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The Dawn - A Study of the Image and Related Themes in the Traditional Love Lyric of Medieval Spain and Portugal

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Abstract

The object of this study is to investigate the origins of the traditional lyric poetry of the Iberian Peninsula through an analysis of the poetry of dawn meeting. The formative influences on each of the three types of traditional poetry, the Mozarabic *kharjas*, the Galician *cantigas* and the Castilian *villancicos* are examined and possible relationships are indicated.

An introductory survey reviews the state of scholarship in the field of Spanish lyric poetry. Particular reference is made to the importance of the comparatively recent discovery of the *kharjas*, because their publication has occasioned a profound reappraisal of the origins of Romance vernacular poetry. A new dimension has been brought not only to the study of the medieval lyric of Spain and Portugal but also to considerations of the relevance of the Provencal lyric to the poetry of the Peninsula.

The individuality of the traditional Iberian lyric is seen in its singularly consistent use of certain related themes, one of the most significant of these being the theme of lovers' meeting at dawn. Each type of lyric is viewed against its cultural background and the many influences both popular and learned which contribute to its composition, to the development of its imagery and to its preservation are assessed. The treatment of the dawn theme and its associated imagery in each area of poetic composition is analysed both for continuity and for innovation and originality.
Since religion, either Christian or pagan, is seen to be influential in the shaping of traditional poetry, religion as a theme of the poetry of meeting is reviewed in the concluding chapter. In its various aspects it is found to accord with many of the characteristics described in the previous chapters.
# Table of Contents

**Preface**  
v
**Abbreviations**  
vii

**Introduction**  
1

**Notes**  
50

## Chapter I. The Mozarabic Lyric

**Possible Origins of the Tradition of Dawn Meeting**  
60

**Some Further Aspects of the Mozarabic Lyrics of Meeting: sources and developments**  
86

**Notes**  
123

## Chapter II. The Emergence of the Cantigas de amigo

**The Galician Alborada**  
130

**Notes**  
158

**Notes**  
185

## Chapter III. The Dawn Tradition and the Expansion of Imagery in the Castilian Lyric

**The Lyrical Landscape**  
195

**Notes**  
218

**Notes**  
251

## Chapter IV. Religion and Poems of Meeting

**Attitudes to God**  
261

**The Galician Pilgrimage**  
278

**Morality and Ritual in Castile**  
295

**Notes**  
310

**Conclusion**  
317

**Notes**  
323

**Bibliography**  
324
Preface

The terms 'popular' and 'traditional' are used in this thesis in accordance with the definitions given by Peter Dronke and Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Dronke defines popular poetry thus:

In the composition of popular poetry the poet loosens his personal bonds with the work in order to surrender it to the people: that is to the whole of a society, without distinction of class. It is not the particular status of the poet that counts, but what he intends shall become of his poem. It is popular if the people come to make it their own. Then the author's signature is unimportant - others may feel entitled to make changes or adaptations, to add or to retouch.

In Spanish literary criticism 'popular' has largely been superseded by Menéndez Pidal's definition of traditional poetry, the 'estilo común de la colectividad'. The tradicionalista approach however has much in common with Dronke's concept of popular poetry:

El estilo anónimo o colectivo es resultado natural de la transmisión de una obra a través de varias generaciones, refundida por los varios propagadores de ella, los cuales en sus refundiciones y variantes van despojando el estilo del primer autor, o autores sucesivos, de todo aquello que no conviene al gusto colectivo más corriente, y así van puliendo el estilo personal, como el agua del río pule y redondea las piedras que arrastra en su corriente.

Alan Deyermond observes that Menéndez Pidal tends to overlook the learned origin of much traditional verse and stresses that, in the study of medieval literature, "It is impossible to separate rigorously popular and learned verse, oral and written transmission, sacred and profane love-poetry, ecclesiastical and secular life, fact and fiction."
Specific acknowledgements for suggestions, items of information and references appear as appropriate in the text of the thesis; I wish however to express a profound debt of gratitude to my supervisor, Professor A.D. Deyermond, for his guidance and help throughout the course of my research. My thanks are also due to Mr Peter Dronke for many stimulating discussions and much encouragement and to Professor Colin Smith for his interest in my work. I am most grateful to the President and Fellows of Lucy Cavendish College for allowing me the facilities to conduct my research in Cambridge and for affording me very valuable moral support.
Abbreviations

A.H. = Analecta Hymnica XXVII

Cdea = Cantigas de amigo, ed. J.J. Nunes (Lisbon 1928; repr. 1973)

Cde amor = Cantigas de amor, ed. J.J. Nunes (Coimbra, 1932)

C.S.M. = Cantigas de Santa Maria, ed. Walter Mettmann
  4 vols. (Coimbra, 1959-64)

G.G. = Las jarchas romances de la serie árabe en su marco,
  ed. E. García Gómez (Barcelona, 1975)

LHTP = Lírica hispánica de tipo popular, ed Margit Freik
  Alatorre (Mexico, 1966)

P.L. = Patrologia Latina

PTT = Antología de la poesía española - Poesía de tipo
  tradicional, ed. Damaso Alonso and José M. Blecua (Madrid, 1956)

Sola-Solé = Corpus de poesía mozárabe (las barzás -
  andalusíes), ed. J.M. Sola-Solé
  (Barcelona, 1973)

Stern = Les Chansons mozarabes (Oxford, 1964)
INTRODUCTION

The startling discovery made by Samuel Stern in 1948 of the Mozarabic kharjas, snatches of apparently popular song in the Romance dialect of Muslim Spain, opened a vast new field of medieval scholarship and provoked a major reassessment of previously held theories about the origins of vernacular Romance poetry in Europe. Until the discovery of the kharjas, it was assumed that the troubadour poetry of Guilhem IX, Count of Poitiers and Duke of Aquitaine (1071-1127), constituted the earliest examples of the Romance lyric, in Alfred Jeanroy's words: 'les plus anciens de tous les vers lyriques dans une langue moderne'. For want of other evidence, scholars, however sceptical, were forced to acquiesce in Jeanroy's dogmatic theories which ascribed to France the origins of the entire corpus of the poetry of Romance-speaking Europe. Arguments about the origins of Provençal poetry are probably incapable of resolution, but the very existence of the kharjas, dating from at least half a century before the first troubadour poems, has profound implications for Provençal scholarship. Irénée Cluze, while finding little coincidence in poetic usage or philosophy between troubadour poetry and the kharjas, nevertheless concludes that the kharjas may well represent the type of substratum popular poetry, present throughout southern Europe, of which the troubadour poets would have been well aware. Peter Dronke used the kharjas in his argument to demolish the earlier theories of scholars such as C.S. Lewis that: 'French poets, in the eleventh century, discovered or invented, or were the first to express, that romantic species of passion which English poets
were still writing about in the nineteenth.\(^5\) For scholars who sought the origins of Courtly Love in Arabic notions of chivalry and love, the kharjas provided the vital literary, lyrical link between the two cultures of Christendom and Islam. A.R. Nykl,\(^6\) in 1933, had stated quite categorically that contacts existed between the Hispano-Arabic and Christian cultures and maintained that, in adopting Hispano-Arabic forms of versification, the muwaṣṣaḥa and its near relative, the zéjel, the Provençal poets were simply following the good military tactics of the Crusaders by improving upon the superior techniques of the enemy. He asserted that Arabic was well known in Christian Europe and that from the time of Ordoñño I there were skilful translators at the Spanish courts; moreover, Alfonso VI had a Moorish wife, Zaida. Nykl states his case passionately:

Estoy cierto de que Guillermo, Marcabrú y Jaufre Rudel tuvieron muchas posibilidades de obtener traducciones de aquellas canciones y melodías que quisiesen o deseasean; pero que lo que estuvo a su alcance hacer sin dificultad, y evidentemente hicieron, fue imitar en su propia lengua tales melodías y ritmos, sin mencionar la fuente, adaptándolos a las necesidades del vers y el so.

Nykl expanded this theory in his book in which he assembled a lengthy concordance of themes common to Arabic poetry and that of the Galician troubadours, thus indicating the possible diffusion of Arabic themes in Christian territory.\(^7\) A.J. Denomy was quick to seize on the significance of the muwaṣṣaḥa and zéjel for this argument and, through the vehicle of the poetry of Al-Andalus, related many of the concepts of love as expressed by the Provençal troubadours to Arabic precedents.\(^8\) More tentatively a comparison has recently been made by Samuel G. Armistead between a kharja and the refrain of a Provençal balada.
which, despite the uncertainty of the kharja text, appear to have a common theme, that of the summons to the lover in the absence of a jealous third party. Helen Boreland has demonstrated the possibility of Provençal/kharja influence in the reverse direction in an article in which she compares the Provençal concept of the 'estranhes dolc' with 'mio doler al-garib', the interpretation made by Dámaso Alonso and J.M. Sola-Solé of the third line of a kharja used and probably amended from its earlier traditional form by the thirteenth-century Hebrew poet, Todros Abulafia.

Stern, however, despite the brilliance of his own discovery, adamantly refused to admit the possibility of Arabic influence on Provençal:

That the troubadours could not have been in direct contact with Arabic poetry is a direct consequence of the indisputable fact that they did not know and could not have known, enough to understand it.

Despite Stern's reservations, there is much common ground between Provençal and kharja scholarship and, as will emerge in the course of this study, in many cases research in the two fields is interdependent. The illumination which the kharjas bring to bear on Provençal poetry is however but one aspect of their importance, though it does serve to stress their unique situation in the history of European literature and poetic composition. For the Hispanist, the kharjas in their own right afford scope for studies which range from the actual establishing of texts to the discussion of their origins and their relationship to the other main branches of traditional poetry in the Iberian Peninsula, the Galician-Portuguese cantigas de amigo and the Castilian villancicos.
According to the Dhakhira of the Arabic historian Ibn Bassam, written between 1106 and 1118, the classical Arabic form, the muwassaha, was invented in about the year 900 A.D. by Muhammad ibn Hammud al Qabri al-Makfu, the blind man of Cabra. In the words of Ibn Bassam, the inventor of the muwassaha 'took some colloquial (Arabic) or 'aljami' (Romance) words which he called the markaz and on them built the muwassaha'. Similarly Ibn Sana al-Mulk, the compiler of an anthology of muwasahas, wrote of the rules of muwassaha composition:

The kharja should be composed of colloquial language and the words of popular speech... In Spanish, the kharja should be vivid and fiery... 12

It is therefore the authority of the Arabic historians which affirms that the kharjas are poems of the racially mixed populace of Muslim Spain, adopted and sometimes adapted by the cultured court poets, both Arabic and Hebrew, as the metrical basis of their lengthy and ornate panegyrics to statesmen, funeral laments and love poems. The muwasaha is a stanzaic poem usually consisting of five strophes; each strophe consists of a ghusan and a simt or qutil, in Spanish terms mudanza and vuelta; the mudanza has its own mono-rhyme scheme which varies from stanza to stanza but the vueltas share a common rhyme scheme, this is in fact the rhyme scheme of the final vuelta, the markaz ('support') or kharja ('ending'). The poem may be preceded by a prelude or matla which bears the rhyme of the kharja. The muwasaha itself derives its name from an ornamental belt worn in north Africa, the wishah, which bears an alternating design. The muwasaha apart from the kharja is in classical Arabic, unlike its companion form, the zel which is in vulgar Arabic, always
begins with common rhyme lines and has no kharja. The earliest muwassaha poet, whose poetry containing a Romance kharja survives, was Yosef al-Katib, the Scribe. He composed a panegyric to Semuel ibn Negrella, vizir of the kings of Granada, and his brother, Ishaq, who died in 1042. Yosef al-Katib's muwassaha must have been composed before that date, that is, at least thirty years before the birth of Guilhem of Poitiers. The earliest documented Arabic muwassaha poet, Abū-l-Walid Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz ibn al-Mu'allim could well have been writing poetry at about the same period, since he is thought to have been vizir to Mu'tadid of Seville who reigned from 1042 to 1069. The muwassaha ironically reached its apogee during the repressive years of the Almoravid period in the hands of two great contemporary poets, the Jew, Yehuda Halevi (1075-1140) and the Hispano-Arabic poet, Abū-l-'Abbās al A'mā al Tutilli, the blind man of Tudela who died in 1126. Frequently both Arabic and Hebrew poets use the same or versions of similar kharjas to conclude their muwassahas. The fact that Hebrew poets use kharjas with a mixed Romance/Arabic vocabulary further testifies to the popular nature of the kharja songs and also illustrates the complex linguistic situation of Al-Andalus, carefully elucidated by Stern:

The majority of the population (even those who were not of Spanish origin) learnt to speak the Romance dialect. Hence in practice even the Muslims of Spain were bilingual, and in consequence one can in Muslim Spain distinguish five different languages. Vulgar Arabic was commonly spoken by the Muslims, whether of local or immigrant stock, and by the majority of Christians too. This was also the spoken language of the Jews. The Romance vernacular was spoken by the Mozarabs, but was also employed as a second language by the Muslims and by the Jews. These two vernacular dialects were in general employed without any distinction of religion.
The literary language, on the other hand, had for the most part a distribution which corresponded to religious division. Classical Arabic, which was also used by the educated as a cultivated language, was the only literary language of the Muslims. It was, however, also used on occasion by Christians and regularly by Jews. The liturgical language of the Christians and that in which they wrote their literature was Latin, although classical Arabic had been adopted to a certain extent as the literary language of the Christians. Finally, the Jews who used Arabic (and Romance) as their vernaculars, and who made liberal use of Arabic in Hebrew characters for literary purposes, possessed yet another language: Hebrew.13

The publication of Stern's historic paper in Al-Andalus in 1948,14 outlining the features of the muwassaha and providing the texts of twenty Romance kharjas of Hebrew muwassahas, had in fact been anticipated as early as 1894 by Menéndez y Pelayo's speculations on "versos castellanos extrañamente mezclados con el texto hebreo". These lines Menéndez y Pelayo transcribed thus:

Venit la fesca iuvencillo
¿Quem conde meu coragion ferylllo? 15

In 1933 Nykl, on the basis of the accounts of the Arabic historians, suggested that there might exist some as yet undiscovered popular Romance lyrics concealed among classical Arabic poems, but so sure was he of the rapport between the poets of Muslim Spain and the Provengal troubadours that he regarded the Romance literature of Al-Andalus as superfluous to his proof.16

In 1946, J.M. Millás Vallicrosa suggested amendments to the form of the kharja proposed by Menéndez y Pelayo and published two more, both from Yahuda Hâlwî 's Divan, the one welcoming Alfonso VI's courtier, Yosef ibn Ferrusiel, to Guadalajara, and the other celebrating the visit of the poet's close friend ibn Qamaniel to Magreb in 1130.17 Millás Vallicrosa revealed the certain existence of many more Romance and hybrid Romance/
Vulgar Arabic kharjas in other muwaṣṣahas but deemed them indecipherable. Stern's efforts proved that this was not the case for twenty kharjas of Hebrew muwaṣṣahas and subsequently for one Arabic muwaṣṣaha, composed by the blind man of Tudela. Emilio García Gómez complemented Stern's collection of Hebrew muwaṣṣahas with the publication of a series of Arabic muwaṣṣahas with Romance refrains.

Thus the important first steps in kharja research in the early 1950's in the wake of Stern's initial discovery brought to light the main body of some fifty kharja texts in Hebrew and Arabic muwaṣṣahas and then concentrated inevitably on attempts to establish the fragmentary and often intractable transcription of those texts. Since the kharjas have lain hidden in Arabic and Hebrew script, the problems of their transcription, translation and reconstruction are formidable. Richard Hitchcock has introduced a welcome note of caution to the field of kharja reconstruction in an article, where he points out the many pitfalls awaiting the unwary scholar. He is particularly critical of García Gómez for unwarranted regrouping of consonants in the Arabic script to produce conveniently recognisable Romance groups. Hitchcock is also very critical of literary scholars who have selected the most appropriate though not necessarily the most accurate or the most justifiable readings of certain kharjas to suit preconceived literary theories. One has therefore to proceed with extreme caution in assessing the literary worth of the kharjas, but it is possible even on the basis of the most conservative and fragmentary texts, those of Stern, to single out distinct thematic features of kharja composition - the role of the young girl as singer of the
kharjas, the role of the mother as confidante and friend of the girl, the urban setting, distress at the lover's departure and absence, the call to the lover to come at dawn and the identification of the lover with the break of day, and the fear of the spy. Stern's work, when compared with the publications of his successors in the field, provides a much wider basis, not only for a comprehensive critical survey of the thematic material, but also for a discussion of the historical situation of the kharjas in literature. Garcia Gómez, whose much enlarged collection of Arabic muwaṣṣahas, published in full and with translations, increased substantially the number of known kharjas, erred on the side of the fanciful in his renderings of the kharjas. His collection, however, when used warily and in conjunction with the collections of other important scholars, notably J.M. Sola-Solé who has not only assembled all variant readings of the kharjas but for the first time has provided translations for the Hebrew as well as the Arabic muwaṣṣahas, is attractive both for its availability and clarity of presentation.

Initial assessments of the kharjas tended to place them in the virtually unbounded category of universal women's love song. Dámaso Alonso — and later Stephen Reckert — made comparisons with Chinese lyrics, while Leo Spitzer reviewed the kharjas in the light of Theodor Frings' theories of the origins of popular lyric poetry and found that they conform to the universal pattern of lyrics of love longing traditionally voiced by women. For Menéndez Pidal the kharjas appeared as the ultimate vindication of his cherished neo-traditionalist approach:
Cuando un canto perdura en una larga y extensa popularidad, adquiere selectivamente el estilo que debemos llamar "tradicional", estilo común de la colectividad, no estilo personal de un individuo; estilo caracterizado por simplicidad perfecta, esencialidad intensa, liricidad transparente como el agua manantial, algo, en fin, elaborado y depurado en el transcurso del tiempo, tan inconfundible con el artificio de cualquier estilo individual, por sencillo que éste sea, como un producto natural es inconfundible con los fabricados por el hombre.  

This emotive approach to his native poetry, which Menéndez Pidal shares with Alonso for whom the kharjas are evidence of a deep popular poetic urge, is hotly rejected by critics of the Italian school. Silvio Pellegrini dismisses the kharjas as creations of cultured Arabic and Hebrew poets and fails to discern any relationship between the kharjas and the cantigas. Aurelio Roncaglia admits Alonso's notion of the 'carácter popular' of the kharjas on the psychological level in their 'desnuda, sencilla, tremula y impregnante belleza' but rejects all possibility of composition by the people. He sees in the kharjas evidence of popularising tendencies among Hebrew and Arabic poets but not of genuine popular poems. He indicates several Classical and Biblical reminiscences in the kharjas and suggests that the Arabic and Hebrew poets incorporated a smattering of Romance words into the kharjas to produce a lighter, more lucid style than the ornate classical languages of the main body of their muwassahas.

Happily in recent years the emotional generalisations of the early years of kharja studies have given way to a greater concern for verifiable detail. Menéndez Pidal's intuition that the kharjas might be the Romance descendants of 'espontáneos cantos latinos, consustanciales con la lengua latina vulgar' has been given substance by a study carried out with modern
analytical techniques by James T. Monroe. He has adopted the methods of the students of oral formulaic diction in epic poetry and applied them to the *kharjas*. His results show a clear formulaic tendency in the *kharjas* in such phrases as 'Gar que farayu' or 'ya mamma' and these he ascribes to similar formulaic expressions in the undocumented Vulgar Latin background. Monroe also examines the hawfi poetry of north Africa and, while finding no formulaic expressions in common with the *kharjas*, he does find some remarkable thematic similarities, which the *kharjas* do not share with northern poems. These elements, which include the mother figure as the girl's confidante, the apparent confusion between lover and son, and the urban environment are all found in Sumerian, Greek, Hebrew and Arabic poetry, and Monroe suggests that their appearance in the *kharjas* may represent the survival in Spain of an archaic Mediterranean genre, closely akin to paganism. Monroe's study in fact develops in relation to north African popular poetry the thesis of a comprehensive survey undertaken by Elvira Gangutia Elícegui who investigates proposals made by both Roncaglia and María Rosa Lida de Malkiel that parallels may be found for the *kharjas* in the poetry of Sappho and Meleager. Gangutia Elícegui's research shows that a type of ritualistic *kharja* existed in ancient Mesopotamia, sung in celebration of the Sumerian love goddess, Inanna or Ishtar. The songs are directed to Dumuzi or Tammuz, the goddess's lover/child. Ritual prostitution forms a part of the cult and this may account for the sympathetic role of the mother figure. These rites of Astarte came to Greece through Crete where the goddess became identified with Aphrodite. Ancient Greek poetry reveals echoes of the tradition but, in
the masculine classical tradition, feminine love song is relegated to comedy. The genre survived in Locris and revived in the Hellenistic period. Evidence for its existence in Latin documents suggests that it may have reached Italy from the Greek mainland and Sicily. The Phoenicians may have taken their versions of the songs to Carthage and perhaps to their colony, Gades or Cadiz, where the women according to numerous classical authors were notorious for their lewd songs and dances, which were probably in Latin, the remnants of pagan religious songs. While Gangutia Elícegui's argument is persuasive and relevant, she nonetheless prefers to ignore the fact that many of the poetic features which she outlines are also common to Hebrew and Christian belief and culture and that these may also have had a significant part to play in the survival or revival of pagan traditions in Al-Andalus.

Stern was of the tentative opinion that the origins of the poetic forms, the muwaṣṣaḥa and the zéjāl, were to be found in Romance, particularly since both are indigenous to Muslim Spain, but nevertheless, because of the simplicity of the forms, affirmed that it was quite possible that they could have risen independently in different parts of Europe.38 Brian Dutton, however, has sought to prove the Romance origins of the muwaṣṣaḥa in an investigation of its technical terminology.39 Dutton argues that at least two of the technical terms of the muwaṣṣaḥa, the qufl and the markaz, are the direct Arabic adaptations or translations of comparable Romance terms, the copla and estribote. He also believes that the name of one of the supposed inventors of the muwaṣṣaḥa may give a clue to his Mozarabic background: Ibn Bassam mentions Muḥammad ibn ʿIḥāmmud al Qabri al-makfuf,
the blind man of Cabra, as the inventor of the muwassha, but his information is based on hearsay. Al-Hijari, however, in his al-Mushib, now lost but quoted by other authors, names Muqaddam ibn Mu'afa, poet to the emir Abdullah al-Marwani, as the first muwassha poet. Dutton observes that the name 'Muqaddam' can be precisely translated into the attested Latin name 'Praefectus Salvatus'. He suggests therefore that 'Muqaddam' is really an Arabic version of a Latin name and that Muqaddam ibn Mu'afa may have been a recent convert to Islam, the son of a Romance-speaking mother. As such he could well have represented a point of contact between the two cultures and might well have used the Romance estribote as the model and markaz of a new genre, the muwassha.

J. Millá's Vallicrosa in his early work on the kharjas asserted that the strophic and refrain form of Spanish Hebrew poetry was directly inspired by choral poetry in which soloist and congregation took alternating parts. This view was echoed by Francisco Cantera in an article which illuminated many obscure kharja texts. The alternating technique, according to Millá's Vallicrosa, was derived from Biblical precedents which developed into the Jewish 'paytanim' and the Christian ecclesiastical Latin chants:

Muy a menudo tanto los estribillos o repartos como el último verso de las estrofas que rima con dicho estribillo son pasajes bíblicos, llenos de prestigio poético o litúrgico, son bendiciones oelogios o simples exclamaciones aleluyáticas.

This argument, of course, is not incompatible with the argument for the Romance origins of the muwassha. Its logical conclusion would be the adoption into Arabic of the Hebrew/Christian forms. Before the discovery of the kharjas,
Rodrigues Lapa had suggested that the poetic forms of Romance-speaking Europe may have had their basis in the chants and antiphons of the widely diffused Mozarabic liturgy. Later he revised his opinion and proposed that the liturgical forms of Provence and Galicia may have imitated the forms of popular poetry. Menéndez Pidal strongly refuted any possibility of ecclesiastical influence on the muwaṣṣaṭ/kharja form on the grounds that the chants may contain an estribillo but not a vuelta. While metrical considerations are outside the scope of this thesis, the possibility of liturgical analogues to the poetical forms of Al-Andalus is significant for the consideration of themes and language.

