicho
miente por medio la barba;
mi padre no fue traidor
ni mi madre mujer mala,
35 porque cuando fui engendrado
ya mi madre era casada.
Pusiste a mi padre en hierros
y a mi madre en orden santa,
y porque no herede yo
40 quieres dar tu reino a Francia.
Morirán los castellanos
antes de ver tal jornada;
montañeses, y leoneses,
y esa gente asturiana,
45 y ese rey de Zaragoza

me prestará su compañía
 para salir contra Francia
 y darle cruda batalla;
 y si buena me saliere
 50 será el bien de toda España;
 si mala, por la república
 moriré yo en tal demanda.
 Mi padre mando que sueltes
 pues me diste la palabra:
 55 si no, en campo, como quiera,
 te será bien demandada.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 12, from Timoneda's *Rosa española* of 1573.

REFERENCE: *Romanceros del rey Rodrigo y de Bernardo del Carpio*, Madrid, 1957, 184-91.

NOTES: This ballad was newly composed in mid-16th century and was soon recorded in a number of differing versions, showing a certain popularity. The anonymous author has very successfully caught the *brío* of the older ballads, but his geography was shaky (Burgos stands on the Arlanzón, not the Arlanza). The ballad is glossed by Lope de Vega in his play *Las mocedades de Bernardo del Carpio*.

6

Con cartas y mensajeros
 el rey al Carpio envió:
 Bernaldo, como es discreto,
 de traición se receló;
 5 las cartas echó en el suelo
 y al mensajero habló:
 'Mensajero eres, amigo,
 no mereces culpa, no;
 mas al rey que acá te envía

10 dígasle tú esta razón:
que no lo estimo yo a él
ni aun a cuantos con él son;
mas, por ver lo que me quiere,
todavía allá iré yo.'

15 Y mandó juntar los suyos,
de esta suerte les habló:
'Cuatrocientos sois, los míos,
los que comedes mi pan:
los ciento irán al Carpio
20 para el castillo guardar;
los ciento por los caminos
que a nadie dejen pasar;
doscientos iréis conmigo
para con el rey hablar;
25 si mala me la dijere
peor se la he de tornar.'

Por sus jornadas contadas
a la corte fue a llegar:
'Manténgavos Dios, buen rey,
30 y a cuantos con vos están.'
'Mal vengades vos, Bernaldo,
traidor, hijo de mal padre:
dite yo el Carpio en tenencia,
tú tómaslo de heredad.'

35 'Mentides, el rey, mentides,
que no dices la verdad;
que si yo fuese traidor
a vos os cabría en parte:
acordársevos debía
40 de aquélla del Encinal,
cuando gentes extranjeras
allí os trataron tan mal,
que os mataron el caballo
y aun a vos querían matar:
45 Bernaldo, como traidor,

de entre ellos os fue a sacar,
 allí me distes el Carpio
 de juro y de heredad;
 prometístesme a mi padre,
 50 no me guardastes verdad.
 '¡Prendedlo, mis caballeros,
 que igualado se me ha!
 '¡Aquí, aquí, los mis doscientos,
 los que comedes mi pan,
 55 que hoy era venido el día
 que honra habemos de ganar!
 El rey, de que aquesto viera,
 de esta suerte fue a hablar:
 '¿Qué ha sido aquesto, Bernaldo,
 60 que así enojado te has?
 '¿Lo que hombre dice de burla
 de veras vas a tomar?
 Yo te do el Carpio, Bernaldo,
 de juro y de heredad.'
 65 'Aquesas burlas, el rey,
 no son burlas de burlar;
 llamástesme de traidor,
 traidor hijo de mal padre;
 el Carpio yo no lo quiero,
 70 bien lo podéis vos guardar,
 que cuando yo lo quisiere
 muy bien lo sabré ganar.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 13a, from *Canc. de Rom.* of 1550.

REFERENCE: *Romanceros del rey Rodrigo y de Bernardo del Carpio*, Madrid, 1957, 153-75.

NOTES: Although Entwistle thought this ballad contaminated with *Castellanos y leoneses* (No. 8) about the interview between Fernán González and the king, the Spanish scholars are agreed that in its

lively style and its change of assonance this is a genuine fragment of the epic of Bernardo. It was well known in the 16th century, and modern oral versions have been collected in Cádiz and Seville.

FERNÁN GONZÁLEZ

When Castile is first heard of in history, it is as a county subject to the Kings of Asturias-León. Its independence was won for it in the mid-10th century by Count Fernán González, about whose noble memory it was natural that legend should gather. On the legends a monk of San Pedro de Arlanza based his *Poema de Fernán González* (c. 1250), giving them a notably pious character, and this *clerecía* work was prosified in the *Primera Crónica General* of 1289. But there existed also an epic poem which has left numerous traces of itself in the prose of the *Crónica de 1344*, and from which there derive the three ballads here printed. Of these the first (No. 7) is the most remote from the epic tradition, but the other two are typical epic scenes narrated with proper vigour.

The ballads of Fernán González told for preference not of the independence of Castile, nor of his battles against Almanzor, but of his disputes with the kings of León and Navarre. In No. 7 the Count wins his second wife, Sancha of Navarre.

On the legends and the ballads, see R. Menéndez Pidal, 'Notas para el romancero del conde Fernán González', *Homenaje a Menéndez y Pelayo*, Madrid, 1899, I, 437-54; *Tratado* I, 217-64; and the *Poema de Fernán González*, ed. A. Zamora Vicente, Clásicos Castellanos No. 128, Madrid, 1946.

7

Preso está Fernán González
el gran conde de Castilla,
tiénelo el rey de Navarra
maltratado a maravilla.

- 5 Vino allí un conde normando
que pasaba en romería;
supo que este hombre famoso
en cárceles padecía.
Fuese para Castroviejo

- 10 donde el conde residía:
 dádivas daba al alcaide
 si dejar verle quería;
 el alcaide fue contento
 y las prisiones le abría.
- 15 Mucho los condes hablaron;
 el normando se salía;
 fuese donde estaba el rey
 con lo que pensado había.
 Procuró ver a la infanta
- 20 que era hermosa y cumplida,
 animosa y muy discreta,
 de persona muy crecida.
 Tanto procura de verla
 que esto le hablara un día:
- 25 ‘Dios vos lo perdone, infanta,
 Dios, también Santa María,
 que por vos se pierde un hombre
 el mejor que se sabía;
 por vos se causa gran daño,
- 30 por vos se pierde Castilla:
 los moros entran en ella
 por no ver quien la regía,
 que por veros muere preso,
 por amor de vos moría:
- 35 ¡mal pagáis amor, infanta,
 a quien tanto en vos confía!
 Si no remediáis al conde
 seréis muy aborrecida,
 y si por vos saliese
- 40 seréis reina de Castilla.’
 Tan bien le habla el normando
 que a la infanta enternecía:
 determina de librarlo
 si por mujer la quería.
- 45 El conde se lo promete,

a verlo la infanta iba:
'No temáis', dijo, 'señor,
que yo os daré la salida.'

Y engañando aquel alcaide
50 salen los dos de la villa.

Toda la noche anduvieron
hasta que el alba reía.

Escondidos en un bosque
un arcipreste los vía
55 que venía andando a caza
con un azor que traía.

Amenázalos con muerte
si la infanta no ofrecía
de folgar allí con ella,
60 si no, que al rey los traería.

El conde más cruda muerte
quisiera, que lo que oía;
pero la discreta infanta
dando esfuerzo, le decía:
65 'Por vuestra vida, señor,
más que esto hacer debería,
que no se sabrá esta afrenta
ni se dirá en esta vida.'

Prisa daba el arcipreste
70 y amenaza todavía;
con grillos estaba el conde
y sin armas se veía;
mas viendo que era forzado
como puede se desvía.

Apártala el arcipreste,
75 de la mano la traía,
y cuando abrazarla quiso
ella de él muy fuerte huía;
los brazos le ha embarazado,

80 socorro al conde pedía,
el cual vino apresurado

- aunque correr no podía:
 quitádole ha al arcipreste
 un cuchillo que traía,
 85 y con él le diera el pago
 que su aleve merecía.
 Ayudándole la infanta
 camina todo aquel día;
 a la bajada de un puente
 90 ven muy gran caballería;
 gran miedo tienen en verla
 porque creen que el rey la envía.
 La infanta tiembla y se muere,
 en el monte se escondía;
 95 mas el conde, más mirando,
 daba voces de alegría:
 'Salid, salid, doña Sancha,
 ved el pendón de Castilla,
 míos son los caballeros
 100 que a mi socorro venían.'
 La infanta con gran placer
 a verlos luego salía;
 conocidos de los suyos
 con alarido venían:
 105 '¡Castilla!' vienen diciendo,
 'cumplida es la jura hoy día.'
 A los dos besan la mano,
 a caballo los subían,
 así los traen en salvo
 110 al condado de Castilla.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 15, from *Canc. de Rom.* of 1550.

TRANSLATION: Lockhart No. 8, 'The Escape of Count Fernan Gonsalez'.

NOTES: Compare *Poema de Fernán González*, stanzas 597-681.

Castellanos y leoneses
tienen grandes divisiones:
el conde Fernán González
y el buen rey Sancho Ordóñez,
5 sobre el partir de las tierras
y el poner de los mojones;
llamábanse hideputas,
hijos de padres traidores;
echan mano a las espadas,
10 derriban ricos mantones;
no les pueden poner treguas
cuantos en la corte son,
pónenselas dos hermanos
aquesos benditos monjes.
15 Pónenlas por quince días
que no pueden por más, no,
que se vayan a los prados
que dicen de Carrión.
Si mucho madruga el rey
20 el conde no dormía, no;
el conde partió de Burgos,
y el rey partió de León.
Venido se han a juntar
al vado de Carrión,
25 y a la pasada del río
movieron una cuestión:
los del rey que pasarían,
y los del conde que no.
El rey, como era risueño,
30 la su mula revolvió;
el conde con lozanía
su caballo arremetió;
con el agua y la arena
al buen rey ensalpicó.

35 Allí hablara el buen rey,
su gesto muy demudado:
‘¡Cómo sois soberbio, el conde!
¡cómo sois desmesurado!
si no fuera por las treguas
40 que los monjes nos han dado,
la cabeza de los hombros
ya vos la hubiera quitado;
con la sangre que os sacara
yo tiñera aqueste vado.’

45 El conde le respondiera
como aquél que era osado:
‘Eso que decís, buen rey,
véolo mal aliñado;
vos venís en gruesa mula,
50 yo en ligero caballo;
vos traéis sayo de seda,
yo traigo un arnés tranzado;
vos traéis alfanje de oro,
yo traigo lanza en mi mano;
55 vos traéis cetro de rey,
yo un venablo acerado;
vos con guantes olorosos,
yo con los de acero claro;
vos con la gorra de fiesta,
60 yo con un casco afinado;
vos traéis ciento de mula,
yo trescientos de caballo.’

Ellos en aquesto estando
los frailes que han allegado:
65 ‘¡Tate, tate, caballeros!
¡Tate, tate, hijosdalgo!
¡Cuán mal cumplistes las treguas
que nos habíades mandado!’
Allí hablara el buen rey:
70 ‘Yo las cumpliré de grado.’

Pero respondiera el conde:
 'Yo de pies puesto en el campo.'
 Cuando vido aquesto el rey
 no quiso pasar el vado;
 75 vuélvese para sus tierras,
 malamente va enojado.
 Grandes bascas va haciendo,
 reciamente va jurando
 que había de matar al conde
 80 y destruir su condado,
 y mandó llamar a cortes,
 por los grandes ha enviado;
 todos ellos son venidos,
 sólo el conde ha faltado.
 85 Mensajero se le hace
 a que cumpla su mandado;
 el mensajero que fue
 de esta suerte le ha hablado: . . .

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 16, from *Silva de varios romances* of 1550.

NOTES: It is typical of the ballad spirit that the reader is clearly expected to take the side of Fernán González against the king, even though the ballad frankly states that the Count was in the wrong in the incident at the ford. The contrasts between Fernán González, disrespectful to king, friars and truce, but every inch a figure of epic stature, and the effete king, are well brought out in the antithetical lines and were much to the taste of the 16th century. The ballad is meant to continue into the next:

9

'Buen conde Fernán González
 el rey envía por vos,
 que vayades a las cortes
 que se hacían en León;

- 5 que si vos allá vais, conde,
 daros han buen galardón:
 daros han a Palenzuela
 y a Palencia la mayor;
 daros han las nueve villas
10 con ellas a Carrión;
 daros han a Torquemada,
 la torre de Mormojón.
 Buen conde, si allá no ides,
 daros hían por traidor.’
- 15 Allí respondiera el conde
 y dijera esta razón:
 ‘Mensajero eres, amigo,
 no mereces culpa, no;
 que yo no he miedo al rey
20 ni a cuantos con él son.
 Villas y castillos tengo,
 todos a mi mandar son;
 de ellos me dejó mi padre,
 de ellos me ganara yo;
25 los que me dejó mi padre
 poblélos de ricos hombres,
 los que yo me hube ganado
 poblélas de labradores;
 quien no tenía más de un buey
30 dábale otro, que eran dos;
 al que casaba su hija
 dóle yo muy rico don;
 cada día que amanece
 por mí hacen oración;
35 no la hacían por el rey,
 que no la merece, no;
 él les puso muchos pechos
 y quitárselos yo.’

NOTES: It will be observed that lines very similar to lines 17-20 have already appeared in a Bernardo del Carpio ballad (No. 6). This is a typical contamination, and it is impossible to determine which ballad had priority. The naming of Palencia with an epic epithet, *la mayor*, we can however affirm to be a borrowing from the *Poema de mio Cid*, in which we find *Valencia la mayor* eight times (e.g., line 2105).

THE SIETE INFANTES DE LARA

The epic of the *Siete Infantes* does not survive as a poetic text, but extensive portions of it have been reconstructed as verse from the prosified versions which were written into the chronicles (e.g. of 1344 and c. 1460). From late versions of the epic the following four ballads derive in different ways. The extraordinary tale of the *Siete Infantes* is no mere fiction, but is based upon real events of the year 985, when Count Garcí-Fernández (son of Fernán González) ruled in Castile and the great Almanzor was virtual dictator of Moslem Spain on behalf of the Caliph Hisham II. The four ballads contain the essential narration of the whole epic: the marriage between members of two powerful families, the insult at the wedding of doña Lambra, the bloody vengeance taken by the bridegroom don Rodrigo de Lara on his seven nephews, the lament of their father (a prisoner in Córdoba) over their severed heads, and the final vengeance of Mudarra. The tale of insult, family feud, treachery and vengeance seems to preserve features of a remote Spanish past in which Germanic customs hold sway and Christian restraints are absent.

On the legend and the ballads, see R. Menéndez Pidal, *La leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, Madrid, 1896 (2nd ed. 1934); *Tratado* I, 265-89; and the relevant chronicle texts and reconstructed epic in Menéndez Pidal's *Reliquias de la poesía épica española*, Madrid, 1951, 181-239.

10

A Calatrava la Vieja
 la combaten castellanos;
 por cima de Guadiana
 derribaron tres pedazos:
 5 por los dos salen los moros,
 por el uno entran cristianos.
 Allá dentro de la plaza
 fueron a armar un tablado,

10 que aquel que lo derribare
 ganará de oro un escaño.
 Este don Rodrigo de Lara
 —que ese lo había ganado—
 del conde Garcí-Hernández sobrino
 y de doña Sancha es hermano,
 15 al conde Garcí-Hernández
 se lo llevó presentado,
 que le trate casamiento
 con aquesa doña Lambra.

Ya se trata casamiento,
 20 ¡hecho fue en hora menguada!
 doña Lambra de Burueva
 con don Rodrigo de Lara.
 Las bodas fueron en Burgos,
 las tornabodas en Salas;
 25 en bodas y tornabodas
 pasaron siete semanas.
 Tantas vienen de las gentes
 que no caben por las plazas,
 y aún faltaban por venir
 30 los siete infantes de Lara.

¡Hélos, hélos por do vienen
 con toda la su compañía!
 saliólos a recibir
 la su madre doña Sancha:
 35 ‘Bien vengades, los mis hijos,
 buena sea vuestra llegada:
 allá iredes a posar
 a esa cal de Cantarranas;
 hallaréis las mesas puestas,
 40 viandas aparejadas.
 Desque hayáis comido, hijos,
 no salgades a las plazas,
 porque las gentes son muchas,
 y trábanse muchas barajas.’

- 45 Desque todos han comido
van a bohordar a la plaza;
no salen los siete infantes,
que su madre se lo mandara;
mas desque hubieron comido
50 siéntanse a jugar las tablas.
Tiran unos, tiran otros
ninguno bien bohordaba.
Allí salió un caballero
de los de Córdoba la llana,
55 bohordó hacia el tablado
y una vara bien tñrara.
Allí hablara la novia,
de esta manera hablara:
'Amad, señoras, amad
60 cada una en su lugar,
que más vale un caballero
de los de Córdoba la llana,
que no veinte ni treinta
de los de la casa de Lara.'
65 Oídolo había doña Sancha,
de esta manera hablara:
'No digáis eso, señora,
no digades tal palabra,
porque aun hoy os desposaron
70 con don Rodrigo de Lara.'
'Mas calléis vos, doña Sancha,
que no debéis ser escuchada,
que siete hijos paristes
como puerca encenagada.'
75 Oídolo había el ayo
que a los infantes criaba;
de allí se había salido,
triste se fue a su posada;
halló que estaban jugando
80 los infantes a las tablas,

- si no era el menor de ellos
Gonzalo González se llama;
recostado lo halló,
de pechos en una baranda:
85 '¿Cómo venís triste, ayo?
decid, ¿quién os enojara?'
Tanto le rogó Gonzalo
que el ayo se lo contara:
90 'Mas mucho os ruego, mi hijo,
que no salgáis a la plaza.'
No lo quiso hacer Gonzalo,
mas antes tomó una lanza,
caballero en un caballo
váse derecho a la plaza;
95 vido estar el tablado
que nadie lo derribara.
Enderezóse en la silla,
con él en el suelo daba;
desque lo hubo derribado
100 de esta manera hablara:
'Amade, putas, amad,
cada una en su lugar,
que más vale un caballero
de los de la casa de Lara
105 que cuarenta ni cincuenta
de los de Córdoba la llana.'
Doña Lambra, que esto oyera,
bajóse muy enojada;
sin aguardar a los suyos
110 fuese para su posada,
halló en ella a don Rodrigo,
de esta manera le habla:
'Yo me estaba en Barbadillo
en esa mi heredad;
115 mal me quieren en Castilla
los que me habían de aguardar.

- Los hijos de doña Sancha
 mal amenazado me han
 que me cortarían las faldas
 120 por vergonzoso lugar,
 y cebarían sus halcones
 dentro de mi palomar,
 y me forzarían mis damas
 casadas y por casar.
 125 Matáronme un cocinero
 so faldas del mi brial.
 Si de esto no me vengáis
 yo mora me iré á tornar.
 Allí habló don Rodrigo,
 130 bien oiréis lo que dirá:
 'Callede, la mi señora,
 vos no digades atal.
 De los infantes de Lara
 yo vos pienso de vengar;
 135 telilla les tengo urdida,
 bien se la cuidó tramar,
 que nacidos y por nacer
 de ello tengan que contar.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 19, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

REFERENCES: *Rom. Hisp.* I, 205-6, and II, 75-6.

NOTES: This magnificent ballad derives directly from the epic, but it is a summary of a series of fragments rather than a single passage of the original. The mentions of Calatrava la Vieja and Córdoba are the result of some contamination, since both lay well outside Christian territory: Calatrava (province of Ciudad Real) was not conquered until 1147, Córdoba (the capital of the Caliphs) until 1236. This illustrates how little geographical exactness matters to the ballad; names are used for their romantic appeal and their sound. The ballad was already popular enough to be parodied in 1475, and was famous during the 16th century.

- Saliendo de Canicosa
por el val de Arabiana,
donde don Rodrigo espera
los hijos de la su hermana,
5 por campo de Palomares
vio venir muy gran compañía,
muchas armas reluciendo,
mucha adarga bien labrada,
mucho caballo ligero,
10 mucha lanza relumbraba,
mucho estandarte y bandera
por los aires revolaba.
La seña que viene en ellas
es media luna cortada;
15 Alá traen por apellido,
a Mahoma a voces llaman;
tan altos daban los gritos
que los campos resonaban;
lo que las voces decían
20 grande mal significaba:
'¡Mueran, mueran', van diciendo,
'los siete infantes de Lara!
¡Vengüemos a don Rodrigo
pues que tiene de ellos saña!'
25 Allí está Nuño Salido,
el ayo que los criara;
como ve la gran morisma
de esta manera les habla:
'¡Oh los mis amados hijos!
30 ¡Quién vivo no se hallara
por no ver tan gran dolor
como agora se esperaba!
Si no os hubiera criado
no sintiera tanta rabia;

- 35 mas quiéroos tanto, mis hijos,
que se me arrancaba el alma.
¡Ciertamente nuestra muerte
está bien aparejada!
No podemos escapar
40 de tanta gente pagana.
Vendamos bien nuestros cuerpos
y miremos por las almas:
peleemos como buenos,
las muertes queden vengadas;
45 ya que lleven nuestras vidas
que las dejen bien pagadas.
No nos pese de la muerte,
pues va tan bien empleada,
pues morimos todos juntos
50 como buenos, en batalla.'

Como los moros se acercan
a cada uno por sí abraza;
cuando llega a Gonzalvico
en la cara le besara:

- 55 '¡Hijo Gonzalo González!
de lo que más me pesaba
es de lo que sentirá
vuestra madre doña Sancha.
Erades su claro espejo,
60 más que a todos os amaba.'

En esto los moros llegan,
traban con ellos batalla,
los infantes los reciben
con sus adargas y lanzas.

- 65 '¡Santiago, Santiago!
a grandes voces llamaban;
matan infinitos moros
mas todos allí quedaran.

NOTES: Le Strange, following Milá, notes that the reference to *media luna* and the distinction drawn between Allah and Mahomet mark this ballad as a rather late one. Menéndez Pidal confirms this, stating that it is based on the chronicles rather than the epic, and is to be dated to c. 1540. None the less, the author successfully imitated much of the style of the true *romances viejos*. According to Le Strange, Canicosa does exist, in the ancient territory of Lara or Salas (Salas de los Infantes lies some 50 km to the south-east of Burgos). Palomares and Arabiana are probably inventions of the poet; Le Strange remarks that 'A hill, two leagues from Córdoba, is still shown by the people as the place where the Infantes de Lara were slain'.

12

- Pártese el moro Alicante
 víspera de San Cebrián;
 ocho cabezas llevaba
 todas de hombres de alta sangre.
- 5 Sábelo el rey Almanzor,
 a recibírsele sale;
 aunque perdió muchos moros
 piensa en esto bien ganar.
 Manda hacer un tablado
- 10 para mejor las mirar,
 mandó traer un cristiano
 que estaba en cautividad.
 Como ante sí lo trajeron
 empezóle de hablar,
- 15 díjole: 'Gonzalo Gustos,
 mira quién conocerás:
 que lidiaron mis poderes
 en el campo de Almenar;
 sacaron ocho cabezas,
- 20 todas son de gran linaje.'
 Respondió Gonzalo Gustos:

- ‘Presto os diré la verdad.’
Y limpiándoles la sangre
asaz se fuera a turbar;
25 dijo llorando agramente:
‘¡Conózcolas por mi mal!
la una es de mi carillo;
las otras me duelen más;
de los infantes de Lara
30 son, mis hijos naturales.’
Así razona con ellos
como si vivos hablasen:
‘¡Dios os salve,¹ el mi compadre,
el mi amigo leal!
35 ¿Adónde son los mis hijos
que yo os quise encomendar?
Muerto sois como buen hombre,
como hombre de fiar.’
Tomara otra cabeza
40 del hijo mayor de edad:
‘Sálveos Dios, Diego González,
hombre de muy gran bondad,
del conde Fernán González
alférez el principal;
45 a vos amaba yo mucho,
que me habíades de heredar.’
Alimpiándola con lágrimas
volviérala a su lugar.
Y toma la del segundo,
50 Martín Gómez que llamaban:
‘Dios os perdone, el mi hijo,
hijo que mucho preciaba;
jugador era de tablas
el mejor de toda España,
55 mesurado caballero,
muy buen hablador en plaza.’
Y dejándola llorando

la del tercero tomaba:

‘Hijo Suero Gustos,
 60 todo el mundo os estimaba;
 el rey os tuviera en mucho
 sólo para la su caza;
 gran caballero esforzado,
 muy buen bracero a ventaja.
 65 ¡Ruy Gómez vuestro tío
 estas bodas ordenara!’