In a footnote to the section on dawn poetry in Das origen da poesia lírica em Portugal na idade média, Rodrigues Lapa mentions a very early dawn liturgy, from the Breviariúm Gothicum of uncertain date, somewhere between the sixth and eleventh centuries, as a possible influence in the formation of the secular alborada, the lyric of dawn meeting. Jole Scudieri Ruggieri expanded Rodrigues Lapa's argument, not in a study of the Peninsular dawn poems for their own sakes, but in refutation of Jeanroy's theory in relation to the lyrics of Provence that:

les hymnes de ce genre qui sous les plumes savantes, celles de S. Ambroise et de Prudence, par exemple, s'amplifiaient en développements mystiques et allégoriques, n'exerçèrent naturellement aucune influence sur les aubes profanes; mais elles ont été connues et imitées par les auteurs d'aubes religieuses. 48

Scudieri Ruggieri sees in Spain, particularly in the strength of the Mozarabic liturgies, the Breviariúm Gothicum, the Liber Mozarabicus Sacramentorum and the Mozarabic hymns, the lost
link between an early liturgical dawn tradition and the religious albae of Provence, which, in turn, she believes, encouraged the composition of the secular alba. Obviously this theory lends itself much more immediately to the study of the alboradas, poems of dawn meeting, of the Iberian Peninsula and, together with Rodrigues Lapa's suggestion, is an invaluable guide to the origins of some influences governing the tradition of dawn meeting in the popular love poetry of Spain. It would appear too, from a survey of Hitchcock's extremely useful kharja bibliography, that this is an area which has not been investigated in any depth by other researchers.50

Naturally the existence of the kharjas has a profound significance for the study of the cantigas de amigo, and their discovery has brought a new historical perspective to bear on the cantigas. Again, however, the question of a relationship with the poetry of Provence arises but with a different emphasis and, until the discovery of the kharjas, it was primarily the obvious influence of Provençal on the Galician-Portuguese lyrics which exercised the minds of scholars. Consequently in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the origins of the Provençal lyric itself assumed dominant proportions in the study of the cantigas. Rodrigues Lapa lucidly expounded the many conflicting theories in his investigation, Das origens da poesia lírica em Portugal na idade-média:51 Burdach proposed the theory of Arabic origins on the grounds of similarities between Provençal and Arabic poetry, both the result of the 'arabisation' of Greco-Roman poetry. Ribera52 found the origins of European musical theories in Arabic music; the Ars Mensurabilis of thirteenth-century Europe conformed to Arabic musical treatises
of the ninth century and many Arabic instruments appeared in Europe. Jeanroy only recanted his view that all European lyric poetry derived from a lost French lyricism in 1903, after the careful destruction of his argument by Lang who pointed out that there was little comparison between the development of Portuguese and of French poetry, that the characteristically French theme of the 'malmaridada' is absent from the Portuguese lyric, that the national characteristic of the Portuguese lyric is the theme of the lover's absence on campaign against the Moors and that there are no pilgrimage songs in French. Meyer and Faral reduced all features of medieval composition, rhythmic and conceptual, to the Latin background.

Spanish scholars naturally found the extraneous theory of the origins of their lyric poetry somewhat unpalatable. In 1861 Amador de los Ríos had asserted:

Ni al Oriente, ni al otro lado de los Pirineos han menester volver sus miradas los críticos españoles para hallar las verdaderas fuentes de la metrificación adoptada por los cantores vulgares. Como los provenzales, los italianos y los mismos franceses, gozan nuestros padres por derecho propio la herencia legítima de la gran civilización romana, guardando el tesoro de la tradición con más fidelidad que otros pueblos.

He proposed in support of his view that until the seventh century Spain was a rich source of classical culture and that the rhythms detectable in the prose works of Isidore of Seville were at the basis of the medieval Ars Versificandi. Menéndez y Pelayo realised that a study of prose rhythms was necessary to the understanding of popular rhythms, while the studies of Oviedo y Arce indicated a flourishing musical tradition in Galicia in the ninth and tenth centuries.
While it has never been doubted that strong contacts existed between Provence and Spain in the twelfth century — these have been imaginatively portrayed by Menéndez Pidal and more precisely annotated by Martin de Riquer and by the several Italian editors of individual Galician troubadours — certain critics of the Italian school insist on the exclusive influence of Provençal on \textit{cantiga} poetry. Cesare de Lollis,\textsuperscript{59} while admitting that there might have existed some basis of popular poetry at the root of the \textit{cantigas}, nevertheless dismissed Don Dinis's \textit{cantigas de amigo} as artificial court frivolities composed in reaction to the restraint demanded by the Provençal style. Pellegrini, a disciple of de Lollis, denied de Lollis's vague notion of a popular background and emphatically stated his belief that the \textit{cantigas de amigo} derived from the courtly \textit{cantigas de amor}, which were themselves Galician imitations of Provençal, and that these constituted the first flowering of lyric poetry in the Iberian Peninsula in the thirteenth century:

La storia del genere delle \textit{cantigas d'amigo}, sommariamente delineata, non può esser diversa dalla seguente: un individuo ha poetato primeramente in questa maniera, trovando immediatamente o in seguito, per ragione estetiche o di prestigio personale, consensi, echi, imitatori, ciascuno dei quali a sua volta ha suscitato un moto analogo; questo gusto e stato nel sec. XIII e nella prima metà del XIV una moda rifiorente con rinnovato vigore ad ogni nuovo omaggio prestatole dalla corte o dall'aristocrazia; una moda che poco a poco dai palazzi e scesa nelle piazze e nei campi, e s'è inserita infine nel patrimonio delle tradizione popolari.\textsuperscript{60}

Surprisingly, the \textit{kharjas} present these critics with only slight obstacles to their theses. Pellegrini, in a somewhat brusque dismissal of the \textit{kharjas}, discerns only 'una vaga, tenue somiglianza' between \textit{kharja} and \textit{cantiga}.\textsuperscript{61} Furthermore, he
prefers to ignore the important question why the poets of the Castilian court, including Alfonso X himself, should have chosen to compose poetry in Galician-Portuguese had there not already existed in that language a corpus of traditional poetry.

Giuseppe Tavani regards the cantigas as being of purely cultured origin and therefore maintains that the cantigas should be regarded as the first lyrics of Castile on the grounds that linguistic divisions and boundaries were not important to the composition of cultured medieval poetry:

Il fatto poi che il primo centro importante dell' attività lirica nella penisola sia stata la corte castigiana dovrebbe dimostrare quanto sia antistorica, anzi astorica, la posizione de chi vuol negare che la Castiglia abbia avuto poesia lirica nel Duecento, solo perché questa poesia lirica ha trovato il proprio veicolo di espressione non nel castigliano, ma in un' altra lingua ispanica che, per una serie di circostanze (alcune delle quali sfuggano a causa della nostra inadeguata informazione documentaria), già nel secolo precedente doveva essere stata feconda dall' internazionalismo linguistico e culturale dei pellegrini di Santiago. 62

Pellegrini's attitude may appear to be extreme; it should nonetheless be pointed out that the distinction between cantigas de amor and cantigas de amigo is not as clear-cut as it might seem. The division as defined by the fragmentary introduction to the Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti is a purely formal definition:

E, porque algumas cantigas hy ha enque falam eles e elas, outrosy porem he ben de entenderdes se som d'amor, se d'amigo, porque sabede que, se eles falam na primeira cobra e elas na outra, (he cantiga d')amor, porque se move a razom dela, como vos ante dissemos, e, se elas falam na primeira cobra, he outrosy d'amigo, e, se ambos falam en huia cobra, outrogy he segundo qual d'eles fala na cobra primeiro. 63

The division which has come to be accepted by critics in the past century of the cantigas de amor as variations on the Provençal theme of service in love to an intransigent, remote
idol, and the cantigas de amigo as evidence of a pre-existent popular lyric, should be regarded with some scepticism according to O. P. Bagley. Bagley reveals many features common to the cantigas de amor and the cantigas de amigo, even to the parallelistic cantigas de amigo, which derive from both the aristocratic, learned poetic coinage and from the supposedly popular background. She suggests that the two types of poem represent the opposing sides of a single situation and that accordingly the impetus for their composition comes from a cultured background:

An original, pre-trovador lyric of the Peninsula which influenced the songs in the Cancioneiro may have flourished first and especially amongst the 'middle class'; but of course, both cantigas de amigo and cantigas de amor belong to the trovador school. Bagley's argument does not, however, deny the popular background to the cantigas in the way that Pellegrini's theory does. Bagley admits its probable existence but disputes the 'over free application of the word popular' to the cantigas de amigo. While this approach should be respected for its caution, there are nevertheless definite elements, formal, rhythmical and thematic, in the cantigas de amigo which can be singled out and identified as popular. The fact that these elements have been adapted and blended with the fashionable mode of the thirteenth century, the Provençal style and, perhaps, in some cases rendered personal with the stamp of the poet's individual circumstances, as for instance in Charinho's sea songs, does not invalidate either the search for the influences governing those basic elements or their comparison with the features of the known earlier lyrics in the Peninsula. As Eugenio Asensio
has observed, the minutiae of Provençal influence are difficult to ascertain:

Fácil sería aumentar los ejemplos de infiltración trovadoresca. Pondríamos entre los préstamos tomados a Provenza temas como el de la amiga que se envejece de que puede más que el rey o de que tiene en su mano la vida y muerte del amado; en otro no sabríamos dilucidar si se trataba de convergencia o influencia, como en el de los cizañeros. Nos inclinaríamos a inscribir en el peculio nativo los motivos de la niña sañosa o guardada en balde. Pero la linde de lo propio y lo ajeno es dura de trazar. Los filones se entrecruzan, y cada investigador puede reclamarlos para Provenza o Portugal, mientras no dispongamos de una cronología más segura y de unos datos menos ambiguos.66

This view, however, may be unnecessarily pessimistic. Asensio has himself meticulously identified many Provençal features in the cantigas and has also outlined some of the folkloric elements. It is possible, if one takes the Provençal influence as a reasonably stable courtly ingredient on the one hand, to extract from it the admittedly more volatile native ingredients of the popular background which the cantigas have in common with the kharjas on the other.

Possible common elements between kharjas and cantigas have been examined by Menéndez Pidal and, although his results indicate a closer link between Mozarabic and Castilian than between Mozarabic and Galician, he finds in them support for his theory, first proposed in 1919, of a common Iberian stock of traditional lyric poetry:

Las canciones andalusíes primitivas, las cantigas de amigo y los villancicos castellanos aparecen claramente como tres ramas de un mismo tronco enraizado en el suelo de la Península hispánica. Las tres variedades tienen aire de familia inconfundible, y, sobre todo, las tres tienen su mayor parte, y la mejor, con un doble carácter diferencial común: el ser canciones puestas en boca de una doncella enamorada, y el acogerse la doncella, confidentemente, a su madre.67
For Alonso the common stock argument does not suffice to account for all the similarities between the three areas of poetic expression and, in his excited survey of the kharjas in 1949,68 he invoked historical events to prove that the Mozarabic influence could have been brought to bear on Portugal and Galicia: the Portuguese reconquest took place before the Castilian and consequently Mozarabic and Moorish influences were completely and, therefore, less conspicuously assimilated in Portugal than in Castile. Mozarabic monks assisted Fernando I in the capture of Coimbra in 1064, and Sancho I and Afonso III, the first of the Portuguese troubadour kings, made great southerly advances to the Algarve in the thirteenth century. Thus, according to Alonso:

las cantigas de amigo son también legítimas descendientes de las canciones de amigo que corrían por la mozarabia peninsular. 69

Alonso's opinion is rejected by Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz, who finds no evidence for the existence of the Mozarabic lyric in León, the city rebuilt to house Mozarabic refugees, where he says one might most expect to find it.70 Furthermore, Sánchez-Albornoz states quite categorically, though without adducing any supporting evidence, that, although lyric poetry flourished in Galicia, there were few Mozarabic immigrants to Galicia after the eighth century. This clear-cut argument emphatically stated is perhaps too easily dismissive of the slow integration of peoples and the equally slow infusion of ideas which appear to be at the basis of much poetic transmission. Asensio, in his brief account of the kharjas in Poética y realidad, outlines their general similarities of theme with the cantigas, but ascribes these similarities to the polygenesis of women's love-
song, proposed by Frings. Asensio remarks upon the difference in emphasis in the muwassahas of different ethnic origins; in the Hebrew muwassahas, the kharjas reveal a sensitive lyricism, while in the Arabic they portray a bold eroticism. By contrast, in the cantigas, the only expression of physical love is restricted to the term 'fazer bem':

Las jarjas judías, con una sensibilidad más afín a la cristiana, muestran una actitud más recatada hacia el amor; las musulmanas se imantan fácilmente hacia la confusión de amor con sensualidad. Cada pueblo ha seleccionado del caudal poético mozárabe lo que estaba más a tono con su posición vital y religiosa. La presencia de motivos totalmente ausentes de las cantigas de amigo prueba, si alguna prueba hiciese falta, que la lírica gallega ha explotado un dominio voluntariamente limitado, con fronteras de sentimiento y limitaciones intencionadas, con una emancipación del gesto erótico la cual corresponde a una ética y una poética que interiorizan el amor.

The reserve of the cantigas in sexual matters, which Asensio considers to be a laudable aesthetic advance on the kharjas, is not regarded as 'una emancipación del gesto erótico' by Jole Scudieri Ruggieri who, on the contrary, believes the kharjas to have derived from the cantigas. The restraint apparent in the cantigas in the mention of the physical aspects of love and the intransigent attitude of the mother figure who appears harsh indeed by comparison with the sympathetic mother of the kharjas is ascribed by Scudieri Ruggieri to the repressive cruelty of Germanic law in dealing with offenders found guilty under its terms of sexual licence and promiscuity. According to Scudieri Ruggieri, the kharjas are frivolous, watered-down versions of the cantigas in their pristine form, carried south by northern captives and concubines and rendered flippant and facile in the permissive atmosphere of the courts of Al-Andalus. This theory basically echoes the notion, first proposed by Ribera in the
early years of the twentieth century, that the Romance lyrical tradition of Andalusia, though not its music, derived from Galicia. Valuable though Scudieri Ruggieri's study is for the background to the cantigas, her thesis of the diffusion of the cantigas southwards fails to convince, especially when viewed against the conflicting and more cogent theories of Gangutia Elicegui on the poetry of the Mediterranean fringe.

While the question of interacting influences from north and south is probably too complex to admit of solution, there exists at least one unifying feature throughout the poetry of the Peninsula, in Mozarabico, in Galician and in Castilian, which cannot be accounted for solely by Spitzer's application to the poetry of the Peninsula of Frings' theories of lyrical polygenesis. The song of the young girl, the role of the mother, the lament for the lover's absence, the anticipation of his coming and the lovers' meeting, these can all be accounted for by Frings' theories, but in one detail the lyrics of Spain, prior to the Renaissance, are uniformly - or almost uniformly - distinct from the women's love song of most of the rest of Europe and of most of the rest of the world: that is in their celebration of the dawn as the time for the reunion of lovers, instead of as the herald of their reluctant parting as elsewhere.

It may be that this feature of Spanish poetry owes its universality within the Peninsula to poetic interaction and diffusion between the various regions, or it may derive from a deeper, folkloric and religious (in the sense of both pagan and Christian) background common to the whole Peninsula. This unifying feature, its evolution, antitheses and ramifications constitute the subject matter of this thesis. The Mozarabico
hymns have already been mentioned as a guide to the study of the dawn greeting in the *khārjās*. In Galicia a less orthodox religious situation produces not the glories of the Mozarabic liturgy but the corrective teachings of St Martin of Braga, a source again suggested but not in any way expanded by Rodrigues Lapa. Closely related to the dawn *cantigas* are the *cantigas de romería*, poems of love-longing and of meeting probably at dawn, set in a fervently religious context. This fervid religious aura demands examination for its effect on the style of the *cantigas* as a whole.

The continuation of the theme of dawn meeting in Castilian will be considered from three angles, for its significance for the doubtful chronology of the Castilian *villancico*, for the illumination it can bring to bear on the relationship of the *khārjās* and the *cantigas* to the *villancico* and, thirdly, for the way in which it, and poems of meeting generally in Castilian, come to adapt to and conform with the mainstream philosophical and aesthetic systems of medieval Europe, while yet retaining an identity which is purely Spanish in flavour.

A salient fact to emerge from every stage of the history of the lyrical tradition of the Iberian Peninsula is that popular love song was committed to manuscript only when it attracted the interest of the learned poet. Although the manuscript tradition therefore sets a fairly definite *terminus ad quem* for the appearance of the popular lyric, there is nevertheless strong evidence to suggest that Spanish love song, in each of its three forms, enjoyed a widespread diffusion long before its documentation. It is generally accepted that the *khārjās* are probably much older than the *muwaṣṣaḥas* in which they are
enshrined and it is also probably true that the cantigas de amigo, preserved in thirteenth-century renderings by the troubadour poets of the Castilian and Portuguese courts, reflect an archaic popular tradition. Clearly in both these instances prevailing court fashion dictated the adoption of the folk song for literary purposes. The court poet's technique was highly subjective and entailed the recasting of a living, though archaic, popular tradition for the entertainment of his aristocratic audience: he was therefore in no way obliged to transcribe his original source faithfully and he retained the freedom to adapt it, remodel it or even simply to imitate its style to suit contemporary aesthetic taste. In its basic attitude, though deriving from different philosophies, the approach of the court poets of the Renaissance to the popular lyric of Castile was much the same as that of the Arabic and Hebrew poets of the Muslim period and that of the thirteenth-century troubadours. It was not until the emergence in the seventeenth century of the objective humanism of Covarrubias in his Tesoro de la lengua castellana (1611) and Correas in his Arte grande de la lengua española (1625) and his Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales (1630) that techniques in any way approaching those of the dispassionately academic modern folklorist began to be explored.

Américo Castro identifies the prime motivating force behind the Spanish Renaissance as the neo-Platonic desire to recreate a lost perfection; this desire expressed itself in two ways:

Una va hacia un pasado quimérico, la edad dorada o de Saturno; otra hacia el presente, con aspiración a hallar realmente algo que pertenezca a esa pura naturaleza. 79
Such simple purity was to be found in the way of life closest to Nature, the rustic or pastoral life, and consequently all aspects of country life, including proverbial and popular sayings were deemed worthy of respect and imitation:

> En la Edad de Oro, en la vida rústica y pastoril, se buscaba la pureza de las costumbres naturales; en el refrán se busca la expresión de la sabiduría inmanente, por modo místico, en el ser humano. 80

A further dimension of this neo-Platonic quest which was to enhance the dignity of popular song was the attention bestowed by Renaissance scholars and poets on the vernacular language. Nebrija, the grammarian of the court of Ferdinand and Isabella, established the linguistic principles of Castilian in 1492.81 In the reign of Charles V, the Erasmian Juan de Valdés advocated the enrichment of the Castilian mother tongue in his Diálogo de la lengua.82 Thus the desire to return to the simplicity of Nature and the enhanced status of the native language conspired to direct the interest of the poets of the late fifteenth, the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries to the popular lyrical tradition of Castile.

The first examples of this trend are found in the famous mid-fifteenth-century poem, variously ascribed to the Marqués de Santillana or to Suero de Ribera, 'Por una gentil floresta' in which the poet, in the style of the Galician pastorela, observes three beautiful ladies as they amuse themselves singing snatches of popular song, one of which is described as a 'cantar antiguo'.83 Other songs similar in style to those of 'Por una gentil floresta' appear in the Cancionero de Herberay des Essarts of 1463, in the Cancionero del British Museum, and in the Cancionero de la Biblioteca Colombina of Seville.84 They
clearly mark a radical departure from the dry courtliness of the Cancionero de Baena, dedicated by Juan Alfonso de Baena to Juan II in about the year 1445. According to Frenk Alatorre, the ascent of popular song to the status of an aristocratic fashion arose not only from the philosophical considerations outlined by Castro, but also from the attraction of its music, initially in the court of Alfonso V of Aragon and then, more fully, in the court of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile. Thus in the Cancionero musical de Palacio, from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the villancico has become a vehicle for experimentation with polyphonic music. As for the text, generally only the estribillo, the two-, three- or four-line refrain, of the original popular song was used and its idea elaborated in courtly style in the glosa, affording the poets ample opportunities for displaying their skills. Musicians, however tended to prefer to collect the complete original versos and the polyphonic vihuelista books of Juan Vásquez (1551 and 1560) and the Cancionero de Upsala (1556) contain few examples of cultured glosas. At the same time the ensalada, a more flexible form which incorporated several snatches of popular song, was also subject to polyphonic arrangement after an initial statement of the melody. Popular estribillos were also being rendered a lo divino in various ways, either by the addition of a religious glosa which then lent the previously secular estribillo a religious connotation, or by the transformation a lo divino of the estribillo itself, leaving in some cases only vestigial traces in rhyme or metre of the original.

In the seventeenth century, culture, previously the prerogative of the literate classes, became accessible to the
middle classes through the theatre and through printed song books and song sheets, pliegos sueltos. A wider audience, however, provoked changes in the type of culture disseminated. Frenk Alatorre describes its effects thus:

Los poetas cultos de fines del siglo XVI crean para el pueblo español una nueva poesía popular, tan vieja y a la vez tan atractivamente distinta, que no puede sino invadir el gusto de la gente, haciendo caer en el olvido los cantares antiguos. La seguidilla y la cuarteta octosílabica, viejas formas españolas, se convertirán en vehículo de recentísima invención, que quedará grabando durante siglos en la imaginación del pueblo y marcará el rumbo a su propia producción. 89

While poets, led by Lope de Vega and Góngora, maintained a strong popularising trend, the estribillos of their letras, romances and ensaladas were frequently either semi-popular or purposely composed. The new style of poetry, short in metre and felicitous in turn of phrase, was used to advantage by religious poets but reached its apogee in the drama of Lope de Vega where it became an indispensable element. Gil Vicente, in the early sixteenth century, had first used the villancico in an incidental manner in the drama, to considerable effect. Lope de Vega, however, used the popular lyric, or, rather, his rendering of it, systematically for the creation of atmosphere, local colour and the evocation of public festivals and private celebrations.

Antonio Sánchez Romeralo believes that the term villancico originated in the mid-fifteenth century to denote popular song, but that in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century it became the term used to denote the estribillo/glosa form whether in a courtly or traditional context. 90 The two sixteenth-century sources, the Prague pliego suelto and the Espelo de Enamorados which ascribe the song 'Por una gentil floresta' to the marqués de Santillana both describe it as a
villancico: "Villancico que hizo el marqués de Santillana a unas tres hijas suyas", although the song does not in fact conform to the style of the genre as it was to emerge. The earlier texts, the Cancionero de Palacio\(^93\) (1465) and the Cancionerillo de la BN,\(^94\) which attribute the song to Suero de Ribera, do not designate it by name, simply as 'Otro dezir'. In other late fifteenth-century song books, terms related to villancico, such as villancete and villancillo, are also used fairly arbitrarily to denote compositions of cultured provenance while authentic traditional lyrics are described as canciones or desf.echas. By the end of the fifteenth century, in the Cancionero musical de Palacio, the Cancionero del British Museum and the Cancionero general de Hernando del Castillo\(^95\) of 1511, villancico has become the accepted term for the refrain-based song which consists of estribillo and glosa, even though in these cancioneros there are relatively few songs which can be regarded as being of entirely popular rather than courtly origins.\(^96\)

Frenk Alatorre has established seven main criteria for judging the folkloric authenticity of the villancico, or at least of its estribillo, in an attempt to counter Pierre Le Gentil's provocative challenge:

Il est donc clair qu'en dehors de quelques exceptions rares, les refrains de 'villancico' ne sont pas aussi anciens qu'on veut bien le dire. Le genre se rattache peut-être à de lointaines traditions, mais les poètes ne se font pas faute de l'accomoder au goût du jour...\(^97\)

These criteria Frenk Alatorre defines, with certain reservations, as follows:

1. The survival in present-day folklore of estribillos believed to have been taken from popular parlance by earlier cultured poets.
2. Coincidences with earlier popular poetry.

3. Unrelated sources in different texts.

4. Collections made with a methodical objectivity such as Correas.

5. Sources recognisably most faithful to folklore such as the late fifteenth-century vihuelista books, and collections rendered a lo divino which allow glimpses of the previous popular form.

6. The distinctive nature of the traditional lyric itself.

7. The combination of all these factors.98

The judicious application of these criteria has enabled Frank Alatorre to select a reliable body of traditional Castilian poetry in Lírica hispánica de tipo popular: Edad Media y Renacimiento (Mexico City, 1966); this together with the two other comparable modern collections, El cancionero español de tipo tradicional (Madrid, 1968), edited by José María Alín, and Antología de la poesía española: poesía de tipo tradicional (Madrid, 1965), edited by Dámaso Alonso and José M. Blecua, provides the basic textual material for the discussion of themes and imagery in the traditional Castilian lyric in this thesis.