Y tomando la del cuarto
 lasamente la miraba:

‘¡Oh hijo Fernán González,
 70 nombre del mejor de España,
 del buen conde de Castilla
 aquél que vos bautizara;
 matador de puerco espín,
 amigo de gran compañía!
 75 Nunca con gente de poco
 os vieran en alianza.’

Tomó la de Ruy Gómez,
 de corazón la abrazaba:

‘¡Hijo mío, hijo mío!
 80 ¿Quién como vos se hallara?
 nunca le oyeron mentira,
 nunca por oro ni plata;
 animoso, buen guerrero,
 muy gran heridor de espada,
 85 que a quien dábades de lleno
 tullido o muerto quedaba.’

Tomando la del menor
 el dolor se le doblara:

‘Hijo Gonzalo González!
 90 ¡Los ojos de doña Sancha!
 ¡Qué nuevas irán a ella
 que a vos más que a todos ama!
 Tan apuesto de persona,

- 95 decidor bueno entre damas,
 repartidor en su haber,
 aventajado en la lanza.
 ¡Mejor fuera la mi muerte
 que ver tan triste jornada!
 100 Al duelo que el viejo hace
 toda Córdoba lloraba.
 El rey Almanzor cuidadoso
 consigo se lo llevaba,
 y mandó a una morica
 lo sirviese muy de gana.
 105 Ésta le torna en ^lprisiones
 y con hambre le curaba.
 Hermana era del rey,
 doncella moza y lozana;
 con ésta Gonzalo Gustos
 110 vino a perder su saña,
 que de ella le nació un hijo
 que a los hermanos vengara.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 24, from *Silva de varios romances* of 1550.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* I, 276–80; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 203–5.

NOTES: Le Strange follows Milá in drawing attention to the extraordinary confusion of personal names in this ballad. It may be that as with geographical names in the previous ballads, accuracy matters little; on the other hand, the patronymic system (González = son of Gonzalo) was well established and observed in the epic, which after all was about tribal feelings. Menéndez Pidal has given special attention to this text, because in this case a direct confrontation between ballad and parent epic is possible. The 112 short lines or 56 long lines of the ballad correspond to some 150 (long) lines of the epic text as prosified in the *Crónica de 1344*, and the 10 assonance-series or *laissez* of the epic are reduced to 2 in the ballad.

The epic goes on to tell how Gonzalo Gustos is released and

returns to Castile; his son (Mударra) by the Moorish girl grows to manhood, learns of his parentage and goes to Castile to avenge his half-brothers:

13

A cazar va don Rodrigo,
 y aun don Rodrigo de Lara:
 con la gran siesta que hace
 arrimádose ha a una haya,
 5 maldiciendo a Mudarrillo
 hijo de la renegada,
 que si a las manos le hubiese
 que le sacaría el alma.
 El señor estando en esto,
 10 Mudarrillo que asomaba:
 'Dios te salve, caballero,
 debajo la verde haya.'
 'Así haga a ti, escudero,
 buena sea tu llegada.'
 15 'Dígame tú, el caballero,
 ¿cómo era la tu gracia?'
 'A mí dicen don Rodrigo,
 y aun don Rodrigo de Lara,
 cuñado de Gonzalo Gustos,
 20 hermano de doña Sancha;
 por sobrinos me los hube
 los siete infantes de Lara.
 Espero aquí a Mudarrillo,
 hijo de la renegada:
 25 si delante lo tuviese
 yo le sacaría el alma.'
 'Si a ti dicen don Rodrigo,
 y aun don Rodrigo de Lara,
 a mí Mudarra González,
 30 hijo de la renegada,
 de Gonzalo Gustos hijo,

- y alnado de doña Sancha;
 por hermanos me los hube
 los siete infantes de Lara:
 35 tú los vendiste. traidor,
 en el val de Arabiana;
 mas si Dios a mí ayuda
 aquí dejarás el alma.'
 'Espéresme, don Gonzalo,
 40 iré a tomar las mis armas.'
 'El espera que tú diste
 a los infantes de Lara:
 aquí morirás, traidor,
 enemigo de doña Sancha.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 26, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

TRANSLATIONS: Lockhart No. 10, 'The Vengeance of Mudarra'; Gibson p. 287; and in French, Victor Hugo under the title of 'Romance Mauresque', No. XXX of *Les Orientales*.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* I, 280-4; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 229-34.

NOTES: This ballad is based on a very late version of the epic. Whereas the previous ballad preserved a long and detailed narrative, this one is a fine example of the compression which is achieved as the ballad evolves. Menéndez Pidal calls it *ejemplo extremo de novelización*; all the armies and retainers and the geographical details of the epic have disappeared, and the two men confront each other alone. Two other 16th-century versions of the ballad are known, and it is quoted in *Don Quixote* (II, 60); Lope de Vega used this and the previous ballads in his play *El bastardo Mudarra*.

KING SANCHO II AND THE SIEGE OF ZAMORA

By this name is known one of the lost epics of medieval Castile which, to judge from the versions prosified in the chronicles and from the ballads, was in its construction and its deep tragic sense a finer work than the surviving *Poema de mio Cid*. The Zamora work was, in fact, meant to accompany the *Poema de mio Cid*; the Cid appears prominently in it, and the last scene of the lost epic explains in part the bad feeling between King and Cid which is the basis of the opening scene of the *Poema*. The following 7 ballads contain in essence the whole of the epic tale, which in general and in many of its details was almost rigorously historical. King Ferdinand I lay dying in 1065, and then divided up his realm, assigning Zamora (a fortress on the Duero, in Leonese lands) to his daughter Urraca. King Sancho II of Castile besieged his sister in the city in 1072; the starving Zamorans, after rejecting the Cid's offer of negotiation, sent out Vellido Dolfos as a pretended deserter, and he treacherously killed King Sancho. The Castilians, seeing the king's death as a divine punishment on him for having overset his father's will, raised the siege but held the city collectively responsible for the treachery (ballads Nos. 18 & 19). Finally Sancho's banished brother, Alfonso, returned to take the crowns of a reunited León and Castile, but only after swearing in Burgos before the assembled Castilian nobles that he had had no part in Sancho's murder (ballad No. 20).

See *Tratado I*, 349-57; Carola Reig, *El Cantar de Sancho II y Cerco de Zamora*, Madrid, 1947.

14

Doliente estaba, doliente,
ese buen rey don Fernando;
los pies tiene cara oriente
y la candela en la mano.

5 A la cabecera tiene

los sus hijos todos cuatro:
 los tres eran de la reina,
 y el uno era bastardo;
 ése que bastardo era
 10 quedaba mejor librado:
 arzobispo es de Toledo
 y en las Españas perlado.
 'Si yo no muriera, hijo,
 vos fuérades Padre Santo,
 15 mas con la renta que os queda
 bien podréis, hijo, alcanzarlo.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 35, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

TRANSLATION: Gibson No. XX.

REFERENCE: *Rom. Hisp.* I, 207-14.

NOTES: Menéndez Pidal says that the transmission of this ballad was a complicated one. Basically the ballad summarizes a long scene of the epic but adds details not present in that poem: the bastard son is a late addition, and the anticlerical (more strictly, anti-Pope) attitude is probably adopted from the degenerate epic *Mocedades de Rodrigo* of c. 1400. Toledo was not reconquered from the Moslems until 1085.

15

'Morir os queredes, padre,
 ¡San Miguel os haya el alma!
 Mandastes las vuestras tierras
 a quien se vos antojara,
 5 a don Sancho a Castilla,
 Castilla la bien nombrada,
 a don Alonso a León
 y a don García a Vizcaya;
 a mí, porque soy mujer,
 10 dejáisme desheredada:

- irme he yo por esas tierras
 como una mujer errada,
 y este mi cuerpo daría
 a quien se me antojara,
 15 a los moros por dineros
 y a los cristianos de gracia:
 ¡de lo que ganar pudiere
 haré bien por la vuestra alma!’
 ‘¡Callede, hija, callede,
 20 no digades tal palabra!
 que mujer que tal decía
 merecía ser quemada.
 Allá en Castilla la Vieja
 un rincón se me olvidaba:
 25 Zamora había por nombre,
 Zamora la bien cercada;
 de una parte la cerca el Duero,
 de otra, peña tajada;
 de la otra la Morería
 30 una cosa muy preciada.
 ¡Quien os la tomare, hija,
 la mi maldición le caiga!’
 Todos dicen: ‘¡Amén, amén!’
 sino don Sancho, que calla.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 36, from *Silva de varios romances* of 1550.

TRANSLATION: Gibson No. XXI.

REFERENCES: *Rom. Hisp.* I, 210–14; R. Menéndez Pidal, ‘Morir vos queredes, padre’, *Revista de Filología Española*, II (1915), 1–20.

NOTES: A number of the best features of the ballad derived from an epic fragment could be exemplified in this text, among them the special force of its first lines, spoken by the unnamed and unannounced doña Urraca. The ballad was highly popular in the Golden Age, and several of its lines became proverbial; Menéndez Pidal has modern oral versions of it from Seville, and in Portu-

guese from the Algarve and the Azores. As a matter of historical fact the third son, García, received Galicia as his share of the kingdom, but this name was presumably discarded because it did not fit the assonance in *á-a*.

16

'¡Afuera, afuera, Rodrigo,
 el soberbio castellano!
 Acordásete debería
 de aquel buen tiempo ya pasado
 5 cuando fuiste caballero
 en el altar de Santiago
 cuando el rey fue tu padrino,
 tú, Rodrigo, el ahijado;
 mi padre te dio las armas,
 10 mi madre te dio el caballo,
 yo te calcé las espuelas
 porque fueses más honrado;
 que pensé casar contigo,
 ¡no lo quiso mi pecado!
 15 casaste con Jimena Gómez,
 hija del conde Lozano,
 con ella hubiste dineros,
 conmigo hubieras estado.
 Bien casaste tú, Rodrigo,
 20 muy mejor fueras casado;
 dejaste hija de rey
 por tomar de su vasallo.'
 'Si os parece, mi señora,
 bien podemos desligarlo.'
 25 'Mi ánima penaría
 si yo fuese en discreparlo.'
 '¡Afuera, afuera, los míos,
 los de a pie y de a caballo!
 pues de aquella torre mocha

- 30 una vira me han tirado.
 No traía el asta hierro,
 el corazón me ha pasado;
 ya ningún remedio siento
 sino vivir más penado.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 37, from *Silva de varios romances* of 1550.

TRANSLATION: Gibson No. XXX.

REFERENCES: *Rom. Hisp.* I, 234-6; S. G. Armistead, "The enamoured Doña Urraca" in chronicles and balladry', *Romance Philology*, XI (1957), 26-9.

NOTES: In this ballad the unannounced speaker is again doña Urraca. She indignantly rejects the Castilian offer of negotiations made by King Sancho, and tries to shame the Cid, acting as the royal emissary, by mentioning that she once loved him so much that she wished to marry him. This love-affair is shown by Armistead to go back to versions of the epics (in this case the *Mocedades de Rodrigo*) current in the early 14th century; the older *Zamora* epic apparently said merely that the Cid and Urraca had been brought up together as children. The theme of the love-affair acquired even greater prominence in the plays of Guillén de Castro and Corneille. Despite its ultimate epic origin, the ballad has rather late features, such as the mention of Cupid's dart; this, according to Menéndez Pidal, is an example of ballad *novelización*, since in the *Zamora* epic the Cid, as he approaches the walls of the city with his message of peace, calls to its defenders not to shoot their *saetas* at him. The evolution from the large, heroic scene of the epic to the narrow, personal and sentimental scene of the ballad is also noteworthy. The ballad was a favourite in the Golden Age, but is today known only in a Portuguese version from the Algarve.

'¡Rey don Sancho, rey don Sancho,
 no digas que no te aviso,

- que de dentro de Zamora
 un alevoso ha salido!
- 5 Llábase Vellido Dolfos,
 hijo de Dolfos Vellido;
 cuatro traiciones ha hecho
 y con ésta serán cinco.
 Si gran traidor fue el padre
- 10 mayor traidor es el hijo.’
 Gritos dan en el real:
 ‘¡A don Sancho han mal herido!
 ¡Muerto le ha Vellido Dolfos,
 gran traición ha cometido!’
- 15 Desde le tuviera muerto
 metióse por un postigo;
 por las calles de Zamora
 va dando voces y gritos:
 ‘¡Tiempo era, doña Urraca,
 20 de cumplir lo prometido!’

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 45, from *Canc. de Rom.* ‘sin año’ (c. 1548).

REFERENCE: *Rom. Hisp.* I, 200–1.

NOTES: This ballad is another fine fragment of the *Zamora* epic, reduced to a form which is the most brief and tense that can be imagined. The speaker at the start is an unnamed knight who acts at the instigation of Arias Gonzalo, chief of the Zamoran barons and adviser to Urraca. Aware of Dolfos’ plan for the salvation of the city, his sense of fair fighting causes him to have a warning about Dolfos’ treachery shouted to the besieging Castilians. Dolfos, having killed King Sancho, was received again into the city. In the last two lines of the ballad the Castilian minstrel, hostile to Urraca’s memory, implies that she had been in the secret and had promised Dolfos her favours if he carried out his plan to murder her brother. This may have been true; the monks at Oña, where Sancho was buried, certainly believed that she had had a hand in the murder, calling her *femina mente*

dira in the inscription on Sancho's tomb. Such things are not lightly cut in stone by religious persons. The ballad is one of the earliest, already quoted as ancient in the late 15th century, and often mentioned in the Golden Age.

18

- Ya cabalga Diego Ordóñez,
 del real se había salido,
 de dobles piezas armado
 y en un caballo morcillo;
 5 va a retar los zamoranos
 por la muerte de su primo
 que mató Vellido Dolfos
 hijo de Dolfos Vellido:
 'Yo os rieto, los zamoranos,
 10 por traidores fementidos:
 rieto a todos los muertos
 y con ellos a los vivos;
 rieto hombres y mujeres,
 los por nacer y nacidos;
 15 rieto a todos los grandes,
 a los grandes y a los chicos,
 a las carnes y pescados
 a las aguas de los ríos.'
- Allí habló Arias Gonzalo,
 20 bien oiréis lo que hubo dicho:
 '¿Qué culpa tienen los viejos?
 ¿qué culpa tienen los niños?
 qué merecen las mujeres
 y los que no son nacidos?
 25 ¿por qué rietas a los muertos,
 los ganados y los ríos?
 Bien sabéis vos, Diego Ordóñez,
 muy bien lo tenéis sabido,
 que aquél que rieta concejo

- 30 debe de lidiar con cinco.
 Ordóñez le respondió:
 'Traidores heis todos sido.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 47, from *Canc. de Rom.* of 1550.

TRANSLATION: Gibson No. XXXVI.

REFERENCE: *Tratado* I, 352-3.

NOTES: This famous ballad derives from the Zamora epic. The comprehensive challenge-cum-curse reflects very ancient habits of mind and of law, its purpose being to make the whole city feel dishonoured and unclean in every part of its daily life and every member of its population. The belief that for the curse to be effective every detail had to be mentioned is reflected in R. H. Barham's mock-medieval *Jackdaw of Rheims*.

19

- Por aquel postigo viejo
 que nunca fuera cerrado,
 vi venir pendón bermejo
 con trescientos de caballo:
 5 en medio de los trescientos
 viene un monumento armado,
 y dentro del monumento
 viene un cuerpo de un finado;
 Fernán d'Arias ha por nombre,
 10 hijo de Arias Gonzalo.
 Llorábanle cien doncellas,
 todas ciento hijasdalgo;
 todas eran sus parientas
 en tercero y cuarto grado;
 15 las unas le dicen primo,
 otras le llaman hermano;
 las otras decían tío,
 otras lo llaman cuñado.
 Sobre todas lo lloraba

- 20 aquesa Urraca Hernando;
 ¡y cuán bien que la consuela
 ese viejo Arias Gonzalo!
 '¡Callede, hija, callede,
 no hagades tan gran llanto!
- 25 Que si un hijo me han muerto
 ahí me quedaban cuatro;
 no murió por las tabernas
 ni a las tablas jugando,
 mas murió sobre Zamora
- 30 vuestra honra resguardando.'

TEXT: *Prim. No. 50, from Canc. de Rom. 'sin año' (c. 1548).*

TRANSLATION: Gibson No. XL.

REFERENCE: *Tratado I, 352-3.*

NOTES: This ballad derives from the epic, but is hardly an actual fragment of it. The five champions of Zamora in the judicial duels were Arias Gonzalo's five sons; the series had an inconclusive result, the honour of both sides being partly satisfied, but among those killed was Arias Gonzalo's third son—who seems to have fought first—Fernando (or Hernán). The duels took place, says Le Strange, in a spot still called the *Campo de la Verdad* (that is, God's truth, thought to be revealed in the result of the duels); and the small gate in the city walls known as the *Postigo de la Traición* equally survives, large enough for Vellido Dolfos, though hardly for a funeral procession of 300. The *pendón bermejo* was the banner of Zamora. Oral versions of the ballad have been collected in our century from the Jews of Greece and Asia Minor.

20

En Santa Gadea de Burgos
 do juran los hijosdalgo,
 allí le toma la jura
 el Cid al rey castellano:

- 5 las juras eran tan fuertes
que al buen rey ponen espanto,
sobre un cerrojo de hierro
y una ballesta de palo:
'Villanos te maten, Alonso,
10 villanos, que no hidalgos,
de las Asturias de Oviedo,
que no sean castellanos;
mátente con agujijadas,
no con lanzas ni con dardos;
15 con cuchillos çachicuernos,
no con puñales dorados;
abarcas traigan calzadas,
que no zapatos con lazo;
capas traigan aguaderas,
20 no de contray ni frisado;
con camisones de estopa,
no de holanda ni labrados;
caballeros vengan en burras,
que no en mulas ni en caballos;
25 frenos traigan de cordel,
que no cueros fogueados;
mátente por las aradas,
que no en villas ni en poblado,
sáquente el corazón
30 por el siniestro costado,
si no dijeres la verdad
de lo que te fuere preguntado,
si fuiste, o consentiste
en la muerte de tu hermano.'
- 35 Jurado había el rey
que en tal nunca se ha hallado;
pero allí hablara el rey
malamente y enojado:
'Muy mal me conjuras, Cid,
40 Cid, muy mal me has conjurado;

- mas hoy me tomas la jura,
 cras me besarás la mano.'
 'Por besar mano de rey
 no me tengo por honrado;
 45 porque la besó mi padre
 me tengo por afrentado.'
 '¡Vete de mis tierras, Cid,
 mal caballero probado,
 y no vengas más a ellas
 50 dende este día en un año!
 'Pláceme', dijo el buen Cid,
 'Pláceme', dijo, 'de grado,
 por ser la primera cosa
 que mandas en tu reinado.
 55 Tú me destierras por uno,
 yo me destierro por cuatro.'
 Ya se parte el buen Cid
 sin al rey besar la mano,
 con trescientos caballeros
 60 todos eran hijosdalgo;
 todos son hombres mancebos,
 ninguno no había cano.
 Todos llevan lanza en puño
 y el hierro acicalado,
 65 y llevan sendas adargas
 con borlas de colorado;
 mas no le faltó al buen Cid
 adonde asentar su campo.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 52, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin ano' (c. 1548).

TRANSLATION: Gibson No. XLIII.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* I, 354-5; R. Menéndez Pidal, 'En Santa Gadea de Burgos', *Revista de Filología Española*, I (1914), 357-77; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 225-6, and II, 76-7; J. Horrent, 'La jura de Santa Gadea. Historia y poesía', *Studia philologica: Homenaje ofrecido a Dámaso Alonso*, Madrid, 1960, II, 241-66.

NOTES: Horrent tells us that the famous *jura* cannot be historical fact. There is no reference to it before the 13th century, and it is likely that it was added to the Zamora epic about the year 1200 by a Burgos minstrel who was concerned to link the two epics about the Cid and provide an explanation of the hostility between King and Cid, which speedily led to the hero's banishment. In both purposes the minstrel seems to have succeeded admirably. The ballad has suffered some contamination from a line of the *Poema de mio Cid*, and the anti-Asturian note is a rather unfortunate one. The ballad is known in three 16th-century versions, one from a MS of about 1500; it illustrates the suitability of the *romance*-form for rapid, vigorous statements and for extensive antithesis. Le Strange notes that the church of Santa Gadea, or Agueda (that is, Agatha) still exists in Burgos, that it was one of three specially dedicated *iglesias juraderas* (the others being in León and Avila), and that it claimed to have among its treasures the ancient *cerrojo*. This, with the *ballesta*, may have provided a mixture of pagan and Christian cross-symbolism, but their significance is lost to us today.

THE CID

Rodrigo, or Ruy Díaz de Bivar, known by the honorific title *el Cid* or *mio Cid* (Arabic *sayyid* 'lord'), is the national hero of Spain. Unlike some national heroes, he was a person of solid historical reality, living from about 1040 until 1099. His fame rested on his early exploits at the side of Sancho II, on his defiance of that king's successor, Alfonso VI, and most of all, on his conquest of the great Moslem-held city of Valencia in 1089. In various near-contemporary writings, in the *Poema de mio Cid* and in many later chronicles, he symbolized resistance to an unjust monarch, cheerfulness in exile, skill in arms, brilliance of generalship and—rather surprisingly—the noble tenderness of father and husband.

Ballads about the Cid are very numerous and have often been gathered into collections. Most are of late date, and none (other than those deriving from the *Zamora* poem) is a good specimen of an epic fragment. The *Poema de mio Cid* had long ceased to be sung when the ballads were being created in the 15th century; nonetheless, ballads Nos. 21-4 are rather pale reflections of scenes from the *Poema*. The other two Cid ballads derive from the late epic *Mocedades de Rodrigo*, created in the 14th and 15th centuries to entertain those listeners who demanded a more romantic hero than the Cid of the old *Poema*. It was in this late epic that extravagant tales of the Cid's youth were invented, and above all the affair with Jimena, which was to enjoy several centuries of popularity.

21

¡Hélo, hélo, por do viene
 el moro por la calzada,
 caballero a la jineta
 encima una yegua baya,
 5 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 harto 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;
 dejad las ropas continas
 30 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 desque 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 Babioca
yo bien oigo la patada!’
Do la yegua pone el pie
Babioca pone la pata.
55 Allí hablara el caballo,
bien oiréis lo que hablaba:
‘¡Reventar debía la madre
que a su hijo no esperaba!’
Siete vueltas la rodea
60 al derredor de una jara;
la yegua que era ligera
muy adelante pasaba,
hasta llegar cabe un río
adonde una barca estaba.
65 El moro desque la vido
con ella bien se holgaba;
grandes gritos da al barquero
que le allegase la 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
y dijo: ‘¡Recoged, mi yerno,

- 80 arrecogedme esa lanza,
 que quizá tiempo vendrá
 que os será bien demandada!

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 55, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

TRANSLATION: Gibson No. LXXV.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* I, 360-6; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 226-9, and II, 45-6.

NOTES: This ballad is, for Menéndez Pidal, a good example of how an epic theme (King Búcar's expedition to recover Valencia, lately conquered by the Cid, lines 2311-428 of the *Poema de mio Cid*) is transformed into a romantic, sentimental episode more suited to the taste of the 15th and 16th centuries. It is curious to note that while the epic name of the Cid's horse is accurately preserved, the name of his daughter (in the *Poema* he had two, Elvira and Sol) is here newly invented. The famous opening line, with its rapid galloping rhythm, may belong more properly to the *Infantes de Lara* cycle (No. 10, above). The ballad exists in several parts of the Peninsula and among the Sephardim in the oral tradition of the present day.