In a wide-ranging survey, Eduardo M. Torner has studiously demonstrated the continuity of the traditional Spanish lyric, in many cases, to the present day and in far-flung corners of the globe.99 It is however less easy, because of the dearth of textual material, to establish the antiquity of the Castilian lyrics prior to their appearance in the fifteenth century. Scholars hold diverging views, often diametrically opposed to each other, on the origins of traditional lyric poetry in Castile. At one extreme, Castro adopts a highly moralistic argument to deny the possibility of the existence of lyric poetry in Castile before the year 1400. Castro invests the Castilians of the
eleventh and twelfth centuries with a fanatic, puritanical asceticism:

He argues that the Castilians spurned the debilitating sensuality, 'lubricidad escandalosa y desmoralizante', of Al-Andalus:

Castro's argument is contentious on several grounds: primarily, of course, on the grounds of his general implication that lyrical love poetry is indicative of a decadent, rather than simply a settled, society but, more specifically, on the grounds of his assumptions that the moral propaganda of the Poema de Núñez Cid is necessarily an accurate reflection of historical circumstance and that the Castilian epic in its scant entirety condemns all suggestion of sexuality. That this is not the case is revealed by a cursory review of some of the reconstructed texts, where a crude sexuality appears to be as the basis of much intrigue and causes dire disasters. It is because she is aware of the seductive power of Gonzalo González, the youngest of the seven Infantes de Lara, that Dona Lambre sends him a bloody insult:

Et los, infantes, por fazer plazer a donna Llanbla, su cunnada, fueron Arlança arriba, caçando con sos açores; et pues que ouieron presas muchas aues, tornaronse pora donna Llanbla et dieron gelas. Desi entraron en una huerta que auie y, cercal palacio do posaua donna Llanbla, pora folgar et assolaçarse mentre que se guisaua la yantar. Pues que fueron en la huerta, Gonzalo González desnuyose estønces los pannos, et parose en pannos de lino, et tomó so açor en mano et fuel bannar. Donna Llanbla quandol uio asi estar desnuyo, pesol mucho de coração, et dixo asi contra sus duennas: "amigas, non veedes cuemo anda Gonzalo González en pannos de lino? bien cuedo que lo non faze por al sinon por que nos enamoremos dell."
This episode could in fact be construed as early evidence in Castilian for the equation of the pleasant place and bathing with love making, an equation which becomes a frequent motif in the lyric.

In *La condesa traidora*, reconstructed by Menéndez Pidal from the account in the *Primera crónica general* of the life story of the hapless count Garci Fernández, son of Fernán González, is beset with amorous intrigue and marital infidelity: Doña Argentina, Garci Fernández's French wife, absconds with a visiting French pilgrim; disguised as a beggar, Garci Fernández pursues the fugitives to the Frenchman's castle where he is received by his rival's alienated and vengeful daughter, Doña Sancha, who helps Garci Fernández murder her father and stepmother. Garci Fernández and Doña Sancha marry, but he falls prey to her treachery when she starves his horse so that it gives way beneath him in battle against the Moors and he is killed as a result. Doña Sancha wishes to marry a Moorish king and determines to undermine the Castilian defences by poisoning her valiant son, Sancho. The plot is discovered and Doña Sancha is made to drink the poisonous brew herself.

In the *Poema de Mio Cid* sexuality is so important that the ultimate insult to the honour of the Cid takes the form of the outrage, perpetrated against his daughters by their blackguardly husbands, the Infantes de Carrión. Whatever the moral gloss which poets, narrators and chroniclers choose to put upon these epic episodes, historical or fictitious, they undeniably reflect a violent society where sexuality was regarded in the crudest possible terms, terms which might well have stifled the delicate lyricism of popular love song. There is, however, in
the *Poema de Mio Cid* a hint of latent lyricism in the poet's depiction of the Cid's treatment of his wife and daughters which tends to mollify the otherwise brutal image of Castilian society, whether it be the eleventh-century society of the Cid's lifetime or the society of the era in which the poem was composed, now considered to be around the year 1200.106 The leave-taking scene between the Cid and Doña Ximena on his departure from Burgos into exile is depicted in terms more akin to the poignancy of the lyrical tradition of lovers' parting and of the feminine lament for the lover's absence than the harsh stoicism of the epic; Ximena takes her leave of the Cid in a lament which rivals the distress of the girl of the *kharjas* whose lover is about to depart:

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ant el Campeador doña Ximena fingió los inoces amos, llorava de lo oios, quisol' besar las manos: "¡Merged Campeador, en ora buena fuestes nado! "Por malos mestureros de tierra sodes echado "¡Merged, ya Cid, barba tan complida! "Fém'ante vós, yo e vuestras fijas, "ifiantes son e diás chicas, "con aquestas mi doñas de quien só yo servida. "Yo lo veo que estades vós en ida "e nós de vós partir nos hemos en vida. "/Dádnos conseio, por amor de Sancta Maria!" 107
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It is not possible to postulate a whole lost lyrical tradition for Castile on the basis of this and a few other similar examples from the *Poema de Mio Cid*. They do, however, serve to counter Castro's argument that the delicate expression of human love was anathema to the warriors of Castile, who, in any case it seems, quite contrary to Castro's assertions, were all too often at the mercy of natural desires, albeit with disastrous results.

In refutation of Castro's theory, Spitzer ventured the abortive proposal that the lost lyrical tradition of Castile was to be found in the *kharjas*.108 Castro retorted rightly
that, since the kharjas were Mozarabic and not Castilian, they could not be taken as evidence for a lyrical tradition in Castile. Menéndez Pidal concurs with Castro on this point and, in relation to the kharjas, has assiduously indicated the differences between Mozarabic and Castilian. In other respects, however, Menéndez Pidal's views on the origins of lyric poetry in Castile are strongly opposed to Castro's. Menéndez Pidal's theory proposes a common stock of poetic expression throughout the Peninsula from the Vulgar Latin period, a common stock which gave rise to concurrent and largely similar manifestations in northern, southern and central Spain. In Castile, although the lyrical tradition was long established, it failed to attract learned attention until the fifteenth century, hence the lack of early evidence for it. Menéndez Pidal first proposed this theory in 1919, in modification of Menéndez y Pelayo's categorical statement that there had never existed a popular lyrical tradition in Castile. Menéndez Pidal held consistently to this theory which he expanded in 1943, citing indications of a Castilian lyrical tradition in twelfth- and thirteenth-century chronicles, particularly in the allusions in the Chronica Adefonsi imperatoris to songs of victory, funeral laments and festal songs. While it is now realised that many of these early hints of lyrical expression would have been in Mozarabic and not Castilian, Menéndez Pidal's technique of sifting out lyrical interpolations in prose and narrative verse works has proved valuable. Thus, for example, he is able to postulate an early Castilian 'maya' tradition from common formulaic references in the Libro de Alexandre, from the Poema de Alfonso IX, from the ballad:
Por el mes era de mayo,  
cuando hace la calor,  
cuando canta la calandria,  
y responde el ruiseñor  

Moreover, in his discussion of the popular Castilian origins of Juan Ruiz’s serranillas, as opposed to the Galician pastorelas where Provençal influence is discernible, Menéndez Pidal indicates a rich source of lyrical interpolation in the Libro de Buen Amor, a work composed a century earlier than the first indications of Renaissance interest in the traditional lyric.¹¹⁵

Menéndez Pidal’s theories on the origins of the Castilian lyric inevitably raise the question of the relationship of that lyric to the kharja and the cantiga de amigo, particularly since the thematic resemblance between the three types of lyric is so strong. Menéndez Pidal discounted any direct link between the three types of lyric in their development but traced all similarities back to a Vulgar Latin sub-culture:

Sin duda, todos los países románicos tuvieron una lírica primitiva tradicional, derivada de espontáneos cantos latinos, consustanciadas con la lengua latina vulgar, y con ella evolucionados hasta convertirse en cantos románicos.

Esos cantos vivieron durante siglos en lo que hemos llamado 'estado latente', esto es, estado ocultado de una actividad social cualquiera, cuya existencia no consta en ninguno de los testimonios costáneos; actividad inadvertida por todos ellos, a causa de no merecer ninguna atención por juzgarla muy vulgar, insignificante, extraña a los usos corrientes aceptables. ¹¹⁶

This theory is of course much reinforced by Monroe’s recent analysis of the language of the kharjas which has led him to postulate a common stock of formulae in Vulgar Latin.¹¹⁷

Menéndez Pidal’s theory inevitably dictates extreme caution in matters of poetic interdependence in its proposer and coincidences which appear to be striking he describes as:' (un) reflejo independiente de una tradición difusa por el
occidente y el centro de la Península."\(^{118}\)

It is generally accepted, however, that the Mozarabic lyric and the Castilian **villancico** have a close affinity in both content and form; the most frequent form of the **villancico** is that of the monorhymed **zéjal** preceded by an **estribillo**. The lyric is refrain-based; that is to say, the **estribillo** determines the metre of the **villancico** which, in its **glosa**, merely expands the succinct notion encapsulated in the **estribillo**. Thus a typical rhyme scheme of a simple **zejelesque villancico** might run as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
&AB \quad \text{(estribillo)} \\
&CCC \quad \text{(glosa)} \\
&B \quad \text{(vuelta)}
\end{align*}
\]

or

\[
\begin{align*}
&AB \\
&CCC \\
&B \quad AB
\end{align*}
\]

In each case the **vuelta** repeats the final line of the **estribillo**.

Menéndez Pidal,\(^{119}\) García Gómez\(^{120}\) and Dámaso Alonso\(^{121}\) have noted the close parallels in structure and theme between the **kharjas** and the **estribillos** of the **villancicos**, many of which, as Frenk Alatorre has pointed out, are indistinguishable from rhythmical proverbs.\(^{122}\) Dámaso Alonso in 1949 emphatically affirmed the dependence of all the later forms of lyric poetry in the Peninsula on the **kharjas**, even to the extent of calling the **kharjas** "**villancicos**":

Estos ejemplos de villancicos mozárabes del siglo XI, puestos al lado de toda la tradición castellana tardía, prueban perfectamente que el núcleo lírico popular en la tradición hispánica es una breve y sencilla estrofa, un villancico. Sobre él puede formarse una muwaššāha o un zéjal arabe en el siglo XI XII, una glosa zejelesca en castellana en el XIV, o una nueva glosa en el XVII.\(^{123}\)

Menéndez Pidal nevertheless held fast to his common-stock theory despite the extraordinary closeness of theme and expression between **kharja** and **villancico**:
Por estas expresivas coincidencias, tanto en el pormenor como en el espíritu esencial, las canciones mozárabes, documentadas desde el siglo XI, lo mismo que las cantigas de amigo posteriores y los villancicos y coplas castellanas que hasta hoy duran, se muestran como tres ramas de un robusto tronco milenario. 124

and in this 'robusto tronco milenario' he saw the vindication of his neo-traditionalist approach to the Iberian lyric.

García Gómez in his commentary on the kharjas 125 has illustrated the metrical coincidences between many kharjas and estribillos; for instance, he compares the structure of the kharja:

¡Amānu, yā ḥabībī!
Al-wāhā me no farās
Ben, bēza má bokella:
io še ke te no iras.    GG. XXIII

with the Castilian lyric:

Bras se muere por Menga,
Menga no quiere a Bras:
si ellos no se concierto
¿quién los concertará? 126

Although there are many remarkable parallels in theme and usage between the cantigas de amigo and the villancicos, critics are extremely cautious in affirming any relationship between the two. Frenk Alatorre finds only two instances of what she believes to be direct borrowing from the cantigas in Castilian; 127 one of these is one of the snatches of song used by the Marqués de Santillana in 'Por un gentil floresta':

La niñã que amores ha
sola  ¿ cómo dormirá? 128

which Frenk Alatorre believes to be directly inspired by the lament of Aires Nunes' shepherdess:

Pela ribeira do rio cantando
ia la virgo d'amor: quen amores
á como dormirá, ai bela frol!    C de A CCLVI

Frenk Alatorre also finds an echo of one of Pero Meogo's
In the **cantiga**, the girl's mother asks:

- Digades, filha, mia filha velida,
  porque tardastes na fontana fria?
  os amores ei.  
  
In Castilian she asks the same question but in different terms:

- Dezid, hija garrida,
  quién os maçóla la camisa?
- Madre las moras del çargal.
- Mentir, hija, mas no tanto
  que no pica la çarga tan alto.

Such seemingly remarkable coincidences are not, however, sufficient proof of poetic borrowing for Menéndez Pidal who, while admitting the close relationship between **cantiga** and **villancico**, nevertheless regards them as independent manifestations of a shared cultural background:

> Vemos que la más antigua tradición popular gallego-portuguesa y la posterior castellana se nos muestran como fragmentos análogos de un conjunto peninsular. Pero al mismo tiempo, siendo fragmentos discontinuos como son, presentan caracteres especiales que los individualizan.

A major problem in assessing the relationship between the Galician **cantigas de amigo** and the Castilian **villancicos** concerns form. No such problem exists between Mozarabic and Castilian since, like the main poetic forms of Al-Andalus, the **zéjil** and the **muwaṣṣaha**, the **villancico** is refrain-based; that is, the refrain, **kharja** or **estribillo**, governs the development of the whole poem. The **kharja** determines the metre of the **muwaṣṣaha** and the **estribillo** determines both the form and the content of the **villancico**. There is a hint of this technique in the **cantigas de amor** and in a large number of the more courtly of the **cantigas de amigo**, where stanzas of two, three, four, or five lines ruminate introspectively upon the content of the one
or two-line refrain which follows. In this case, however, the
technique is considered to be inspired by the troubadours of
Provence (who may, indeed, in turn have been inspired by a
zejelesque form). In contrast, in the parallelistic cantigas
de amigo,\textsuperscript{131} which are those thought most closely to reflect
popular tradition, the substance and movement are conveyed in
the progression of the stanzas, while the refrain is sometimes
little more than a chorus line at the end of each stanza.

The distinctive parallelistic form, elevated by the
troubadours to an art of considerable sophistication, gives the
impression of a gyrating dance, conducted by a double circle of
dancers. Like the villancico and kharja, the cantiga expresses
a single, simple idea, that of the lover's absence, departure,
infidelity or sickness, but the repetitive parallelistic form
lends the situation an obsessive, recurring intensity which
rivals the succinct poignancy of the kharjas. The effect is
achieved by an alternating assonance: the assonance of the two
narrative lines of the first stanza is carried through the third,
ﬁfth and seventh, while the assonance of the second stanza is
carried through the fourth, sixth and eighth. The second,
fourth, sixth and eighth stanzas in fact only repeat the content
of the first, third, ﬁfth and seventh and, often, the change
from stanza to stanza consists of no more than the substitution
of cognates, of, for instance, 'amado' for 'amigo'.

A further device which enhances the tenacious, relentless
quality of the basic notion of the parallelistic cantiga is
leixa-pren, the linking technique whereby the second line of
the first stanza becomes the first line of the third and the
second line of the second stanza, the first line of the fourth,
and so on.

The superiority of the Galician troubadours in handling parallelism and leixa-pren has led to the belief among some critics that parallelism originated in Galicia and spread to the rest of Europe, including Castile. H.R. Lang even reconstructed a parallelistic Castilian villancico in its supposedly Portuguese original.¹³² José Romeu Figueras maintains this belief; he considers Cerverí of Gerona’s viadeyra to have been directly influenced in form by the Galician troubadours, though in content it reflects Provençal influence.¹³³ Cerverí could have become acquainted with Galician parallelism, according to Romeu Figueras, either as a result of visits made by the Galician troubadours to the Catalan courts or as a result of his own visit to the court of Alfonso X in Toledo in 1269.

The viadeyra, however, diverges from the Galician model not only in subject matter but also, as Asensio points out,¹³⁴ in form, since, like the Castilian parallelistic lyrics, it opens with a statement of the refrain:

No. 1 prenatz lo fals marit,  
Jana delgada! ¹³⁵

Asensio has shown with examples that a cruder form of parallelism, lacking the sophistications of the Galician art, was prevalent throughout Europe:

El paralelismo más alambicado - una estrofa de base, variada por dos a más de respuesta - era un recurso técnico ampliamente difundido en la poesía de la Europa occidental durante los siglos XIII, XIV y XV.¹³⁶

There is therefore no reason to suppose that parallelism originated in Galicia, nor can one even suppose that leixa-pren was the invention of the Galician poets since Cerverí, in his viadeyra, uses leixa-pren. Thus, according to Asensio's
argument, parallelistic verse could have arisen quite spontaneously in Castile and should not be attributed to Galician influence.

Romeu Figueras persisted in his theory and, provocatively, in his collection of Castilian parallelistic lyrics even rendered the famous villancico 'Tres morillas me enamoran', denoted by Menéndez Pidal as a prime example of the zéjele in Castilian, in parallelistic form. Asensio made little attempt to conceal his scorn for Romeu Figueras' method, which, unlike his own, discounts the integral dependence of form and theme:

Romeu se percató de que lo mismo las formas que los temas de muchas cantigas paralelisticas de Castilla y Cataluña no hallan equivalente en el enorme acervo archivado en los cancioneros, y para apuntalar su teoría de que el paralelismo fue transplantado de Galicia y Portugal y atravesó primero una época imitativa, conjura y evoca, sin la menor base documental, una clase de juglares que en lengua gallega cultivarían los temas de la malmaridadada, de amor monjil, de recuesta amorosa, etc. Las canciones por el reunidos, tan desemejantes de las gallego-portuguesas, dan voces contra sus hipótesis genealógicas. Son canciones clavos más en el ataúd de su teoría.

Antonio Sanchez Romeralo, who has conducted a comprehensive analysis of the villancico, takes a more dispassionate view and outlines the problem with clarity. The only suggestion of parallelism in Castilian learned poetry before 1400 he finds in the paired lines of the Razón de amor:

"Dios señor, a ti loado
quant conozco meu amado!
agora e todo bien comigo
quant conozco meu amigo!" 130-133

Despite the strong courtly influence exerted by Galician Portuguese poetry on Castilian verse in the fifteenth century, there is scant evidence for the transmission of the highly refined parallelistic technique of the Galician troubadours.
at the courtly level. The Cancionero de Baena of 1445 contains no parallelistic lyrics and, apart from an acknowledgement of the Galician origins of the technical terminology of parallelism made by the Marqués de Santillana in his Prohemio, the earliest appearance of parallelism in the court poetry of Castile is in the so-called cossaute of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza, Santillana’s father:

Aquel árbol que vuelve la foza algo se le antoxa. 141

The popular tradition as revealed in the Golden Age song books and pliegos sueltos, however, shows a considerable repertoire of parallelistic lyrics less rigorously constructed than the Galician and frequently portraying idiosyncratic Castilian features such as the statement of the estribillo at the beginning of the piece. Both parallelism and leixapaen are subject to such wide variations in Castilian that, in some cases, apparent parallelism coincides so closely with the zezelasque form that the two are virtually indistinguishable. Sánchez Romeralo quotes one such villancico: the plethora of subjunctives, however, reveals the courtly provenance of the glosa:

Allá se me ponga el sol donde tengo el amor.
Allá se me pusiese do mis amores viiese, antes que me muriese con este dolor.
Allá se me aballase do mi dolor topase, antes que me finase con este renor. 142

There is in Castilian considerable flexibility in handling parallelism, so much so that at times it becomes merely vestigial.
So pervasive is the technique in poetry which is regarded in all other aspects as traditional that Sánchez Romeralo's conclusion that parallelism survived in Castile in the oral, popular tradition, rather than the cultured, seems inescapable.

Amid all the uncertainties which surround the Castilian lyric, there is at least one definite date, that of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, which can give valuable insights into the antiquity of oral lyric traditions in Castile. Sephardic popular poetry provides many clues both in theme and form to the type of poetry which must have been current in Castile before 1492, and in those clues there are many coincidences with the *kharjas*, the *cantigas de amigo* and the *villancicos*. This further perspective on traditional Spanish poetry has been extensively studied by Manuel Alvar with particular emphasis on the question of parallelism. The effective absorption of parallelism into the Sephardic tradition would suggest that it had been an established element of popular lyric poetry long before 1492, and Castro's date of 1400 for the birth of Castilian lyric poetry would allow only a very short period for the fusion of so many identifiably peninsular devices, including parallelism, into the Jewish repertoire of song before the expulsion.

On historical grounds Sánchez-Albornoz adopts a compromise position on the dating of lyric poetry in Castile. Like Castro's, his view of Castile is of a bellicose frontier society which spurned lyric poetry - but only until the twelfth century:

*Es difícil imaginar que en la áspera Castilla de dona Iambra y de los infantes de Lara se escuchara dulces y fragantes endechas de amor de enamoradas y parleras muchachas.* (p.422)
Sánchez-Albornoz rejects Dámaso Alonso's\textsuperscript{145} proposal that the Mozarabic lyric is at the basis of both the Castilian and the Galician lyric on the grounds that it was León which attracted most Mozarabic refugees yet provided no evidence of the Mozarabic lyric and that there were few Mozarabic migrations to Galicia after the eight century. Menéndez Pidal, however, has indicated the presence of numerous morphological forms in the cantigas de amigo alien to Galician-Portuguese.\textsuperscript{146} In these forms Menéndez Pidal discerns both Leonese and Mozarabic influences.

The historical perspective, nevertheless, especially when viewed in social and economic terms, sheds light on the structure of the northern kingdoms and on the emerging dominance of Castile.\textsuperscript{147} Although such a perspective can in no way resolve questions of stylistic influence and dependence, it can illustrate the many sub-stratum forces which might have influenced the composition or the dearth of popular poetry and governed the diffusion of whatever was composed. Throughout the Reconquest one of those influences in the North was purely negative and consisted of a desperate shortage of manpower. The estimated population of the whole Peninsula at the time of the Moorish invasion at the end of the Visigothic era was ten million; in the late eleventh century, in the reign of Alfonso VI, Castile and León could command a population of only three million, and this figure clearly, as a result of influxes of Mozarabic refugees and French settlers, represented a considerable growth in population over previous centuries. In the eighth century Alfonso I had reconquered the vast area north of the Duero, but, faced with the exigencies of defending his newly acquired territory, he found that he had no alternative but to devastate the whole
area. It had been abandoned by the Berbers and was effectively free of Moorish occupation but, as Alfonso I had no means of resettling the area, he was forced to convert it into an immense defensive ditch for the rest of the kingdom of León-Asturias. He annihilated the remaining Moorish population, destroyed the towns and moved the Mozarabio population northwards to repopulate the Galician and Cantabrian valleys and shores. Alfonso's brother, Fruela, completed the undertaking and extended Galicia southwards to the Minho.

According to Vicens Vives' demographic surveys, after the forced migrations from the Duero region, initiated by Alfonso I, a constant stream of Mozarabs flowed northwards to León and northern Portugal from the mid-ninth century, some attracted by the Christian Alfonsine rule, others in flight from the spasmodic persecutions of Islam. It was in fact these people who later brought the northern cities of León, Zamora and Toro to life and in these cities their influence is still to be discerned. Mozarabic influence was conservative and archaising; in Al-Andalus, in return for tribute money, their religion, customs and legal rights were protected by the pact of the dimna and they had therefore managed to preserve much of their Romano-Visigothic heritage both in law and in liturgy. Once established in the North, this influence was constantly reinforced by new waves of refugees from the South, culminating in the mass expulsion of the Mozarabs by the Almorávides in 1125, at the time when the muwaššaḥa was at its apogee.

In the mid-ninth century, in the reigns of Ordoño I and then Alfonso III, the resettlement of the barren wasteland of the Duero was begun; the cities of León, Zamora, Toro and then
southern Galicia and northern Portugal were restored and repopulated, and the defence line was pushed further south. From the tenth century, the Duero marked the secure frontier and from that time it was feasible to resettle its northern bank. Various peoples, attracted by free land, improvement in social status and absolution from all previous commitments, privileges enshrined in the *cartas pueblas* and the *cartas franquicias*, converged on the region, Mozarabs in flight from the South, Galicians, Cantabrians and Basques from the North. Thus there were present at the birth of Castile elements of both the Mozarabic and Galician cultures.

The first areas of settlement were primarily in Rioja; still, however, in the eleventh century, there were vast deserted areas in the valley of the Duero and, throughout this period, the embryonic Castile was the frontier region always subject to unpredictable attack and to the vicissitudes of an unstable, unsettled population. These communities at the centre of the early kingdom of Castile between the upper Duero and the upper Ebro were necessarily military in character, and it is highly likely that, for their entertainment, they would have preferred epic songs of military prowess and victory to lyrical love songs, which, according to O.M. Bowra, are the product of a settled agrarian society. 148

It was not until the capture of Toledo in 1085 that the region between the Duero and the Tagus became a secure conquest for the northern kingdoms and that the state of Castile could lapse from the tensions of perpetual readiness for war. It was then possible to repopulate the lower Duero region, but new Almoravid and Almohad invasions prevented the resettlement of
the Tagus valley until the last years of the reign of Alfonso VII. It was not until 1212 with the battle of Las Navas de Tolosa that the Christian forces finally gained access to Andalusia, and in 1248 Seville fell.

Problems of repopulating the central areas of Castile and León were compounded by the natural trend northwards. The north-western corner of the Peninsula was the cultural and religious lodestone of the Christian kingdoms and exhibited a steady economic growth. The people of the northern coastline had cherished a strong tradition of seamanship from the neolithic period, as numerous archaeological finds attest. Commerce on the high seas inevitably entailed piracy; Galician and Asturian pirates in the early medieval period plundered the northern European coastlines and shipping. In revenge, from the mid-ninth century, the Normans turned their attention to the Iberian coastline and, not content with ravaging Cantabria and Galicia, made forays into the Moorish realms of the South. In the early twelfth century, Bishop Gelmírez built a small fleet with Genoan and Pisan labour to combat the piratical incursions, but now the threat came not simply from the Norman pirates, but also from the Moors, who, having enlarged their fleet to combat the pirates, now used it to attack the Christian kingdoms by sea. Thus the construction of a large Christian fleet became necessary and was ordered by Fernando III from the northern ports which, correspondingly, benefited economically and attracted a larger population.