22

- De concierto están los condes
 — hermanos, Diego y Fernando —:
 afrentar quieren al Cid,
 muy gran traición han armado.
- 5 Quieren volverse a sus tierras,
 sus mujeres han demandado,
 y luego su suegro el Cid
 se las hubo entregado:
 'Mirad, yernos, que tratades
- 10 como a dueñas hijasdalgo
 mis hijas, pues que a vosotros
 por mujeres les he dado.'
 Ellos ambos le prometen
 de obedecer su mandado.

- 15 Ya cabalgan los condes
 y el buen Cid ya está a caballo
 con todos sus caballeros
 que le van acompañando;
 por las huertas y jardines
20 van riendo y festejando:
 por espacio de una legua
 el Cid los ha acompañado.
 Cuando de ellas se despide
 las lágrimas le van saltando;
25 como hombre que ya sospecha
 la gran traición que han armado,
 manda que vaya tras ellos
 Alvar Fáñez su criado.
 Vuélvese el Cid y su gente
30 y los condes van de largo.
 Andando con muy gran prisa
 en un monte habían entrado,
 muy espeso, y muy oscuro,
 de altos árboles poblado.
35 Mandaron ir toda su gente
 adelante muy gran rato.
 Quédanse con sus mujeres
 tan solos Diego y Fernando.
 Apéanse de los caballos
40 y las riendas han quitado;
 sus mujeres que lo ven
 muy gran llanto han levantado;
 apéanlas de las mulas
 cada cual para su lado,
45 como las parió su madre
 ambas las han desnudado,
 y luego a sendas encinas
 las han fuertemente atado.
 Cada uno azota la suya
50 con riendas de su caballo:

la sangre que de ellas corre
 el campo tiene bañado;
 mas no contentos con esto
 allí se las han dejado.

55 Su primo que las hallara
 como hombre muy enojado
 a buscar los condes iba;
 como no los ha hallado
 volvióse para ellas

60 muy pensativo y turbado;
 en casa de un labrador
 allí se las ha dejado.
 Vase para el Cid su tío,
 todo se lo ha contado.

65 Con muy gran caballería
 por ellas ha enviado.
 De aquesta tan grande afrenta
 el Cid al rey se ha quejado;
 el rey como aquesto vido

70 tres Cortes había armado.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 57, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

TRANSLATION: Gibson No. LXIII.

NOTES: This ballad is included as an example of a text which deals with epic material drawn from the chronicles (presumably that printed by Florián de Ocampo in 1541). Its composition filled a gap in the story of the Cid, and the ballad may have been thought of as an essential introduction to the next two poems, Nos. 23 and 24. Although not lacking in good points, there are weak lines and other features which the instinct of minstrels and listeners would have eliminated had the ballad been a traditional one.

Por Guadalquivir arriba
 cabalgan caminadores,
 que — según dicen las gentes —

- ellos eran buenos hombres.
- 5 Ricas aljubas vestidas,
y encima sus albornos
capas traen aguaderas
a guisa de labradores.
Daban cebada de día
- 10 y caminaban de noche,
no por miedo de los moros
mas por las grandes calores.
Por sus jornadas contadas
llegados son a las Cortes;
- 15 sáuelos a recibir
el rey con sus altos hombres:
'Viejo que venís, el Cid,
viejo venís y florido.'
'No de holgar con las mujeres,
- 20 mas de andar en tu servicio;
de pelear con el rey Búcar,
rey que es de gran señorío,
de ganarle las sus tierras,
sus villas y sus castillos;
- 25 también le gané yo al rey
el su escaño tornido.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 58, from a *pliego suelto* of the 16th century.

REFERENCE: *Rom. Hisp.* I, 238.

NOTES: This is a traditional ballad of some antiquity, even though it is not an epic fragment. The Cid's famous *escaño tornido* is mentioned in the *Poema de mio Cid* (lines 3115, 3121, etc.), and much is made of it in later forms of the legend; the Duchess in *Don Quixote* alludes to it as a most honourable seat (II, 33). Mention of the Guadalquivir is an instance of the minstrels' cheerful disregard of geographical fact, since the Cid was (in the *Poema*, at least) on his way from Valencia to the *Cortes* at Toledo.

24

- Tres Cortes armara el rey,
todas tres a una sazón:
las unas armara en Burgos,
las otras armó en León,
5 las otras armó en Toledo
donde los hidalgos son,
para cumplir de justicia
al chico con el mayor.
Treinta días da de plazo,
10 treinta días, que más no;
y el que a la postre viniese
que lo diesen por traidor.
Veinte y nueve son pasados,
los condes llegados son;
15 treinta días son pasados
y el buen Cid no viene, no.
Allí hablaran los condes:
'Señor, dadlo por traidor.'
Respondiérales el rey:
20 'Eso no faría, no,
que el buen Cid es caballero
de batallas vencedor,
pues que en todas las mis Cortes
no lo había otro mejor.'
25 Ellos en aquesto estando
el buen Cid que asomó,
con trescientos caballeros
— todos hijosdalgo son —
todos vestidos de un paño,
30 de un paño y de una color,
si no fuera el buen Cid
que traía un albornoz:
'Manténgavos Dios, el rey,
y a vosotros sálveos Dios;

35 que no hablo yo a los condes,
que mis enemigos son.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 59, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

TRANSLATION: Gibson No. LXVIII.

REFERENCE: *Rom. Hisp.* I, 222-4.

NOTES: Menéndez Pidal suspects that this ballad derives from a late (14th-century) version of the *Poema de mio Cid*. It cannot derive directly from the surviving—and very early—version of the *Poema*, although there are similarities: the first eight lines of the ballad recall lines 3129-32 of the *Poema* and have the same assonance in ó(-e). The ballad bears the stamp of evolution over a long period in its abruptness and in several stylistic features.

25

En Burgos está el buen rey
asentado a su yantar,
cuando la Jimena Gómez
se le vino a querellar.
5 Cubierta toda de luto,
tocas de negro cendal,
las rodillas por el suelo
comenzara de hablar:
'Con mancilla vivo, rey,
10 con ella murió mi madre:
cada día que amanece
veo al que mató a mi padre
caballero en un caballo
y en su mano un gavlán;
15 por hacerme más despecho
cébalo en mi palomar,
mátame mis palomillas
criadas y por criar,
la sangre que sale de ellas
20 teñido me ha mi brial.

Enviéselo a decir,
envióme a amenazar.
Hacedme, buen rey, justicia,
no me la queráis negar:
25 rey que no face justicia
no debiera de reinar,
ni cabalgar en caballo,
ni con la reina holgar,
ni comer pan a manteles,
30 ni menos armas armar.'

El rey cuando aquesto oyera
comenzara de pensar:
'Si yo prendo o mato al Cid
mis Cortes revolverse han;
35 pues si lo deajo de hacer
Dios me lo ha de demandar;
mandarle quiero una carta
mandarle quiero llamar.'

Las palabras no son dichas
40 la carta camino va;
mensajero que la lleva
dado la había a su padre.
Cuando el Cid aquesto supo
así comenzó a hablar:
45 'Malas mañas habéis, conde,
no vos las puedo quitar,
que carta que el rey os manda
no me la queréis mostrar.'
'Non era nada, mi fijo,
50 sino que vades allá;
fincad vos acá, mi fijo,
que yo iré en vuestro lugar.'
'Nunca Dios lo tal quisiese,
ni Santa María su madre,
55 sino que donde vos fuéredes
tengo yo de ir adelante.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 30a, from Timoneda's *Rosa española* of 1573.

TRANSLATION: Gibson No. VII.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* I, 348-9; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 219-20, and II, 74-5.

NOTES: Two other 16th-century versions of this ballad are known, and it survives today in the oral tradition of Andalusia and the Jews of Morocco. It derives, as does the next ballad, from some version of the late epic *Mocedades de Rodrigo* rather different from that which survives and from that which was written into the chronicles.

26

Cabalga Diego Láinez
 al buen rey besar la mano,
 consigo se los llevaba
 los trescientos hijosdalgo.

5 Entre ellos iba Rodrigo
 el soberbio castellano.
 Todos cabalgan a mula,
 sólo Rodrigo a caballo;
 todos visten oro y seda,

10 Rodrigo va bien armado;
 todos espadas ceñidas,
 Rodrigo estoque dorado;
 todos con sendas varicas,
 Rodrigo lanza en la mano;

15 todos guantes olorosos,
 Rodrigo guante mallado;
 todos sombreros muy ricos,
 Rodrigo casco afinado,
 y encima del casco lleva

20 un bonete colorado.
 Andando por su camino
 unos con otros hablando,
 allegados son a Burgos,
 con el rey se han encontrado.

- 25 Los que vienen con el rey
entre sí van razonando,
unos lo dicen de quedo,
otros lo van pregonando:
‘Aquí viene entre esta gente
30 quien mató al conde Lozano.’
Como lo oyera Rodrigo
en hito los ha mirado;
con alta y soberbia voz
de esta manera ha hablado:
35 ‘Si hay alguno entre vosotros,
su pariente o adeudado,
que le pese de su muerte,
salga luego a demandarlo:
yo se lo defenderé
40 quiera a pie, quiera a caballo.’
Todos responden a una:
‘Demándelo su pecado.’
Todos se apearon juntos
para al rey besar la mano;
45 Rodrigo se quedó solo
encima de su caballo.
Entonces habló su padre,
bien oiréis lo que ha hablado:
‘Apeáos vos, mi hijo,
50 besaréis al rey la mano,
porque él es vuestro señor,
vos, hijo, sois su vasallo.’
Desque Rodrigo esto oyó
sintióse más agraviado;
55 las palabras que responde
son de hombre muy enojado:
‘Si otro me lo dijera
ya me lo hubiera pagado;
mas por mandarlo vos, padre,
60 yo lo haré de buen grado.’

- Ya se apeaba Rodrigo
 para al rey besar la mano;
 al hincar de la rodilla
 el estoque se ha arrancado.
- 65 Espantóse de esto el rey,
 y dijo como turbado:
 '¡Quítate, Rodrigo, allá,
 quítate me allá, diablo!
 que tienes el gesto de hombre
 y los hechos de león bravo.'
- 70 Como Rodrigo esto oyó
 aprisa pide el caballo;
 con una voz alterada
 contra el rey así ha hablado:
- 75 'Por besar mano de rey
 no me tengo por honrado;
 porque la besó mi padre
 me tengo por afrentado.'
- 80 En diciendo estas palabras
 salido se ha del palacio;
 consigo se los tornaba
 los trescientos hijosdalgo;
 si bien vinieron vestidos
 volvieron mejor armados,
- 85 y si vinieron en mulas
 todos vuelven en caballos.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 29, from *Silva de varios romances* of 1550.

TRANSLATIONS: Lockhart No. 12, 'The Young Cid'; Gibson No. V.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* I, 348; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 220.

NOTES: In the late epic *Mocedades de Rodrigo*, from which this ballad derives, the character of the Cid is very different from that—far nobler, more human and more complex—which we are given in the *Poema de mio Cid*. His contempt for royalty and rather

childish display of bad manners in this ballad are all too typical of the *Mocedades* as a whole. As already noted, the idea for the lively antithetical section at the start of the ballad may have been borrowed from the Fernán González cycle (No. 8).

FRONTERIZO BALLADS

As already explained, the *fronterizo* ballads are a specialized group of the *noticiero* or 'news-bearing' ballads of the 14th and 15th centuries (not otherwise represented in this collection as they are of less literary merit). The earliest of these concerns an event of 1312, and they were found useful as propaganda for both sides during the civil wars of the reign of Peter the Cruel (1350-69). The ballad about Baeza, No. 27, is both a part of this civil war poetry and the first *fronterizo* text. The efforts of the regent, don Fernando de Antequera, to revive the Reconquest as a national enterprise in the early years of the 15th century stimulated the composition of ballads about it, and the habit of making poetry out of the incidents and personages of the war against Granada (in which, it has been said, 'the Spanish epic spirit lingered last of all') continued to 1492.

Although literary historians have doubted whether these ballads can be fully contemporary with the events they describe, we may accept Menéndez Pidal's view that they are 'expresión espontánea del sentimiento público, nacidos al calor de los acontecimientos que cantan' if we add that many have suffered later accretions and reworking. They were composed at first by minstrels with the armies and in the service of the nobles, bishops and *adelantados* of Andalusia, and later also by court poets and musicians. The ballads have a remarkable unity of tone, and the *brío* and vigour of their battle narrations and harangues are outstanding. So too is their pathos, and their ability to see matters from the Moorish point of view without irony, sarcasm or contempt—so successfully, indeed, that it was long held that certain of these ballads were translated from Arabic originals.

On the *fronterizo* ballads in general, see: *Tratado* II, 167-269; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 301-16, and II, 6-12; D. Bodmer, *Die granadinischen Romanzen in der europäischen Literatur*, Zurich, 1955 (on the fame of the ballads in Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada*); M. Alvar, *Granada y el Romancero*, Granada, 1956; L. Seco de Lucena Paredes, *Investigaciones sobre el Romancero*, Granada, 1958; and G. Cirot, 'La maurophilie

littéraire en Espagne au XVIe siècle', *Bulletin Hispanique*, XLII (1940), 213-27, and XLIII (1941), 265-89.

27

- Cercada tiene a Baeza
 ese arráez Abdalla Mir,
 con ochenta mil peones,
 caballeros cinco mil.
- 5 Con él va ese traidor
 el traidor de Pedro Gil.
 Por la puerta de Bedmar
 la empieza de combatir;
 ponen escalas al muro,
 comiéndanle a conquistar;
 10 ganada tiene una torre,
 no le pueden resistir,
 cuando de la de Calonge
 escuderos vi salir:
- 15 Ruy Fernández va delante,
 aquese caudillo ardid,
 arremete con Abdalla
 comienza de le ferir,
 cortado le ha la cabeza,
 20 los demás dan a fuir.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 18 of Menéndez y Pelayo's *Apéndice I*, from G. Argote de Molina's *Nobleza de Andalucía* (1588).

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 169-74; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 309, and II, 5.

NOTES: Baeza was besieged in 1368 by the King of Granada, Mahomet V (called Abdalla Mir, or Emir, in the ballad), in alliance with the forces of King Peter the Cruel (here called Pedro Gil, a contemptuous nickname with connotations of bastardy given him by his enemies). The town was defended by Ruy Fernández de Fuenmayor on behalf of the Pretender, soon to be King Henry II of Trastámara.

- 'Moricos, los mis moricos,
 los que ganáis mi soldada,
 derribédesme a Baeza
 esa villa torreada,
 5 y a los viejos y a los niños
 los traed en cabalgada,
 y a los mozos y varones
 los meted todos a espada,
 y a ese viejo Pero Díaz
 10 prendédmelo por la barba,
 y aquesa linda Leonor
 será la mi enamorada.
 Id vos, capitán Vanegas,
 porque venga más honrada,
 15 que si vos sois mandadero
 será cierta la jornada.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 71, from G. Argote de Molina's *Nobleza de Andalucía* (1588).

REFERENCES: *Tratado* I, 174-6; *Rom. Hisp.* II, 9.

NOTES: The Granadan King who, unannounced, orders the attack on Baeza is Mahomet VII, during his campaign against the Christian frontier towns of August 1407. Baeza was defended—successfully—by Pedro Díaz de Quesada. This ballad is ancient but cannot be strictly contemporary, at least in the form in which we have it, since *Capitán Vanegas*—captured at the age of eight in the Christian town of Luque, and brought up as a Moslem—was not fighting with the Moors until several decades later. The threats of the King against Pero Díaz and his daughter are clearly taken from a *Cid* ballad, No. 21.

'Reduán, bien se te acuerda
 que me diste la palabra

- que me darías a Jaén
en una noche ganada.
- 5 Reduán, si tú lo cumples
daréte paga doblada,
y si tú no lo cumplieres
desterrarte he de Granada;
echarte he en una frontera
- 10 do no goces de tu dama.’
Reduán le respondía
sin demudarse la cara:
‘Si lo dije no me acuerdo,
más cumpliré mi palabra.’
- 15 Reduán pide mil hombres,
el rey cinco mil le daba.
Por esa puerta de Elvira
sale muy gran cabalgada:
¡Cuánto del hidalgo moro!
- 20 ¡Cuánta de la yegua baya!
¡Cuánta de la lanza en puño!
¡Cuánta de la adarga blanca!
¡Cuánta de marlota verde!
¡Cuánta aljuba de escarlata!
- 25 ¡Cuánta pluma y gentileza!
¡Cuánto capellar de grana!
¡Cuánto bayo borceguí!
¡Cuánto lazo que le esmalta!
¡Cuánta de la espuela de oro!
- 30 ¡Cuánta estribera de plata!
Toda es gente valerosa
y experta para batalla.
En medio de todos ellos
va el Rey Chico de Granada.
- 35 Míranlo las damas moras
de las torres del Alhambra.
La reina mora, su madre,
de esta manera le habla:

'Alá te guarde, mi hijo,
 40 Mahoma vaya en tu guarda,
 y te vuelva de Jaén
 libre, sano y con ventaja,
 y te dé paz con tu tío
 señor de Guadix y Baza.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 72, From G. Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* (2a parte, 1601).

TRANSLATION: Lockhart No. 29, 'The Vow of the Moor Reduan'.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 176-7; *Rom. Hisp.* II, 9-10 and 34-5.

NOTES: The attack on Jaén was made in October 1407, on the orders of King Mahomet VII of Granada; Reduán was one of his leading commanders, and he was to perish in the fighting. Only the first part of the ballad can be of early 15th-century date; the second part, with its anachronistic mention of the *Rey Chico* (Boabdil, last king of Granada) may have originated in a description of the departure of Moorish army on an expedition against Lucena, in 1483, the two sections being married together by Pérez de Hita.

30

De Antequera partió el moro
 tres horas antes del día,
 con cartas en la su mano
 en que socorro pedía;
 5 escritas iban con sangre
 mas no por falta de tinta.
 El moro que las llevaba
 ciento y veinte años había;
 la barba tenía blanca,
 10 la calva le relucía;
 toca llevaba tocada,
 muy grande precio valía;

- la mora que la labrara
por su amiga la tenía;
15 alhaleme en su cabeza
con borlas de seda fina;
caballero en una yegua
que caballo no quería.
Solo con un pajecico
20 que le tenga compañía,
no por falta de escuderos
que en su casa hartos había.
Siete celadas le ponen
de mucha caballería,
25 mas la yegua era ligera,
de entre todas se salía;
por los campos de Archidona
a grandes voces decía:
'¡Oh buen rey, si tú supieses
30 mi triste mensajería
mesarías tus cabellos
y la tu barba vellida!'
El rey, que venir lo vido,
a recibirlo salía
35 con trescientos de caballo
la flor de la morería:
'Bien seas venido, el moro,
buena sea tu venida.'
'Alá te mantenga, el rey,
40 con toda tu compañía.'
'Dime, ¿qué nuevas me traes
de Antequera, esa mi villa?'
'Yo te las diré, buen rey,
si tú otorgas la vida.'
45 'La vida te es otorgada
si traición en ti no había.'
'¡Nunca Alá lo permitiese
hacer tan gran villanía!

Mas sepa tu real Alteza
50 lo que ya saber debería,
que esa villa de Antequera
en grande aprieto se vía,
que el infante don Fernando
cercada te la tenía;
55 fuertemente la combate
sin cesar noche ni día.
Manjar que tus moros comen
cueros de vaca cocida;
buen rey, si no la socorres
60 muy presto se perdería.'

El rey, cuando esto oyera,
de pesar se amortecía;
haciendo gran sentimiento
muchas lágrimas vertía;
65 rasgaba sus vestiduras
con gran dolor que tenía,
ninguno le consolaba
porque no lo permitía;
mas después, en sí tornando,
70 a grandes voces decía:
'Tóquense mis añafles,
trompetas de plata fina;
júntense mis caballeros
cuantos en mi reino había;
75 vayan con mis dos hermanos
a Archidona, esa mi villa,
en socorro de Antequera,
llave de mi señoría.'

Y así con este mandado
80 se juntó gran morería:
ochenta mil peones fueron
el socorro que venía,
con cinco mil de caballo,
los mejores que tenía.

- 85 Así en la Boca del Asna
 este real sentado había
 a vista dél del infante
 el cual ya se apercibía,
 confiando en la gran victoria
- 90 que de ellos Dios le daría,
 sus gentes bien ordenadas.
 De San Juan era aquel día
 cuando se dio la batalla
 de los nuestros tan herida,
- 95 que por ciento y veinte muertos
 quince mil moròs había.
 Después de aquesta batalla
 fue la villa combatida
 con lombardas y pertrechos
- 100 y con una gran bastida,
 con que le ganan las torres
 de donde era defendida.
 Después dieron el castillo
 los moros a pleitesía,
- 105 que libres con sus haciendas
 el infante les pondría
 en la villa de Archidona,
 lo cual todo se cumplía:
 y así se ganó Antequera
- 110 a loor de Santa María.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 74, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 179–82; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 307, and II, 7.

NOTES: The conquest of Antequera, an ancient town of great strategic importance, by the Regent don Fernando (*de Antequera*) in 1410, was the outstanding event of its time. The siege lasted five months; the relieving army was defeated with immense slaughter on 16th May, and on 28th September the city surrendered to the Christians. According to Menéndez Pidal, the

first 74 lines are of early 15th-century date, but the final portion, with its relative clauses and unhappy syntax, is a late addition made from the *Crónica de don Juan II*.

31

- La mañana de San Juan
 al tiempo que alboreaba,
 gran fiesta hacen los moros
 por la Vega de Granada.
- 5 Revolviendo sus caballos
 y jugando de las lanzas,
 ricos pendones en ellas
 broslados por sus amadas,
 ricas marlotas vestidas
- 10 tejidas de oro y grana.
 El moro que amores tiene
 señales de ello mostraba,
 y el que no tenía amores
 allí no escaramuzaba.
- 15 Las damas moras los miran
 de las torres del Alhambra;
 también se los mira el rey
 de dentro de la Alcazaba.
- Dando voces vino un moro
 20 con la cara ensangrentada:
 'Con tu licencia, el rey,
 te diré una nueva mala:
 el infante don Fernando
 tiene a Antequera ganada;
- 25 muchos moros deja muertos,
 yo soy quien mejor librara;
 siete lanzadas yo traigo,
 el cuerpo todo me pasan;
 los que conmigo escaparon
- 30 en Archidona quedaban.'

- Con la tal nueva el rey
 la cara se le demudaba;
 manda juntar sus trompetas
 que toquen todas al arma;
 35 manda juntar a los suyos,
 hace muy gran cabalgada,
 y a las puertas de Alcalá
 que la Real se llamaba,
 los cristianos y los moros
 40 una escaramuza traban.
 Los cristianos eran muchos,
 mas llevaban orden mala;
 los moros, que son de guerra,
 dádoles han mala carga;
 45 de ellos matan, de ellos prenden,
 de ellos toman en celada.
 Con la victoria los moros
 van la vuelta de Granada;
 a grandes voces decían:
 50 '¡La victoria ya es cobrada!'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 75, from *Silva de varios romances* of 1550.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 182; *Rom. Hisp.* II, 10, and 35-6.

NOTES: Menéndez Pidal points out that the first part of this ballad is much later than the second, since it derives from a poem about Jarifa and Abindarráez and is in manner more in accord with the sentimental *morisco* ballads of the late 16th century. Although it is certain that the Moslems celebrated the festivity of Midsummer (Christianized as St John's day) despite the prohibition of their religious leaders, Antequera in fact fell in late September: the ballads very properly take no account of such things in their instinct for evocative first lines. Alcalá la Real (*Real*, because captured by Alfonso XI in person in 1340) was a Christian outpost some 40 km north-west of Granada.