Not only was there the economic attraction of a flourishing shipbuilding industry in the North but also the religious attraction, which at one stage threatened to rival Rome, of
the shrine of the patron saint, St James, at Santiago de Compostela, which brought Mozarabs from the South and the French from across the Pyrenees to Galicia. Eventually the camino francés also brought advantages for Castile and León for, increasingly, from the eleventh century, the French pilgrims found the political autonomy of Castile and the freedom from serfdom in that region a refreshing change from the despotic feudalism of their native country, and burghers and merchants in particular, possibly with an eye to the incipient wool trade, began to settle in the towns of Castile.

It is entirely possible that remnants of the Vulgar Latin background persisted, as Menéndez Pidal has suggested, among the sparse indigenous population of Castile. This possibility is enhanced by the several lyrical interpolations in the Poema de Mio Cid. Furthermore, the vigour and assurance of the Castilian language by the thirteenth century suggest a stable and reasonably well unified community. A unified community is not, however, a homogeneous community, as the modern example of the United States demonstrates. In the eleventh century, the population of Castile still consisted of an admixture of peoples, Galician, Mozarab, Navarrese, Asturian and French, while vast areas of the Duero valley still lay deserted. It is therefore quite probable that each ethnic group preserved its own customs and styles — possibly even its own dialect — over several generations. A gradual coalescence at the popular level both revived whatever may have been left of the indigenous lyric and brought to it new forms and themes. Familiarity may have made the common elements of the Mozarabic and Galician lyrics, the song of the young girl, the lover's absence, the role of the mother as confidante, the
dawn welcome, all readily acceptable in Castilian; similarly
the advent of the zéjel may have given new life to some archaic
Romance verse form still current in the popular sub-stratum.
It may also have combined with a popular parallellistic form,
possibly introduced by Galician immigrants, to produce the
ambivalent Castilian hybrid which appears to relate to both
the zéjel and the parallellistic cantiga. French influence
becomes apparent in the theme of the malcasada, a motif alien
to the kharjas and cantigas.

This is inevitably a purely speculative schema for the
origins of Castilian traditional poetry; it does, however, seek
to unite the various and disparate views of critics from Castro
to Menéndez Pidal, from Romeu Figueras to Asensio. Against
this postulated popular background, developments in the learned
sphere provide a body of facts which themselves offer some
illumination on the contemporary state of the traditional lyric.
In the thirteenth century, Castilian, the fitting vehicle for the
Poema de Mio Cid, also becomes the language of scholarship under
the aegis of Alfonso el Sabio; officially, however, the language
of lyric poetry is Galician-Portuguese. This may be because
Castilian was not considered adequate for the expression of finer
feelings, though evidence from the Poema de Mio Cid would belie
this notion; it may be because, as Castro suggests, the
Castilians shunned any expression of personal emotion in their
own language, but this view, again, is not borne out by the
evidence either from the Poema de Mio Cid or from the fervid
religious poetry of Gonzalo de Berceo; or it may be, more
probably, because there already existed in Galician-Portuguese
a flourishing fund of traditional poetry which was both more
developed and more coherent than anything that existed in Castilian. The potential of Castilian as a language for love poetry is well demonstrated by the thirteenth century allegorical narrative, the Razón de amor. Textual features in the poem suggest Aragonese influence, though authoritative critics place it among Castilian texts. The poet declares himself to be a widely travelled student in the art of courtly love and readily acknowledges his debt to France:

Vn escolar la rimo
que siempre duenas amo;
mas siempre ouo cryança
en Alemania y en Francia,
moro mucho en Lombardia,
pora aprender cortesía.\textsuperscript{50} (5-10)

The significance of the poem for this study is that not only does it combine a professed courtliness with a lyricism strongly reminiscent of the cantigas, of which the paired lines already noted are an eloquent example, but also manifests for the first time in Spanish love poetry some of the elements which are to pervade the Castilian lyric. The most important of these is natural symbolism, the static cultural system which became an obsession with medieval writers and artists. The full flowering of the Castilian lyric appears to coincide with the rise of symbolism to its dominant position in European culture; it is through the transformations of symbolism that Castile places its own stamp on the traditional poetry of the Peninsula and, at the same time, incorporates that tradition into the mainstream of European culture.
Notes


13. Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry, p. 206

14. "Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les muwaddāhs hispano-hebraiques".


15. "De las influencias semíticas en la literatura española", in La España Moderna (1894) and in Estudios y discursos de crítica histórica y literaria, ed. Enrique Sánchez Reyes, I (Santander, 1941), 192-217.


18. "Un muwáṣṣah arabe avec terminaison espagnole", Al-Andalus, XIV (1949), 214-28. The kharja in question reads:
   Meu-l'- habib enfermo...meu atar
   In this early article however Stern does not attempt a translation of it.

19. "Veinticuatro jartas romanoea en muwassahas árabes (Ms. G.S. Colin)", Al-Andalus, XVII (1952), 57-127.


The main collections of kharjas to be used in the course of this thesis are as follows:


23. Corpus de poesía mozárabe (las hargas andalusiás) (Barcelona, 1973). This latest, most comprehensive, collection of the kharjas supersedes the work of Klaus Heger who assembled all the then known readings of the kharjas in: Die bisher veröffentlichen Hargæs und ihre Deutungen, Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, Beihefte, CI (Tübingen, 1960).

24. "Cancioncillas 'de amigo' mozárabes (primavera temprana de la lírica europea)", Revista de Filología Española, XXXIII (1949), 297-349.

26. Theodor Fringe, Minnesang und Troubadours (Berlin, 1949); Leo Spitzer, "The Mozarabic Lyric and Theodor Fringe' Theories", Comparative Literature, IV (1952), 1-22.

27. "Cantos románicos andalusíes, continuadores de una lírica latina vulgar", Boletín de la Real Academia Española, XXXI (1951), 187-270; reprinted in España, eslabón entre la Cristiandad y el Islam (Madrid, Austral, 1280), p. 66.

28. "Cancioncillas 'de amigo'"


Pellegrini finds the tone of the kharjas 'lontano dall' atmosfera usuale delle cantigas d'amigo, dalla loro pudica e riservata sentimentalità verginale, dal loro realismo astratto e quineszenziato' (p. 60). He also regards the use of 'habib' rather than 'amigo' in the kharjas as a mark of their learned Arabic rather than popular Romance provenance. Such arguments provide the basis for his assurance that the earliest peninsular lyrics are the cantigas de amigo composed by court poets in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.


31. "Cancioncillas", RFB XXXIII, p. 333

32. España, eslabón, p. 148.


34. "Estudios sobre las jarras: las jarras y la poesía amorosa popular noraficana", Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, XXV (1976), 1-16.


37. La originalidad artística de la Celestina (Buenos Aires, 1962), p. 362,

38. Hispano-Arabic Strophic Poetry, p. 211.


42. "Sobre los más antiguos versos", 364.
43. Das origenes da poesia lírica em Portugal na idade-média, (Lisbon, 1929).
44. La Poesie lyrique des Troubadours (Paris, 1934), II, p. 293.
45. P. 137, note 2.
48. Historia de la música árabe medieval y su influencia en la España (Madrid, 1927), p. 335, mentioned by Rodrigues Lapa, Das origens, p. 2. See also Ribera, La música andaluza medieval en las canciones de trovadores, troveros y Minnesinger (Madrid, 1923-5).
50. Chapters II and III.
51. Cancioneiro de Don Dinis (1894), Preface.
52. Historia de la poesía castellana de la Edad Media (Madrid, 1913-16), I, pp. 91-97.
53. "El genuino 'Martin Codax', trovador gallego del siglo XIII", Boletín de la Real Academia Gallega, XII (1917), 241:

Latin verses were composed in honour of the marriage of Leogundia, daughter of Ordoño I of Galicia to a king of Pamplona in the tenth century; they open thus:

Laudea dulces fluant tibiali modo
magnam Leogundiam Ordonii filiam:
exultantes conlaudemus manusque adplaudamus.

60. Studi su trove, p. 34.

61. p. 60.


65. p. 249.


67. "Cantos románicos andalusíes", in España, eslabón, p. 108.

68. "Cancioncillas 'de amigo' mozárabes", RFE, XXXIII (1949), 297-349.

69. p. 338.


71. Minnesinger und Troubadours.

72. Poética y realidad, p. 23.

73. "Riflessioni su 'kharge' e 'cantigas d'amigo'", Cultura Neolatina, XXII (1962), 5-33.

74. "Poesia griega de amigo"

75. "The Mozarabic Lyric and Theodor Fringe' Theories"

76. Das orígenes, Ch. II.

77. Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española (Madrid, 1611), ed. Martín de Riquer (Barcelona, 1943).


81. Gramática de la lengua castellana (Salamanca, 1492) -
Muestra de la historia de las antigüedades de España
(Burgos, 1499). Reglas de ortografía en la lengua
castellana (Alcalá de Henares, 1517), ed.

82. Juan de Valdés, Diálogo de la lengua, ed. J.P. Montesinos
(Madrid, 1964).

83. Margit Frenk Alatorre, "¿Santillana o Suero de Ribera?",
Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, XVI (1962),
437.

Frenk Alatorre deems it more likely that Suero de Ribera
composed 'Por un gentil floresta', since he spent much of
his life in the court of Alfonso V where the popularising
trend originated. This trend was alien to the spirit of
Castile under Juan II and Santillana himself expressed
contempt for the songs of the lower classes. However,
Santillana's expression 'baxa e servil' could be simply
an accurate socio-economic description. Marqués de
Santillana, Poesías completas, I, ed. Manuel Durán

84. In an excellent survey, Frenk Alatorre clearly categorises
the developing vogue for popular song at the level of the
court through differences in emphasis in the various
cancioneros.

"Dignificación de la lírica popular en el siglo de oro",
Anuario de Letras, II (1962), 27-54; reprinted in
Estudios sobre lírica antigua (Madrid, 1976),
pp. 47-80.

Cancionero de Herberay, ed. Charles V. Aubrun (Bordeaux,
1951).

Cancionero del British Museum, ed. Hugo Albert Rennert,
10431)", Romanische Forschungen, X (1895), 1-176.

Cancionero de la Biblioteca Colombina: Cantinellas vulgares
puestas en música por varios españoles, Biblioteca
Colombina (Seville), ms. 7-1-28.

85. Juan Alfonso de Baena, Cancionera de Baena, ed.

86. Cancionero Musical de Palacio: Cancionero musical de los
siglos XV y XVI, ed. F. Asenjo Barbieri (Madrid,
1899), re-edited, Higinio Anglés, 2 vols.
(Barcelona, 1947 and 1951).

87. Juan Vasquez, Reconciliación de sonetos y villancicos a
quatro y a cinco (Seville, 1560), ed. H. Anglés
(Barcelona, 1946); Villancicos y canciones a
tres y a cuatro (Osuna, 1551).
88. *Cancionero de Upsala* (Villancicos de diversos autores a tres y a quatro y a cinco bozes, agora nuevamente corregidas) (Venice, 1556), ed. J. Bal y Gay (Mexico City, 1944).

89. "Dignificación", p. 42.


101. *ibid.*, p. 313. This view is supported by Rafael Lapesa in "Amor cortés a parodia? A propósito de la primitiva lírica de Castilla", in De la Edad Media a nuestros días: estudios de historia literaria (Madrid, 1967), pp. 48-52.

102. A.D. Deyermond discusses the question of sexuality in the epic in "Medieval Spanish Epic Cycles: observations on their formation and development", Kentucky Romance Quarterly, XXIII (1976), 281-303.


107. PMC, p. 98, l. 264-274.

108. "The Mozarabic Lyric and Theodor Frings' Theories".


110. España, eslabón, pp. 77-80: 'La lengua de estas canciones románicas, inspiradoras de las muwaschahas, no es castellana; no participa de los caracteres distintivos del castellano (p.78).'

111. "La primitiva poesía lírica española", Lecture first published in Ateneo científico, literario y artístico de Madrid (1919); republished in Estudios literarios (Madrid, Austral 28, 1946), pp. 157-212.


115. pp. 175-83.


120. Las jarchas romances, passim.

122. Frenk Alatorre, "Refranes cantados y cantares proverbializados", Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, XV (1961), 155-68; reprinted in Estudios sobre lirica antigua (Madrid, 1978). In this article Frenk Alatorre shows how with very minor modifications, or with none at all, proverbs such as 'Niña y viña, peral y habar,/ malo es de guardar' could serve as estribillos for fifteenth-century villancicos.

124. España, eslabón, p. 126.
125. Las jarchas romances, Prologue to 2nd edition and notes.
126. Las jarchas, p. 261.
129. Refranes o proverbios en romance (Salamanca, 1555).
130. "La primitiva poesía", in Estudios literarios, p. 205.
131. España, eslabón, pp. 126-40.
134. Poética y realidad, p. 192.
137. España, eslabón, p. 99.

Romeu Figueras reconstructs the villancico thus:
This rearrangement of the order of the verses, however, destroys the symbolic presentation and significance of the villancico which in its accepted form maintains a logical progression of events. See Chapter III.

139. Poética y realidad, p. 229.
140. El villancico, p. 323.
141. El cancionero de Palacio, p. 137.
143. Cantos de boda judeo-españoles (Madrid, 1971); Chapter VI is devoted to a study of parallelism in the Judeo-Spanish lyric and includes a useful concordance of parallelistic vocabulary, much of which corresponds closely with Galician usage.
146. España, eslabón, p. 143.
147. The most comprehensive survey of population movements in Spain in the early Middle Ages is to be found in Jaime Vicens Vives, Historia social y económica de España y América, 4 vols. (Barcelona, 1957-9), I-II.
CHAPTER I

The Mozarabic Lyric

Possible Origins of the Tradition of Dawn Meeting

The most singular, the most distinctive and the most unifying of all the features of the lyrical poetry of the Iberian Peninsula is the theme of lovers' meeting at dawn. Despite the intense and far-flung influence of Provençal poetry on the love song of Europe, the Spanish treatment of the dawn theme maintains a defiant, indigenous originality which, moreover, also contrasts strongly with that of the sophisticated courtly Arabic poems of Muslim Spain. A brief survey of the Provençal dawn poems and of the Arabic treatment of the dawn, since they might with some justification be considered to be the two external cultures most likely to have influenced the creation of poetry in Christian Spain, will serve as a dramatic foil to the tradition of the kharjas, the cantigas de amigo and the villancicos.

With a few exceptions mostly in popular poetry, among them the lyric poetry of the Iberian Peninsula, the universal theme of Ros,¹ the eclectic study of dawn songs, edited by A.T. Hatto, is that of separation: typically, the sun rises, the cock crows and, in both Provençal and in Arabic, the watchman calls to the lovers to beware for the dawn approaches and they may well be exposed to the view of the slanderers. In Provençal the scene is clearly set, 'sotz cortina' or 'dinz vergier' the lovers are lying in each other's arms still savouring the warmth of the pleasures of the night but aware of the dangers that face them - the slanderers, 'laussangiers', or the jealous husband, 'el gelos';
the watchman, a trusted friend of the lovers, bears the heavy responsibility of protecting them from intrusion and of relieving them from care till dawn. As the canons of courtly love demand secrecy and discretion, the watchman assumes in every dawn poem an excessively prominent role: the lady calls to him telling him to keep guard and to beware of betraying the lovers:

Be velhatz
E maitatz,
Gait, encars
No.ns ve nuls esmais,
Non crezatz
Per armatz
Que jogars
De mon amic lais,
Qu'e mon bratz
Jauzen jatz;
Mas l'afars
No. us iesca del cais:
S'autr'o ditz
Faitz n'esconditz
Soven plovitz.  

Raimon de las Salas
Eos p.367 no.8 (245)

The lover himself reminds him of his duty:

Gaite be,
Gaitea del chastel,
Quan la re
Que plus m'es bon e bel
Ai a me
Trosqu'a l'alba,
E. 1 jornz ve
E non l'apel.  

Raimbaut de Vaqueiras
Eos p.365 no.7 (243)

and in Guiraut de Borneilh's dawn song the watchman invokes divine protection for his friend:

Reis glorios, verais lum e clartatz,
Deus poderos, Senher, ai a vos platz,
Ai meu companh siatz fizels ajuda;
Qu'eu non lo vi, pos la noche fo venguda,
Et ades sera l'alba! 

Eos p.359 no.2 (238)

As one might expect, the attitude to the coming of the dawn is hostile:
This hostility to the dawn reverberates throughout Europe, in the poems of Gace Brulé in Old French:

\[ \text{Cant voi l'aube dou jor venir} \]
\[ \text{Nulle rien ne doi tant hair} \]

in the tageliet of the German Minnesanger, in Dutch, in Italian and in English, particularly as a result of Chaucer's translations, adaptations and innovations.

In the Arabic poems collected in Eos, lovers part at dawn since it was at dawn that Bedouin tribes who had assembled the previous evening and had camped together for the night would strike their tents and go their separate ways. This Arabic tradition is reflected in the Arabic poetry of Al-Andalus: in the eleventh century, Ben Chaj of Badajoz wrote:

\[ \text{Cuando en la mañana que se fueron nos despedimos, llenos de tristeza por la próxima ausencia,} \]
\[ \text{vi a lomos de los camellos los palaquines en que se iban, bellas como lunas, cubiertas por sus velos de oro.} \]

In Al-Andalus, however, the mainstream Arabic tradition is also adapted to the settled milieu of the court. The poets indulge in a flamboyantly sensual language extolling the bacchic pleasures of the night, both drinking and love-making. The constant association of drinking and mixing wine with honey or cool water becomes a conscious imagery for love-making:
Cuando la noche arrastraba su cola de sombra, le di a beber vino oscuro y espeso como el almizcle en polvo que se sorbe por las narices. 10

Ben Baqí of Cordoba XI-XII c.

The welcome night, 'la noche llena de juventud', is the lovers' protectress against the spying eyes of the slanderers and the dawn, enemy of the lovers:

En verdad bebí vino que derramaba su resplandor, mientras la noche desplegaba el manto de la tiniebla. 11

Ben Sirach of Cordoba d. 1114

In fact in Arabic poetry generally, the gossips are even more closely identified with the dawn than they are in Provençal: 'the tongues of dawn almost gave us away', 'the sun is a scandal-monger', and in Spain the classical Arabic poets complain:

La mano del amor nos vistió en la noche con una túnica de abrazos que rasgó la mano de la aurora. 12

Ben Jafacha of Alcira 1058-1138

and

Éramos dos secretos en el corazón de las tinieblas hasta que la lengua de la aurora estaba a punto de denunciarnos. 13

Ben Zaydun of Cordoba 1003-1070

It would be misleading to suggest that none of these elements of poems of night meeting and dawn parting is present in the Romance poems of Muslim Spain, for indeed they are, vestigially: a girl, desperate for love, summons her lover to her side at night:

Mew sidi Ibrahim
Ya nuemne dolze,
Fen-te mib
De nojte.
In non, si non keris
Yire-me tib
-Gar-me a ob
a fer-te. 14

G.G. I
The fear of the spy is an inhibiting factor in the expression of love as the transition and kharja of an anonymous muwassaha suggests:

Tal cual vez una moza
quiere verse con su amante.
Si lo ve, lo que anhela
es burlar a los guardianes
y decir, cuando canta,
con acento sollozante:
Alba de me-w fogore
Alma de me-w ledore
Non estand' ar-raqibe
esta nojte (ker) amore.

It is as if in this poem the classical dawn conventions of a now urbanised Arabic society - the night meeting, the fear of the spy - are in direct and paradoxical competition with the contradictory attitude of the Romance kharja which identifies the lover with the dawn. This perhaps is the watershed at which Spain cursorily adopts and inspects the Arabic tradition which could strongly have predisposed the popular poetry of the Peninsula to receive the Provencal influence in this respect; but despite the integration of the communities of Al-Andalus, the sophisticated trappings of a court convention prove irrelevant to the popular inspiration of the Mozarabic lyric and are rejected in favour of a native and forceful tradition of dawn meeting with its concomitant, powerful light imagery and its spontaneous joy at the coming of dawn. Thus long before the poems of the first troubadours established the convention of dawn parting in the mainstream of the European lyric, the popular Spanish predilection for dawn meeting appears already firmly to have taken root and its roots were based, one has to suppose, in social and economic conditions in past pagan ritual and in the mainstay of the cultural background of a
subjugated people, the Church.

The closeness of the Church to the experience of its people is manifest in the wide range of eventualities covered by the hymns of the Mozarabic rite. The Mozarabic Liturgy includes not only a vast body of hymns for the canonical hours of each and every feast day but also, from the Visigothic period, hymns for the coronation of kings and the consecration of bishops and of churches. From the Muslim period, the collection of hymns honouring the saints often refers to the yoke of oppression and the prayers of the saints are sought for the removal of an alien power: one of the hymns for the feast of St Faustus, for instance, asks:

Precamur, almi martyres,
Per unum et trinum Deum,
Ut iugum iam velociter,
Quod sustinemus, auferat.\textsuperscript{15} \textit{A.H. XXVII} p.175 no.121

Hymns in celebration of the seasons of the year, prayers for rain, prayers for dry weather, supplications for the sick and the dying, all indicate the importance of the Church in the everyday lives of all classes of people. One hymn in particular, the marriage hymn - 'Tuba clarifica, plebs Christi, revoca' - suggests a close association between liturgical rite and secular celebration:

Pusilla copula, assume fistulam,
Lyram et tibiam, perstrepe cantica,
Voce organica carmen, melodia
Gesta psalle Davidica.

Cithara, iubila, cymbalum, concrepa,
Cinara, resona, nablum tripudia
Exceleo Domino, qui regit omnia
Per cuncta semper saecula.\textsuperscript{16} \textit{A.H.} p.283 no.207

The inspiration for these hymns stems both from the classical heritage of the early Christian period and from
the indigenous paganism ousted and assimilated by Catholicism. The melting of these influences and their transformation into the new source of inspiration for a beleaguered people, the Mozarabic hymns, are best explained by an examination of the history of Christianity in Spain.

According to Tertullian, Christianity had spread throughout Spain by the beginning of the third century, disseminated here as in other provinces by the expansion of the Roman Empire. By the middle of the third century Christians in Spain suffered under the persecutions of Decius and Valerius and, briefly, thirty years later from the persecution of Diocletian. Both Prudentius and the Mozarabic hymns commemorate the heroism of the large number of Spanish martyrs who fell prey to these persecutions. The first bishops of the Spanish Church to be martyred, Cyprian and Fructuosus, indicate at once its far-flung nature and the turbulent competition it faced. Cyprian was Bishop of Carthage which, with the rest of North Africa and parts of Gaul, was regarded as the domain of the Spanish Church, a domain not limited by the geographical boundaries of the Peninsula. Fructuosus was Bishop of Tarragona, where the imperial cult flourished, and his martyrdom was a deliberate attempt to intimidate the increasingly influential Christian hierarchy. The Mithraism of the Roman legions still flourished in Mérida, and the remnants of Punic cults were still practised in other cities. In Seville, for instance, it was not Roman Imperialism but the Phoenician cult of Salambo which cost the lives of two of the earliest women martyrs, Justa and Rufina, who refused to honour the pagan deity. The numbers of women martyrs in Spain bear witness to a feminine intensity of religious passion, a
fact which may itself be of some significance in the development of popular women's love-song. Christianity in the early centuries is recognised to have been the religion of outcasts, slaves and women; the preponderance of women in the Church raised the problem of intermarriage for the bishops of the Council of Elvira (Granada). The problem was resolved by a canon of the Council which censured but did not penalise Christian/pagan marriages. Parents who allowed their daughters to marry Jews were, however, severely penalised. Women were not spared the external persecutions and from as early as the first century women martyrs - Columba, Luparia, Leocardia of Toledo, Sulalia of Barcelona and the twelve-year-old Sulalia of Mérida, as well as Justa and Rufina - fell victim to imperial persecution and local pagan cults alike.