- Caballeros de Moclín,
 peones de Colomera,
 entrado habían en acuerdo
 en su consejada negra
 5 a los campos de Alcalá
 donde irían a hacer presa.
 Allá la van a hacer
 a esos molinos de Huelma.
 Derrocaban los molinos,
 10 derramaban la cibera,
 prendían los molineros
 cuantos hay en la ribera.
 Ahí hablara un viejo
 que era más discreto en guerra:
 15 'Para tanto caballero
 chica cabalgada es ésta;
 soltemos un prisionero
 que a Alcalá lleve la nueva;
 démosle tales heridas
 20 que en llegando luego muera;
 cortémosle el brazo derecho
 porque no nos haga guerra.'
 Por soltar un molinero
 un mancebo se les sale,
 25 que era nacido y criado
 en Jerez de la Frontera,
 que corre más que un gamo
 y salta más que una cierva.
 Por los campos de Alcalá
 30 diciendo va: '¡Afuera, afuera!
 caballeros de Alcalá
 no os alabaréis de aquésta,
 que por una que hicistes
 y tan cara como cuesta,

- 35 que los moros de Moclín
 corrido vos han la ribera,
 robado vos han el campo
 y llevado vos han la presa.’
 Oídolo ha don Pedro
- 40 por su desventura negra:
 cabalgara en su caballo
 que le decían Bocanegra;
 al salir de la ciudad
 encontró con Sayavedra:
- 45 ‘No vayades allá, hijo,
 si mi maldición os venga;
 que si hoy fuere la suya
 mañana será la vuestra.’

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 77, from *Canc. de Rom.* of 1550.

NOTES: The ballad very typically stops short of the factual *dénouement* which the modern reader perhaps expects: that Don Pedro Fernández de Córdoba, of the *desventura negra*, did not heed the warning of his father Don Diego Fernández, spoken in the last four lines, but led his men out of Alcalá and fell into the Moorish trap, and was killed. The incident took place in June 1424, according to Le Strange.

33

- ‘¡Abenámar, Abenámar,
 moro de la morería,
 el día que tú naciste
 grandes señales había!
- 5 Estaba la mar en calma,
 la luna estaba crecida;
 moro que en tal signo nace
 no debe decir mentira.’
 Allí respondiera el moro
- 10 bien oiréis lo que decía:

- 'Yo te la diré, señor,
 aunque me cueste la vida,
 porque soy hijo de un moro
 y una cristiana cautiva;
 15 siendo yo niño y muchacho
 mi madre me lo decía,
 que mentira no dijese,
 que era grande villanía:
 por tanto pregunta, rey,
 20 que la verdad te diría.'
 'Yo te agradezco, Abenámar,
 aquesa tu cortesía.
 ¿Qué castillos son aquéllos?
 ¡Altos son y relucían!'
- 25 'El Alhambra era, señor,
 y la otra la mezquita;
 los otros los Alixares
 labrados a maravilla;
 el moro que los labraba
 30 cien doblas ganaba al día,
 y el día que no los labra
 otras tantas se perdía.
 El otro el Generalife,
 huerta que par no tenía;
 35 el otro Torres Bermejas,
 castillo de gran valía.'
- Allí habló el rey don Juan,
 bien oiréis lo que decía:
 'Si tú quisieses, Granada,
 40 contigo me casaría:
 daréte en arras y dote
 a Córdoba y a Sevilla.'
- 'Casada soy, rey don Juan,
 casada soy, que no viuda;
 45 el moro que a mí me tiene
 muy grande bien me quería.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 78a, from G. Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* (2a parte, 1601).

TRANSLATIONS: Gibson p. 337; by Southey, published in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXIV (1919), 333-4; and in French, by Chateaubriand, 'Le Roi don Jean' in *Le Dernier Abencérage*.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 186-92; E. Buceta, 'Un dato sobre la historicidad del romance de *Abenámár*', *Revista de Filología Española*, VI (1919), 57-9; L. Spitzer, 'El romance de *Abenámár*', *Asomante* (Puerto Rico), I (1945), 7-29, reprinted in *Sobre antigua poesía española*, Buenos Aires, 1962, 61-84.

NOTES: In this famous ballad King John II of Castile questions Abenámár (Yusuf Ibn-Alahmar), pretender to the throne of Granada and supported by the Christians, about the buildings of the city which they can see from a hill outside it. It was on 27th June 1431 that the Christian army came within sight of the city; it later fought and won the battle of La Higuera, which was poetically evoked by Juan de Mena in his *Laberinto de Fortuna* of 1444 (stanzas 148-51). Abenámár ruled briefly in Granada in 1431-2 as a vassal of King John. Pérez de Hita's version of the text is better than others printed earlier in the 16th century, which continue the story rather prosaically after the reply of 'Granada'. This personification, and the pleasant fiction of the city being the 'bride' of her ruler, are borrowed from Arabic poetry and for long led scholars to assume that the ballad was translated from an Arabic original or was by a *moro latinado*, but Menéndez Pidal and Spitzer assure us that this hypothesis is quite unnecessary.

34

Álora, la bien cercada,
tú que estás en par del río,
cercóte el adelantado
una mañana en domingo,
5 de peones y hombres de armas

el campo bien guarnecido,
con la gran artillería
hecho te había un portillo.
Viérades moros y moras
10 todos huir al castillo;
las moras llevaban ropa,
los moros harina y trigo,
y las moras de quince años
llevaban el oro fino,
15 y los moricos pequeños
llevaban la pasa e higo.
Por cima de la muralla
su pendón llevan tendido.
Entre almena y almena
20 quedado se había un morico
con una ballesta armada
y en ella puesta un cuadrillo.
En altas voces decía
que la gente lo había oído:
25 '¡Treguas, treguas, adelantado,
por tuyo se da el castillo!'
Alza la visera arriba
por ver el que tal le dijo;
asestárale a la frente,
30 salido le ha al colodrillo.
Sacólo Pablo de rienda,
y de mano Jacobillo,
estos dos que había criado
en su casa desde chicos;
35 lleváronle a los maestros
por ver si será guarido:
a las primeras palabras
el testamento les dijo.

TEXT: *Prim. No. 79*, from a *pliego suelto* of the 16th century.

REFERENCE: *Tratado II*, 193-4.

NOTES: Álora, on the Guadalhorce north-west of Málaga, was besieged by the *adelantado* don Diego de Ribera in May of 1434. As already noted, Mena knew of this or similar poems when writing his *Laberinto* (1444; see stanza 190).

35

Día era de San Antón,
 ese santo señalado,
 cuando salen de Jaén
 cuatrocientos hijosdalgo;
 5 y de Úbeda y Baeza
 se salían otros tantos,
 mozos deseosos de honra
 y los más enamorados.
 En brazos de sus amigos
 10 van todos juramentados
 de no volver a Jaén
 sin dar moro en aguinaldo.
 La seña que ellos llevaban
 es pendón rabo de gallo;
 15 por capitán se lo llevan
 al obispo don Gonzalo,
 armado de todas armas
 en un caballo alazano;
 todos se visten de verde,
 20 el obispo azul y blanco.
 Al castillo de la Guardia
 el obispo había llegado;
 sáleselo a recibir
 Mexía, el noble hidalgo:
 25 'Por Dios te ruego, el obispo,
 que no pases el vado,
 porque los moros son muchos,
 a la Guardia habían llegado;
 muerto me han tres caballeros,

- 30 de que mucho me ha pesado;
el uno era tío mío,
el otro mi primo hermano,
y el otro es un pajecico
de los míos máspreciado.'
- 35 'Demos la vuelta, señores,
demos la vuelta a enterrarlos,
haremos a Dios servicio,
honraremos los cristianos.'
- Ellos estando en aquesto
- 40 llegó don Diego de Haro:
'Adelante, caballeros,
que me llevan el ganado;
si de algún villano fuera
ya lo hubiérades quitado;
- 45 empero alguno está aquí
que le place de mi daño;
no cumple decir quién es,
que es el del roquete blanco.'
- El obispo, que lo oyera,
- 50 dio de espuelas al caballo;
el caballo era ligero,
saltado había un vallado;
mas al salir de una cuesta
a la asomada de un llano,
- 55 vido mucha adarga blanca,
mucho albornoz colorado,
y muchos hierros de lanzas
que relucían en el campo;
metídose había por ellos
- 60 como león denodado;
de tres batallas de moros
la una ha desbaratado,
mediante la buena ayuda
que en los suyos ha hallado;
- 65 aunque algunos de ellos mueren

eterna fama han ganado.
 Los moros son infinitos,
 al obispo habían cercado;
 cansado de pelear
 70 lo derriban del caballo,
 y los moros victoriosos
 a su rey lo han presentado.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 82, from G. Argote de Molina's *Nobleza de Andalucía* (1588).

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 204-9; Menéndez Pidal, 'Un día de San Antón', *Revista de Filología Española*, II (1915), 112-36; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 315.

NOTES: The Bishop of Jaén who set off on this sporting raid on St Anthony's day (17th January) in about the year 1435 was the famous don Gonzalo de Zúñiga. A 17th-century historian recorded a snatch of popular song about him to the effect that *suele decir misa armado*, and he is of the line of fighting bishops that included don Jerome of Valencia (*Poema de mio Cid*) and Turpin of Rheims (*Chanson de Roland*, etc.). The raid was, as a matter of history, successful, and the dramatic ending of the ballad with its tale of the bishop's capture is the result of contamination with another text. Legend is firm, however, in believing that the bishop was not only captured, but that he refused to be ransomed and died a captive in Granada.

36

'Dadme nuevas, caballeros,
 nuevas me querades dar
 de aquese conde de Niebla
 don Enrique de Guzmán,
 5 que hace guerra a los moros
 y ha cercado a Gibraltar.
 Veo hoy lutos en mi corte,
 ayer vi fiestas muy grandes:

- o el príncipe es fallecido
10 o alguno de mi sangre,
o don Alvaro de Luna
el maestro y condestable.’
- ‘No es muerto, señora, el príncipe,
mas ha fallecido un grande,
15 que veredes a los moros
cuán poco vos temerán,
que a este solo temían
y no osaban saltar;
es el buen conde de Niebla
20 que se ha anegado en la mar,
por acorrer a los suyos
nunca se quiso salvar;
en un batel donde venía
le hicieron trastornar,
25 socorriendo un caballero
que se le iba a anegar;
la mar andaba tan alta
que no se pudo escapar,
teniendo casi ganada
30 la fuerza de Gibraltar.
Llóranle todas las damas,
galanes otro que tal,
llórale gente de guerra
por ser tan buen capitán,
35 llóranle duques y condes
porque a todos sabía honrar.’
- ‘¡Oh qué nuevas me traedes,
caballeros, de pesar!
Vístanse todos de jerga,
40 no se hagan fiestas más,
vaya luego un mensajero,
venga su hijo don Juan;
confirmarle he lo del padre,
más le quiero acrecentar,

- 45 y de Medina Sidonia
 duque le hago de hoy más,
 que a hijo de tan buen padre
 poco galardón se da.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 80, from *Silva de varios romances* of 1550.

REFERENCE: *Tratado* II, 195-6.

NOTES: The Conde de Niebla's ill-fated expedition against Gibraltar took place in May 1436; it seems that tragedy resulted from the simple failure to reckon with the height of the tides. The incident is splendidly told by Juan de Mena in his *Laberinto* (stanzas 160-86). According to Menéndez y Pelayo this ballad is not contemporary with the event since it contains reminiscences of a lament for the death of Prince Alonso in 1491.

37

- Jugando estaba el rey moro
 y aun al ajedrez un día,
 con aquese buen Fajardo
 con amor que le tenía.
- 5 Fajardo jugaba a Lorca
 y el rey moro a Almería;
 jaque le dio con el roque,
 el alférez le prendía.
- A grandes voces dice el moro:
- 10 '¡La villa de Lorca es mía!
 Allí hablara Fajardo,
 bien oiréis lo que decía:
 'Calles, calles, señor rey,
 no tomes la tal porfía;
- 15 que aunque me la ganases
 ella no se te daría;
 caballeros tengo dentro
 que te la defenderían.'
 Allí hablara el rey moro,

- 20 bien oiréis lo que decía:
 'No juguemos más, Fajardo,
 ni tengamos más porfía,
 que sois tan buen caballero
 que todo el mundo os temía.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 83, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 201-4; E. Buceta, 'Anotaciones sobre la identificación del Fajardo en el romance . . .', *Revista de Filología Española*, XVIII (1931), 24-33.

NOTES: This ballad is obviously pure fiction, but even fiction has its *raison d'être*: in this case in the friendship between the *adelantado* don Pedro Fajardo and the last kings of Granada. The story of the game of chess may derive from an anecdote of the Arab historians about a match played between Alfonso VI and Al-Motamid of Seville in the late 11th century, according to Menéndez y Pelayo; in this Alfonso lost with a better grace than Fajardo.

38

- 'Moro alcaide, moro alcaide,
 el de la vellida barba,
 el rey te manda prender
 por la pérdida de Alhama,
 5 y cortarte la cabeza
 y ponerla en el Alhambra
 porque a ti sea castigo
 y otros tiemblen en mirarla,
 pues perdiste la tenencia
 10 de una ciudad tan preciada.'
 El alcaide respondía,
 de ésta manera les habla:
 'Caballeros y hombres buenos,
 los que regís a Granada,

- 15 decid de mi parte al rey
como no le debo nada;
yo me estaba en Antequera,
en bodas de una mi hermana:
;mal fuego queme las bodas
y quien a ellas me llamara!
20 El rey me dio su licencia,
que yo no me la tomara;
pedíla por quince días,
diómela por tres semanas.
- 25 De haberse Alhama perdido
a mi me pesa en el alma,
que si el rey perdió su tierra
yo perdí mi honra y fama;
perdí hijos y mujer,
30 las cosas que más amaba;
perdí una hija doncella
que era la flor de Granada.
El que la tiene cautiva
marqués de Cádiz se llama:
35 cien doblas le doy por ella,
no me las estima en nada;
la respuesta que me han dado
es que mi hija es cristiana,
y por nombre le habían puesto
40 doña María de Alhama;
el nombre que ella tenía
mora Fátima se llama.’
- Diciendo esto el alcaide
le llevaron a Granada,
45 y siendo puesto ante el rey
la sentencia le fue dada:
que le corten la cabeza
y la lleven al Alhambra.
Ejecutóse justicia
50 así como el rey lo manda.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 84a, from G. Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* (2a parte, 1601).

REFERENCE: *Tratado* II, 211-12.

NOTES: An earlier version of this ballad, only 16 lines long, was printed in 1550; but against the usual rule, there seems good reason in this case to prefer Pérez de Hita's fuller text. He calls it a *sentido y antiguo romance*, and indeed he seems to have printed it without adding exotic or sentimental notes as he often did. This ballad includes the logical *dénouement* of the story, unlike many of our texts; but in its plainness it conveys all the pathos of war. Alhama was stormed in a night attack on 28th February 1482, by the troops of don Rodrigo Ponce de León, Marquis of Cádiz. The town lies only 45 km from Granada, to the south-west.

39

- Paseábase el rey moro
por la ciudad de Granada,
desde la puerta de Elvira
hasta la de Vivarambla.
- 5 (¡Ay de mi Alhama!)
Cartas le fueron venidas
que Alhama era ganada;
las cartas echó en el fuego
y al mensajero matara.
- 10 (¡Ay de mi Alhama!)
Descabalga de una mula
y en un caballo cabalga;
por el Zacatín arriba
subido se había al Alhambra.
- 15 (¡Ay de mi Alhama!)
Como en el Alhambra estuvo
al mismo punto mandaba
que se toquen sus trompetas,
sus añafles de plata.

- 20 (¡Ay de mi Alhama!)
Y que las cajas de guerra
aprisa toquen al arma,
porque lo oigan sus moros
los de la Vega y Granada.
- 25 (¡Ay de mi Alhama!)
Los moros que el son oyeron
que al sangriento Marte llama,
uno a uno y dos a dos
juntado se ha gran batalla.
- 30 (¡Ay de mi Alhama!)
Allí habló un moro viejo
de esta manera hablara:
'¿Para qué nos llamas, rey,
para qué es esta llamada?'
- 35 (¡Ay de mi Alhama!)
'Habéis de saber, amigos,
una nueva desdichada:
que cristianos de braveza
ya nos han ganado Alhama.'
- 40 (¡Ay de mi Alhama!)
Allí habló un alfaquí
de barba crecida y cana:
'¡Bien se te emplea, buen rey,
buen rey, bien se te empleara!
- 45 (¡Ay de mi Alhama!)
Mataste los Bencerrajes
que eran la flor de Granada,
cogiste los tornadizos
de Córdoba la nombrada.
- 50 (¡Ay de mi Alhama!)
Por eso mereces, rey,
una pena muy doblada:
que te pierdas tú y el reino
y aquí se pierda Granada.'
- 55 (¡Ay de mi Alhama!)

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 85a, from G. Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada* (2a parte, 1601).

TRANSLATIONS: Gibson p. 340; and by Byron, 'The Moorish king rides up and down' (1818), which is a neat and spirited version marred by one or two disastrous lines. (It includes the previous ballad, No. 38, as a second part.)

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 209-11; *Rom. Hisp.* II, 33-4, 85 and 132.

NOTES: With its exceptional tragic refrain (not the invention of Pérez de Hita, but recorded in song-books in 1538 and 1552, etc.) this ballad is more lyrical than narrative. It was a favourite with Golden Age musicians and poets, and a much-altered modern oral version was picked up in Seville in 1916. Pérez de Hita's claim that the ballad had an Arabic original was accepted by some recent scholars, but is denied by Menéndez Pidal; this does not rule out the existence of other Arabic laments for the loss of Alhama. Other versions without the refrain were printed in the mid-16th century. The aged *alfaquí* who prophesies the fall of Granada as a punishment for the king's injustice refers to the massacre, some years before, of the Abencerraje tribe (suspected of treachery), and the acceptance in the royal favour of the Cordobese *tornadizos* or renegades of Christian origin, known by the tribal name of the Cegríes. The story of the struggle between these two groups forms a large part of Pérez de Hita's *Guerras civiles de Granada*.

40

Sobre Baza estaba el rey,
 lunes, después de yantar;
 miraba las ricas tiendas
 que estaban en su real;
 5 miraba las huertas grandes
 y miraba el arrabal,
 miraba el adarve fuerte
 que tenía la ciudad,
 miraba las torres espesas

- 10 que no las puede contar.
 Un moro tras una almena
 comenzóle de hablar:
 'Vete, el rey don Fernando,
 no querrás aquí invernar,
 15 que los fríos desta tierra
 no los podrás comportar;
 pan tenemos por diez años,
 mil vacas para salar;
 veinte mil moros hay dentro,
 20 todos de armas tomar,
 ochocientos dé caballo
 para el escaramuzar;
 siete caudillos tenemos
 tan buenos como Roldán,
 25 y juramento tienen hecho
 antes morir que se dar.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 23 of Menéndez y Pelayo's *Apéndice I*, from Barbieri, *Cancionero musical de los siglos XV y XVI*.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 213-14; *Rom. Hisp.* II, 21-32.

NOTES: Menéndez Pidal says that this ballad was actually composed in its tense, truncated form, probably by one of the court musicians, and that it was sung at the festivities which greeted Queen Isabel when she arrived at the Christian camp outside Baza on 5th November 1489. The anonymous poet succeeds brilliantly in seeing matters from the Moorish point of view. However difficult the siege may have seemed at this time, the Christians were able to force the surrender of the town a few weeks later, on 4th December.

II

CAROLINGIAN BALLADS

It is one of the striking facts of literary history that Spanish poets were able to put to such good and abundant use the Carolingian material which had originated in France but which was, by the 15th century, no longer esteemed there. In a similar way but on a much larger scale, the Arthurian material of Britain caught the imagination of writers all over Europe, particularly in France. The two worlds—of Arthur and Charlemagne—were indeed not so very dissimilar by the end of the Middle Ages, and the vogue for the Carolingian ballads in Spain in the 15th and 16th centuries was accompanied by the vogue for the tales of Amadís and his tribe in prose. Furthermore, the two worlds at times became one in the impressionable brain of Don Quixote.

This is not the place to discuss the way in which the Carolingian material evolved in France, since this would be to enter the debate which has raged about the origins of French epic. The legends appear as highly developed *chansons de geste* in the 12th and 13th centuries; of these the great *Chanson de Roland* was, and is, the best known. Various of these epics were known in Spain, either in their original language among the colonies of French settlers established in many Spanish towns, or in Spanish verse translations such as the *Roncesvalles* of which a 100-line fragment survives. From these epics, as from the Spanish ones, fragments were removed and developed as ballads of the brief and sometimes truncated kind (Nos. 41-9). The other ballads (Nos. 50-4) are of the kind called *juglarescos*; they have no epic origin, but are new creations of the 15th-century minstrels, more romantic and extravagant in theme and more purely narrative in style. The status of

many of the Carolingian ballads is, however, still a matter of debate among scholars; very different views are expressed by Milá, Menéndez y Pelayo, Entwistle, Horrent and Menéndez Pidal.

On the Carolingian ballads, see *Tratado* II, 320–45; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 244–300.

41

- Ya comienzan los franceses
 con los moros pelear,
 y los moros eran tantos
 no los dejan resollar.
- 5 Allí habló Baldovinos,
 bien oiréis lo que dirá:
 'Ay compadre don Beltrán
 mal nos va en esta batalla,
 más de sed que no de hambre,
- 10 a Dios quiero yo dar el alma;
 cansado traigo el caballo,
 más, el brazo de la espada;
 roguemos a don Roldán
 que una vez el cuerno taña,
- 15 oírlo ha el emperador
 que está en los puertos de España,
 que más vale un socorro
 que toda nuestra sonada.'
- Oídolo ha don Roldán
- 20 en las batallas do estaba:
 'No me lo roguéis, mis primos,
 que ya rogado me estaba,
 mas rogado a don Reinaldos
 que a mí no me lo retraiga,
- 25 ni me lo retraiga en villa
 ni me lo retraiga en Francia
 ni en cortes del emperador

- estando comiendo a la tabla,
 que más querría ser muerto
 30 que sufrir tal sobarbada.'
- Oídolo ha don Reinaldos
 que en las batallas andaba;
 comenzara a decir,
 estas palabras hablaba:
 35 '¡Oh mal hubiesen franceses
 de Francia, la natural,
 que a tan pocos moros como éstos
 el cuerno mandan tocar,
 que si me toman los corajes
 40 que me solían tomar,
 por estos y otros tantos
 no me daré solo un pan!'
- Ya le toman los corajes
 que le solían tomar;
 45 así se entra por los moros
 como segador por pan,
 así derriba cabezas
 como peras de un peral;
 por Roncesvalles arriba
 50 los moros huyendo van.
 Allí salió un perro moro
 que mala hora lo parió su madre:
 '¡Alcarria, moros, alcarria,
 si mala rabia vos mate!
 55 que sois ciento para uno
 irles huyendo delante;
 ¡Oh mal haya el rey Marsín
 que soldada os manda dar;
 mal haya la reina mora
 60 que vos la manda pagar;
 mal hayáis vosotros, moros,
 que la venís a ganar!'

De que esto oyeron los moros

- aun ellos volvido se han,
65 y vueltas y revueltas
los franceses huyendo van.
Atán bien se los esfuerza
ese arzobispo Turpín:
‘¡Vuelta, vuelta, los franceses,
70 con corazón a la lid;
más vale morir con honra
que con deshonra vivir!’
Ya volvían los franceses
con corazón a la lid;
75 tantos matan de los moros
que no se puede decir;
por Roncesvalles arriba
huyendo va el rey Marsín,
caballero en una cebra
80 no por mengua de rocín;
la sangre que dél salía
las yerbas hace teñir,
las voces que él iba dando
al cielo quieren subir:
85 ‘Reniego de ti, Mahoma,
y aun de cuanto hice en ti;
hícete el cuerpo de plata,
pies y manos de marfil,
y por más te honrar, Mahoma,
90 la cabeza de oro te hiz.
Sesenta mil caballeros
ofrecílos yo a ti,
mi mujer Abrayma mora
ofrecióte treinta mil,
95 mi hija Matalena
ofrecióte quince mil;
de todos éstos, Mahoma,
tan sólo me veo aquí,
y aun mi brazo derecho

- 100 Mahoma, no lo traigo aquí,
cortómelo el encantado
ese Roldán paladín,
que si encantado no fuera
no se me fuera él así;
- 105 mas yo me iré para Roma
que cristiano quiero morir,
ése será mi padrino
ese Roldán paladín,
ése me bautizará
- 110 ese arzobispo Turpín;
mas perdóname, 'Mahoma,
que con cuita te lo dije;
que ir no quiero a Roma,
curar quiero yo de mí.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 50 of Menéndez y Pelayo's *Apéndice I*, from a *pliego suelto* of the 16th century.