With the reign of Constantine, Christianity supplanted the Imperial cult and, in 313, the principle of religious liberty was proclaimed. The Emperor Theodosius (379-395), a native of Spain, proscribed paganism and by the end of the fourth century Christianity was dominantly established throughout the cities of Spain except in the remote region of Galicia. Thereafter, however, the external pressures of persecution once removed, rifts within the Spanish Church, particularly that of the Manichean Priscillian heresy, prevented the further evangelising of the northern peoples and inhibited the growth of Catholicism in Spain. The invasions of the Alans, Vandals and Sueves brought further setbacks to the Catholic Church, especially when the Alans, initially pagan on their arrival in Spain, adopted the Arian heresy which denied the divinity of Christ. In 550 Chararich, ruler of the Sueves, renounced Arianism and embraced
Catholicism, and in 589 Recared, King of the Visigoths, adopted Catholicism. In 654 the Visigoths initiated a codification of Roman and Germanic law — the *Forum Iudicium* — based on the Theodosian Code and the *Lex Romana Visigothorum* in an attempt to unite the disparate peoples of the Peninsula.\(^{19}\)

It was during this period that the great Visigothic liturgical tradition was established by Archbishop Leander of Seville, under whose influence the earliest cycles of monastic and Ambrosian hymns were introduced to Spain. The second Council of Braga in 563 had perpetuated the ancient tradition which forbade poetical expression except the Psalms in churches — probably because of the associations of song and dance with pagan ceremonies — but this ruling was reversed by the Council of Toledo in 633, which positively encouraged the writing of hymns by the secular clergy. The bishops of the seventh century responded with a vast body of hymns, many of which revealed the influence of Prudentius and Ambrose, particularly those honouring the saints.\(^{20}\) The same Council of Toledo, the fourth in 633, enforced a strict liturgical unity over the whole Peninsula, thereby eradicating the many provincial variants of the liturgy, including the individualistic liturgy of the see of Braga:

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Unus ergo ordo orandi atque psallendi a nobis per omnes Hispaniam et Galiam conservetur, unus modus in missarum solemnitatibus, unus in vesperinim matutinis que officiis, nec diversa sit ultra in nobis ecclesiastic a consuetudo, qui una fide continemur et regno. \(^{21}\)
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Subsequently, however, the 11th Council of Toledo (675) modified this injunction to allow provincial bishops a certain freedom in the interpretation of detail.
In the same century country churches and monasteries were founded and monastic schools established. Isidore of Seville, himself probably a hymn writer, stressed the importance of education in the struggle against the paganism which still survived in superstitious practices: in his De Rerum Natura he attempted scientific explanations of natural phenomena otherwise supposed to be of supernatural causes. At the same time, the bishops decreed that all priests should be adequately instructed in the Holy Scriptures and the canons of the Church, and the presentation of a manual of rubrics and prayers became a part of the ordination rite. In 693 King Egica in a final attack on paganism ordered the 'Christianisation' of pagan temples and their paraphernalia, in accordance with the advice of St Augustine to Publicola:

When temples, idols etc. are placed at the service of God, the same thing happens to them as when impious and sinful men are converted to the true faith.

Similarly, exorcisms to relieve the people from the fear of evil spirits, and blessings in substitution of superstitious pagan rituals, were incorporated into liturgical rites. An outstanding example of the latter, as we shall see, is the Brevisarium Gothicum.

Thus by the end of the seventh century, immediately prior to the Moorish invasion of the Peninsula, the Church in southern and central Spain, though hindered to some extent in the closing years of the century by a decline in ecclesiastical discipline, was firmly entrenched in a strongly orthodox position. It had moreover achieved considerable political importance, since it constituted the major unifying factor in a divided nation. Only in the north, particularly in Galicia where Christianity
had come late and in an indecisive fashion, was its hold insecure against persistent and vigorous pagan influences.

When in 711 the Moors overran the Peninsula and exerted their control over the major part of the land mass, they had under their sway in the central and southern regions not only the most important centres of Christian learning and inspiration, Toledo and Seville, but also that sector of the population most unequivocally Christian and longest liberated from pagan beliefs and customs. Muslim victory was not transformed into government until the founding of the emirate of the Ummayyads in 756 when, by means of political control and taxation rather than persecution, Abd-al-Rahman I sought to consolidate the Muslim hold over the various ethnic groups within his dominion. Although initially the driving impulse for the Moorish invasion of the Peninsula may have been that of a holy war of Islam, the invaders felt themselves to be under no obligation to convert their Christian and Jewish subjects to Islam, since the Koran advised them to respect the People of the Book who shared with the Muslims the same concept of a single all-powerful God. Financially this tolerant philosophy made the conquest worthwhile, since in return for the right to pursue their own religion - Christianity or Judaism - in freedom, the indigenous inhabitants of Al-Andalus were subject to a tax, the *dimma*, which by law could not be exacted from converts to Islam since in the eyes of Allah all Muslims, even the most recent converts to Islam, were equal. Pagans under Moorish rule did not, however, enjoy the privileges, albeit the bought privileges, of the People of the Book, and Moorish tolerance did not extend to them. There was therefore an added incentive for any practitioners of lingering pagan
tendencies to abandon their heathen ways and to ally themselves with one of the orthodox officially acceptable religions.

Under this regime the Christian Church enjoyed a position of some privilege in respect both to the Arabic rulers and to the Christian population. The bishops were regarded as not only the religious but also the political leaders of the Christian population by the emirs, who consequently found it expedient to sanction the appointment of bishops themselves. The Christian and Muslim societies became integrated to such an extent that intermarriage was frequent, and the later Umayyads had little Arab blood in their veins although they prided themselves on their Arabic heritage. The emirs preferred to fill their harems with blond concubines from northern Spain and northern Europe, and the product of one such Christian/Moorish alliance, Abd-al-Rahman III, had blue eyes and red hair; he moreover preferred to use Romance as the language of his everyday conversations. The young Christians of the prosperous and fashionable Moorish cities, Seville, Córdoba and Granada, on the other hand, prided themselves on their fluency in the Arabic language and in Arabic affairs arousing thereby the despondency of Paulus Alvarus in his justification of the martyrs Indiculus Luminosus of 854:

Our Christian young men, with their elegant airs and fluent speech, are showy in their dress and carriage, and are famed for the learning of the gentiles; intoxicated with Arab eloquence they greedily handle, eagerly devour and zealously discuss the books of the Chaldeans (i.e. Muhammedans), and make them known by praising them with every flourish of rhetoric, knowing nothing of the beauty of the Church's literature, and looking down with contempt on the streams of the Church that flow forth from Paradise; alas! the Christians are so ignorant of their own law, the Latins pay so little attention to their own language that in the whole Christian flock there is hardly one man in a hundred who can write a letter to inquire
after a friend's health intelligibly, while you may
find a countless rabble of all kinds of them who can
learnedly roll out the grandiloquent periods of the
Chaldean tongue. They can even make poems, every line
ending with the same letter, which display high flights
of beauty and more skill in handling metre than the
gentiles themselves possess.

Yet it must be remembered that Alvarus's view of the Christian
populace may well have been somewhat jaundiced by the Mozarabs'
apparent and justified indifference to the hysterical acts of
self-immolation carried out by the fanatical monks and nuns of
Alvarus's acquaintance in the years between 650 and 860.
Encouraged by Alvarus's close colleague, Eulogius, these
extremist Christians deliberately invited martyrdom by insulting
the tenets of Islam and inciting rebellion. Their reluctant
repression by Abd-al-Rahman II amounted to the only systematic
persecution of the Christian population before the Almoravid and
Almohad invasions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.
Likewise the frequent sensational tales of ecclesiastical
depravity - tales of bishops cavorting in Muslim courts and
putting their sees up for auction and of priests living with
married women - which make headline news and appeal to the
salacious tastes of any age, belie the fundamental vigour and
integrity of the Romano-Visigothic Christian tradition among the
Mozarabic population of Al-Andalus. This tradition is
exemplified particularly in the preservation of the Roman
Visigothic law, the Fuero Juzgado, and in the considerable
enlargement as well as the preservation of the Visigothic
collection of hymns. Significantly, despite the possible
metrical influence of the monorhymed Arabic zâjil on the form
of the hymns, their style and attitude can be traced directly
back to the compositions of Prudentius. Furthermore, vestiges
of this ancient Hispano-Roman Christian tradition can be discerned in the popular Mozarabic poetry, *kharias*, which otherwise of course reflects the polyglot nature of Andalusian society.

Prudentius (348-405) was not an ecclesiastic but a magistrate; he was above all a strongly patriotic Christian Spaniard who wrote primarily for an educated Spanish public, and, although his *Peristephanon* found its way into the Mozarabic Breviary, it was not intended for liturgical purposes: Prudentius composed it as a result of his own intense emotional reaction on visiting the tombs of the martyrs in Rome. In the *Cathermerinon* the poet deliberately turns his back on the classical mythology which he so vehemently attacks in *Contra Symmachum*, his polemic against the worship of heathen gods, and taps a rich unexploited source of culture, that of Old Testament Judaism. Having attacked the sun-worship of pagan cults, the imagery which he chooses to adopt for his Christian hymns is that of the light/dark contrast which dominates Biblical teaching from Genesis to Revelations. Thus in Prudentius' 'Morning Hymn', Christ is the light of day and, in the 'Hymn at Cockcrow', night is sin and darkness and sleep, death. In the 'Hymn at Cockcrow' the poet makes a militant call to sinful man, who denied Christ three times before cockcrow, to prepare for the second coming:

*fit namque peccatum prius quam praeco lucis proximae inlustret humanum genus finemque peccandi ferat...* 29

The poet exploits the colours and sounds of the early hours:

'post solis ortum fulgidi/ serum est cubile spernere...', 'vox ista que strepunt aves/ stantes sub ipsa culmine...', but these
picturesque hints of dawn are only baits to the imagination which once caught is inexorably carried through a vision of the ever-increasing grimness of the sins of the world, of sloth, of the demons of the night, of everlasting death. Christ, however, is the cock who heralds the return of hope to the world through the Resurrection and the vanquishing of sin:

invisa nam vicinitas
lucis, salutis, numinis,
rupto tenebram situ
noctis fugat satellites...
hoc esse signum praescii
norunt repromissae spei,
qua nos soporis liberit
speramus adventum Dei...

The cock as the herald of hope becomes a common motif of the Mozarabic liturgy. It appears in the Braviarium Gothicum, an early dawn liturgy of uncertain date, somewhere between the sixth and eleventh centuries:30

gallo nos consolaris canente

and in one of the Mozarabic hymns, the essence of Prudentius' hymn is coalesced into four lines:

Noctis tempus iam praeterit,
Iam gallus canit viribus,
Gallo canente spes redit,
Aegris salus refunditur.31 A.H. p.83 no.30

The example of the cock is one specific instance of the transmission to the liturgy of the imagery of Prudentius, albeit a use of imagery which he shared with St Ambrose. The evidence for his influence in the compilation of the Mozarabic hymnal is such that it appears that, during the years of Moorish domination, Prudentius became the anchor of the Christian Visigothic Church of Muslim Spain and that, cut off from the mainstream growth of Christianity in the rest of
Europe, it was to him that the Mozarabs turned for inspiration, whether directly or through the Visigothic tradition that they had inherited.

In the case of the cock it is the motif which is transmitted from Prudentius to posterity; in other instances the motif is accompanied by actual verbal similarities: Prudentius, in his 'Hymn before Sleep', prays for rest unassailed by the demons of the night:

Fluxit labor diei
redit et quietis hora
blandus sopor vicissim
fessus relaxat artus. 32

and a Mozarabic hymn prays for the same relief:

Deus, qui certis legibus
Noctem discernis ac diem
Ut fessa curis corpora
Somnus relaxet otio,
Te noctis inter horridae
Tempus precamur, ut, sopor
Mentem dum fessam detinet
Fidei lux illuminet...

For Prudentius, the night is irrevocably associated with evil:

Verauta fraus et callida
amat tenebris obtegi
aptamque noctem turpibus
adulter occultus fovet. 33

Under his influence the night becomes firmly entrenched in the Spanish imagination as the epitome of all that is evil in the absence of Christ; indeed, the Mozarabic hymn revels in a florid description of the pitfalls awaiting the sleeper:

Hostis ne fallax incitet
Lascivis cura gaudiis
Secreta noctis advocans
Blandos in aestus corporis.
Subrepat nullus sensui
Horror timoris anxii
Illudat mentem nec vagam
Fallax imago.
Only the coming of Christ, the true light, can disperse the shades of night; for Prudentius in his 'Morning Hymn', Christ is perilously closely associated with the rising sun:

Nox et tenebrae et nubila
confusa mundi et turbida,
lux intrat, albescit polus,
Christus venit, discedite.
Caligo terrae scinditur
percussa solis spiculo.
Sol ecce surgit igneus:
piget, pudescit, paenitet
nec teste quisquam lumine
peccare constanter potest.

This intensely potent imagery with its overtones of pagan sun worship is remorselessly exploited in the Mozarabic hymns:

O lux beata Trinitas
et Principalis unitas
Iam sol recedit igneus
Infunde lumen cordibus. \( \text{A.H. p.72 no.17} \)

Christ is auctor luminis, lux vera, lucis claritas and superne lucifer and his attributes are inevitably those of the dawn:

Aurora surgit fulgida,
Spargit caelum lux nova. \( \text{A.H. p.102 no.51} \)

In a dawn hymn for Easter, the light of the risen Christ triumphs with a sonority worthy of Virgil over the powers of darkness:

Aurora lucis rutilat
Caelum laudibus intonat
Mundus oxsultans jubilat
Gemens infernus ululat. \( \text{A.H. p.107 no.65} \)

The triumph is ecstatically asserted in the consummately liturgical dawn oration from the Breviarium Gothicum. Here all the elements of the ecclesiastical dawn tradition are united: Prudentius' cock disperses the darkness and brings hope of salvation:

gallo nos consolaris canente

but Prudentius' excessively moralising allegorical tone is
modified so that night, however dark, is the time of peaceful
sleep and rest without the overtones of sloth and sinfulness
which Prudentius attaches to it: 'Post gallorum concentum
noctisque quietam exclusam.' Only at the end of the oration
is a prayer for protection from the perils of the night added:
'ne profundae noctis errore persuasi, diei obliviscamur perennis.'

God is to be seen in the red light of dawn
aurora rubescit in luce purissima
in the rays of the glowing sun, 'sol refulgens', and all Nature
rises to welcome his coming. The expression of joy is exuberant,
boundless and pantheistic; its invocations recall King Egica's
decree of A.D. 693 that the Church should incorporate pagan
blessings into its own liturgical forms, and it flows uninhibited
and unconstrained until the somewhat reluctant and abrupt
acknowledgement of man's unfortunate tendency to sin:
'labentes in tenebris.'

Undoubtedly many factors both social and economic dictated
the phenomenon of lovers' meetings at dawn in Spain. Whereas
the leisured classes, the Arabs, and later in Provence, the
nobility, were at liberty to consummate their adulterous liaisons
by night, the young unmarried girl protagonists of kharjas,
cantigas and villancicos were constrained by circumstance to
make their assignations, not at the parental home by night, but
as soon as they could slip away on some practical pretext at
dawn. Parental displeasure is in fact a more restraining force
in the cantigas and villancicos than it is in the kharjas where,
frequently, the mother is the girl's accomplice and the lover
comes to the house to meet the girl. Undoubtedly, too, many
factors governed the emergence of love trysts at dawn as one of
the major, if not the major, themes of the traditional poetry of the Iberian Peninsula. In Al-Andalus it would seem that the powerful dawn and light imagery of the Christian liturgy which identifies the coming of Christ with the rising sun, reinforced by remnants of effusive pagan ritual, lends poetic shape and substance to the social phenomenon and combines with numerous other influences, some identifiable, others now imponderable, to create a lyrical tradition of lovers' meetings at dawn.

Both for the Church and for the Mozarabic lovers, dawn is hope and fulfilment: like the coming of Christ, the arrival of the lover is identified with the break of day and, in the kharjas, the lover is the dawn, the first rays of sunlight herald his coming, just as in the Breviarium Gothicum:

Yā matre'I-rahima
a rayo de mañana
Bon Abu'I-Hajjāj
la faj de matança. 35

Christ as the face of dawn is a favourite epithet of Prudentius':

 Tu, rex Boi sideris
vultu sereno inlumina...

Both in Prudentius and in the Mozarabic hymns, fulgor and its derivatives are frequently used to depict the brilliance of Christ, 'Aeternae lucis conditor'. He is 'fulgor siderum' and is identified with the glowing dawn, 'Aurora surgit fulgida' in the hymns; in the 'Hymn at Cockcrow' and in the Breviarium Gothicum the sun is vested with similar radiance: 'post solis ortum fulgidi', 36 'sol refulgens, radios suos infert mundo', 37 and, in the latter work, the same term is used to depict the glory of the Lord in which his joyous creation is basking: 'et toto orbo terrarum claritatis tunc splendore et fulgore coruscat.
Derivatives of the Latin root stem 'fulg-' appear in many Spanish Latin poetic compositions, religious or secular, from the beginning of the hymn writing period in the seventh century consistently through the expansion of the hymnal under the Moorish occupation in the eighth and ninth centuries. Of the 210 Mozarabic hymns, 41 contain a derivative of 'fulg-'; it appears in the hymn 'inclite rex magne regum' which refers to the Visigothic coronation ceremony:

Fulget vitae corona, polleat clementia. A.H. 193, p. 269

It describes the glory of St James in an eighth century hymn which predates the reputed discovery of the saint's body at Santiago in the year 824:

O vere digne apostole, Caput refulgens aureum Spaniae Tutorque nobis et patronus vernulus A.H. 130, p. 186

In the hymn to St Jerome the language of the dawn hymns is applied metaphorically to the illumination of learning:

Tanto doctrinae fulget exhinc lumine Tanto coruscus iubar pollet floride, Instructu ut suo rutilet splendide Plebs Christi que est redempta a sanguine. Ipsius dono refice nos, Agie. 38 A.H. 126, p. 181

and Paulus Alvarus, in the middle of the ninth century, uses both the adjective and the verb to express the musical superiority of the nightingale in his short poem which he based on the earlier poem of Eugenio of Toledo:

Vox, filomela, tua dulcis super organa pergit, cantica nam suabe fulgide magna canit iudice me carmen fulgeat omne tuum. 39

Fulger, the cliché of Spanish Latin poetry, is also favoured by the Romance vernacular poets and the radiance of the rising sun,
of Christ and his Saints, becomes the radiance of the lover's presence. Two muwassahas, one an anonymous love poem and the other a panegyric to one Abu Amr, by Ibn al-Mu'allim of the early eleventh century, both use the same kharja:

\[
\text{Ben, yā sahhārā! alba q'ēstā kon bēl fogōre kand bēnē bīd' amōre. 40 G.G. VII}
\]

The reminiscence of the Christian dawn hymn 'Aurora surgit fulgida' is strong indeed, but at the same time the kharja accords with the subject and style of both muwaṣṣahas in which the dawn is a potent image for the Arabic poet; it describes the qualities of Abu Amr:

\[
\text{Da su belleza al alba mayor brillo, y da su genio mejor perfume al vino. Es una estrella que guía al peregrino. G.G. VIIa}
\]

and in the love poem it conveys the beauty of the beloved:

\[
\text{Un día claro como su cara bella, y cuya aurora su piel de luz penetra G.G. VIIb}
\]

The strength of the association of the Christ-like lover with the brilliance of the dawn is such that the same terminology is used even when a nocturnal meeting may be suggested:

\[
\text{'Alba dē mēw fogōre, 'Almā dē mē-w ledōre' Non estand'ar-raqībe Esta nojts(ker) amōre. G.G. IV}
\]

The lover's coming may occasion distrust and misgiving but still he benefits from the favourable identification with the dawn:

\[
\text{Al-sābāḥ bono garme d'on venis ya lēs que otri amas a mibi tu no queres. Stern 17}
\]
The interpretation of G.G. IV is, however, the subject of a lively controversy. Stern and García Gómez disagree on its reading; Stern's version reads:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{'lb qd mw fgwr} & \quad \text{'lmy dy mwy ldwr} \\
\text{bstnd llrqyb} & \quad \text{at nw\text{"yt}} \text{ myr}
\end{align*}
\]

which he tentatively interprets as

Alba...meu...

.....li'1-raqîb

este nohte...

Stern 25

Peter Dronke boldly enlarges on Stern's transcription:

Alba qued, meu fogore,
alma de meu ledore,
bastando li '1-raqîbe
\text{este nohte (o) amore. 41}

Corominas adds a further complication by deriving fogor from FOCARIS and this reading is preferred by Sola-Solé. 42

García Gómez admits that he has doubts about his own interpretation of the third line of the kharja:

\text{non estand' ar-raqibe}

and also of fogore and ledore which he considers 'poco españoles', despite Ruggieri's suggestion that the Mozarabic ledore may derive from the term ledo - leda, frequently used in the cantigas. 43

García Gómez is somewhat cryptic about his amendments to the kharja as a whole, in his second edition;

\text{Esta jarcha ha tenido que ser sometida a un profundo reajuste métrico, antes imposible por falta de datos. Este reajuste ha-}
\text{se desechar la sugestión de Lapesa (BRAB, XL (1960), 53-65 : "Alba que da mor (mayor) fogore!" y ha obligado a suplir 'ker' (quiero) en el cuarto estico. 44}

\text{Strong support for the reading fogor < FULGOR comes from the eminent authority of Rafael Lapesa. 45 In discounting Corominas' propo-

Corominas' proposition that fogor derives from FOCUS, he compares the phonetic evolution of FULGOR > fogor with ULVA > ovo and INSULSU > soso. He finds fulgor used in}
a cultured context in Old Spanish, Provençal, French, Portuguese and in Dante. He also indicates derivatives of an adjectival form in southern Italy: FULGOROSUS > fruvulusi, frugugiusé, gurfugliusu, and a verbal form in Romanian.

Since there is no ultimate authority for the reading of any kharja, it is almost impossible to argue such points further without becoming involved in a tautology: the language of the kharjas in one particular reading resembles that of the Mozarabic hymns, therefore the language of any kharja can be elucidated by reference to the hymns. It is, however, possible to avoid this tautological trap by saying that the attitude of the dawn kharjas resembles that of pre-Christian and Christian dawn ceremonies as reflected in hymns and liturgies and that, consequently, where there is an apparent similarity between the hymns and the fragmented kharjas of difficult interpretation, the language of the hymns may help to clarify the language of the kharjas. While it would be too presumptuous to postulate the liturgical tradition as the unique source of the dawn tradition in vernacular love poetry, at least the vigour of the Latin imagery would appear to justify the suggestion that the inspiring and colourful liturgical language, which was not yet irreparably divorced from the popular comprehension, gave poetic expression to a convention which may have had its roots in economic circumstances or more distantly in pagan ritual.

This compelling use of light/dark imagery is also found to be common coinage among the poets of the other two cultures of Al-Andalus, among the Jews and the Arabs; it is particularly favoured by Yehuda Halewi:
El sol nunca se pone: está en Oriente y en Occidente; y su esplendor es exactamente como el del sol.
Sola-Solé XXXVIIIa

¡Oh sol, a través de un cielo de trenzadas cabellos!
Sola-Solé XXXVI

In the twelfth century, Abraham ibn Ezra takes up the image of the sun:

¡Qué maravilla es su amor para mí, cuando veo su imagen! Su esplendor es como el del sol cuando sale.
Sola-Solé XLIII

Yehuda Halewi, however, also used the image of sunlight in a kharja which he himself composed in the language and style of the Christians to honour the arrival of a courtier of Alfonso VI, Yosef ibn Ferrusiel, known as the Cidello, who was an acclaimed protector of the Jewish population, to Guadalajara some time between 1091 and 1095. The image of the sun that Yehuda Halewi uses was alien neither to the Judaic nor to the Arabic traditions, but the fact that he chooses to express it in the language and the form of Christian popular poetry suggests a conscious borrowing from the Christian fund of imagery:

Des cand meu Cidello venid tan bona'1-bisāra
Com rayo de sol esid en Wadi l-Ḥijara 47

The Cidello is the bringer of light to a minority people just as St Jerome had illuminated the dark corners of the Church in his battle against the Arian heresy:

Tu noster splendor, tu nobisque destina,
Per te clarescit ubique Eclesia;
Tu preliator in fide catholica,
Aries ingens, fortis in dogmata
Hereticorum dextruens maceriam. 48

A.H. 126, p.181
It must, however, be stressed that the sun and the light/dark contrast were not unique to Christianity. In numerous Eastern religions as well as in Classical mythology, divine power is symbolised in the sun, particularly of course in the pervasive Mithraism of the Roman legions. Although the Qoran and orthodox Islam provide no evidence for the religious equation of the sun with divine power, the sun is used in Arabic very frequently to denote earthly power and glory, in honorific titles such as Shams al-Khilafa (Sun of the Caliphate), Shams al-Mulk (Sun of Kingship), and Shams al-Din (Sun of Religion), and in panegyric verse where these names are played upon.49 Abu Tamman, a classical Arabic poet (d.c. 850) addresses the Caliph:

You gave back the splendour to the sun (of the Caliphate) and Mutanabbi (915-965), poet of the court of Saif al-Daula at Aleppo, eulogises his patron thus:

Every life you do not grace is death; every sun that you are not is darkness.

You were the sun dazzling every eye; so how now seeing that two others (his sons) have appeared along with it.

May they live the life of the sun and moon, giving life by their light, not envious of each other.

The same image is a favourite tool of the classical Arabic poets of Muslim Spain. Ben Muqano (11th century) devotes most of his panegyric to Idris II of Malaga to a celebration of libidinous pleasures:

Ya lució para mí el primer claror del alba
Dame a beber antes que el almuedano entone su 'Allah es grande'. 50

In this poem which is one of the few in Arabic to celebrate the dawn, except as the end of a solitary night of suffering, the
poet explores the shadowy world of daybreak:

las alas del aire han sido
humededas por el agua de rosas
del alba para los que madrugar a beber.

The shadows are dispersed by the rising sun and, with a quick sleight of hand, the poet transforms his bacchanalian musings into a fervent eulogy of Idris II:

Y todos los ojos se aparten,
ofuscados, al salir el sol.
El sol, que es el rostro de Idris, hijo de Yahya, hijo de Ali, hijo de Hammud, Príncipe de los Oreyentes.

Similarly in the muwassahas, as we have already seen, the rising sun and the dawn convey the power and grandeur of a ruler. According to the panegyric of el Ciego de Tudela, the magnificence of Abu Hafs al-Hauzani illuminates the whole world:

aurora que, cuando brilla
el mundo entero engalana. 51

Although in Arabic poetry lovers part at dawn and the dawn for these lovers consequently has unwelcome connotations, in Arabic poetry in general the dawn is a frequent and potent image. In a muwassaha the brilliance of the beloved's face, like that of Idris II, competes with the sun:

Toda vista ofusca cuando sale
un rostro que es como un sol brillante:
alba que no tiene nunca tarde G.G. X

while in a qasida the sensual nature which the image acquires in Arabic poetry emerges:

La noche de sus cabellos surge
sobre la clara aurora de su rostro. 52

Arabic scholars reject the notion that the Christian imagery current in Muslim Spain could have had any influence on Classical Arabic poetic expression. One can however at least point to a
considerable conformity of poetic usage in that area which makes
dawn imagery attractive to both Christian and Arabic poets alike,
despite the lack of a convention of dawn meeting in Arabic. It
is this compatibility of poetic expression which enables el
Ciego de Tudela to achieve an easy and natural transition from
muwassaha to kharja in his panegyric to an unnamed vizir:

El lindo rostro el alba
fíel le representaba,
y así, con el recuerdo
alivía su pena:

Ya mata re mia r-rajíma
a räyyo dé manyána,
Ben Abú-l-Hayyáy
La fáze de matrana.  G.G. XIX

Some Further Aspects of the Mozarabic Lyrics of Meeting:
sources and developments

Although he expresses his readiness to contemplate the
possibility of religious influence in the genesis of traditional
poetry generally, Menéndez Pidal rejects it in the specific case
of the Mozarabic lyric:

Claro es que así como las lenguas románicas,
derivadas del latín vulgarmente hablado, no se
formaron sin un constante influjo del latín escrito
y culto, así también es presunción evidente que los
cantos del pueblo y de los juglares del pueblo no
crecieron en absoluta espontaneidad, sino que hubieron
de sufrir influencias eclesiásticas frecuentes, tanto
mediante un intencionado trabajo imitativo sobre la
poesía latina profana, como mediante adaptación a lo
oído en el templo por los fieles, en las ceremonias
litúrgicas y en la predicación nutrida con frecuentes
citas bíblicas. Pero lo cierto es que en los cantares
recién descubiertos no tenemos la fortuna de percibir
tal influencia, ni siquiera en la jarchya 14, la de la
vacilación de la amada para abrir la puerta al amado. 53

Menéndez Pidal bases his rejection of ecclesiastical influence
in the kharjas on his assumption that the gap between clergy
and laity was not bridged until later in the Middle Ages:

Y sólo más tarde los clérigos, a quienes su ministerio imponía también el deber de hablar a los fieles en lengua común, debieron de sentir el deseo de asociar alguna vez el pueblo a los oficios eclesiásticos. Todo esto no es hipótesis, es simple postulado de sentido común. 54

However, as the evidence of the liturgy which dates from the Mozarabic period and earlier demonstrates, the clergy were enthusiastic in their efforts to accommodate secular, even pagan, ritual into Christian ceremonial and, during the centuries of Moorish oppression, developed a further colourful and comforting means of communication with the Christian populace through the Mozarabic hymns, couched in a cogent, simple, easily intelligible Latin, not far removed from the evolving Mozarabic dialect. Despite Menéndez Pidal's reservations therefore, it does seem feasible to attempt to identify further 'citas bíblicas' in the kharjas. In many instances the correlations found, not only between the kharjas and the Mozarabic hymns, but between the kharjas and other liturgical and Biblical texts, eloquently illustrate the rich medley of influences, Hebrew and Arabic, as well as Christian, which conspire in the artless composition of the kharjas.

Three contemporaneous twelfth-century poets, two Arabic and one Hebrew, adopt a kharja with powerful Christian overtones; the lover makes aggressive advances to the girl who complains:

\[
\text{Non me tankeş yá habíbi}
\text{fa-encara danišo}
\text{al-ğílåla raša bašta}
\text{a ţoto me refiušo.} 55
\]

Sola-Soló XXIXa

Minor variations occur between interpreters of this kharja; all, however, are agreed on the gist of the kharja and on the
interpretation of the first line: 'Non me tankes'. Frenk Alatorre indicates close similarities between the Mozarabic lyric and several French refrains:

A moi n'atouches vos ja... Bartsch II, no. 99

N'atouches pas a mon chainse, sire chevalier. Bartsch I, no. 49

The same formula is found in the Castilian lyric:

¡Quedito! No me toquéis, entrañas mías:
que tenéis las manos frías. PTT 424

Melibea makes a similar complaint when she finds herself unable to control Calisto's passionate advances:

Cata, ángel mío, que así como me es agradable tu vista sosegada, me es enojoso tu riguroso trato; tus honestas burlas me dan placer, tus deshonestas manos me fatigan cuando pasan de la razón. Deja estar mis ropas en su lugar y, si quieres ver si es el hábito de encima de seda o de mano, para qué me tocas en la camisa? Pues cierto es de lienzo. Holguemos y burlemos de otros mil modos que yo te mostraré; no me destroces ni maltrates como sueles. ¿Qué provecho te trae dañar mis vestiduras? 56

It may be that the formula of the kharja is the first documented profane elaboration in the vernacular of the 'Noli me tangere' injunction of the New Testament,57 which was to become a favourite medieval device. The Biblical scene of the risen Christ by the Holy Sepulchre was frequently depicted by medieval and Renaissance painters (the Fra Angelico in San Marco, Florence, and the Correggio in the Prado are but two examples), and the legend 'Noli me tangere, Caesaris enim sum' became the heraldic motto of the device of the chained stag. 58

The motif of clothing torn by the lover's violence is also found in an Arabic muwaṣṣaha, though not in its accompanying kharja:
Cuando la atrapé a solas y conseguí la saliva de sus dientes dulces, desgarrando sus vestidos a la fuerza, cantó a su madre con desdén:

\[
\begin{align*}
este_{\text{al-raqi}^\prime \text{ma}(m)} & \text{ es} \text{te}_{\text{al} \text{ harak}} \\
\text{me hamma}_{\text{al-qahra}} & \\
\text{an nabid}^\prime \text{wa}_{\text{al-falak}}. & \text{ Sola-Solé XLIX}
\end{align*}
\]

This motif is later exploited for its symbolic value throughout European poetry, not least in the cantigas of Pero Meogo where it is lent the same ominous overtones of future distress and disgrace, voiced here not by the girl to the mother as in the kharja but by the mother to the girl:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{E rompestes i o brial} & \\
\text{que fezestes ao meu pesar:} & \\
\text{poi-lo cervo i ven,} & \\
\text{esta fonte segue} & \\
\text{a ben, poi-lo cervo i ven.} & \text{ Odea CCCXVIII}
\end{align*}
\]

In a Castilian echo of the Galician situation the girl's clothes are stained not torn:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Dezid, hija garrida,} & \\
\text{¿quién os manchó la camisa?} & \text{ LNTP 553}
\end{align*}
\]

The inspirational sources of the kharjas appear to extend also to the Old Testament where Christianity shares a common culture with Judaism. The common cultural background of the peoples of the Middle East, Jews and Arabs, on the one hand, and the common religious background of Jews and Christians, on the other, attain an ultimate synthesis in the intermingling of all three peoples in Al-Andalus. The kharjas illustrate this confluence of cultures in an exemplary fashion, particularly in poems of meeting.

The Mozarabic hymns call upon Christ to come and save his people: clearly in the Advent hymn the call is meant to appear as a refrain to the strains of the music:
Clamemus cordis organo:
Veni, redemptor, salva nos. A.H. p.67, no.7

The urgency of the Christian hymn is echoed in the invitation to the lover, addressed by the Arabic term sidi, in the kharja of a Hebrew muwaṣṣaba:

Veni sidi veni

D’est al-zamâni
con filyo d’Aben al-Dayyêni Stern I

In the Pentecostal hymn, it is the Holy Spirit whose grace is sought:

Asorate veni spiritus
Ore patria paraclite,
Policitus qui dudum es
Ioele vate, editus. A.H. p.98 no.41

Not only the summons but also perhaps a hint of the rhythm of the hymn is found in the kharja of an Arabic muwaṣṣaba of late eleventh century, which calls upon a lover who bears a Hebrew name, Ibrahim:

Mew sidi Ibrâhîm
yâ nuemne dolze,
fênt-e mib
de nojte G.G. I

The invitation to love is however a constant motif running through the Song of Songs in much the same way that it runs through the kharjas:

Veni de Libano sponsa mea,
veni de Libano, veni: 4.8

Veni in hortum meum
soror mea sponsa 5.1

Veni dilecte mi, egrediamur in agrum 7.11

The Song of Songs would have been available to the Christian population through the Vulgate Bible. For the Hebrew poets,
in a constantly allegorised interpretation, it was a major source of inspiration for a poetry that was exclusively religious until, significantly for this study, the innovative compositions of the greatest Hebrew muwassaga poet, Yehuda Halewi, who died in 1140. Yehuda Halewi was, however, still strongly influenced by the language of the Song of Songs as were the later Hebrew muwassaga poets, including the last, Todros Halewi Abulafia. He, in the thirteenth century, in a panegyric to his relation, Don Todros Abulafia, uses the colourful language of the Song:

mon cher ami, qui est comme un bouquet de myrrhes

Fasciculus myrrhae dilectus meus mihi

Song I. 13

The Song of Songs is believed by modern scholars to consist of a collection of secular wedding songs rooted in the common Semitic culture of the Middle East. Since it was frequently performed in spring festivals and wedding ceremonies, it is supposed that it found its way into the canons of Judaism through its constant association with religious ritual. It may be that originally it derived from a common stock of lyric poetry available both to the Arab and the Hebrew peoples. Whether or not such a collection of songs was already known to them from sources in their own culture, the Song of Songs is considered to have exerted a profound influence on the Arabic poets of Al-Andalus.

The relationship between secular Hebrew and Arabic poetry in Spain is explored by Aaron S. Citron in his thesis. Citron finds a thematic similarity between Hebrew and contemporary Arabic poetry. Similar relationships are depicted in similar
ways: both reveal a strong affinity with Biblical imagery suggesting a relationship between Hispano-Arabic poetry and Biblical imagery. Citron establishes that some Arabic poets were definitely familiar with the Bible but, since this type of imagery also exists in pre-Islamic poetry, the poets may simply have been borrowing from a common imagistic stock. It is therefore well nigh impossible to make hard and fast rules for the ethnic provenance of the themes and language of the kharja, at best one can only indicate similarities and discrepancies which appear for some reason or other to be significant. The transition of Yosef ibn Saddiq's muwassaha, for example, as one might expect of a Hebrew poet, is highly redolent of the Song:

Le jour ou le cerf est venu frapper à sa porte
de sa chambre, elle éleva la voix et dit à sa mère:
Je ne peux pas me retenir:

The stag is also a motif of Arabic poetry:

Amo a quien
es ciervo esquivo

In the kharja of Yosef ibn Saddiq's muwassaha, however, the arrival of the lover is described in the exact terms used to describe the arrival of Christ in the Advent hymn:

At nunc secundus praemonet
Adesse Christum ianuis.

In the kharja the girl calls out:

The verbal similarity between the second line of the kharja and the hymn is such that the hymn could be claimed as the unique source of the kharja. There is, however, another
element in the kharja, the girl's perplexed question to her mother, which may point to the influence of the Song of Songs on the kharja as well as on the muwassaha. Here the Christian and the Hebrew imagery coincide: Christ is at the door in the hymn - ianuis - and the lover is at the door in the Song, though there is not the striking linguistic similarity between the Latin of the Song and the kharja that there is between the hymn and the kharja:

\[
\text{en ipse sperat post parietem nostrum respiciens per fenestras} \\
\]

I.9

But in the Christian hymn there is no hesitancy at the coming of Christ, redemption is nigh and the call to the faithful is unequivocal:

Gaudete, flores martyrum
Salvete, plebes gentium,
Visum per astra mittite,
Sperate signum gloriae. 

A.H. p.63, no.1

The girl of the kharja lacks the confidence of the hymn; her reaction to her lover's arrival is to ask her mother what she should do and there is a precedent in the Song for this strain of questioning uncertainty which runs as a thread, not only through the kharjas, but also through the cantigas, where the girl questions her lover:

Que farei agor' amigo?
pois que non queredes migo viver 

Cdea LXI

her mother:

-Ai madr' o que me namorou
foi-se noutro dia d' aqui
e por Deus, que faremos i ca namorada me leixou?

Cdea CCXLIV

and her friends:
Pero m’eu leda semelho,  
non me sei dar conselho;  
amigas, que farei?  
en vós, ai meu espelho,  
eu non me veerei.  

The formula is repeated in Castilian:

'Adónde iré? ¿qué haré?  
que mal vecino es el amor.  

Si de vos, mi bien, me aparto  
¿qué haré?  
Triste vida viviré.

Margit Frenk Alatorre finds similar examples in French refrains:

Amore ai  
qu'en ferai?  
Bartsch I no. 53b

Aymi, Dieus, aymi! aymi!  
qu'en ferai?  
Gennrich 109

In many of these later contexts, however, and also in several  
khārijāt, the formula is an expression of despair at the lover’s  
departure or absence. In the khāria adopted by Yosef ibn  
Saddiq the situation is much closer to that of the Song of  
Songs where the bride is flustered by the lover’s arrival:

Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat: vox dileti mei  
pulsantis:
Aperi mihi soror mea, amica mea, columba mea, immaculata  
mea:
quia caput meum plenum est rore, et cincinni mei guttis  
octium.

On hearing his voice she asks:

Expāliavi me tunica mea, quomodo induar illa?  
lavi pedes meos, quomodo inquinabo illos?

Clearly there are no linguistic grounds for deriving the Romance  
formula, ‘que faray’, from the Latin of the Song of Songs. It  
may be, as Monroe suggests, that there existed in Vulgar Latin  
a stock of lyric formulae and that this common stock gave rise
to the appearance of the Romance formulae in disparate parts of Europe. But the juxtaposition of the formula, 'que faray', in Saddiq's kharja with the line so closely reminiscent of the Advent hymn does suggest a conscious attempt by the poet of the kharja to recreate, in Romance, the language of the Christians, the dramatic situation of the Song of Songs in miniature, and this implies that the poet of the kharja, whatever his ethnic origins, must have been familiar with the Song. It might be argued that the Hebrew muwaṣṣaha poet, Yosef ibn Saddiq, himself composed the kharja to conform with his muwaṣṣaha, but it is unlikely that he would have been sufficiently familiar with the minutiae of the Mozarabic hymns to have borrowed and adapted from so exact a line as

Adesse Christum ianuis

A further convergence of the Arabic and Hebrew - and by extension the Christian - traditions is found in the kharjas in the unwelcome figure of the raqib, variously translated as 'spy' by Stern, as 'spy' or 'guards' by García Gómez. As we have seen, the slanderers wield a pernicious power in classical Arabic poetry. They do not, however, deter lovers from meeting. Ibn al-Mu'tazz, an Iraqi poet of the ninth century, exclaims:

How many a lover, covered by the darkness of night, Meets his beloved while the slanderers sleep.

Bos p.233, no.15 (132)

For all their malevolence, the Arabic spies do not resort to the violent brutality which the night watchmen inflict in the nightmare sequence of the Song of Songs:

Invenerunt me custodes qui circumeunt civitatem: percusserunt me, et vulneraverunt me: tulerunt pallium meum mihi custodes murorum 5.7
In the kharjas the ragib is a sufficiently fearsome figure to modify the girl's desire for love:

Non estand' ar-raqiibe
Esta nojte (ker) amore. G.G. IV

yet may only produce the mildly inhibiting effect of a chaperone:

La jeune fille, seule avec son ami, voyait que l'espion ne faisait pas attention; elle disait d'une voix merveilleuse:

Si quenis como bon a mib
Bajeame da'l-nazma duk
boquella de habb al-mulük. Stern 31

The identity of the ragib emerges in the muwassahas of three poets, one Hebrew and two Arabic, who use the same kharja. The ragib is either a rival for the love of the lover or a representative of the rival. The transition of Moshe Ibn Ezra's muwassaha flows with a delicate lyrical pathos:

La biche, avec ses belles paroles, a brisé mon coeur. Elle rappela qu'on peut, avec des mensonges, separer ceux qui sont liés entre eux; elle me chanta, en pleurant, le chant des gazelles.

Stern 41

In contrast, in the muwassaha of al-Yazzär of Zaragoza, which García Gómez believes to be the earliest of the three muwassahas, the situation is clearly portrayed with bitter resentment:

Cuanto mal
ese al-raqiibe
tiene pensado!
Siempre que
viene mi amigo,
sale a su lado,
y así yo
a quienes me hablan
cuento mi caso. G.G. XXVIIIb

Here the ragib seems to fulfill the role of a guard placed over the lover to prevent him from indulging an illicit passion; indeed the girl's description of him in the kharja as 'filvol
'al yeno' would suggest that he is perhaps already officially betrothed to someone else and that she herself is the third party. Elsewhere in the kharjas, the Romance term 'filyol alyeno' or the Arabic 'l-garib' is used for an estranged lover who has rejected the girl of the kharjas in favour of someone else. Here the situation would appear to be reversed:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{K'aşamay} \\
\text{Filyol alyeno,} \\
\text{Eğ el a nibe.} \\
\text{Korç-lo} \\
\text{De mib betare} \\
\text{Su' ar-raqib.}
\end{align*}
\]

G.G. XXVIIIb

In the muwassa of Abū Bakr Yahyā ibn Daqī it is the raqib who is jealous and a rival:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Denigrar} \\
puede mi fama \\
el que yo cante, \\
si al guardian, \\
por celos, nunca \\
ver puedo aparte?
\end{align*}
\]

Significantly the raqib does not appear to be identified in any way with the mother of the girl of the kharjas. In the kharjas the mother is a sympathetic figure in whom the girl confides. She describes the lover to her, she asks her advice and she turns to her for comfort. In the cantigas, in contrast, the mother is not always sympathetic to her daughter's love affair and may assume the repressive role of the raqib. The mother of a cantiga of Don Dinis adopts an attitude which is representative: the daughter complains:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Que coita owestes, madr' e senhor,} \\
de me guardar, que non possa veer \\
meu amig' e meu ben e meu prazer!
\end{align*}
\]

Cdea XXXIII

Similarly, in Castilian, guards are associated with parental, particularly maternal, repression and hostility. In one of
the snatches of song used by the Marqués de Santillana, however, there is no mention of maternal interference, though it may be implied, and the atmosphere briefly suggests the suspense and tension created by the presence of the *raqib* in the *kharjas*:

\[ \text{Aguardan a mí:} \\
\text{nunca tales guardas vi. 61} \]

The role of the mother figure is an important and persistent one in the traditional poetry of the Peninsula and, since its first occurrence appears dramatically in the *kharjas*, it is opportune to discuss it and its development at this juncture (despite the vehemence of Hitchcock's objections). Hitchcock disputes the very existence of the mother figure in the *kharjas*, imputing the apparent Romance grouping *mama* to a misreading of eight different Arabic consonantal groupings. However, since the most eminent of the textual scholars, including Stern and Sola-Soler, insist on the Romance interpretation, the critical scholar is bound to study the implications of their interpretation.

Gangutia Elicegui suggests that the origins of the sympathetic role of the mother in the *kharjas* may be traced back to the Middle Eastern religions of Tammuz to whom girl prostitutes were offered by their mothers; vestiges of this cult, Gangutia Elicegui believes, were transmitted to southern Spain by the Phoenicians. However remote Gangutia Elicegui's suggestion may appear, the implication of a mother figure with prostitution is prominent in two major Castilian works, in the *Libro de Buen Amor* and in *La Celestina*, even if it is uncertain in the *kharjas*. Trotaconventos tells Juan Ruiz that Doña Endrina is his for the asking; he, incredulous, thinks that
she is teasing him and accuses her of confusing the two roles designated by the term madre, that of the natural mother with that of the go-between:

Señora madre vieja, ¿qué me dezides agora? Fazedes como madre cuando el moquearlo llora, que le dige falagos porque calle esa ora: por eso me dezides que es mia mi señora Ansi fazedes, madre, vos a mi por ventura, porque pierde tristeza, dolor e amargura, porque tome conorte e porque aya folgura: dezidesme joguetes a fabladesme en cordura? 64

Once convinced, however, that Dona Endrina is in love with him, Juan Ruiz praises his go-between's skills and commends her to the pursuit of her trade in highly emotional terms:

Señora madre vieja, la mi plazentería, por vos mi esperanza siente ya mejoría por la vuestra ayuda crece mi alegría: non cansedes, vos madre, seguida cada día. Tira muchos provechos a vezes la perez, a muchos aprovecha un ardit notileza; conplid vuestro trabajo e acabad la nobleza: perderla por tardanza serié grand avoleza.

Trotaconventos is naturally unimpressed by so much sentimental eulogising of her profession: she, go-between that she is, is unconcerned for any sort of maternal overtones which her client might impart to their relationship and so reminds him abruptly of the hard facts of her employment and of the bargain which, for her part, she has fulfilled:

Amigo, segund creo, por mi avredes conorte, por mi verná la dueña andar al espicote; mas yo de vos non tengo sinon este pellote: si buen manjar queredes, pagad bien el escote.

A similar ambivalence is apparent in La Celestina. Celestina herself admits of no emotional attachments. Her own objective stand makes it eminently possible for her to exploit the dependence of the other characters on her. Calisto regards her solely as his go-between, the means for procuring
Melibea, but Melibea, much more susceptible to the old woman's
daemonic powers, allows her to usurp the role of her real mother,
Alisa. Elicia and Sempronio find it convenient to regard
Celestina as their madre for they are fully aware of her business
acumen. Pármeno, however, suffers from a mother fixation, which
Celestina seeks to exploit:

E yo, así como verdadera madre tuya, te digo, sólo las
malediciones, que tus padres te pusieron, si me fueses
inobediente, que por el presente sufras e sirvas a este
tu amo, que procuraste, hasta en ello haver otro consejo
mío. 65

Yet, at the same time, Celestina, lacking all affection herself,
is unable to comprehend Pármeno's needs in this direction, and
it is this emotional short-sightedness on her part which sets
in train the events which lead to her death. 66

In traditional Castilian poetry, the madre/go-between link
is established in the account of the fate of Los Comendadores,
which relates the dramatic discovery in adultery and murder in
Cordoba in 1448 of two comendadores of Calatrava. When Doña
Beatriz sees her lover, Jorge, entering the city, she sends her
messenger to advise him that her husband, Fernando, is away.
The comendadores acknowledge the message and its bearer thus:

"Idos, madre mia,
en hora buena;
que la noche es larga
y placentera;
cenaremos temprano,
iremos dormir."

It may well be that the appellation madre for the go-
between has its origins in the Judaic culture of Spain, since
this usage has been found among the fifteenth-century Jews of
Hita. 67 Clearly, on this evidence alone, one cannot postulate
the same usage among the Jews, Arabs and Christians of Al-Andalus. Given the accumulation of evidence, however, from the ancient tradition of Tammuz on the one hand, and from fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Castile, both in literature and in reality, on the other, it may be that the sympathetic mother figure of the kharjas fulfills a role more akin to that of a go-between than a real mother.

The lack of restraint which the girl exhibits in the confidences she imparts to and the questions she asks of the mother figure in the kharjas suggests at the least a degree of complicity between the two. It is entirely natural that the girl should share her distress at the lover's departure with her real mother and seek comfort from her:

Ya mamma meu 'l-habībi
vaisse y non tornad(i)
Gar que faray yā
mamma

Stern 38

Nor is it surprising that she should confide the cause of her sleeplessness to her mother:

no ūe kedad ni me kered gaire
kilmā
non ayo ko n şeno ešušto dormire
mam(m)ā

Sola-Solé XVIII

It is less likely that the girl should involve her natural mother in her love affair to the extent of asking her how she should behave on her lover's arrival:

que faray mamma
meu 'l-habīb estad yana

Stern 14

or that she should regale her with the sensual details of her lover's appearance:
In a similar vein she tells the mother figure how the lover prefers to see her:

Que no quero tener al-'iqd ya mamma

....... ḥulla lī
Col albo querid fora meu śīdī
non querid al-ḥuli

and, improbably, if the mother figure is her real mother, she recounts how her ardent lover overpowered her:

eša al-raqi mām(m)I ešte al harak
me ḥamma al-qahra
an nabidū wa-al-falak

The impression of the mother in this kharja is of a celestinesque figure offstage, taking a vicarious delight in the activities of the young lovers - in the same way that Celestina encourages and enjoys the sexual activities of Elicia and Sempronio and of Areúsa and Pármeno. In a kharja which appears in both the Hebrew and the Arabic series, but at which Stern hazards only a reticent interpretation, the mother becomes the archetypal Spanish go-between, sent from one lover to the other to procure the balm for love-sickness:

Yā mamma, ēi no léša l-ŷinna
altesa, morréy
Traýde jamrī min al-haŷib:
'asā šanaréy 69

As Penny Newman has fully illustrated in her article, the mother figure in the cantigas de amigo plays a more complex role. She may, as in the kharjas, adopt the role of the girl's confidante in time of distress:
Non chegou, madr', o meu amigo,  
e oj' est o prazo saido!  
ai, madre, moiro d'amor!  