REFERENCES: On this and the next ballad see *Tratado II*, 364-8; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 246-8; J. Horrent, *La Chanson de Roland dans les littératures française et espagnole au moyen âge*, Paris, 1951, 504-8.

NOTES: Scholars are agreed that this ballad represents a section of the *Roncesvalles* epic, which was a translation of some late (and now lost) version of the *Chanson de Roland*. The ballad abbreviates the epic text considerably, but is faithful to it in a number of details. Marsín is the *Marsilie* of the French poem, Moslem king of Saragossa. Don Reinaldos (de Montalván) is not present in the French tradition, but already figured in the Spanish *Roncesvalles* (early 13th century). The false idea that the Moslems worshipped images of Mahomet is present in the French traditions and so powerfully that the Spaniards—who knew their Moslems better—did not venture to remove it. The battle of Roncesvaux (which was a fact, whatever the status of the legends and literature about it) was fought on 15th August 778.

- Domingo era de Ramos
 la Pasión quieren decir,
 cuando moros y cristianos
 todos entran en la lid.
- 5 Ya desmayan los franceses,
 ya comienzan de huir.
 ¡Oh cuán bien los esforzaba
 ese Roldán paladín!
- 10 ¡Vuelta, vuelta, los franceses
 con corazón, a la lid!
 ¡Más vale morir por buenos
 que deshonorados vivir!
 Ya volvían los franceses
 con corazón a la lid;
- 15 a los encuentros primeros
 mataron sesenta mil.
 Por las sierras de Altamira
 huyendo va el rey Marsín,
 caballero en una cebrá
- 20 no por mengua de rocín;
 la sangre que dél corría
 las yerbas hace teñir;
 las voces que iba dando
 al cielo quieren subir:
- 25 ¡Reniego de ti, Mahoma,
 y de cuanto hice en ti!
 Hícete cuerpo de plata,
 pies y manos de un marfil;
 hícete casa de Meca
- 30 donde adorasen en ti,
 y por más te honrar, Mahoma,
 cabeza de oro te fiz.
 Sesenta mil caballeros
 a ti te los ofrecí,

- 35 mi mujer la reina mora
te ofreció treinta mil.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 183, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

NOTES: This text is included in order to allow a direct comparison to be drawn between the brief, more highly evolved ballad and the fuller narration (closer to that of the epic) which No. 41 represents. Both versions are attractive, in very different ways. The short ballad seems to have preserved with a sound instinct the best lines of the longer version. The *novelización* process is apparent in the date (*Domingo de Ramos*) and the place (*sierras de Altamira*) attributed to the action.

43

- En los campos de Alventosa
mataron a don Beltrán,
nunca lo echaron menos
hasta los puertos pasar.
5 Siete veces echan suertes
quién lo volverá a buscar,
todas siete le cupieron
al buen viejo de su padre;
las tres fueron por malicia,
10 y las cuatro con maldad.
Vuelve riendas al caballo
y vuélveselo a buscar,
de noche por el camino
de día por el jaral.
15 Por la matanza va el viejo,
por la matanza adelante;
los brazos lleva cansados
de los muertos rodear;
no hallaba al que busca,
20 ni menos la su señal;
vido todos los franceses

y no vido a don Beltrán.
Maldiciendo iba el vino,
maldiciendo iba el pan
25 (el que comían los moros,
que no el de la cristiandad),
maldiciendo iba el árbol
que solo en el campo nace,
que todas las aves del cielo
30 allí se vienen a asentar,
que de rama ni de hoja
no la dejaban gozar;
maldiciendo iba el caballero
que cabalgaba sin paje;
35 si se le cae la lanza
no tiene quien se la alce,
y si se le cae la espuela
no tiene quien se la calce;
maldiciendo iba la mujer
40 que tan sólo un hijo pare:
si enemigos se lo matan
no tiene quien lo vengar.
A la entrada de un puerto
saliendo de un arenal,
45 vio en esto estar un moro
que velaba en un adarve;
hablóle en algarabía
como aquel que bien la sabe:
'Por Dios te ruego, el moro,
50 me digas una verdad:
caballero de armas blancas
si lo viste acá pasar,
y si tú lo tienes preso
a oro te lo pesarán,
55 y si tú lo tienes muerto
désmelo para enterrar,
pues que el cuerpo sin el alma

- solo un dinero no vale.’
 ‘Ese caballero, amigo,
 60 dime tú qué señas trae.’
 ‘Blancas armas son las tuyas
 y el caballo es alazán,
 y en el carrillo derecho
 él tenía una señal
 65 que siendo niño pequeño
 se la hizo un gavilán.’
 ‘Este caballero, amigo,
 muerto está en aquel pradal;
 las piernas tiene en el agua
 70 y el cuerpo en el arenal;
 siete lanzadas tenía
 desde el hombro al carcañal,
 y otras tantas su caballo
 desde la cincha al pretal.
 75 No le des culpa al caballo,
 que no se la puedes dar;
 que siete veces lo sacó
 sin herida y sin señal,
 y otras tantas lo volvió
 80 con gana de pelear.’

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 185a, from *Canc. de Rom.* of 1550.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 371-3; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 165-6; J. Horrent, *La Chanson de Roland . . .*, 508-17.

NOTES: Menéndez y Pelayo observes that no *Beltrán* figures in any of the known versions of the *Chanson de Roland*, but that this episode may have been suggested by the passage in that poem (lines 2185 *et seq.*) in which Roland, in a lull in the fighting, lifts up his dead comrades so that they may receive Archbishop Turpin's blessing. The ballad is in no way inferior to this part of the French text in its pathos. The ballad is still preserved in the oral tradition of Galicia and Portugal.

En París está doña Alda
la esposa de don Roldán,
trescientas damas con ella
para la acompañar;
5 todas visten un vestido,
todas calzan un calzar,
todas comen a una mesa,
todas comían de un pan,
si no era doña Alda
10 que era la mayoral.
Las ciento hilaban oro,
las ciento tejen cendal,
las ciento tañen instrumentos
para doña Alda holgar.
15 Al son de los instrumentos
doña Alda adormido se ha;
ensoñado había un sueño,
un sueño de gran pesar.
Recordó despavorida
20 y con un pavor muy grande,
los gritos daba tan grandes
que se oían en la ciudad.
Allí hablaron sus doncellas,
bien oiréis lo que dirán:
25 '¿Qué es aquesto, mi señora?
¿Quién es el que os hizo mal?'
'Un sueño soñé, doncellas,
que me ha dado gran pesar:
que me veía en un monte
30 en un desierto lugar;
de so los montes muy altos
un azor vide volar,
tras dél viene una aguililla
que lo ahinca muy mal.

- 35 El azor con grande cuita
metióse so mi brial;
al aguililla con grande ira
de allí lo iba a sacar:
con las uñas lo despluma,
40 con el pico lo deshace.’
Allí habló su camarera,
bien oiréis lo que dirá:
‘Aquese sueño, señora,
bien os lo entiendo soltar:
45 el azor es vuestro esposo
que viene de allén la mar;
el águila sodes vos
con la cual ha de casar,
y aquel monte es la iglesia
50 donde os han de velar.’
‘Si así es, mi camarera,
bien te lo entiendo pagar.’
Otro día de mañana
cartas de fuera le traen;
55 tintas venían de dentro,
de fuera escritas con sangre,
que su Roïdán era muerto
en la caza de Roncesvalles.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 184, from *Canc. de Rom.* of 1550.

TRANSLATIONS: Lockhart No. 41, ‘Lady Alda’s Dream’; Gibson p. 324.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 368–71; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 249–51 and 266; J. Horrent, *La Chanson de Roland . . .*, 517–21.

NOTES: The taste of the centuries and of poets and translators in many lands has surely not erred in declaring this one of the finest of the ballads. It is notable not only for its pathos but for the way in which—almost alone among the ballads—it sets out to create a scene for the visual delectation of the listener; and there is not a weak line in it. *La belle Aude*, Roland’s betrothed,

has only a small place in the earliest ('Oxford') version of the *Chanson de Roland*; Charlemagne brings her the news of Roland's death in the space of one *laisse*. In a late 12th-century version of the *Chanson* this episode is expanded to 34 *laises*, 5 of which recount a completely new episode, Aude's prophetic dream. This version or a similar one then passed into the Spanish *Roncesvalles*, from which the ballad derives. Menéndez Pidal insists on the superiority of the brief, plain ballad over the diffuse and melodramatic French epic text, and notes that the ballad is strongly represented in the modern oral tradition of the Jews of N. Africa and of the Near East.

45

- Por los caños de Carmona
 por do va el agua a Sevilla,
 por ahí iba Valdovinos
 y con él su linda amiga.
- 5 Los pies lleva por el agua
 y la mano en la loriga,
 con el temor de los moros
 no le tuviesen espía.
 Júntanse boca con boca,
 10 nadie no los impedía.
 Valdovinos con angustia
 un suspiro dado había:
 '¿Por qué suspiráis, señor,
 corazón y vida mía?
- 15 O tenéis miedo a los moros
 o en Francia tenéis amiga.'
 'No tengo miedo a los moros
 ni en Francia tengo amiga;
 mas vos, mora, y yo cristiano
 20 hacemos muy mala vida:
 comemos la carne en viernes
 lo que mi ley defendía.
 Siete años había, siete,

- que yo misa no oía;
 25 si el emperador lo sabe
 la vida me costaría.
 'Por tus amores, Valdovinos,
 cristiana me tornaría.'
 'Yo, señora, por los vuestros,
 30 moro de la morería.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 51 of Menéndez y Pelayo's *Apéndice I*, from a collection of ballads published by Juan de Ribera in 1605.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 391-3; R. Menéndez Pidal, 'La *Chanson des Saisnes* en España', *Mélanges de Linguistique et de Littérature Romanes offerts à Mario Roques*, Paris, 1950-3, I, 229-44, and *Rom. Hisp.* I, 251-3.

NOTES: It is curious to observe that in a version of this ballad printed in the *Canc. de Rom. sin año* (c. 1548), the last two lines were omitted: the Moorish girl still offers to convert, but not Valdovinos. The latter is *Baudoins* (Baldwin) in French, and the ballad derives—somewhat remotely—from the French epic *Chanson des Saisnes* (i.e., Saxons) composed in about 1200 by Jean Bodel.

46

- 'Nuño Vero, Nuño Vero,
 buen caballero probado,
 hinquedes la lanza en tierra
 y arrendedes el caballo;
 5 preguntaros he por nuevas
 de Valdovinos el franco.'
 'Aquesas nuevas, señora,
 yo vos las diré de grado:
 esta noche a medianoche
 10 entramos en cabalgada,
 y los muchos a los pocos
 lleváronnos de arrancada;
 hirieron a Valdovinos
 de una mala lanzada,
 15 la lanza tenía dentro,

- de fuera le tiembla el asta;
 o esta noche morirá
 o de buena madrugada.
 Si te pluguiese, Sebilla,
 20 fueses tú mi enamorada.'
 'Nuño Vero, Nuño Vero,
 mal caballero probado,
 yo te pregunto por nuevas,
 tú respóndesme al contrario;
 25 que aquesta noche pasada
 conmigo durmiera el franco;
 él me diera una sortija
 y yo le di un pendón labrado.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 168, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 391-3; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 251-3.

NOTES: This ballad also derives very indirectly from Bodel's *Chanson des Saisnes* (laissez 137-44); it is a model of ballad compression and a fine example of how names and situations are altered as a legend evolves. The *Chanson des Saisnes* dealt with the Emperor's campaign against the pagan Saxons on the Rhine; in it, Baudoin swam the river to join his mistress, the pagan queen Sébilie, and it was Justamont, Saracen emperor of Persia, who brought the false report of Baudoin's death. In the previous ballad (No. 45) the action has moved from the Rhine to Seville because of the suggestion of the name Sébilie, and the river has become the *caños* or aqueduct from Carmona; and in this ballad Justamont has become Nuño Vero. Menéndez Pidal postulates the existence of a lost *Cantar de Sansueña* (i.e., Saxony) as an intermediary between the French epic and the Spanish ballads.

Del Soldán de Babilonia
 de ése os quiero decir,
 que le dé Dios mala vida
 y a la postre peor fin.

- 5 Armó naves y galeras,
pasan de sesenta mil,
para ir a combatir
a Narbona la gentil.
Allá van a echar áncoras
- 10 allá al puerto de San Gil,
cautivado han al conde
al conde Benalmenique:
desciéndenlo de una torre,
cabálganlo en un rocín,
- 15 la cola le dan por riendas
por más deshonorado ir.
Cien azotes dan al conde
y otros tantos al rocín,
al rocín porque anduviese
- 20 y al conde por lo rendir.
La condesa desque lo supo
sáleselo a recibir:
'Pésame de vos, señor,
conde, de veros así,
- 25 daré yo por vos, el conde,
las doblas sesenta mil,
y si no bastaren, conde,
a Narbona la gentil.
Si esto no bastare, el conde,
- 30 a tres hijas que yo parí;
yo las pariera, buen conde,
y vos las hubistes en mí;
y si no bastare, conde,
señor, védesme aquí a mí.'
- 35 'Muchas mercedes, condesa,
por vuestro tan buen decir;
no dedes por mí, señora,
tan sólo un maravedí;
heridas tengo de muerte,
- 40 de ellas no puedo guarir;

¡adiós, adiós, la condesa,
 que ya me mandan ir de aquí!
 'Vayades con Dios, el conde,
 y con la gracia de San Gil;
 45 Dios os lo eche en suerte
 a ese Roldán paladín.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 196, from *Canc. de Rom.* of 1550.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 408-10; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 258-9.

NOTES: This ballad summarizes the action of the first part of the French epic *La Mort d'Aimeri de Narbonne*, a late 12th-century poem with a Provençal setting. In its Spanish form the count's name, Benalmenique, seems closer to the Provençal *n'Aimeric* than to French. The heroic offers of the countess are not present in the French poem; Menéndez Pidal supposes a free Spanish translation of the epic as an intermediary.

48

En Castilla está un castillo
 que se llama Rocafrida;
 al castillo llaman Roca
 y a la fonte llaman Frida.
 5 El pie tenía de oro
 y almenas de plata fina;
 entre almena y almena
 está una piedra zafira,
 tanto relumbra de noche
 10 como el sol a mediodía.
 Dentro estaba una doncella
 que llaman Rosafiorida;
 siete condes la demandan,
 tres duques de Lombardía;
 15 a todos les desdeñaba
 tanta es su lozanía.
 Enamoróse de Montesinos

- de oídas, que no de vista.
 Una noche estando así
 20 gritos da Rosaflorida;
 oyérala un camarero
 que en su cámara dormía:
 '¿Qué es aquesto, mi señora?
 ¿Qué es esto, Rosaflorida?
 25 O tenedes mal de amores
 o estáis loca sandía.'
 'Ni yo tengo mal de amores
 ni estoy loca sandía;
 mas lleváesme estas cartas
 30 a Francia la bien guarnida,
 diéseslas a Montesinos
 la cosa que yo más quería;
 dile que me venga a ver
 para la Pascua Florida;
 35 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;
 y si de mi más quisiere
 40 yo mucho más le daría:
 darle he siete castillos
 los mejores que hay en Castilla.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 179, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

TRANSLATION: Gibson p. 319.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 411-15; Pio Rajna, 'Rosaflorida', in *Mélanges offerts a Émile Picot*, Paris, 1913, II, 115-34; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 259-61.

NOTES: This enchanting ballad derives from some late version of the French epic *Aiöl* (c. 1200). The hero, *Aiöls* ('serpents') has his original name in its Spanish form *Ayuelos* in the next ballad, but in this one and in many others he is called *Montesinos* (*pues*

nació en ásperos montes, says Menéndez Pidal). An older and much less highly evolved version of the text is given in the MS *Cancionero de Londres* and is there attributed to Juan Rodríguez del Padrón (flourished c. 1430-40). It is still known orally in Catalonia and among the Jews of Morocco. In Philip II's day the legend had strong local associations with a spot near Montiel on the Guadiana (province of Ciudad Real), where were the ruins of the Rocafrida castle, a spring called the Fontefrida, and not far away the famous *Cueva de Montesinos*. The ruins of the Visigothic settlement of *Recópolis*, later *Racúpel*, in Guadalajara province, were also claimed to be those of Rosaflorida's castle. The place-names *Rocafrida*, *Fontefrida* have an archaic flavour and are possibly (like *Montiel*) of the Mozarabic dialect.

49

- Todas las gentes dormían
 (en las que Dios tiene parte),
 mas no duerme Melisenda
 la hija del emperante,
 5 que amores del conde Ayuelos
 no la dejan reposar.
 Salto diera de la cama
 como la parió su madre,
 vistiérase una alcandora
 10 no hallando su brial;
 vase para los palacios
 donde sus damas están,
 dando palmadas en ellas
 las empezó de llamar:
 15 'Si dormís, las mis doncellas,
 si dormides, recordad;
 las que sabedes de amores
 consejo me queráis dar,
 las que de amor no sabedes
 20 tengádesme poridad:

amores del conde Ayuelos
no me dejan reposar.'

Allí hablara una vieja,
vieja es de antigua edad:
25 'Agora es tiempo, señora,
de los placeres tomar,
que si esperáis a vejez
no vos querrá un rapaz.'

Desde que esto oyó Melisenda
30 no quiso más esperar,
y vase a buscar al conde
a los palacios do está.

Topara con Hernandillo
un alguacil de su padre:
35 '¿Qué es aquesto, Melisenda?
Esto ¿qué podía estar?
¡O vos tenéis mal de amores
o os queréis loca tornar!'

'Que no tengo mal de amores
40 ni tengo por quién penar,
mas cuando yo era pequeña
tuve una enfermedad;
prometí tener novenas
allá en San Juan de Letrán;
45 las dueñas iban de día,
doncellas agora van.'

Desde que esto oyera Hernando
puso fin a su hablar;
la infanta, mal enojada,
50 queriendo dél se vengar:
'Prestáesme', dijo a Hernando,
'prestáesme tu puñal,
que miedo me tengo, miedo
de los perros de la calle.'

55 Tomó el puñal por la punta,
los cabos le fue a dar;

- diérale tal puñalada
 que en el suelo muerto cae,
 y vase para el palacio
 60 ado el conde Ayuelos está.
 Las puertas halló cerradas,
 no sabe por dó entrar;
 con arte de encantamiento
 las abrió de par en par.
 65 Al estruendo el conde Ayuelos
 empezara de llamar:
 'Socorred, mis caballeros,
 socorred sin más tardar;
 creo son mis enemigos
 70 que me vienen a matar.'
 La Melisenda discreta
 le empezara de hablar:
 'No te congojes, señor,
 no quieras pavor tomar,
 75 que yo soy una morica
 venida de allende el mar.'
 Desque esto oyera el conde
 luego conocido la ha;
 fuese el conde para ella,
 80 las manos le fue a tomar,
 y a la sombra de un laurel
 de Venus es su jugar.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 198, from a *pliego suelto* of the 16th century.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 388-91; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 261.

NOTES: This sort of adventure is found in several of the French epics; from the personal names of the ballad it seems to derive ultimately from two of them, *Amis et Amile* and *Aïol*. The ballad is still strongly present in the oral tradition of the Jews of North Africa and the Balkans.

50

Estábase la condesa
en su estrado asentada,
tijericas de oro en mano
su hijo afeitando estaba;
5 palabras le está diciendo
palabras de gran pesar;
las palabras eran tales
que al niño hacen llorar:
'Dios te dé barbas en rostro
10 y te haga barragán;
déte Dios ventura en armas
como el paladín Roldán,
porque vengases, mi hijo,
la muerte de vuestro padre;
15 matáronlo a traición
por casar con vuestra madre.
Ricas bodas me hicieron
en las cuales Dios no ha parte,
ricos paños me cortaron
20 la reina no los ha tales.'

Maguera pequeño el niño
bien entendido lo ha.
Allí respondió Gaiferos,
bien oiréis lo que dirá:
25 'Así ruego a Dios del cielo
y a Santa María su madre.'

Oídolo había el conde
en los palacios do está:
'¡Calles, calles, la condesa,
30 boca mala sin verdad!
Que yo no matara el conde
ni lo hiciera matar;
mas tus palabras, condesa,
el niño las pagará.'

35 Mandó llamar escuderos,
 criados son de su padre,
 para que lleven al niño
 que lo lleven a matar.
 La muerte que él les dijera
 40 mancilla es de la escuchar:
 'Córtenle el pie del estribo,
 la mano del gavilán,
 sáquenle ambos los ojos
 por más seguro andar;
 45 y el dedo, y el corazón
 traedmelo por señal.'

Ya lo llevan a Gaiferos,
 ya lo llevan a matar.
 Hablaban los escuderos
 50 con mancilla que dél han:
 '¡Oh válasme Dios del cielo
 y Santa María su madre!
 Si este niño matamos
 ¿qué galardón nos darán?'
 55 Ellos en aquesto estando
 no sabiendo qué harán,
 vieron venir una perrita
 de la condesa su madre.
 Allí habló uno de ellos,
 60 bien oiréis lo que dirá:
 'Matemos esta perrita
 por nuestra seguridad,
 saquémosle el corazón
 y llevémoslo a Galván,
 65 cortémosle el dedo al chico
 por llevar mejor señal.'

Ya tomaban a Gaiferos
 para el dedo le cortar:
 'Venid acá vos, Gaiferos,
 70 y querednos escuchar;

- vos íos de aquesta tierra
 y en ella no parezcáis más.[']
 Ya le daban entre señas
 el camino que hará:
 75 'Irvos heis de tierra en tierra
 a do vuestro tío está.'
 Gaiferos desconsolado
 por ese mundo se va;
 los escuderos se volvieron
 80 para do estaba Galván.
 Danle el dedo, y el corazón,
 y dicen que muerto lo han.
 La condesa que esto oyera
 empezara gritos dar;
 85 lloraba de los sus ojos
 que quería reventar.
 Dejemos a la condesa
 que muy grande llanto hace,
 y digamos de Gaiferos
 90 del camino por do va,
 que de día ni de noche
 no hace sino caminar,
 hasta que llegó a la tierra
 adonde su tío está.
 95 Dícele de esta manera
 y empezóle de hablar:
 'Manténgaos Dios, el mi tío.'
 'Mi sobrino, bien vengáis.
 ¿Qué buena venida es ésta?
 100 Vos me la queráis contar.'
 'La venida que yo tengo
 triste es y con pesar,
 que Galván con grande enojo
 mandado me había matar;
 105 mas lo que vos ruego, mi tío,
 y lo que vos vengo a rogar,

- vamos a vengar la muerte
 de vuestro hermano, mi padre;
 matáronlo a traición
 110 por casar con la mi madre.’
 ‘Sosegaos, el mi sobrino,
 vos queráis aseugar,
 que la muerte de mi hermano
 bien la iremos a vengar.’
 115 Y ellos así estuvieron
 dos años y aun más,
 hasta que dijo Gaiferos
 y empezara de hablar: . . .

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 171, from *Canc. de Rom.* ‘sin año’ (c. 1548).

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 378–83; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 273–4.

NOTES: This, like the Carolingian ballads which follow, is a *juglaresco* text, lively enough in its fashion although still containing a large number of features which the *pueblo autor* would not have tolerated. Menéndez Pidal observes, however, that this and the following ballad have become traditional in some parts in versions which unite the two and then reduce their length to about half; a case (by no means unique) of poems which have become traditional only after being printed in the 16th century. Gaiferos is *Gaifiers* in French legend; in history he was *Waifre* or *Waifarius*, Duke of Aquitania, killed in 769.