Don Dinis Cdea XVII

She shares her pain of love-longing with her mother:

Vi eu, mia madr', andar
as barcacs eno mar:
e moiro-me d'amor.  

Nuno Fernades Tomêol Cdea LXXXIX

Sensitive to her daughter's grief, the mother offers solace:

-De que morredes, filha, a do corpo velido?  

Don Dinis Cdea XVIII

To this sympathetic mother figure, the girl freely recounts her activities, whatever their implications:

Ma madre velida,
vou-m'a a la bailia
do amor.  

Don Dinis Cdea XLIII

and, without fear of repression, the girl announces her intention of meeting her lover:

Pera veer meu amigo
que talheu preito comigo,
alé vou, madre.  

Don Dinis Cdea XL

In some instances the mother's role is positively that of a go-between for the lovers; the girl sends her with a message for her lover:

Madre velida, ida-lhi dizer
que faça ben e me venha veer:  

Airs Corpancho Cdea XCII

and the mother actively encourages the girl to associate with him; the girl's question recalls the uncertainty of the girl of the kharja:  

-Que lhi direi, se veer u eu fôr
e mi quiser dizer, come a senhor,
algua ren?
The mother figure, in reply, tells the girl what she wants to hear - as one might suppose the mother of the girl of the kharja would have done:

-Diga(des), filha, quant'ouver sabor e será ben e el que viv' en gran coita d'amor guarrá por en. Airas Corpancho Cdea XCIV

She advises the girl how to dress to attract her lover:

Ai mia filha, por Deus guisade vós que vos voja (e)sse fustan trager voss' amigu', e tod' a voss'o poder veja-vos ben con el estar en cos, ca, se vos vir, sei eu ca morrerá por vós, filha, ca mui ben vos está. Joan Airas Cdea CCLXXXVI

and, in a cantiga of Airas Nunes, she aids and abets the girl's seduction in the dance of her devoted admirer:

-Bailad'oj', ai filha, que prazer vejades, ant' o voss' amigo, que vós muit'amades. Cdea CCLIX

Nowhere does the mother or the girl make any mention of a possible marriage with the lover. It may be that in the poems in which the mother encourages the girl an eventual marriage is implied and, in this case, the mother figure would certainly represent the real mother. There are at least as many cantigas in which the mother, without a doubt, the real mother, expresses her severe disapproval of her daughter's lover. The only reason ever stated for such animosity is found in a cantiga of Pedr'Amigo de Sevilha, where the girl begs for release from the prison to which she is confined:

-(Non vos sacarei d'aquestas paredes). non m'ar venhades tal preito mover. Ca sei eu ben qual preito vos el trage e sodes vós, filha, de tal linhage que devia voss'o servo seer. Cdea CCCXL
If, however, the King requests the daughter's favours, the mother is capable of a very different reaction:

-Cabelos, los meus cabelos
  el-rei m'enviou por elos;
  madre, que lhis farei?
-Filha, dade-os a el-rei.   Joan Zorro Cdea CCCLXXXV

Frequently the girl incurs maternal displeasure and, often, considerable bad feeling exists between mother and daughter:

De mia madr' ei gram queixume,
  por que nos anda guardando,
  e morremos i cuidando   Joan Airas Cdea CCLXXXVIII

She implores her mother to let her join the pilgrimage:

Mia madre velida, e non me guardedes
  d'ir a San Servando, ca, se o fazedes,
  morreirei d'amores.   Joao Servando Cdea CCCLXXI

The mother is intolerant: she forbids the daughter to associate with her lover:

Defendeu-mi que por nen hua ren
  nunca vos visse, nen vos vi por en:
  por que vos non quis mia madre veer.   Joan Nunez Cdea LXXXVII

and she keeps her under close surveillance:

Tanto sei eu de mi parte
  quant' é de meu coração,
  ca me ten mia madre presa
  e, mentr'eu en sa prisom
  fôr, non veerei meu amigo.   Airas Corpancho Cdea XOI

Scudieri Ruggieri has suggested that the maternal reluctance to allow the daughter to indulge in amorous liaisons may be occasioned by remnants of Germanic law which exacted harsh penalties of sexual offenders.72 The sexual nature of the relationship in the cantigas is most explicitly portrayed in the cantigas of Pero Meogo and it is in these poems that the mother's anxieties are most forcefully voiced. Despite her
warnings, the girl has gone to the dance and has yielded to her lover's demands. Significantly, the mother herself uses the cervo/fonte imagery in expressing her distress and her foreboding:

esta fonte segue—a ben,
poi-lo cervo i ven.  

The mother's use of such imagery here is particularly important because in the next cantiga, in which the mother questions the daughter, the mother feigns ignorance of such symbolism. She asks her daughter why she tarried so long at the spring and, when the daughter replies that she stayed to watch the stags stirring up the waters, she retaliates:

-Mentir, mia filha, mentir por amigo;
nunca vi cervo que volvess' o rio. 

There are two possible interpretations of the mother's rejection of the stag imagery used by her daughter; it may be that she simply refuses to accept her daughter's 'transparent excuse', as Hatto calls it, or, more profoundly, her rejection may imply that she herself never experienced passionate love, if she has never witnessed the stags stirring up the waters of the spring.

In contrast, perhaps the most extraordinary maternal relationship in regard to the lovers is depicted in a cantiga of Julião Bolseiro in which the mother resentfully accuses the daughter of stealing her lover. Here the mother's lament is that of a lovesick girl in the face of a rival - with the strange complication that the rival is her daughter:
As we have already seen, there is in Castilian a definite and attested usage of the term madre with the connotation of procureress. This of course should not be taken to imply that the participation of a go-between is to be inferred from every lyric which mentions the madre. There are nevertheless certain situations somewhat reminiscent of Juan Ruiz's business with Trotaconventos in which the guidance of the mother figure, if she be the real mother, seems so injudicious as to be improbable: the girl is sent to draw water:

*Envíame mi madre*  
*por agua a la fuente fría:*  
*vengo del amor herida*  

and in another version, the mother sends the girl to the dance:

*Envíame mi madre*  
*al baile, libre de amor,*  
*cautiváastesme, señor.*  

Apparently the girl has no qualms about confiding the intimate details of her escapades to her mother:

*Yo m'iba, mi madre,*  
*las rosas coger:*  
*hallé mis amores*  
*dentro en el vergel.*

Indeed, throughout the variety of the Castilian lyric, the mother figure is the sympathetic recipient of a wide range of confidential information which extends far beyond assignations at wells and rose gardens: the girl is discontented:
Madre, para qué nací
tan garrida
para tener esta vida?  PTT 55

She is also disappointed:

Vi los barcos, madre,
villos y no me valen.  PTT 144

She longs for love:

Gritos daban en aquella sierra,
¡Ay, madre, quiérom'ir a ella!  PTT 52

but she is deceived:

En la cumbre, madre,
canta el ruiseñor;
si él de amores canta,
yo lloro de amor.  PTT 275

Thus in Castilian, as in Mozarabic and occasionally in Galician, the mother figure is frequently the lovers' accomplice. The angry, punitive parent, however, is not completely absent from the villancico and a note of discord may be sounded when the parent mistrusts the lover's intentions:

No me habléis, conde,
d'amor en la calle:
cató que os dirá mal,
conde, la mi madre.  PTT 90

Disparity in rank is obviously the issue and the mother is anxious to protect her child from the nobleman's philandering; if the confession of the girl in another villancico is any guide, her fears are well justified:

No me firáis, madre,
yo os lo diré:
mal d'amores he.

Madre, un caballero
de casa del rey,
siendo yo muy niña,
pidióme la fe;
dísele yo, madre,
no lo negaré.
Mal d'amores he.
No me firáis, madre,
yo os lo diré:
mal d'amores he.  PTT 122
The anger and violence which this mother exhibits towards her already unhappy daughter contrast sharply with the sympathy of which the daughter is confident in the kharjas and other villancicos and illustrate the extremes of reaction which can be conveyed so effectively within the concise bounds of the lyric.

The depiction of the most severe maternal repression is a particular feature of the theme of the reluctant novice, in which the mother's anger contrasts brutally not only with the unhappiness of the daughter but also with the notions of charitable love to which she would commit her daughter. The mother announces her intention imperiously:

-Meteros quiero monja,
   hija mía de mi corazón.
-Que no quiero yo ser monja, non.  PTT 190

The reasons for the girl's protest are simple and obvious enough: she has had a glimpse of a possible worldly happiness and now finds that it is to be denied her:

¿Agora que sé d'amor me metéis monja?
/Ay, Dios, qué grave cosa!
Agora que sé d'amor de caballero,
   agora me metéis monja en el monasterio.
/Ay, Dios, que grave cosa!  PTT 99

Furthermore, as Wardropper points out in his excellent analysis of the theme of the reluctant novice, the plight of the unattractive dark-skinned girl may coincide with that of the prospective nun: 74

Aunque me vedes
morenica en el agua,
no seré yo fraila.  PTT 178

Wardropper suggests that these first lines are addressed to the lover who has spurned the girl on account of her skin
colour, but in its development the poem appears to be addressed alternately to the lover and the mother. Indeed, the girl's resentment is directed almost entirely against her mother whose maternal love she regards as misguided in her unsuccessful attempts to thwart her daughter's passion:

Una madre que a mí crió
mucho me quiso y mal me guardó;
a los pies de mi cama los canes ató;
atólos ella, desatélos yo;
metiera, madre, al mi lindo amor;
no seré yo fraila.

In both the cantiga and the villancico, the role of the mother figure is more fully expanded than in the kharja. In the Mozarabic poems her role is perplexing because she always appears to favour the lovers and any hostility which they encounter comes from outsiders, from a jealous third party or from the ragib - spy. The mother figure in the kharjas is forever consistent, however, and there is no evidence to associate her with the activities of the ragib. Inevitably rivals and jealousy play their part in the cantigas and villancicos as divisive forces; the most potentially hostile force here, however, is the unpredictable, ambivalent mother figure who, on the one hand, may run errands for the lovers but, on the other, is capable of setting guard dogs at the foot of her daughter's bed and destining her for the convent. As Wardropper demonstrates, it is the mother who is most greatly concerned for the qué dirán? of society, the equivalent of the lausengiers of Provence and the scandalmongers of Arabic poetry.75 The lovers themselves show little concern for this social force which the mother regards as so potent. A pair of lovers speculate, for their own amusement perhaps, on society's
attitude towards them:

¿Qué de vos y de mí, señora, qué de vos y de mí dirán? — PTT 161

and a girl irritably upbraids her lover using the as her excuse for rejecting him:

Caballero queríame dejar que me diran mal — PTT 102

Otherwise the gossippers act as an informative grape-vine for the lovers, almost at times assuming the role of confidant:

Si lo dicen, digan alma mía
Dicen que vos quiero/ y por vos me muero. — PTT 36

Benevolently or otherwise, they foster many a love affair:

Dicen a mí que los amores he — PTT 151
Dicenme que tengo amiga — PTT 179

Perdido traigo la color; todos me dicen que lo he de amor — PTT 92

and fulfil the same role in Galician as in Castilian:

Dizen pela terra, senhor, ca vos amei e de toda-las coitas a vossa maior ei.

Aires Paez Cdea CCCXLI

In Castilian, society accuses the girl of causing the lover’s death:

dicen que yo lo maté — PTT 131

and in Galician, society warns the girl of the consequences of her harshness:

Dizen-mi, amiga, se non fazer bem a meu amigo, que el prenderá morte por mi

Estavan Travanca Cdea CIX

The lovers, lulled to a sense of false security by their mutual
passion, are unaware of society's fickleness and show a blithe contempt for its opinion:

Sil dijeren, digan,
madre mia
si dijeren, digan.

The mother, however, is well aware that, what society encourages today, it may well condemn tomorrow; she realises that she may herself have to bear the brunt of society's opinion and she therefore exerts the dominant restraining force in the Castilian and Galician lyrics.

The persistent intervention of the mother figure in the poetry of lovers' meetings is indicative of the overall continuity of the traditional poetry of Spain. In fact it reinforces the poetic tradition of lovers' meetings at dawn; not only does a young girl long for the coming of her lover at dawn in kharja, cantiga and villancico, but she also confides her longing to a mother figure, whatever the connotations of that mother figure may be; she may evoke her mother's sympathy or she may incur her wrath for her confession, at all events the mother figure is a very real and, at times, dominating personality in the lyric. Inevitably differences occur. In the kharjas, the mother figure is perplexing because of her complicity in the amorous affairs of a very young girl but, typically of the flamboyant directness of the kharjas, her role is consistently that of the girl's trusted confidante and adviser. In the convoluting gyrations of the Galician lyric, such certainty is undesirable; the whole essence of the lyric depends upon psychological tension and suspense and, here, the role of the mother figure is suitably unpredictable, at times sympathetic, at others repressive, even irrational and moody. The wide
range of the Castilian lyric embraces the extremes of maternal reaction: she may be the girl's trusted friend in whom she can confide her hopes and anxieties; equally she may resort to physical force to keep a recalcitrant daughter in order.

In one particular aspect the *kharjas* differ markedly from the other traditional poetic forms of the Iberian Peninsula and that is in the treatment of the physical side of love. Just as in the portrayal of the mother figure, the relationships depicted in the *kharjas* are immediate and specific; the girl revels in the details of her own appearance, adorning herself to please and seduce her lover:

\[
\text{non kero tener al-'iqd yā mamma}
\text{amenā hul(1)a 1ī}
\text{kol(1)o albo kerid fora mio sīdī}
\text{non kerid al-hulī}
\]

Sola-Solé XXXVI

She delights in her lover's attractions:

\[
\text{mamma ayy ḫabībi}
\text{ṣuq al-gumel(1) a ṣaqrel(1)a}
\text{ē el qollo albo}
\text{e bokel(1)a hamrel(1)a}
\]

Sola-Solé LII

His neck may be white but she is drawn to his dark skin, which suggests that the lover - ḫabībi - may be Moorish:

\[
\text{yā al-asmar yā qur(r)a al-sayn}
\]

Sola-Solé LVI

\[
\text{non kero yo ūn hil(1)ello}
\text{il(1)a al samarello}
\]

Sola-Solé XV

She calls him to her side:

\[
\text{yā fātin a fātin}
\text{woš ţ entraḏ}
\]

Sola-Solé XLVI

and she invites his kisses:

\[
\text{ṣī kereṣṣ komo bono mib}
\text{beṣṣa-me ida al nazma dūk}
\text{bokella ḏē ḥabb al mulūk}
\]

Sola-Solé L
Her language is provocative:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{și și ben yaṣṣid} \\
k(u)ando beniṣ ṣos y \\
la bokella ḥamra \\
ṣibarey ka-ṣal-wardi \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(\text{Sola-Ṣolé XII}\)

and she is certain of her hold over her lover whatever his intentions:

\[
\begin{align*}
amānu yā ḥabībi \\
al-waḥṣ ṭe no feraṣ \\
baṣ bēiga mia bokel(l)a \\
aṣak tu no iara \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(\text{Sola-Ṣolé LIII}\)

She takes her seductive suggestions a stage further:

\[
\begin{align*}
non tu me tar'ā ʾillā kon al-ṣarṭi \\
an taqma' ḥalḥalì maʿa qurti \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(\text{Sola-Ṣolé XLVIII}\)

She is, however, quick to complain if her lover goes too far:

\[
\begin{align*}
ay ḫumāṣ en al-ṣenaṣ \\
me mordēṣ kon al-lazmaṣ \\
aqtaṣ koma al-langaṣ \\
koma al-nin(n) ṭe diʿamaṣ \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(\text{Sola-Ṣolé LIV}\)

In reference to Sola-Ṣolé XLVII, in which the girl proposes a new position for love-making, Dronke dismisses the suggestion that this physical element in the kharjās derives from Arabic influence:

That the majority of words in this kharjā are Arabic does not, I think, justify the general inference drawn by several scholars, that a lascivious note is essentially Arabic and alien to the Romance songs. 76

García Gómez, however, claims to have found allusions to this erotic activity in classical Arabic poetry,77 and indeed Dronke’s opinion can be contested on two grounds: first, that there is a strong vein of eroticism, if not lasciviousness, in the Hebrew and Arabic poetic traditions and, secondly, on the grounds that such elements are conspicuously absent in explicit terms from the later traditional poetry of Spain.
The first of these two counter arguments can be borne out by reference to the Arabic and Hebrew poetry of Al-Andalus and the second by reference to the other two poetic traditions, the Galician and the Castilian of the Peninsula.

Despite the orthodox Jewish allegorization of the Song of Songs, the literal interpretation presented a constant challenge to the symbolic vision of God's love for Israel. Orthodox priests were at pains to keep the Song in its proper perspective as is indicated by the admonition of the Rabbi Aqiba around the year 100 A.D.:

He who sings the 'Song of Songs' in a trilling voice in the banqueting room and makes it a kind of profane song will have no share in the future world. 78

The literal interpretation of the Song would not, however, be expunged from the Hebrew canon and was strongly reinforced by Abraham ibn Ezra in his literal exegesis of it. This twelfth-century Spanish Hebrew poet was the author of a muwassaha which in its sensuality vividly recalls the Song:

Es un ramo de mirra y el más selecto de los cervatillos. Su recuerdo es como el nardo y el alcanfor.

Sola-Solé XLII 3

Yehuda Halewi's poetry is imbued with the same intoxication:

Ella ha capturado mi corazón con unos pechos que sobre un corazón reposan; un corazón como piedra y que solo nu__tre a dos manzanas tiesas y que son a izquierda y a derecha como lanzas. Sus hogueras están en mi corazón, aunque no se acercan. Incluso con su boca mi sangre beben y no se avergüenzan.

Sola-Solé XXIXc 2

Since much of Arabic culture and Hebrew culture derive from a shared background, it is not surprising to find a comparable sensuality in classical Arabic poetry:
The imagery is evocative but highly stylised and becomes clichéd in the hands of the court poets:

Ibn Labbun, Sola-Solé VIIa, 2

In Arabic poetry rather than Hebrew poetry, however, sensuality easily becomes eroticism:

Ibn Baqi, Sola-Solé XXIXa, 5

This explicit sexuality overflows, as we have seen, into the kharjas and provides the most notable disparity between the kharjas and later traditional Spanish poetry. The extent of this disparity can only be appreciated with the aid of a brief survey of the attitudes to sexuality in the cantiga and the villancico.

In the cantigas physical description is rare indeed and is limited to generalised terms: the girl may be described, or as frequently happens describes herself, as fremosa, bela, velida, louçâa or ben talhada, but more precise description is unusual. The lover's appreciation of his beloved tends to be expressed in metaphorical terms, such as:

Esteven Travanca Cdea OLVIII
Such generalisations and metaphors, however, belie the strong sexual undercurrent; the girl is well aware of her own power of attraction:

Roi Queimado Cdea CXLVIII

and is even incited by her mother, as we have seen, to make the most of her appearance:

Joan Airas Cdea CCLXXXVI

In fact, the whole 'raison d'être' of the cantigas rests on the notion of fazer bem; usually this term implies the consummation of love:

Estevan Travança Cdea CLX

It is, however, veiled in an imprecise ambiguity which renders any literal interpretation of the cantigas uncertain; even the more innocent of the protagonists are confused by the term:

Joan de Guilhade Cdea CXCI

The most explicitly sexual of the cantigas are those of Pero Meogo where the mother foresees the girl's dishonour as a result of her dalliance at the spring or at the dance:

Cdea CCCCCXVIII
This reference to the girl's torn clothing is the closest the cantigas ever come to the eroticism of the kharjas; thus, although the motivation for the cantigas is strongly sexual, the poetry internalises and intensifies emotion and desire, dwelling on the psychology, not the physicality, of love. It examines hopes, fears, perplexities and frustrations and eschews physical detail, either by dealing with it in generalised terms - velida, fremosa etc. - or in euphemistic terms - falor, fazer bem - or in a delicately tentative interplay of symbol and reality - cervo/fonta, vento/alto.

The villancicos are no less colourful or vigorous than the kharjas. Indeed much of their charm derives from the constant evocation, however symbolic, of the Castilian rural scene; the imagery used is essentially that of the Castilian landscape with mill, meadow, mountain and olive grove and could not be mistaken for anywhere else. Despite this delightfully florid evocation of the Castilian countryside, which, at the same time, lends itself admirably to symbolic innuendo, there is remarkably little human description in the villancico. Whereas the girl of the cantigas is blithely aware of her own attractions, the girl of the villancicos is desperately conscious of her own shortcomings and seeks either a scapegoat or extenuating circumstances to excuse her failings. Wardropper has outlined and explained the theme of the dark-skinned girl in Spanish poetry. A fair skin and fair hair were regarded as signs of aristocratic Teutonic ancestry, while a dark skin indicated mixed Moorish blood. Thus many a girl finds herself in an unenviable situation:

¡Cuitada de la mora, on el su moral tan sola!
She may make excuses for the colour of her skin:

Hadas malas me hicieron negra
que yo blanca (me) era.  

She undoubtedly will blame her origins:

Criéme en aldea,
hícame morena;
si en villa me criara
más bonica fuera.  

and she tries to wash away her colour:

Aunque soy morenita un poco,
no se me da nada:
que con el agua del alcanfor
me lavo la cara.  

There is nevertheless a considerable following for the morena who does not cherish pretensions beyond her status:

¡Oxte, morenica, oxte
oxte, morená!  

She is sought after:

Morenica, dime cuando
tú serás de mi bando.  

She then has the confidence in her own appearance to declare:

Yo me soy la morenica,
yo me soy la morená  

The learned glosa recalls a valuable precedent in the Song of Songs:

Nigra sum sed formosa, filiae Jerusalem, sicut
tabernaculâ Cedar, sicut pelles Salomonis.

Song I.4

and evokes the epithets of the Virgin Mary in justification perhaps of the girl's colouring:

Soy la sin espinâ rosa
que Salomón canta y glosa
nigra sum sed formosa,
y por mí se cantará.
The excuse of the bride in the Song of Songs finds a striking echo in Castilian:

Nolite me considerare quod fusca sim, quia decoloravit me sol.  
Song I.5

Con el aire de la sierra, híceme morena.  
PTT 291

In another villancico, remote from but still reminiscent of the language of the Song, the dark-skinned girl expresses a positive preference for being called morena rather than any other more derogatory term:

¡No me llaméis sega la erva, sino morena!  
PTT 128

Frequently, however, the lover is attracted by the beloved's dark eyes and, in the traditional Castilian lyric, the blue eyes of the medieval rhetorical tradition find little place - even in poetry which in its turn of phrase suggests courtly origins:

Vuastros ojos morenillas, que por mi desdicha vi.  
PTT 39

The villancico rarely extols more than one of the beloved's features at a time; it may be the eyes:

Ojos morenicos
irm'he yo a querellar que me queredes matar.  
PTT 41

or it may be her hair; a sign both of her virginity and eligibility, and of her lineage:

Los cabellos de mi amiga d'oro son; para mí, lanzadas son.  
PTT 17

Niña en cabello, vos me matastes.  
PTT 134
Unlike the lengthy tabulation of the beloved's features, prescribed by the rhetoricians, to which Calisto adheres in his description of Melibea's charms, the incidence of physical description in the love lyric is scant and restrained but, paradoxically perhaps, more spontaneous. In its restraint the villancico is more akin to the cantiga than to the kharja; the poems are expressions of desire and love-longing rather than of consummation. Unlike the cantigas, however, a note of eroticism reminiscent of the kharjas may creep in:

```
Que no me desnudéis
amores de mi vida;
que no me desnudéis
que yo me iré en camisa.
```

As we have already remarked, the *Noli me tangere* motif reappears in Castilian:

```
¿Quedito! No me toquéis, entrañas mías;
que tenéis las manos frías.
```

*Gabriel de Peralta PTT 424*

The extreme eroticism of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz's villancico is exceptional:

```
No me las enseñes más,
que me matarás.
Estábase la monja
en el monasterio,
sus teticas blancas
de so el velo negro.
¡Más,
que me matarás!
```

*PTT 365*

Its closest echo is contained in a lyric which also expresses unattainable love:

```
Abaja los ojos, casada,
no mates a quien te miraba.
Casada, pechos hermosos,
abaja tus ojos graciosos.
No mates a quien te miraba:
abaja los ojos, casada.
```

*PTT 91*
Generally in Castilian, sexuality is veiled in symbolic and euphemistic terms, very much in the Galician style, in terms of the wind:

Estos mis cabellos, madre,  
dos a dos me los lleva el aire.  