51

- ‘Vámonos’, dijo, ‘mi tío,
 a París esa ciudad,
 en figura de romeros,
 no nos conozca Galván:
 5 que si Galván nos conoce
 mandar nos hía matar.
 Encima ropas de seda
 vistamos las de sayal;

- llevemos nuestras espadas
10 por más seguros andar;
llevemos sendos bordones
por la gente asegurar.’
Ya se parten los romeros,
ya se parten, ya se van,
15 de noche por los caminos
de día por los jarales.
Andando por sus jornadas
a París llegado han;
las puertas hallan cerradas,
20 no hallan por donde entrar,
siete vueltas la rodean
por ver si podrán entrar,
y al cabo de las ocho
un postigo van hallar.
25 Ellos que se vieron dentro
empiezan a demandar;
no preguntan por mesón
ni menos por hospital,
preguntan por los palacios
30 donde la condesa está;
a las puertas del palacio
allí van a demandar.
Vieron estar la condesa
y empezaron de hablar:
35 ‘Dios te salve, la condesa.’
‘Los romeros, bien vengáis.’
‘Mandedes nos dar limosna
por honor de caridad.’
‘Con Dios vades, los romeros,
40 que no os puedo nada dar,
que el conde me había mandado
a romeros no albergar.’
‘Dadnos limosna, señora,
que el conde no lo sabrá;

- 45 así la den a Gaiferos
en la tierra donde está.
Así como oyó *Gaiferos*
comenzó de suspirar:
mandábales dar del vino,
50 mandábales dar del pan.
Ellos en aquesto estando
el conde llegado ha:
'¿Qué es aquesto, la condesa?
aquesto ¿qué puede estar?
55 ¿No os tenía ya mandado
a romeros no albergar?'
Y alzara la su mano,
puñada le fuera a dar,
que sus dientes menudicos
60 en tierra los fuera a echar.
Allí hablaran los romeros
y empiezan de hablar:
'¡Por hacer bien la condesa
cierto no merece mal!'
65 '¡Callede vos, los romeros,
no hayades vuestra parte!'
Alzó *Gaiferos* su espada,
un golpe le fue a dar
que la cabeza de sus hombros
70 en tierra la fuera a echar.
Allí habló la condesa
llorando con gran pesar:
'¿Quién érades, los romeros,
que al conde fuistes matar?'
75 Allí respondió el romero,
tal respuesta le fue a dar:
'Yo soy *Gaiferos*, señora,
vuestro hijo natural.'
'Aquesto no puede ser
80 ni era cosa de verdad,

- que el dedo, y el corazón
yo lo tengo por señal.
‘El corazón que vos tenéis
en persona no fue a estar,
85 el dedo bien es aquéste
que en esta mano me falta.’
La condesa que esto oyera
empezóle de abrazar;
la tristeza que tenía
90 en placer se fue a tornar.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 172, from *Canc. de Rom.* ‘sin año’ (c. 1548).

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 383–4; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 273–4.

NOTES: The popularity of this and the last ballad in the Golden Age and in the modern oral tradition is evidenced by the fact that the fourth line became proverbial. Menéndez Pidal says: ‘todo lo desfigurado, lo difícil de conocer, se expresaba con el verso *no lo conozca Galván, no le conocerá Galván*’; and similar expressions are still registered in modern dictionaries.

52

- ‘Durandarte, Durandarte,
buen caballero probado,
yo te ruego que hablemos
en aquel tiempo pasado,
5 y dime si se te acuerda
cuando fuiste enamorado,
cuando en galas e invenciones
publicabas tu cuidado,
cuando venciste a los moros
10 en campo por mí aplazado;
agora, desconocido,
di ¿por qué me has olvidado?’
‘Palabras son lisonjeras,
señora, de vuestro grado,

- 15 que si yo mudanza hice
vos lo habéis todo causado,
pues amastes a Gaiferos
cuando yo fui desterrado;
que si amor queréis conmigo
20 tenéislo muy mal pensado,
que por no sufrir ultraje
moriré desesperado.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 180, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin añ.' (c. 1548).

REFERENCE: *Tratado* II, 423-4.

NOTES: The transformation of Roland's sword *Durandel* into a knight killed at Roncesvaux (in the next ballad) had already taken place in one of the latest French *chansons de geste*, according to Menéndez y Pelayo. 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. The ballad was included in two *cancioneros* of the early years of the 16th century and was a favourite during the Golden Age.

53

- ¡Oh Belerma!, ¡Oh Belerma!
por mi mal fuiste engendada,
que siete años te serví
sin de ti alcanzar nada;
5 agora que me querías
muero yo en esta batalla.
No me pesa de mi muerte
aunque temprano me llama,
mas pésame que de verte
10 y de servirte dejaba.
¡Oh mi primo Montesinos!
lo que agora yo os rogaba,
que cuando yo fuere muerto

- 15 y mi ánima arrancada,
vos llevéis mi corazón
adonde Belerma estaba,
y servidla de mi parte
como de vos yo esperaba,
y traedle a la memoria
20 dos veces cada semana,
y diréisle que se acuerde
cuán cara que me costaba;
y dadle todas mis tierras
las que yo señoreaba,
25 pues que yo a ella pierdo
todo el bien con ella vaya.
¡Montesinos, Montesinos!
¡mal me aqueja esta lanzada!
el brazo traigo cansado
30 y la mano de la espada;
traigo grandes las heridas,
mucho sangre derramada,
los extremos tengo fríos
y el corazón me desmaya;
35 los ojos que nos vieron ir
nunca nos verán en Francia.
Abraçéisme, Montesinos,
que ya se me sale el alma;
de mis ojos ya no veo,
40 la lengua tengo turbada;
yo vos doy todos mis cargos
en vos yo los traspasaba.’
‘El Señor en quien creéis
Él oiga vuestra palabra.’
45 Muerto yace Durandarte
al pie de una alta montaña,
llorábalo Montesinos
que a su muerte se hallara;
quitándole está el almete,

- 50 descifñéndole la espada;
 hácele la sepultura
 con una pequeña daga;
 sacábale el corazón
 como él se lo jurara,
 55 para llevar a Belerma
 como él se lo mandara.
 Las palabras que le dice
 de allá le salen del alma:
 '¡Oh mi primo Durandarte!
 60' ¡Primo mío de mi alma!
 ¡Espada nunca vencida!
 ¡Esfuerzo do esfuerzo estaba!
 ¡Quien a vos mató, mi primo,
 no sé por qué me dejara!

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 181, from the *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

TRANSLATION: Gibson p. 321.

REFERENCE: *Tratado* II, 423-5.

NOTES: The transformation of the material of this ballad into the splendid invention of Don Quixote's adventure in the *Cueva de Montesinos* (II, 22 & 23) has already been mentioned in the Introduction. This is perhaps the most striking example of the power of suggestion which the brief, plain ballad text can exercise upon an imaginative mind. Góngora in 1582 wrote a continuation of the tale as a parody of the Carolingian genre,

Diez años vivió Belerma
 con el corazón difunto
 que le dejó en testamento
 aquel francés boquirrubio . . .

which is a small masterpiece of its kind.

54

- Medianoche era por filo
los gallos querían cantar,
conde Claros con amores
no podía reposar;
5 dando muy grandes suspiros
que el amor le hacía dar,
porque amor de Claranifia
no le deja sosegar.
Cuando vino la mañana
10 que quería alborear,
salto diera de la cama
que parece un gavilán;
voces da por el palacio
y empezara de llamar:
15 'Levantad, mi camarero,
dadme vestir y calzar.'
- Presto estaba el camarero
para habérselo de dar:
diérale calzas de grana,
20 borceguíes de cordobán,
diérale jubón de seda
aforrado en zarzahán,
diérale un manto rico
que no se puede apreciar,
25 trescientas piedras preciosas
al derredor del collar;
tráele un rico caballo
que en la corte no hay su par,
que la silla con el freno
30 bien valía una ciudad,
con trescientos cascabeles
alrededor del petral,
los ciento eran de oro
y los ciento de metal,

- 35 y los ciento son de plata
por los sonos concordar;
y vase para el palacio,
para el palacio real.
A la infanta Claraniña
- 40 allí la fuera hallar,
trescientas damas con ella
que la van acompañar.
Tan linda va Claraniña
que a todos hace penar.
- 45 Conde Claros que la vido
luego va descabargar,
las rodillas por el suelo
le comenzó de hablar:
'Mantenga Dios a tu Alteza.'
- 50 'Conde Claros, bien vengáis.'
Las palabras que prosigue
eran para enamorar:
'Conde Claros, conde Claros,
el señor de Montalván,
- 55 ¡cómo habéis hermoso cuerpo
para con moros lidiar!'
Respondiera el conde Claros,
tal respuesta le fue a dar:
'Mi cuerpo tengo, señora,
- 60 para con damas holgar;
si yo os tuviese esta noche
señora, a mi mandar,
otro día en la mañana
con cien moros pelear,
- 65 si a todos no los venciese
que me mandasen matar.'
'Callede, conde, callede,
y no os queráis alabar;
el que quiere servir damas
- 70 así lo suele hablar,

- y al entrar en las batallas
bien se saben excusar.’
‘Si no lo creéis, señora,
por las obras se verá;
75 siete años son pasados
que os empecé de amar,
que de noche yo no duermo
ni de día puedo holgar.’
‘Siempre os preciastes, conde,
80 de las damas os burlar;
mas déjame ir a los baños,
a los baños a bañar;
cuando yo sea bañada
estoy a vuestro mandar.’
85 Respondiérale el buen conde,
tal respuesta le fue a dar:
‘Bien sabedes vos, señora,
que soy cazador real;
caza que tengo en la mano
90 nunca la puedo dejar.’
Tomárala por la mano,
para un vergel se van;
a la sombra de un ciprés
debajo de un rosal
95 de la cintura arriba
tan dulces besos se dan,
de la cintura abajo
como hombre y mujer se han.
Mas la fortuna adversa
100 que a placeres da pesar,
por ahí pasó un cazador
que no debía de pasar,
detrás de una podenca
que rabia debía matar;
105 vido estar al conde Claros
con la infanta a bel holgar.

El conde cuando le vido
 empezóle de llamar:
 'Ven acá tú, el cazador,
 110 así Dios te guarde de mal;
 de todo lo que has visto
 tú nos tengas poridad.
 Darte he yo mil marcos de oro
 y si más quisieres, más;
 115 casarte he con una doncella
 que era mi prima carnal;
 darte he en arras y en dote
 la villa de Montalván;
 de otra parte la infanta
 120 mucho más te puede dar.'

El cazador sin ventura
 no les quiso escuchar;
 vase para los palacios
 ado el buen rey está:
 125 'Manténgate Dios, el rey,
 y a tu corona real;
 una nueva yo te traigo
 dolorosa y de pesar,
 que no os cumple traer corona
 130 ni en caballo cabalgar,
 la corona de la cabeza
 bien la podéis vos quitar,
 si tal deshonra como ésta
 la hubieseis de comportar.
 135 Que he hallado la infanta
 con Claros de Montalván
 besándola y abrazando
 en vuestro huerto real;
 de la cintura abajo
 140 como hombre y mujer se han.'

El rey con muy grande enojo
 al cazador mandó matar,

- porque había sido osado
de tales nuevas llevar.
- 145 Mandó llamar sus alguaciles
aprisa, no de vagar,
mandó armar quinientos hombres
que le hayan de acompañar
para que prendan al conde
- 150 y le hayan de tomar,
y mandó cerrar las puertas,
las puertas de la ciudad.
A las puertas del palacio
allá le fueron a hallar;
- 155 preso llevan al buen conde
con mucha seguridad,
unos grillos a los pies
que bien pesan un quintal,
las esposas a las manos
- 160 que era dolor de mirar,
una cadena a su cuello
que de hierro era el collar;
cabálganle en una mula
por más deshonra le dar;
- 165 metieronle en una torre
de muy gran oscuridad;
las llaves de la prisión
el rey las quiso llevar,
porque sin licencia suya
- 170 nadie le pueda hablar.
Por él rogaban los grandes
cuantos en la corte están,
por él rogaba Oliveros,
por él rogaba Roldán,
- 175 y ruegan los doce pares
de Francia la natural,
y las monjas de Santa Ana
con las de la Trinidad

- llevaban un crucifijo
180 para al buen rey rogar.
Con ellas va un arzobispo
y un perlado y cardenal;
mas el rey con grande enojo
a nadie quiso escuchar;
185 antes de muy enojado
sus grandes mandó llamar.
Cuando ya los tuvo juntos
empezóles de hablar:
‘Amigos e hijos míos,
190 a lo que vos hice llamar:
ya sabéis que el conde Claros
el señor de Montalván
de cómo le he criado
hasta ponerlo en edad,
195 y le he guardado su tierra
que su padre le fue a dar
(el que morir no debiera,
Reinaldos de Montalván)
y por hacerle yo más grande
200 de lo mío le quise dar,
hícele gobernador
de mi reino natural.
Él, por darme galardón
mirad en que fue a tocar:
205 que quiso forzar la infanta
hija mía natural;
hombre que lo tal comete
¿qué sentencia le han de dar?’
Todos dicen a una voz
210 que lo hayan de degollar,
y así la sentencia dada
el buen rey la fue a firmar.
El arzobispo que esto viera
al buen rey fue a hablar,

- 215 pidiéndole por merced
licencia le quiera dar
para ir a ver al conde
y su muerte le denunciar.
‘Pláceme’, dijo el buen rey,
220 ‘Pláceme de voluntad;
mas con esta condición:
que solo habéis de andar
con aqueste pajecico
de quien puedo bien fiar.’
225 Ya se parte el arzobispo
y a las cárceles se va.
Las guardas desde que lo vieron
luego le dejan entrar;
con él iba el pajecico
230 que le va a acompañar.
Cuando vido estar al conde
en su prisión y pesar,
las palabras que le dice
dolor eran de escuchar:
235 ‘Pésame de vos, el conde,
cuanto me puede pesar,
que los yerros por amores
dignos son de perdonar.
Por vos he rogado al rey,
240 nunca me quiso escuchar;
antes ha dado sentencia
que os hayan de degollar.
Yo vos lo dije, sobrino,
que vos dejásedes de amar,
245 que el que las mujeres ama
atal galardón le dan,
que haya de morir por ellas
y en las cárceles penar.’
Respondiera el buen conde
250 con esfuerzo singular:

- ‘¡Callede, por Dios, mi tío,
no me queráis enojar!
quien no ama las mujeres
no se puede hombre llamar,
255 mas la vida que yo tengo
por ellas quiero gastar.’
Respondió el pajecico,
tal respuesta le fue a dar:
‘Conde, bienaventurado
260 siempre os deben de llamar,
porque muerte tan honrada
por vos había de pasar;
más envidia he de vos, conde,
que mancilla ni pesar;
265 más querría ser vos, conde,
que el rey que os manda matar,
porque muerte tan honrada
por mí hubiese de pasar.
Llama yerro la fortuna
270 quien no la sabe gozar;
la prisa del cadahalso
vos, conde, la debéis dar;
si no es dada la sentencia
vos la debéis de firmar.’
275 El conde que esto oyera
tal respuesta le fue a dar:
‘Por Dios te ruego, el paje,
en amor de caridad,
que vayas a la princesa
280 de mi parte a le rogar,
que suplico a su Alteza
que ella me salga a mirar,
que en la hora de mi muerte
yo la pueda contemplar,
285 que si mis ojos la veen
mi alma no penará.’

Ya se parte el pajecico,
ya se parte, ya se va,
llorando de los sus ojos
290 que quería reventar;
topara con la princesa,
bien oiréis lo que dirá:
'Agora es tiempo, señora,
que hayáis de remediar,
295 que a vuestro querido el conde
lo llevan a degollar.'
La infanta, que esto oyera,
en tierra muerta se cae;
damas, dueñas y doncellas
300 no la pueden retornar,
hasta que llegó su aya
la que la fue a criar:
'¿Qué es aquesto, la infanta?
aquesto ¿qué puede estar?'
305 '¡Ay triste de mí, mezquina,
que no sé qué puede estar!
¡Que si al conde me matan
yo me habré desesperar!'
'Saliédes vos, mi hija,
310 saliédes a lo quitar.'
Ya se parte la infanta,
ya se parte, ya se va;
fuese para el mercado
donde lo han de sacar;
315 vido estar el cadahalso
en que lo han de degollar;
damas, dueñas y doncellas
que lo salen a mirar.
Vio venir la gente de armas
320 que lo traen a matar,
los pregoneros delante
por su yerro publicar.

- Con el poder de la gente
 ella no podía pasar:
 325 'Apartadvos, gente de armas,
 todos me haced lugar,
 si no . . . ¡por vida del rey
 a todos mande matar!'
- La gente que la conoce
 330 luego le hace lugar,
 hasta que llegó el conde
 y le empezara de hablar:
 'Esforzá, esforzá, el buen conde,
 y no queráis desmayar,
 335 que aunque yo pierda la vida
 la vuestra se ha de salvar.'
- El alguacil que esto oyera
 comenzó de caminar,
 vase para los palacios
 340 adonde el buen rey está:
 'Cabalgue la vuestra Alteza,
 aprisa, no de vagar,
 que salida es la infanta
 para el conde nos quitar.
- 345 Los unos manda que maten,
 y los otros enhorcar;
 si vuestra Alteza no socorre
 yo no puedo remediar.'
- El buen rey, de que esto oyera,
 350 comenzó de caminar,
 y fuese para el mercado
 ado el conde fue a hallar:
 '¿Qué es esto, la infanta?
 a questo ¿qué puede estar?
 355 La sentencia que yo he dado
 ¿vos la queréis revocar?
 Yo juro por mi corona,
 por mi corona real,

que si heredero tuviese
360 que me hubiese de heredar
que a vos y al conde Claros
vivos vos haría quemar.’
‘Que vos me matéis, mi padre,
muy bien me podéis matar,
365 mas suplico a vuestra Alteza
que se quiera él acordar
de los servicios pasados
de Reinaldos de Montalván,
que murió en las batallas
370 por tu corona ensalzar;
por los servicios del padre
al hijo debes galardonar;
por malquerer de traidores
vos no le debéis matar,
375 que su muerte será causa
que me hayáis de difamar.
Mas suplico a vuestra Alteza
que se quiera aconsejar,
que los reyes con furor
380 no deben de sentenciar,
porque el conde es de linaje
del reino más principal,
porque él era de los doce
que a tu mesa comen pan;
385 sus amigos y parientes
todos te querrían mal,
revolver te hían guerra,
tus reinos se perderán.’

El buen rey que esto oyera
390 comenzara a demandar:
‘Consejo os pido, los míos,
que me queráis aconsejar.’
Luego todos se apartaron
por su consejo tomar;

- 395 el consejo que le dieron
que le haya de perdonar,
por quitar males y bregas
y por la princesa afamar.
Todos firman el perdón,
400 el buen rey fue a firmar;
también le aconsejaron,
consejo le fueron dar,
pues la infanta quería al conde
con él haya de casar.
- 405 Ya desfierran al buen conde
ya lo mandan desferrar;
descabalga de una mula
el arzobispo a desposar;
él tomóles de las manos,
410 así los hubo de juntar.
Los enojos y pesares
placeres se han de tornar.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 190, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 399-403; *Rom. Hisp.* II, 43-4, 100-1 and 186-7.

NOTES: This famous ballad recalls, very vaguely, the legend of the love-affair between Charlemagne's daughter Emma and his secretary Egginhard (? > Gerineldos, in the next ballad). The legend does not seem to be found in any French text and may have originated in Germany. This ballad was a favourite throughout the Golden Age; it was referred to as something universally known, it contributed a number of its lines to the nation's stock of proverbs, and musicians from Juan del Encina onward composed settings for brief sections of it (particularly that beginning *Pésame de vos, el conde*). The opening lines were also commonly used to accompany a courtly dance in the 16th century. Modern oral versions of the ballad are known, especially among the Sephardim. Despite the occasional tediousness of its *juglaresco* formulae and clichés, the ballad is a masterpiece of construction

and narration; and Conde Claros, *un verdadero mártir de amor* (Menéndez y Pelayo) for whom even the nuns prayed, is one of the most attractive figures in the *Romancero*.

55

- ‘Gerineldos, Gerineldos,
mi camarero pulido,
¡quién te tuviera esta noche
tres horas a mi servicio!’
- 5 ‘Como soy vuestro criado,
señora, burláis conmigo.’
‘No me burlo, Gerineldos,
que de veras te lo digo.’
‘¿A cuál hora, bella infanta,
10 cumpliréis lo prometido?’
‘Entre la una y las dos
cuando el rey esté dormido.’
- Levantóse Gerineldos,
abre en secreto el rastrillo,
15 calza sandalias de seda
para andar sin ser sentido;
tres vueltas le da al palacio
y otras tantas al castillo.
‘Abráisme’, dijo, ‘señora,
20 abráisme, cuerpo garrido.’
‘¿Quién sois vos, el caballero,
que llamáis así al postigo?’
‘Gerineldos soy, señora,
vuestro tan querido amigo.’
- 25 Tomáralo por la mano,
a su lecho lo ha subido,
y besando y abrazando
Gerineldos se ha dormido.
- Recordado había el rey
30 del sueño despavorido,

- tres veces lo había llamado,
 ninguna le ha respondido.
 'Gerineldos, Gerineldos,
 mi camarero pulido,
 35 ¿si me andas en traición,
 trátasme como a enemigo?
 O con la infanta dormías
 o el alcázar me has vendido.'
 Tomó la espada en la mano
 40 con gran saña va encendido,
 fuérase para la cama
 donde a Gerineldos vido.
 El quisiéralo matar
 mas crióle desde niño.
 45 Sacara luego la espada,
 entre entrambos la ha metido,
 para que al volver del sueño
 catasen que el yerro ha visto.
 Recordado hubo la infanta,
 50 vio la espada y dio un suspiro:
 'Recordar heis, Gerineldos,
 que ya érades sentido;
 que la espada de mi padre
 de nuestro yerro es testigo.'
 55 Gerineldos va a su estancia,
 le sale el rey de improviso:
 '¿Dónde vienes, Gerineldos,
 tan mustio, descolorido?'
 'Del jardín vengo, señor,
 60 de coger flores y lirios,
 y la rosa más fragante
 mis colores ha comido.'
 '¡Mientes, mientes, Gerineldos,
 que con la infanta has dormido;
 65 testigo de ella mi espada,
 en su filo está el castigo.'

TEXT: Recorded in the late 19th century in Andalusia, and printed by Menéndez y Pelayo among the *Romances populares*, vol. X of the *Antología de poetas líricos*, p. 161.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 404–5; R. Menéndez Pidal, 'Sobre geografía folklórica: ensayo de un método', *Revista de Filología Española*, VII (1920), 229–67; D. Catalán and A. Galmes, *Cómo vive un romance: dos ensayos de tradicionalidad*, Madrid, 1954 (an extensive revision of Menéndez Pidal's 1920 study); *Rom. Hisp.* I, 73; II, 77 and 393–401.

NOTES: A modern oral version chosen from the very many that have been recorded from most parts of the Peninsula is here preferred to the two texts printed in the 16th century, both of which are poor ones. This seems to be the best-known ballad among country people at the present day; it is certainly that which has been subjected to the most intensive investigation by scholars, in studies which are classics of their kind.

III

NOVELESQUE BALLADS

56

Herido está dón Tristán
 de una mala lanzada;
 diérasela el rey su tío
 por celos que dél cataba.
 5 El hierro tiene en el cuerpo,
 de fuera le tiembla el asta.
 Valo a ver la reina Iseo
 por la su desdicha mala;
 júnpanse boca con boca
 10 cuanto una misa rezada,
 llora el uno, llora el otro,
 la cama bañan en agua;
 allí nace un arboledo
 que azucena se llamaba,
 15 cualquier mujer que la come
 luego se siente preñada;
 comiérala reina Iseo
 por la su desdicha mala.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 146, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

REFERENCE: *Tratado* II, 469-73.

NOTES: This and the next two texts are almost the only ballad representatives of the prose tales which circulated in the Peninsula during the 14th and 15th centuries on the theme of *Tristram and Isolde*, as translations and free adaptations of the French

legends known collectively as the *matière de Bretagne*. The magical properties of the lily seem to be a purely Spanish addition to the legend. In its brevity the ballad probably has claims to some antiquity; it is said to have been a favourite with the ladies of Queen Isabel's court.

57

Nunca fuera caballero
 de damas tan bien servido
 como fuera Lanzarote
 cuando de Bretaña vino:
 5 que dueñas curaban dél,
 doncellas del su rocino,
 esa dueña Quintañona
 ésa le escanciaba el vino,
 la linda reina Ginebra
 10 se lo acostaba consigo;
 y estando al mejor sabor
 que sueño no había dormido,
 la reina toda turbada
 un pleito ha conmovido:
 15 'Lanzarote, Lanzarote,
 si antes hubieras venido
 no hablara el orgulloso
 las palabras que había dicho,
 que a pesar de vos, señor,
 20 se acostaría conmigo.'

Ya se arma Lanzarote
 de gran pesar conmovido,
 despídese de su amiga,
 pregunta por el camino;
 25 topó con el orgulloso
 debajo de un verde pino,
 combátense de las lanzas,
 a las hachas han venido;

- 30 desmaya el orgulloso,
ya cae en tierra tendido,
cortárale la cabeza
sin hacer ningún partido;
vuélvese para su amiga
donde fue bien recibido.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 148, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

TRANSLATION: Gibson p. 385.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 468 and 473.

NOTES: Although the Spanish tales of Arthur and the Round Table, Merlin, Launcelot, etc., together with those of Tristram and Isolde, were occasionally printed in the first half of the 16th century, they were always at this time overshadowed in popularity by the rich native inventions of *Amadís* and company. Menéndez y Pelayo observes that although the Arthurian and Breton legends did not apparently have a place in Don Quixote's library, the Knight was well acquainted with them. He gave a brief lecture on the subject (I, 13), quoted the first four lines of this ballad and called it *aquel tan sabido romance y tan decantado en nuestra España*, and referred to it on other occasions.

58

- Tres hijuelos había el rey,
tres hijuelos, que no más;
por enojo que hubo de ellos
todos maldito los ha:
5 el uno se tornó ciervo,
el otro se tornó can,
el otro se tornó moro,
pasó las aguas del mar.
Andábase Lanzarote
10 entre las damas holgando;
grandes voces dio la una:

- '¡Caballero, estad parado!
 Si fuese la mi ventura
 cumplido fuese mi hado
 15 que yo casase con vos
 y vos conmigo de grado,
 y me diésedes en arras
 aquel ciervo del pie blanco.'
 'Dároslo he yo, mi señora,
 20 de corazón y de grado,
 y supiese yo las tierras
 donde el ciervo era criado.'
 Ya cabalga Lanzarote,
 ya cabalga y va su vía;
 25 delante de sí llevaba
 los sabuesos por la traílla.
 Llegado había a una ermita
 donde un ermitaño había:
 'Dios te salve, el hombre bueno.'
 30 'Buena sea tu venida;
 cazador me parecéis
 en los sabuesos que traía.'
 'Dígame tú, el ermitaño,
 tú que haces santa vida,
 35 ese ciervo del pie blanco
 ¿dónde hace su manida?'
 'Quedéis os aquí, mi hijo,
 hasta que sea de día;
 contaros he lo que vi
 40 y todo lo que sabía.
 Por aquí pasó esta noche
 dos horas antes del día,
 siete leones con él
 y una leona parida;
 45 siete condes deja muertos
 y mucha caballería.
 Siempre Dios te guarde, hijo,

por doquier que fuer tu ida,
 que quien acá te envió
 50 no te quería dar la vida.
 ¡Ay dueña de Quintañones
 de mal fuego seas ardidada,
 que tanto buen caballero
 por ti ha perdido la vida!

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 147, from *Canc. de Rom.* of 1550.

TRANSLATION: Gibson p. 387.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 473-6; W. J. Entwistle, 'The adventure of *Le Cerf au pied blanc* in Spanish and elsewhere', *Modern Language Review*, XVIII (1925), 435-48.

NOTES: The special charm of this ballad is its very strangeness. According to Entwistle it is very ancient (14th century), having been based on a Spanish prose tale of Launcelot but since 'cut down from a larger narrative to the point of obscurity.' Nebrija in his *Gramática castellana* of 1492 twice quotes lines of the ballad, in different versions, and calls it *antiguo*.

59

Yo me era mora Moraima,
 morilla de un bel catar;
 cristiano vino a mi puerta,
 cuitada, por me engañar;
 5 hablóme en algarabía
 como aquél que la bien sabe:
 '¡Ábrame las puertas, mora,
 si Alá te guarde de mal!
 '¿Cómo te abriré, mezquina,
 10 que no sé quién te serás?'
 'Yo soy el moro Mazote,
 hermano de la tu madre;
 que un cristiano dejo muerto,
 tras mí venía el alcalde;

- 15 si no me abres tú, mi vida,
aquí me verás matar.’
Cuando esto oí, cuitada,
comencéme a levantar;
vistiérame una almeja
20 no hallando mi brial,
fuérame para la puerta
y abrila de par en par.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 132, from *Canc. de Rom.* ‘*sin año*’ (c. 1548).

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 498; *Rom. Hisp.* II, 11 and 44-5.

NOTES: This ballad is first known in a 32-line version contained in the *Cancionero de Londres* (compiled between 1471 and 1500); the present 22-line version is attributed in the *Cancionero general* of 1511 to a certain Jerónimo de Pinar, and is so manifestly superior that it was the text which was printed in *pliegos sueltos* and then became the standard one. The extra ten lines have threats made by the Christian against the girl, and Pinar’s instinct in removing them was sound. The ballad may certainly be termed *morisco*, but it is neither about war as the 15th century *fronterizo* ballads are, nor sentimental and self-consciously exotic as are the *morisco* poems of the late 16th century; we have, rather, a small scene from the real life of any southern Spanish town, turned into poetry by the charm of its opening lines and the enigma of its ending.

60

- Yo me adamé una amiga
dentro en mi corazón;
Catalina había por nombre,
no la puedo olvidar, no.
5 Rogóme que la llevase
a las tierras de Aragón:
‘Catalina, sois muchacha,
no podréis caminar, no.’

- ‘Tanto andaré, el caballero,
 10 tanto andaré como vos;
 si lo dejáis por dineros
 llevaré para los dos,
 ducados para Castilla,
 florines para Aragón.’
 15 Ellos en aquesto estando
 la justicia que llegó.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 141, from *Canc. de Rom.* ‘sin año’ (c. 1548).

REFERENCE: *Rom. Hisp.* I, 73.

NOTES: That this ballad has been abbreviated to the point of obscurity (so far as its theme is concerned) is a matter for pleasure rather than regret. It can be a tale of elopement, of a pair of *pícaros* on the run, or—best of all?—of a childish prank, just as we wish. No more complete version exists to disturb our musings, although Menéndez Pidal is able to add 4 lines that were known to Gonzalo Correas in his *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales* of about 1630:

‘Catalina, Catalina,
 mucho me cuesta el tu amore,
 tras mí viene la justicia,
 también el corregidore.’

61

- Fontefrida, Fontefrida,
 Fontefrida y con amor,
 do todas las avecicas
 van tomar consolación,
 5 si no es la tortolica
 que está viuda y con dolor.
 Por allí fuera a pasar
 el traidor del rui señor;
 las palabras que le dice
 10 llenas son de traición:

- ‘Si tú quisieses, señora,
yo sería tu servidor.’
‘¡Vete de ahí, enemigo,
malo, falso, engañador!
- 15 Que ni poso en ramo verde
ni en prado que tenga flor,
que si el agua hallo clara
turbia la bebía yo;
que no quiero haber marido
- 20 porque hijos no haya, no;
no quiero placer con ellos,
ni menos consolación.
¡Déjame, triste, enemigo,
malo, falso, mal traidor,
- 25 que no quiero ser tu amiga
ni casar contigo, no!’

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 116, from *Cancionero de Constantina* and *Canc. de Rom.* ‘sin año’ (c. 1548).

TRANSLATION: Gibson p. 372.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 530–1; M. Bataillon, ‘La tortolica de *Fontefrida* y del *Cántico espiritual*’, *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*, VII (1953), 291–306; E. Asensio, ‘*Fontefrida*, o encuentro del romance con la canción de mayo’, *ibid.*, VIII (1954), 365–88, reprinted in *Poética y realidad en el cancionero peninsular de la Edad Media*, Madrid, 1957, 241–77.

NOTES: This ballad is a curious (and successful) mixture of a number of elements, some of them of great antiquity. It has the form of a *pastorela* or *serranilla* (dialogue between the knight and the shepherdess), and in its passionate tone is more lyrical than is customary in the ballads. The symbolism of dove, nightingale, fountain, etc., derives in part from learned written sources and in part from folklore. Gil Vicente seems to have adapted lines from the ballad for Cassandra’s song in the *Auto da sibila Cassandra*:

Dicen que me case yo;
No quiero marido, no.

62

‘Rosa fresca, Rosa fresca,
tan garrida y con amor,
cuando vos tuve en mis brazos
no vos supe servir, no;
5 y agora que os serviría
no vos puedo háber, no.’
‘Vuestra fue la culpa, amigo,
vuestra fue, que mía no:
enviástesme una carta
10 con un vuestro servidor,
y en lugar de recaudar
él dijera otra razón,
que érades casado, amigo,
allá en tierras de León,
15 que tenéis mujer hermosa
e hijos como una flor.’
‘Quien os lo dijo, señora,
no vos dijo verdad, no;
que yo nunca entré en Castilla
20 ni allá en tierras de León
sino cuando era pequeño,
que no sabía de amor.’

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 115, from *Cancionero general* (1527 ed.) and *Canc. de Rom.* ‘sin año’ (c. 1548).

TRANSLATION: Gibson p. 371.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 503; *Rom. Hisp.* II, 46-7.

NOTES: This seems to be one of the many ballads which has been cut down from a longer narrative to the point at which only the

one essential scene is left. Its universal situation is still regularly—if somewhat less poetically—discussed on the ‘problem page’ of magazines at the present day. The ballad was popular at the court of the Catholic Monarchs in about 1495, and throughout the Golden Age; Salinas, the blind organist of Salamanca, quotes lines of it and gives their tune in his book *De Musica* of 1577. The first four lines are, according to Menéndez Pidal, still remembered in popular tradition at the present day.

63

- A caza iban, a caza
 los cazadores del rey;
 ni fallaban ellos caza
 ni fallaban qué traer;
 5 perdido habían los halcones,
 ¿mal los amenaza el rey!
 Arrimáranse a un castillo
 que se llamaba Maynés;
 dentro estaba una doncella
 10 muy hermosa y muy cortés;
 siete condes la demandan
 y así facían tres reyes.
 Robárala Rico Franco,
 Rico Franco aragonés;
 15 llorando iba la doncella
 de sus ojos tan cortés;
 halágala Rico Franco,
 Rico Franco aragonés:
 ‘Si lloras tu padre o madre
 20 nunca más vos los veréis,
 si lloras los tus hermanos
 yo los maté todos tres.’
 ‘Ni lloro padre ni madre,
 ni hermanos todos tres;
 25 mas lloro la mi ventura

- que no sé cuál ha de ser.
 Prestédesme, Rico Franco,
 vuestro cuchillo lugués,
 cortaré fitas al manto
 30 que no son para traer.’
 Rico Franco de cortese
 por las cachas lo fue tender;
 la doncella que era artera
 por los pechos se lo fue a meter;
 35 así vengó padre y madre
 y aun hermanos todos tres.

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 119, from *Canc. de Rom.* ‘sin año’ (c. 1548).

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 507-9; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 330, and II, 316.

NOTES: This seems to be one of the most ancient and widely extended of all ballads, since forms of it are known in most European languages. Menéndez Pidal thinks that it was brought into Spain from France, probably through Catalonia, and that in view of certain archaic forms it was printed in the *Cancionero* of c. 1548 from a medieval manuscript. The ballad continues to be very widely known in Spain and among the Sephardim. Le Strange notes that the *cuchillo lugués* was one of the famous *coltelli lucchesi* from Lucca in Tuscany. The Spanish ballad seems to have suffered some contamination with that of *Rosaflorida* (No. 48).

64

- ‘Blanca sois, señora mía,
 más que el rayo del sol;
 ¿si la dormiré esta noche
 desarmado y sin pavor?
 5 Que siete años había, siete,
 que no me desarmo, no;
 más negras tengo mis carnes

- que un tizado carbón.’
 ‘Dormidla, señor, dormidla
 10 desarmado sin temor,
 que el conde es ido a la caza
 a los montes de León.’
 ‘¡Rabia le mate los perros
 y águilas el su halcón,
 15 y del monte hasta casa
 a él arrastre el morón!’
 Ellos en aquesto estando
 su marido que llegó:
 ‘¿Qué hacéis, la Blancaniña,
 20 hija de padre traidor?’
 ‘Señor, peino mis cabellos,
 péinolos con gran dolor,
 que me dejéis a mí sola
 y a los montes os vais vos.’
 25 ‘Esa palabra, la niña,
 no era sino traición:
 ¿cúyo es aquel caballo
 que allá abajo relinchó?’
 ‘Señor, era de mi padre,
 30 y envióoslo para vos.’
 ‘¿Cúyas son aquellas armas
 que están en el corredor?’
 ‘Señor, eran de mi hermano,
 y hoy os las envió.’
 35 ‘¿Cúya es aquella lanza,
 desde aquí la veo yo?’
 ‘¡Tomadla, conde, tomadla,
 matadme con ella vos,
 que aquesta muerte, buen conde,
 40 bien os la merezco yo!’

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 501; W. J. Entwistle, 'Blancaniña', *Revista de Filología Hispánica*, I (1939), 159-64; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 332, and II, 176-7.

NOTES: This and the next ballad are examples of a type known throughout Europe, whose theme is *the husband's return or the punishment of the adulteress*. Versions closely resembling the Spanish type are known from Catalonia, North and South France, and North Italy, but there is an essential difference, as Entwistle, Menéndez Pidal and others have noted: in the other countries the theme is treated coarsely, even humorously, whereas in Castile—country of Calderón and the *drama de honor*—it is treated with high seriousness. From the wonderfully sensual opening to the abrupt and unresolved ending, this is a fine example of ballad technique. The poem has retained its popularity to the present day, and Menéndez Pidal remarks that 'A pesar de su asunto tan poco infantil, es de los más cantados por las niñas en el corro.'

65

- 'La bella malmaridada
de las lindas que yo vi,
véote tan triste, enojada:
la verdad dila tú a mí.
- 5 Si has de tomar amores
por otro no dejes a mí.
que a tu marido, señora,
con otras dueñas lo vi
besando y retozando;
- 10 mucho mal dice de ti,
juraba y perjuraba
que te había de ferir.'
- Allí habló la señora,
allí habló, y dijo así:
- 15 'Sácame tú, el caballero,
tú sacáesme de aquí;
por las tierras donde fueres
bien te sabría yo servir;

- yo te haría bien la cama
 20 en que hayamos de dormir,
 yo te guisaré la cena
 como a caballero gentil,
 de gallinas y de capones
 y otras cosas más de mil;
 25 que a este mi marido
 ya no le puedo sufrir,
 que me da muy mala vida
 cual vos bien podéis oir.'
- Ellos en aquesto estando
 30 su marido hélo aquí:
 '¿Qué hacéis, mala traidora?
 ¡Hoy habedes de morir!
 '¿Y por qué, señor, por qué?
 que nunca os lo merecí;
 35 nunca besé a hombre,
 mas hombre besó a mí;
 las penas que él merecía,
 señor, dadlas vos a mí;
 con riendas de tu caballo
 40 señor, azotes a mí;
 con cordones de oro y sirgo
 viva ahorques a mí;
 en la huerta de los naranjos
 viva entierres tú a mí,
 45 en sepultura de oro
 y labrada de marfil,
 y pongas encima un mote,
 señor, que diga así:
 "Aquí está la flor de las flores,
 50 por amores murió aquí;
 cualquier que muere de amores
 mándese enterrar aquí,
 que así hice yo, mezquina,
 que por amar me perdí".

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 142, from a *pliego suelto* of the 16th century.

TRANSLATION: Lockhart No. 55, 'The ill-married Lady'.

REFERENCE: *Tratado* II, 503-6.

NOTES: This ballad was probably composed in the late 15th century, and achieved a great popularity in the following one with musicians and *glosadores*. The moralizing ending was added to the text in an edition of 1551, according to Menéndez Pidal.

66

- 'Estáse la gentil dama
 paseando en sú vergel,
 los pies tenía descalzos
 que era maravilla ver;
 5 desde lejos me llamara,
 no le quise responder;
 respondíle con gran saña:
 '¿Qué mandáis, gentil mujer?'
 Con una voz amorosa
 10 comenzó de responder:
 'Ven acá, el pastorcico,
 si quieres tomar placer;
 siesta es de mediodía
 que ya es hora de comer,
 15 si querrás tomar posada
 todo es a tu placer.'
 'Que no era tiempo, señora,
 que me haya de detener;
 que tengo mujer e hijos
 20 y casa de mantener,
 y mi ganado en la sierra
 que se me iba a perder,
 y aquéllos que me lo guardan
 no tenían qué comer.'
 25 'Vete con Dios, pastorcillo,
 no te sabes entender,

- hermosuras de mi cuerpo
yo te las hiciera ver:
delgadica en la cintura,
30 blanca soy como el papel,
la color tengo mezclada
como rosa en el rosel,
el cuello tengo de garza,
los ojos de un esparver,
35 las teticas agudicas
que el brial quieren romper;
pues lo que tengo encubierto
maravilla es de lo ver.'
'Ni aunque más tengáis, señora,
40 no me puedo detener.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 145, from a *pliego suelto* of the 16th century.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 524-6; E. Levi, 'El romance florentino de Jaume de Olesa', *Revista de Filología Española*, XIV (1927), 134-60; L. Spitzer, 'Observaciones sobre el romance florentino de Jaume de Olesa', XXII (1935), 153-8; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 339-44.

NOTES: A version or ancestor of this poem is the earliest known written text of a Spanish ballad, set down in a notebook in 1421 by the Majorcan law-student Jaume de Olesa when at an Italian university. It begins, in its mixed Castilian-Catalan:

Gentil dona, gentil dona,
dona de bell paesser,
los pes tingo en la verdura
esperando este plaser.
Por hi passa ll'escudero
mesurado e cortés;
les paraules que me dixo
todes eren d'emorés:
'Tate, escudero, este coerpo,
este corpo a tu plaser . . .'

This was far from new even in Olesa's day, according to Menéndez Pidal; an *escudero* has already replaced the original *pastorcico* (who is, however, preserved in our *pliego suelto* version). The poem is basically a sort of *pastorela* or *serranilla* in reverse, though without the mocking exaggerations which Juan Ruiz put into his burlesque *serranillas* in the 14th century. Menéndez Pidal supposes the poem to have originated in France. Derivations of the ballad, in a variety of non-ballad forms, are known to have been popular throughout the Golden Age and survive in our times in many parts of Spain and among the Spanish Jews, mostly in versions with strongly moralized endings.

67

A cazar va el caballero,
 a cazar como solía;
 los perros lleva cansados,
 el halcón perdido había,
 5 arrimárase a un roble
 alto es a maravilla;
 en una rama más alta
 viera estar una infantina,
 cabellos de su cabeza
 10 todo el roble cubrían:
 'No te espantes, caballero,
 ni tengas tamaña grima;
 hija soy yo del buen rey
 y de la reina de Castilla;
 15 siete fadas me fadaron
 en brazos de una ama mía,
 que andase los siete años
 sola en esta montiña.
 Hoy se cumplían los siete año
 20 o mañana en aquel día.
 Por Dios te ruego, caballero,
 llévesme en tu compañía,

- si quisieres por mujer,
 si no, sea por amiga.'
- 25 'Esperéisme vos, señora,
 hasta mañana, aquel día,
 iré yo a tomar consejo
 de una madre que tenía.'
- 30 La niña le respondiera
 y estas palabras decía:
 '¡Oh mal haya el caballero
 que sola deja la niña!'
 Él se va a tomar consejo,
 y ella queda en la montiña.
- 35 Aconsejóla su madre
 que la tomase por amiga.
 Cuando volvió el caballero
 no la hallara en la montiña;
 vídola que la llevaban
- 40 con muy gran caballería.
 El caballero desde que la vido
 en el suelo se caía;
 desde que en si hubo tornado
 estas palabras decía:
- 45 'Caballero que tal pierde
 muy gran pena merecía;
 yo mismo seré el alcalde,
 yo me seré la justicia:
 que le corten pies y manos
- 50 y lo arrastren por la villa.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 151, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

TRANSLATIONS: Lockhart No. 29, 'The Lady of the Tree'; Gibson p. 369.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 519-21; D. Devoto, 'El mal cazador', *Studia Philologica: Homenaje ofrecido a Dámaso Alonso*, Madrid, 1960, I, 481-91.

NOTES: The fairy-tale theme of this ballad is unusual in the context of the *Romancero* but is found throughout Europe. Menéndez y Pelayo suggests that it may have originated in Celtic folklore. The ballad does not seem to be well known in the modern oral tradition, but versions are recorded from the Canaries and from Venezuela.

68

- ‘Vengo brindado, Mariana,
para una boda el domingo.’
‘Esa boda, don Alonso,
debiera de ser conmigo.’
- 5 ‘No es conmigo, Mariana;
es con un hermano mío.’
‘Siéntate aquí, don Alonso,
en este escaño florido,
que me lo dejó mi padre
- 10 para el que case conmigo.’
Se sentara don Alonso,
presto se quedó dormido;
Mariana como discreta
se fue a su jardín florido;
- 15 tres onzas de solimán,
cuatro de acero molido,
la sangre de tres culebras,
la piel de un lagarto vivo,
y la espinilla del sapo
- 20 todo se lo echó en el vino.
‘Bebe vino, don Alonso,
don Alonso, bebe vino.’
‘Bebe primero, Mariana,
que así está puesto en estilo.’
- 25 Mariana como discreta
por el pecho lo ha vertido;
don Alonso como joven

- todo el vino se ha bebido;
 con la fuerza del veneno
 30 los dientes se le han caído.
 '¿Qué es esto, Mariana?
 ¿Qué es esto que tiene el vino?'
 'Tres onzas de solimán,
 cuatro de acero molido,
 35 la sangre de tres culebras,
 la piel de un lagarto vivo,
 y la espinilla del sapo
 para robarte el sentido.'
 '¡Sáname, buena Mariana,
 40 que me casaré contigo!'
 'No puede ser, don Alonso,
 que el corazón te ha partido.'
 '¡Adiós, esposa del alma,
 presto quedas sin marido!
 45 ¡Adiós, padres de mi vida,
 presto quedaron sin hijo!
 Cuando salí de mi casa
 salí en un caballo pío,
 y ahora voy para la iglesia
 50 en una caja de pino.'

TEXT: Recorded in Asturias in the 1870s by Juan Menéndez Pidal, and printed by Menéndez y Pelayo among the *Romances populares*, vol. X of the *Antología de poetas líricos*, p. 98.

REFERENCE: *Tratado* II, 509–12.

NOTES: Versions of this ballad are known today from various Spanish provinces, and in Portuguese from the Azores and from Brazil. In a Catalan version the girl is called *Gudriana*, a name which leads Menéndez y Pelayo to suppose that the legend may have a Germanic origin. This is an example of a ballad which is known only from the modern oral tradition, although it is certainly ancient; and unlike many modern versions, it has survived in an extremely neat and attractive form.

- 'Que por mayo era, por mayo,
 cuando hace la calor,
 cuando los trigos encañan
 y están los campos en flor,
 5 cuando canta la calandria
 y responde el ruiaseñor,
 cuando los enamorados
 van a servir al amor;
 sino yo, triste, cuitado,
 10 que vivo en esta 'prisión,
 que ni sé cuándo es de día
 ni cuándo las noches son,
 sino por una avecilla
 que me cantaba al albor.
 15 Matómela un ballestero,
 ¡déle Dios mal galardón!'

TEXT: In part *Prim.* Nos. 114 and 114a, with the addition of two lines (3 and 4) from the version given by Menéndez Pidal in *Flor nueva de romances viejos*.

TRANSLATIONS: Lockhart No. 54, 'The Captive Knight and the Blackbird'; Gibson p. 367.

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 528; *Rom. Hisp.* II, 45.

NOTES: This ballad is famous for the intense lyricism of the prisoner's lament, the more painful for being so brief and plain. Its balance, alliterations and subtleties of rhythm are most delicately contrived, as is the sequence of images—each more warm and physical than the last—by which the prisoner realizes the total tragedy of his situation. Some of these stylistic qualities were present in the original version which circulated orally in the early 16th century and which is recorded for us by the editor of the *Cancionero de Romances* of 1550. But its universality, its lyricism untainted by a single narrative note, and the unresolved

tragedy of its ending, are the result of some very perceptive cutting. The full oral version printed in 1550 has 40 lines; it continues beyond our text to give details of the prisoner's condition, the name of his wife, and his hope that she can smuggle in to him a file with which he can saw through his bars. This version also has a happy ending:

Oídolo había el rey,
mandóle quitar la prisión.

In this state the ballad is nothing very special. The cutting which turned it into a masterpiece was the work of two successive *glosadores*, Nicolás Núñez and Garcí Sánchez de Badajoz, in versions printed in 1511 and 1527 and again in the *Cancionero de Romances 'sin año'* (about 1548). These versions have only 12 lines and are perhaps too brief. In its various short forms the ballad seems to have been well known during the Golden Age, and its opening lines were often quoted; it is still known orally in the provinces of Burgos and Santander as a part of spring festivities known as *marzas*, and in many other parts of Spain and Spanish America.

70

¡Quién hubiese tal ventura
sobre las aguas del mar
como hubo el conde Arnaldos
la mañana de San Juan!
5 Con un halcón en la mano
la caza iba a cazar,
vio venir una galera
que a tierra quiere llegar.
Las velas traía de seda,
10 la ejercia de un cendal;
marinero que la manda
diciendo viene un cantar

- que la mar hacía en calma,
 los vientos hace amainar,
 15 los peces que andan al hondo
 arriba los hace andar,
 las aves que andan volando
 en el mástil las hace posar.
 Allí habló el conde Arnaldos,
 20 bien oiréis lo que dirá:
 'Por Dios te ruego, marinero,
 dígame ora ese cantar.'
 Respondióle el marinero,
 tal respuesta le fue a dar:
 25 'Yo no digo esta canción
 sino a quien conmigo va.'

TEXT: *Prim.* No. 153, from *Canc. de Rom.* 'sin año' (c. 1548).

TRANSLATIONS: Lockhart No. 46, 'Count Arnaldos'; Gibson p. 390; and a free but very successful rendering by Longfellow, 'The Secret of the Sea', published in *The Seaside and the Fireside* in 1850:

Ah! what pleasant visions haunt me
 As I gaze upon the sea!
 All the old romantic legends,
 All my dreams, come back to me.

Sails of silk and ropes of sandal
 Such as gleam in ancient lore;
 And the singing of the sailors,
 And the answer from the shore! . . .

REFERENCES: *Tratado* II, 531-3; *Rom. Hisp.* I, 74, etc.; R. Menéndez Pidal, *Poesía popular y poesía tradicional*, Oxford, 1922, 9-19; L. Spitzer, 'Notas sobre romances españoles', *Revista de Filología Española*, XXII (1935), 158-61; L. Spitzer, 'The folkloristic pre-stage of the Spanish romance "Count Arnaldos"', *Hispanic Review*, XXIII (1955),

173-87, with addenda *ibid.*, XXIV (1956), 64-6, both articles being reprinted in *Sobre antigua poesía española*, Buenos Aires, 1962, 87-103; T. R. Hart, 'El Conde Arnaldos and the Medieval Scriptural Tradition', *Modern Language Notes*, LXXII (1957), 281-5.

NOTES: No ballad has commanded such universal love and interest as this. It is a thing perfect of its kind, catching the movement of the sea in its various moods by subtle changes of rhythm, and expressing something of the mystery of the sea not only in its description of the magic galley and the sailor's song but also in its ending. This ending is, as in other cases, no accident, but the result of judicious truncation in the early 16th century. Other versions are known: a very confused and already contaminated one set down by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón in 1430-40, and others with a few additional lines printed in the 1550 and later editions of the *Cancionero de Romances* and in a *pliego suelto*. The 'full' version has been discovered comparatively recently, among the Sephardic Jews. It completes the shorter text as follows:

Tiró la barca el navío
y el infante fue a embarcar;
alzan velas, caen remos,
comienzan a navegar;
con el ruido del agua
el sueño le venció ya.
Pónenle los marineros
los hierros de cautivar.

A los golpes del martillo
el infante fue a acordar:
'Por tu vida, el buen marinero,
no me quieras hacer mal;
hijo soy del rey de Francia,
nieto dél de Portugal;
siete años había, siete,
que fui perdido en la mar.'
Allí le habló el marinero:
'Si tú me dices verdad,

tú eres nuestro infante Arnaldos
 y a ti andamos a buscar.
 Alzó velas el navío
 y se van a la ciudad.
 Torneos y más torneos,
 que el conde pareció ya.

The relative merits of the two versions have been debated by Menéndez Pidal and Spitzer. No one doubts the appeal of the short text. The long text is called by Menéndez Pidal 'sin duda, un buen romance de aventura marítima, pero no alcanza la eficiencia poética que tan notablemente distingue a la versión trunca.' Spitzer sees much more in the long text: not only the fine sea-rhythms of its third and fourth lines, which lull the Count to sleep, but folklore elements of some antiquity and great complexity which make the whole poem a tale about the stealing away of mortals into fairyland. For this interpretation it is important to note that the pause between lines 8 and 9 of the long version, between the shackling of the Count and his awakening, is a pause of no less than seven years *que fui perdido en la mar*. There is no doubt that the original poem reached Spain from France; *Arnaldos* has the *-os* typical of French names in Spain, from *Arnaud*, *Arnault(s)*, in another form *Renaud*.

In introducing his translation of the ballad, Lockhart remarked that 'I should be inclined to suppose that "more is meant than meets the ear", that some religious allegory is intended to be shadowed forth'. This referred, of course, to the short version. Hart takes up the suggestion and explores it in great detail with reference to the long text (the galley is the Church, the sailor is Peter or Christ, the Count's sleep is death, the rejoicings at the end are for his arrival in the city of heaven, etc.). Without accepting this, we can regard it as yet another view of an exceedingly rich text.

GLOSSARY

of archaic and uncommon words

NOTE—The translation given in each case is not a complete one but is intended solely to give the meaning required by the ballad text. The numbers refer to those of the ballads.

- abarca** *f* sandal
abollar to dent
acerado with a steel tip
acicalar to polish
adamar to fall head over heels in love
 with
adarga *f* shield
adarve *m* sentry-walk (*on top of a wall*)
adelantado *m* governor of a frontier
 area
ado where
afamar to restore the good name of
afinar to polish
aguijada *f* slash with a spur
aguinaldo *m*: **en**~ as a present
alarido *m* shout
alazán, alazano sorrel
albergar to take in, to give lodging to
albornoz *m* Moorish cape, burnouse
alcaide *m* warder, jailer (7); governor
 of a castle (38)
alcalde *m* judge (59, 67)
alcandora *f* white tunic
¡alcarria! shame on you! (41; *the Moor is quoting the start of a chapter of the Koran, where al-qari'a means 'the final retribution', that is 'the Day of Judgement'; see A. R. Nykl, Modern Philology, XVII (1917), 167*)
aleve *m* treachery
alevoso *m* traitor
- alfanje** *m* sword, scimitar
alfaquí *m* religious leader, teacher of the Koran
alférez *m* knight (*Arabic al-faras 'horse'*) or queen (*Arabic al-ferza 'queen', in chess*); see A. R. Nykl, *Modern Philology*, XVII (1917), 168
algarabía *f* Arabic
alguacil *m* man-at-arms, henchman (49, 54); constable (54)
alhaleme *m* veil
aliñado: **mal**~ not very sensible
aljuba *f* Moorish cloak
almejía *f* Moorish cloak of rough cloth
almete *m* helmet
alnado *m* stepson
allegar to arrive; (*transitive*) to bring up
allén, allende beyond (44, 49); over-seas, beyond the seas (1)
amainar to slacken, to fall calm
amiga *f* mistress
añafil *m* Moorish pipe
andanza: **de mala**~ wicked
aparejar to get ready, to prepare
aparejo *m* aid
apellido *m* war-cry
aquejar to pain
aquese *etc.* that
aqueste *etc.* this
arboledo *m* bushy plant
ardid bold, brave

- arma** *f*: **tocar al**~ to sound the call to arms
- armar** to set up (19 *etc.*); to load (*crossbow*: 34); to fit out (*ships*: 47); to bear, to carry (*arms*: 25); to hold (*Cortes*: 24); to plan (*treachery*: 22)
- arrabal** *m* outlying suburb of a town
- arráz** *m* chief, captain
- arrancada**: **lleváronnos de**~ they swept us before them
- arras** *f/pl.* property settled upon the bride as part of a marriage contract
- arremeter** to spur on (*horse*: 8); ~**con** to close with (*in battle*: 27)
- arrendar** to rein back
- asaz** more than a little
- asentar**: ~**el campo** to pitch camp
- asomada** *f*: **a la**~**de un llano** over-looking a plain
- azagaya** *f* spear
- ballesta** *f* crossbow
- balletero** *m* crossbowman
- baraja** *f* dispute, brawl
- baranda** *f* railing
- barragán** *m* brave man
- bascas** *f/pl.* signs of disgust
- bastida** *f* mobile siege-tower
- batalla** *f* battle-line, front (2); squadron (35); army (39)
- batel** *m* boat
- bayo** bay, reddish-brown
- bohordar**: the game or exercise of *bohordar* consisted of throwing heavy wooden darts at the *tablado* (*q.v.*) in an effort to knock it down
- bonete** *m* cap
- borceguí** *m* half-boot, high shoe
- bordón** *m* pilgrim's staff
- bracero** *m* strong-armed man
- brasa** *f* live coal
- bregas** *f/pl.* strife
- brial** *m* tunic
- brindar** to invite
- broslar** to embroider
- cabalgada** *f* cavalry raid (32); troop of horsemen (28, 29, 31)
- caballería** *f* cavalry, horsemen (30, 58 *etc.*); group of horsemen (7, 22)
- caballero**: ~**en** riding on
- cabe** near, close to
- cachas** *f/pl.* handle, haft
- cachicuernos**: **cuchillo**~ knife with a horn handle
- caja** *f* (**de guerra**) drum
- calandria** *f* skylark
- calzada** *f* highroad
- calzar** *m* shoe
- camarero** *m* page-boy
- camisión** *m* smock
- campal** pitched (*battle*)
- can** *m* dog
- caños** *m/pl.* aqueduct
- capellar** *m* hat
- carcañal** *m* heelbone
- carrillo** *m* cheek
- casa** *f* **de Meca** mosque
- catar** to see; **de un bel**~ good-looking; **por celos que dél cataba** because he was jealous of him
- caza** *f* rout (44)
- cebada** *f* barley, fodder
- cebar** to feed
- cebra** *f* wild ass, onager
- celada** *f* ambush
- cendal** *m* fine silk material, gauze
- cerrojo** *m* bolt
- cibera** *f* grain, corn (*for milling*)
- cincha** *f* horse's girth
- colodrillo** *m* back of the neck
- colorado** red
- combatir** to attack (27, 30)
- compaña** *f* company, army (5, 21); armed retinue (10)
- conseja** *f* tale
- consejada** *f* agreed plan
- contray** *m* a fine cloth
- coraje** *m*: **si me toman los**~ **s** if anger takes control of me
- cordel** *m* rope
- cordobán** *m* Cordovan leather
- correr** to raid (32)
- cortes** *f/pl.* court, judicial assembly
- cras** tomorrow
- cuadrillo** *m* shaft, arrow

- cuestión** *f*: **mover una ~** to start an argument
- cuidar** to think, to imagine (1); to intend to (10)
- cuíta** *f*: **con ~** under stress
- cuitado** wretched
- cumplido** virtuous
- dádiva** *f* gift
- daga** *f* dagger
- demanda** *f* enterprise
- demandar** to ask (51, 54); to ask for (22); to ask for (*something*) back (21); to seek in marriage (48, 63); to make a complaint about (26); **te será bien demandada** you will be called to account for it (5); **demándelo su pecado** let the sin be its own punishment (26)
- dende** from
- denodado** bold, fearless
- denunciar** to announce
- derribar** to put aside (8)
- desmesurado** violent (8)
- desque** as soon as
- discrepar: si yo fuese en ~lo** if I were the cause of breaking it up
- do** where
- doliente** gravely ill
- domeñar** to rule; to conquer
- ejercia** *f* rigging
- enamorada** *f* mistress (21, 28, 46); **siete años ha . . . que soy vuestra ~** I have been in love with you for seven years
- encañar: cuando los trigos encañan** when the wheat stalks begin to grow tall
- encenagado: como puerca encenagada** like a sow in the mire
- enderezarse** to stand up
- enhorcar** to hang
- enjaezar: enjaezado de grana** with scarlet trappings
- escanciar** to pour out (*wine*)
- escaño** *m* bench, ceremonial chair
- esmaltar** to adorn
- esparver** *m* sparrow-hawk
- esposas** *f/pl.* handcuffs
- estancia** *f* room
- fementido** treacherous
- filo: por ~** exactly
- finado** *m* dead man
- fincar** to stay
- fita** *f* ribbon or tag for fastening cloaks *etc.*
- florido** red in the face, flushed (23)
- fogueado** hardened by fire, hardened by boiling
- frisado** *m* silk plush
- galardón** *m* reward
- galardonar** to reward
- garrido** beautiful
- gentil** beautiful (66); noble (47, 65)
- gesto** *m* face (26); **su ~ muy demudado** his face contorted with anger
- gracia** *f*: **de ~** free; **¿cómo era la tu ~?** what is your name?
- grima** *f* fear, horror
- guarir** to cure (34); **~de** to recover from (*wounds*: 47)
- guarnido** rich, powerful
- heredad** *f* estate
- hideperro** *m* bastard
- hideputa** *m* bastard
- hijasdalgo: dueñas ~** noblewomen
- hijodalgo** *m* nobleman
- hito: mirar en ~** to stare (*someone*) up and down
- holanda** *f* fine linen, cambric
- holgar** to please, to give pleasure to (44); to rest (54); to live in luxury (58); **~con** to make love to (7, 23, 25, 54 *etc.*); **~se con** to be pleased with; **a bel ~** at their pleasure (54)
- hueste** *f* host, army
- jara** *f* thicket
- jaral** *m* scrub
- jerga** *f* coarse cloth

- jineta: caballero a la~** riding with high stirrups and bent legs
- jornada** *f* day (5); day's journey, stage (6, 23, 51); enterprise, attack (28)
- jubón** *m* doublet
- jura** *f* oath
- juro: de~** as of right, with full legal possession
- labrar** to build (33); to embroider (20, 30, 46); **labrada de marfil** worked in ivory (65)
- lasamente** wearily
- librar: quedaba mejor librado** came off best; **yo soy quien mejor librara** I was best able to get away
- lid** *f* battle
- lombarda** *f* lombard (*an ancient cannon*)
- loriga** *f* breastplate
- lozanía** *f* pride, haughtiness; **con~** arrogantly
- lozano** handsome, beautiful
- maestro** *m* surgeon
- malo: si mala me la dijere** if he should answer me no
- mallado** mailed, of mail
- mancilla** *f* pity (50, 54); **que de verle era~** the sight of him filled one with pity (3); **con~que dél han** out of the pity they feel for him (50); **gran~en sí tenía** he was filled with grief (3); **ves de la escuchar** it fills one with sorrow to hear of it; **con~** in dishonour (25)
- manera: sobre~** excessive, overwhelming
- manida** *f* haunts, lair
- manjar** *m* food
- maña** *f*: **malas ~s** evil ways
- marlota** *f* Moorish gown
- maravilla** *f*: **a~** marvellously (2, 35); in the most terrible fashion (7)
- mayoral** *m/f* overseer
- menguado: en hora menguada** in an unlucky hour
- mensajería** *f* message
- mercedes** *f/pl.* thanks
- mesurado** prudent
- misa** *f*: **misa rezada** sung mass (*at the end of which members of the congregation gave each other the kiss of peace*)
- mocho** flat-topped (*tower*)
- mojón** *m* boundary-stone
- monumento** *m* bier
- morcillo** reddish-black (*horse*)
- morería** *f* Moorish quarter (15); Moors, Moorish population (30, 33); Moorish religion (45)
- morisma** *f* Moors (*collectively*)
- morón** *m* dark brown or black horse
- mote** *m* inscription
- mustio** downcast
- notar** to check (1)
- novena** *f* novena (*special prayers on nine successive days*)
- nuevas** *f/pl.* news
- palo: de~** wooden
- palomar** *m* dovecote
- pan** *m* wheat (41)
- par: en~del río** down beside the river
- pasa** *f* raisins
- patada** *f* hoofbeat
- pecho** *m* tax (9)
- pedrería** *f*: **que eran de gran~** which were covered with precious stones
- peón** *m* foot-soldier
- perlado** *m* prelate, bishop
- petral** *m* breast-strap
- pífo** piebald (*horse*)
- pleitesía** *f*: **a~** on terms
- pleito** *m* complaint (57)
- podencia** *f* hound
- poder: con el~de la gente** in the press of people
- poderes** *m/pl.* forces, troops
- poridad** *f* secrecy
- portillo** *m* breach

- postigo** *m* postern gate
postrimería *f* end, last days
pretal *m* breast-strap
puerco espín *m* wild boar
puerto *m* pass (43)
- quedo: de~** quietly
querellarse to complain
querer + *inf.* to be about to (15, 49, 54 *etc.*); **que quería reventar** as though he would burst (50, 54); **quiera . . . quiera** either . . . or (26)
- quintal** *m* hundredweight
- rastrillo** *m* portcullis
real *m* royal camp, army headquarters
recaudar to guard, to protect
recordar to wake up (49, 56)
repartidor: ~en su haber generous with his wealth
retar to challenge
retornar: no la pueden~ they cannot bring her round
retraer to reproach
revolver: ~te hían guerra they would stir up war against you
rico: ricos hombres noblemen
rocín, rocino hack, horse
romería *f* pilgrimage
romero *m* pilgrim
ropas *f/pl.*: **~continas** everyday clothes; **~de pascua** best clothes
roquete *m* barbed spear
- saltar** to raid
sandío: loca sandía raving mad
sayal *m* coarse woollen cloth
sayo *m* tunic, smock
señalado special
señoría *f* realm
siesta *f* heat (13)
sinistro left
sirgo *m* silk stuff
so under
sobarbada *f* reproach
soldada *f* pay
solimán *m* corrosive sublimate
- soltar** to explain (*dream*: 45)
sonada *f* boasting, boastful talk
- tablado** *m* structure of planks, mock castle, at which darts were thrown in the game or exercise of *bohordar* (10); table of planks (12)
- tablas** *f/pl.* checkers
tamaño so great, such
telilla *f*: **~les tengo urdida** I have woven such a web for them
tenencia *f* fief (6); rule (38)
tinto: ~de sangre bloodstained
tiznado coal-black
~toca *f* cap (30); **tocas** *f/pl.* head-dress (25)
tocar: toca llevaba tocada he had a cap on his head
tomar: todos de armas~ all capable of bearing arms
tornabodas *f/pl.* second part of the wedding festivities (*at bridegroom's home*)
tornadizo *m* renegade (*Christian convert to Mohammedanism*)
tornado turned on a lathe
tranzado braided, plaited
traspasar to hand over
tullido maimed
- ufano** proud, noble
- vagar: no de~** with all possible speed
vara *f* dart, shaft
varica *f* staff
vellido fine, handsome
venablo *m* javelin
vergel *m* garden, orchard
viandas *f/pl.* food
villa *f* town
villano *m* villein
vira *f* dart
- yantar** *f* meal; (*verb*) to have lunch
- zafira: piedra~** sapphire
zarzahán *m* striped silk

INDEX OF FIRST LINES

	PAGE
Abenámar, Abenámar (33)	125
A Calatrava la Vieja (10)	75
A caza iban, a caza (63)	196
A cazar va don Rodrigo (13)	86
A cazar va el caballero (67)	203
Afuera, afuera, Rodrigo (16)	91
Álora, la bien cercada (34)	127
Blanca sois, señora mía (64)	197
Buen conde Fernán González (9)	72
Cabalga Diego Laínez (26)	110
Caballeros de Moclín (32)	124
Castellanos y leoneses (8)	70
Cercada tiene a Baeza (27)	115
Con cartas y mensajeros (6)	62
Dadme nuevas, caballeros (36)	131
De Antequera partió el moro (30)	118
De concierto están los condes (22)	103
Del Soldán de Babilonia (47)	154
Día era de San Antón (35)	129
Doliente estaba, doliente (14)	88
Domingo era de Ramos (42)	146
Durandarte, Durandarte (52)	167
En Burgos está el buen rey (25)	108
En Castilla está un castillo (48)	156
En Ceuta está don Julián (1)	52
En los campos de Alventosa (43)	147
En los reinos de León (4)	59
En París está doña Alda (44)	150
En Santa Gadea de Burgos (20)	96
Estábase la condesa (50)	161
Estáse la gentil dama (66)	201
Fontefrida, Fontefrida (61)	193
Gerineldos, Gerineldos (55)	183
Hélo, hélo, por do viene (21)	100
Herido está don Tristán (56)	187
Jugando estaba el rey moro (37)	133
La bella malmaridada (65)	199
La mañana de San Juan (31)	122

	PAGE
Las huestes de don Rodrigo (3)	56
Los vientos eran contrarios (2)	54
Medianoche era por filo (54)	171
Moricos, los mis moricos (28)	116
Morir os queredes, padre (15)	89
Moro alcaide, moro alcaide (38)	134
Nunca fuera caballero (57)	188
Nuño Vero, Nuño Vero (46)	153
Oh Belerma, oh Belerma (53)	168
Pártese el moro Alicante (12)	82
Paseábase el rey moro (39)	136
Por aquel postigo viejo (19)	95
Por Guadalquivir arriba (23)	105
Por las riberas de Arlanza (5)	60
Por los caños de Carmona (45)	152
Preso está Fernán González (7)	66
Que por mayo era, por mayo (69)	207
Quién hubiese tal ventura (70)	208
Reduán, bien se te acuerda (29)	116
Rey don Sancho, rey don Sancho (17)	92
Rosa fresca, Rosa fresca (62)	195
Saliendo de Canicosa (11)	80
Sobre Baza estaba el rey (40)	138
Todas las gentes dormían (49)	158
Tres Cortes armara el rey (24)	107
Tres hijuelos había el rey (58)	189
Vámonos, dijo, mi tío (51)	164
Vengo brindado, Mariana (68)	205
Ya cabalga Diego Ordóñez (18)	94
Ya comienzan los franceses (41)	142
Yo me adamé una amiga (60)	192
Yo me era mora Moraima (59)	191



su hija Urraca
será mi enamorada,

SPANISH BALLADS

What are ballads? Ballads are a whole type and tradition of literature, touching the lyric and the sentimental folksong at one extreme, and the epic at the other. They have strong connections with popular legend and folklore, and their themes are often international. Their origins and development are imperfectly known and the subject of much debate. In his extensive Introduction, C. Colin Smith considers the history of the Spanish ballads, their origin, development, form, structure and style, themes and sentiments. The ballads presented in this book are representative of most groups of the *romances viejos* and a few of the *juglarescos*, and are of a high poetic quality. The spelling of the texts have been modernised in all cases except where archaic forms must be retained for metrical reasons, and references and notes are given with each ballad. There is a full bibliography and a glossary of difficult words, and the results of the latest research and theory are incorporated in the Introduction and Notes. This book will encourage many who do not know the Spanish ballads to make their acquaintance, and teach students of Spain a great deal about the country, her history and her people.

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Después de yo harto de ella
la entregaré a mi compañera.