PTT 220

of visits to the fountain:

Enviárame mi madre  
por agua a la fuente fría:  
vengo del amor herida.  

PTT 81

and of numerous other activities, conveyed in a symbolism which is purely Castilian, which will be examined in Chapter III. The explicit eroticism of the kharjas is absent from Castilian, as it is from Galician, and this absence is the most notable discrepancy in the tradition of the Iberian lyric.
Notes to Chapter I


6. Eos, from C. Appel, Der Trobador Cadenet (Halle, 1920), pp. 80-81; also in Riquer, Los trovadores, III, no. 247, p. 1231.


11. ibid., p. 130, no. 58.

12. ibid., p. 168, no. 93.

13. ibid., p. 124, no. 53.


17. For the historical information in this survey I draw on the scholarship of the following authors:


18. McKenna, Ch. II, pp. 28-32.


20. Messenger, pp. 163-64.


22. McKenna, Paganism and Pagan Survivals in Spain, p. 133, suggests that Egica was following St Augustine's advice to Publicola and also Gregory's counsel to the abbot Mellitus that the temples of pagans should be sprinkled with holy water and altars and relics be placed in them so that the worship of demons would be transferred to the one God. McKenna draws attention to the Mozarabic rite in which the priest seeks divine purification from uncleanness for all vessels.

23. Letter 47. CSEL XXXIV, II, 132; Migne, PL, XXXVI, 876.


26. There is some dissent among historians as to how much control the caliphs exerted over the election of bishops. A. Reindhardt Dozy, Histoire des Musulmans d'Espagne 711-1110 (Leiden, 1867), claimed that bishops were appointed by the Muslim leaders, but this view is discounted by J. P. O'Callaghan in A History of Medieval Spain (Cornell, 1975), who claims that it is not true. O'Callaghan does, however, admit that simony was widely practised among the Mozarabic bishops.


29. Prudentius, "Hymns for Cockcrow, Daybreak and Before Sleep", in Cathermerinon, ed. and tr. by A. Morison (Cambridge, 1887), 5.


31. Die Mozarabischen Hymnen, in Analecta Hymnica, XXVII (Leipzig, 1897), no. 30, p. 83

32. Prudentius, Cathermerinon, VI.

33. Cathermerinon, II. 9.


35. For all its aesthetic appeal, this kharja, as Richard Hitchcock pointed out in his address to the 1978 conference of the Association of Hispanists, should be viewed with extreme caution. Hitchcock suggests that the kharja could be read entirely in Arabic and that the Romance reconstructions and amendments, notably of García Gómez, have little basis in probability. He rejects the reading accepted by all other critics of matre (< MATREM) in the first line on the grounds that the Arabic script here indicates only a short a (ä), whereas in botanical tracts where the same Latin word occurs a long a (ä) is definitely indicated. For matre Hitchcock substitutes the Arabic matiriyya - one who is used to favours. Rayo (< RADIUM) he rejects primarily on the grounds, shared by Sola-Solé, that the kharja needs a verb which could be provided by the Arabic term arayu, which conforms to the same set of consonants; manyana Hitchcock rejects because this would be its first occurrence in Romance. Paj he regards as improbable and matrana he dismisses on the grounds that there is insufficient evidence to corroborate its existence. Matrana would derive from MATURANUS which eventually yielded madrugar, which initially meant only 'to do early', 'in good time', with no connotations of dawn activity. Hitchcock sees a word play, a device favoured by Arabic poets, between matiriyya in line 1 and matrana in line 4, and his resulting colloquial Arabic kharja reads:
ya matiriyya al-rakhima
arayu dhi manyana
bun abu-l-Hajjah
lafajun dhi matrana

and in translation:
You who are used to favours!
I see myself as the giver of favours who is deceived
(or I am the well doer)
How much do I feel the absence of Abu-l-Hajjah!
You are impoverished despite so many favours.

but Hitchcock renders as an exclamation indicative
of alienation.

37. Breviariurn Gothicum, in Bos, p. 279.
38. Critical text of B. Thorsberg, Etudes sur l'Hymnologie
Mozarabe (Stockholm, 1962), p. 109. Also A.H.,
XXVII, p. 181, no. 126 (12).
40. Stern's version of this kharja conflicts in its initial
command with that of Garcia Gómez.
by y' sh' r' / 'lb qst kn b'l fgwr /
kn bn' bdy bwr
Les Chansons Mozarnbes, p. 25, no. 28, and Stern's
transliteration is conservative:
Vay ya sahhara alba
His reading would presumably make the kharja a lyric
of dawn parting which is nevertheless not incompatible
with the identification of the lover with the dawn.
Sola-Solé concurs with García Gómez and reads the
kharja as a summons:
ben ya sahhara
alba que'osta kon bi-al fogore
k(u)and bone bide amore 3.S.S. II
41. Dronke, Medieval Latin and the Rise of European Love-
42. J.M. Sola-Solé, Corpus de poesía mozárabe (Las harjás
documenta all versions of the kharja including
Corominas'.
43. Jole Scudieri Ruggieri, "Riflessioni su 'Kharge'
e 'cantigas de amigo'", Cultura Neolatina, XXII
(1962), 5-33.
44. García Gómez, Las jarchas romances, p. 106.
45. Rafael Lapesa, "El lenguaje de algunas 'jarchyas' mozárabes", Boletín de la Real Academia Española, XL (1960), 53-65.

46. Menéndez Pidal, España, eslabón, p. 76.


48. The difficulties surrounding the interpretation of the kharja are discussed under note 35 of this chapter.

49. For this information and quotations from Classical Arabic poets I am indebted to Dr Ursula Lyons of Lucy Cavendish College, Cambridge.


51. García Gómez, Las jarchas romances, no. XXV, 3.


54. Ibid., p. 146.

55. A variant of this kharja which appears only in one Arabic muwassaha substitutes mordes for tankes:
non me mordes ya habibi
fa-encara danoysa Sola-Solé XXXIXb.


57. St John XX, 14.


59. See Esq, p. 206.


67. In a footnote to IBA, st. 813a (p. 287), Joset refers to a paper, "Las adyamas de Guadalajara en el siglo XV", given by F. Cantera Burgos to the 1st International Congress on the Arqipreste de Hita in which the author traced the use of the term 'madre' among the 15th century Jews of Hita.

68. Stern's version is extremely cautious:
   
   Ya mamma ... al-janna
   
   ......................
   
   ... hamr ... al-hajib
   
   asa sanarey

69. Sola-Solé (Va) approves of García Gómez's rendering with only minor modifications. The *kharja* exists in two versions: the earlier version of Ibn Arfa Rasuh contains more Arabic terms than the version, a century later, of Ibn Malik at Sanaquiti, who died in 1175 (Sola-Solé, *Corpus*, p. 91).

70. "'Mia madre velida': a figura da nai nas cantigas de amigo e nas jarchas", *Grial* 55 (1977), 64-70. Newman draws attention to the continuity of the madre theme in the *kharjas* and *cantigas* and suggests the celestinesque nature of the mother figure in certain of these lyrics.

71. Stern 14. Newman also draws attention to similar comparisons between *kharja* and *cantiga* (p. 66).


73. *Eos*, p. 84.


76. Dronke, *The Medieval Lyric*, footnote 1 to page 89.


78. *Eos*, p. 205.
79. The Castilian landscape will be discussed in further detail in Chapter III.


81. Calisto's tabulation of Melibea's assets follows the precepts of medieval rhetoric:

Los ojos verdes, rasgados; las pestanas luengas; las cejas delgadas y alzadas; la nariz modiana; la boca pequena; los dientes menudos y blancos; los labrios colorados y grozezuelos; el torno del rostro poco mas luengo que redondo; el pecho alto; la redondez y forma de las pequenas tetas, ¿quién te la podria figurar? Que se despereza el hombre cuando las mira. La tez lisa, lustrosa; el cuero suyo escurrece la nieve; la color mezclada, cual ella la escogio para sí.

La Celestina, ed. Severin, Act I, p. 54.
CHAPTER II

The Emergence of the Cantigas de amigo

Although the historical background of the Christian Church in Spain has proved to be of some significance in the development of the kharias, ironically the reverse appears to be the case in relation to the Galician cantigas de amigo. Chronologically the kharias in their documented form predate the cantigas by some two hundred years, but conceptually and spiritually the basic material of the cantigas, the images and metaphors, recall a heritage much more primitive and pagan than that of the kharias. This disparity is perhaps most strikingly observed in the dawn songs of the Galician tradition, where the attitude, that of lovers meeting at dawn, is the same as that of the kharias but where the expression is greatly different.

From McKenna's study of pagan survivals in Spain in the Roman period, it appears that the people of the north and western areas of the Peninsula were as impervious to Roman civilisation and religion as they were later to prove to be to Christianity. One hundred and thirty native gods and goddesses are known by name from about two hundred and thirty inscriptions, all of which were found in the northern and north-western regions of the Peninsula. The most notable of the northern deities included Endovellicius, whose cult was centred upon Evora, Atescina, a fertility goddess identified with Proserpina, probably of Celtic origins, various mountain gods, Dercetius, Briga and Cabuniaegenia, and the river gods, Durius of the Duero, Tameobrigus and Durbeicus of Braga and the goddess Nabia of the river Navia. Particularly important were the gods of fountain
and spring with their connotations of fertility as suggested by an inscription to Tongoenabiacus at Braga, where the god is depicted on a stone above the spring carrying a basket of fruit. Various pre-Roman inscriptions in the north and north-west bear witness to the cults of fountain goddesses who in the Roman period came to be identified with the Nymphae. Similarly, in Roman times, the cult of Diana Venatrix became established, possibly supplanting a more primitive cult of forest deities. Many rocks and stones were also considered sacred and on Cape St Vincent, according to Strabo, certain sacred stones were inhabited by spirits.

Christianity was slow to reach north-western Spain and when it eventually arrived it was all too soon corrupted by the Priscillian heresy which began in the fourth century and survived longest in Galicia. Priscillian, who was born about 340 A.D., was an adherent of the Manichean philosophy and through his eloquence attracted bishops and laity to his cause. The Zoroastrian Manichean doctrines based on the dualism of power between good and evil, between God and Satan and light and darkness, were incorporated by Priscillian into Christian teaching and for their justification he sought evidence in the Old and New Testaments. The dark side of his teaching demanded the revival of pagan and obscene practices and the observance of astrology. These rituals may have resembled the practices condemned in the late fourth century by Pacianus, the Bishop of Barcelona to whom St Jerome attributed a book, now lost, called *Cervus*. The purpose of this book was to discourage the pagan practice of wearing animal skins and of participating in obscene ritual dances. The author lived to regret the
explicit condemnations of the Cervus: Pacianus in his Paraenesis has cause to rue his former reaction:

Me miserum! Quid ego facinoris admisi!
Puto nescierant cervulum facere, nisi illis reprehendendo monstrassem. 7

Caesarius of Arles (470-540) and the Council of Auxerre in the late sixth century also condemned a stag dance which took place on the January Kalenda. 8

The enforcement of Christianity in Galicia was furthermore severely impeded by the barbarian invasions of the early fifth century. The Sueves who settled in Galicia brought their own form of Germanic paganism with them but were not deliberately hostile to Christianity. In 448 Rechiar, a Christian convert, became king but, as a result of the alliance of 464 with the former enemy, the Visigoths, the Arian heresy, the doctrine which denied the divinity of Christ, spread through Galicia, badly damaging Catholicism. It was not until 550 that Chararich, ruler of the Sueves, was converted from Arianism to Catholicism after the miraculous cure of his son from leprosy and it was at this time, according to Gregory of Tours, that St Martin of Braga first arrived in Galicia. 9

As the founder of the monastery of Dumio and subsequently of other monasteries, as bishop, first of Dumio and then of the metropolitan see of Braga, as writer and translator from Greek, Martin ministered to the spiritual needs not only of the Suevian kings but also those of the people. In his exemplary sermon De Correctione Rusticorum he advises a fellow bishop how to deal with remnants of paganism among his flock; he explains the relationship between idolatry and evil spirits, and then indicates a few of the most prevalent pagan superstitions
still observed among his people, the widespread cults of sea, fountain and forest deities, the practice of casting bread into fountains for fertility, the worship of the devil in the lighting of candles at fountains, trees and crossroads, and the festivities of the January Kalends. Martin himself admits that his list is selective, since it would take too long to mention all the pagan practices still prevalent in contemporary Galicia.\textsuperscript{10}

The Visigothic invasions of 585 restored Arianism until in 589 Reccared embraced Catholicism. In the same year the bishops of the Council of Toledo sought to undo the wrongs which, during the most recent period of Arianism, had perverted Christian practices. Improper songs and immodest dances had become part of the liturgy of festivals; this was seen as a lapse into paganism and was condemned as such. Constant severe sanctions imposed by successive ecclesiastical councils against idolatry, augury and magic, together with the terms of the Forum Iudicum, strongly discouraged pagan tendencies among the population.

There is, however, evidence from a canon of the Council of Toledo of 681 that among the lower classes of society there had been a return to the worship of tree and stone which merited special legislation:

\begin{verbatim}
Cultores idolorum, venatores lapidum, accensores facularum et excolentes sacra fontium vel arborum, ut agnoscent qui quod ipsi se spontaneae morti subjiciunt qui diabolo sacrificare videntur. \textsuperscript{11}
\end{verbatim}

The writings of Valerius (630–695) suggest that this canon of the Council of Toledo may well have been directed against the people of Galicia amongst whom he had lived as a hermit and against whose sinful practices of idolatry he had fulminated.
In his autobiography he describes how in his wanderings one night he came upon a pagan ceremony of dance and song in a forest glade and found to his horror that a priest was taking a principal part:

Sacerdos vulgali riti in obscena theatricae luxuriae vertigine rotabatur; dum circumductis hus illucque brachiis, alio in loco lascivos conglobans pedes, vestigiis ludibricantibus circuens tripudio compositis et tremulis gressibus subsiliens, nefaria cantilena mortiferae ballimatiae dira carmina canens, diabolicae pestis exercisebat. 12

It is, too, in the Narrationes of Valerius that the first reference to popular song in the Peninsula is made. 13 Valerius recounts the appointment of a junior presbyter on the completion of a new church, one Iustus, 'of the barbarous pitch black colour of the Ethiopians'. Iustus was an itinerant minstrel who made his reputation singing lays to the lute and his popularity won him the favour of a patron who procured his ordination. With dire opprobrium, Valerius relates the lascivia which accompanied Iustus's performances of love songs, loci hilaritatem, and savage incantations:

Per quam multarum domorum convivia voraci percurrente lascivia, cantilenae modulamine pherumque psallendi adeptus est celebritatis melodiam.

G.E. von Grunebaum, who brought this early reference to light, suggests that Iustus probably brought with him to Spain a type of Oriental poetry; he must, however, have sung in the local language otherwise his performances would not have met with such success. 14 Thus at the end of the seventh century, just before the Moorish invasion, when Catholicism had taken its firmly orthodox hold in the central and southern areas of the Peninsula, paganism was still rife in Galicia. 15
It was not, however, simply in ecclesiastical matters that Galicia lagged behind the rest of Spain, but also in legal practices, as W. Reinhart demonstrated:

According to Reinhart, Germanic legal customs became even more entrenched in the northern areas as a result of the Moorish invasion, as the Christian rulers were constrained to devote all their energies to the Reconquest:

Scudieri Ruggieri maintains that the dearth of mal-mariée songs and the repressive attitude of the mother figure in the cantigas can be ascribed to the barbarity of the Germanic punishments meted out to adulterous wives and disobedient daughters. The picture that emerges of seventh-century Galicia is therefore in every respect a pagan and primitive one.

If immediately prior to the Moorish invasion, Catholicism had not yet managed to exert its sway in Galicia, its situation can hardly have improved in the years following the conquest. The important ecclesiastical provinces of Toledo, Merida and Seville were all in Al-Andalus and only two, Tarragona and Braga,
remained in Christian hands. The ruined city of Tarragona was under Moorish domination and Braga was uninhabited.\textsuperscript{19} The see of Tarragona was not restored until the early twelfth century and the bishoprics of the see of Braga were moved elsewhere, the bishopric of Braga to Lugo, of Dumio to Mondoñedo and Iria Flavia, in the ninth century to Santiago. Bishops and people fled north leaving many frontier bishoprics abandoned, with the result that in the ninth century the south boasted eighteen bishoprics but the north fewer than twelve. Similarly, monastic life continued to flourish in Al-Andalus but only with the migration of monks from the south did it begin to revive in the north. Not surprisingly, therefore, the cultural achievements of the north in this period are sparse. Constant warring did not encourage scholarship in a region which in any case had never previously been renowned for its culture, either in Roman or Visigothic times. Such scholars as there were found the court of Charlemagne much more attractive than the barrenness of the beleaguered kingdoms of Christian Spain, with the exception perhaps of Catalonia where the library of the monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll was already famous.

In contrast to the wealth of Arabic and classical learning contained in the libraries of the south, the culture of León by the eleventh century amounted to only a handful of liturgical texts, the \textit{Cronicon Albaææae}, the \textit{Chronicle of Alfonso III}, and the precise but lamentably brief history of the tenth century, the \textit{Chronicle of Sampiro}, bishop of Astorga.

Ironically, however, by virtue of its affiliation with St James, Galicia was to become one of the most important centres of Christendom by the eleventh century, not by the
previously well-tried means of evangelism and ecclesiastical
decree but by a successful combination of superstitious credulity
and shrewd economic sense. Castro indicates the possible pagan
basis for the cult of Santiago:

La creencia popular adoró a un Santiago que incluía al Mayor (Mateo, IV.21) y al llamado "hermano del señor" en el Evangelio (Mateo, XIII.55), calificativo tomado al pie de la letra, según veremos, por quienes veneraban el sepulcro. Tal fraternidad, olvidada por la ortodoxia, formó durante siglos el centro de aquella creencia, que adquirió dimensiones considerables, sobre todo por referirse a un hermano del Salvador. Tal creencia semejaba a ciertos cultos precristianos de divinidades gemelas tales como Castor y Polux - Dioscuros o hijos de Júpiter - uno de los cuales ascendía al cielo, mientras el otro permanecía en la tierra como protector del hombre. 20

Such was the ascendancy of Santiago de Compostela that in the late eleventh century pope Alexander II is said to have feared the establishment of a rival papacy in Spain. 21 Indeed his fears were not unfounded, for the aspirations of Diego Gelmírez, who became bishop of Santiago in 1101 and completed the rebuilding of the cathedral, did not fall far short of such a goal, despite a violent popular uprising against his rule. 22

St James is reputed to have visited the Iberian Peninsula in 44 B.C., although there are no historical grounds for belief in his visit. 23 A Mozarabic hymn of the mid-eighth century describes St James as the 'patronus vernulus' and between the years 824 and 829 the discovery of the saint's tomb was claimed at Iria Flavia in Galicia. 24 Berceo credited St James, in company with San Millán, with the victory at the battle of Simancas in 939 against Abd al-Rahman III: the hard-pressed king of León, Ramiro II, decides to enlist the saint's aid:

El rei Don Remiro, de la buena ventura
asó un buen consejo de pro e de cordura,
pagar a Santiago por alguna mesura,
tornarlo de su part en esta lit tan dura. 25

(420)
The bargain the king drives with the saint is somewhat reminiscent of the sort of more trivial superstitions observed among his flock by St Martin of Braga:

prometer al apóstolo un voto mesurado,
al que yaz en Gallizia, de Espanna primado. (422

The deal is effected and the saint fulfils his share of the bargain in an exemplary manner:

vi[d]ieron dues personas fermostas e luzientes
mucho eran más blancas que las nieves rezientes.

Vinién en dos cavallos plus b(lan)cos que cristal,
armas quales non nunca omne mortal;
el uno tenié croça, mitre pontifical,
el otro una cruz, omne non vio tal.

Avién caras angélicas, celestial figura
descendien por el áer a una grand pressura,
catando a los moros con turba catadura,
espadas sobre mano, un signo de pavura. (437-9)

Of the identity of the intervening warrior saints there is little doubt:

El que tenié la mitra e la croça en mano
essi fue el apóstol de san Ju(h)an ermano;
el qu(i) la cruz tenié e el capiello plano,
essi fue san Millán el varón cogollano. 26 (447)

In Christian accounts, the death in 1002 of Al-Mansur, the hammer of the Christians, is regarded as divine retribution for his devastation of the city and cathedral of Santiago, where only the tomb of the saint was left intact. In the eyes of the Arabic chronicler Ibn-Hayyan (987-1076), however, the Moorish victory simply attested Al-Mansur's superior courage and audacity:

Santiago is a city in the most distant part of Galicia and one of the shrines most visited, not only by the Christians of Spain but from Europe generally; for them Santiago is as holy as the Ka'ba in Mecca for the Muslims, since at the centre of their Ka'ba is an object of supreme adoration... They maintain that the sepulchre contained in the church is that of St James, one of the Twelve Apostles
and the best beloved by Jesus. The Christians call him the brother of Jesus because they were inseparable. They say that he was bishop of Jerusalem and that he went preaching and proselytising until he arrived in this remote corner of Spain. He then returned to Syria where he died in the year of the Prophet 120. They also maintain that after his death his disciples brought him and buried him in this church, as being the most distant point of his mission. No Muslim king thought of penetrating so far or of subjecting the city to Islam because of its inaccessibility and the perils of the way. This enterprise was reserved for Almanzor. 28

Much of the impetus both for the Reconquista and for the full exploitation of the potential of the tomb of St James at Santiago came with the arrival of the Benedictine monks of Cluny in the reign of Alfonso VI (1065-1109). To the displeasure of native Spaniards, the Cluniacs dominated both court and cloister, and introduced the infectiously popular cult of the Virgin who had intervened to stay the hands of the archangels as they raised their trumpets to sound the coming of the Day of Judgement at the millennium so that her new order, the Benedictines, could become established. Under the direction of the Cluniacs, the highly commercial pilgrim route to Santiago, lined with its many shrines and monasteries, most of them Benedictine, was created and Santiago itself, from its humble beginnings in the ninth century, rocketed to fame to become one of the richest cities in Europe by the twelfth. 29 By analogy with Santiago, relics of supposed saints were discovered or created throughout Galicia and pilgrimages to the shrines of the local saints mimicked the major procession to Santiago. 30

To keep pace spiritually with their vast commercial successes, the Cluniacs contributed to the compilation of the Liber Sancti Jacobi, a collection of five books relevant in some way to the pilgrimage of St James. 31 The sermon of the
first book demands the complete moral rejuvenation of the
pilgrim: a pilgrimage undertaken in the wrong frame of mind
is spiritually worthless; the pilgrim must humble himself and
live in poverty following the example of St James; wealth is
a certain barrier to grace but spiritual reformation allows of
no worldliness, the pilgrim must eschew all pecuniary interests
and all profanities, including the singing of improper songs on
the pilgrimage route. This Cluniac asceticism had a
restrictive influence on the culture of the north generally.
The Classical tradition still nurtured by Paulus Alvarus in
Cordoba in the ninth century was ignored in the eleventh century
in León, and Virgil was described by St Odo as a 'beautiful vase
full of worms'. It may well have been under Benedictine
influence that the Mozarabic liturgy, imported from the south
by Christian refugees, was officially suppressed in León in 1080
by Alfonso VI, following the lead of Sancho I of Aragon who had
adopted the Roman rite in 1071, thereby attempting, though
apparently not entirely successfully, to deny the peoples of
the north the riches of the Mozarabic hymns. In the early
twelfth century, Cluniac asceticism began to give way in Spain
to the even more puritanical Cistercian reforms of Bernard of
Clairvaux who proposed a return to the primitive spirit of
St Benedict.

Although the political background to the popular songs of
the north, the Galician cantigas de amigo, is strongly Christian,
the form of Christianity which eventually triumphs there is not
the colourful and inspiring Christianity of the Visigothic/
Mozarabic tradition which has long absorbed and assimilated
Classical, pagan and even Islamic influences, but a harsh
militant Christianity, largely dependent for its hold over its own people on the pagan example of superstition, cult and relic. It lacks a body of fervently inspirational literature and does not have the stimulus of any strong extraneous cultural forces - as for example Islam in Al-Andalus - to revitalise and reinforce its forms. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the people of Galicia, despite the fervour of their Christianity and regardless of the intellectual achievements of the court, should still return to the themes and images of their pagan past in their popular songs. Indeed, it may well be that the Galician alboradas are a delayed reflection of the type of pagan dawn welcome so effectively incorporated in and adapted to the Mozarabic liturgy in the shape of the *Breviarium Gothicum*. It is in fact quite conceivable that the *kharjas* brought by Mozarabic refugees in mass migrations from the south may have exerted the only enriching influence on the pagan cultural forms of Galicia. For, although the Mozarabic liturgy was officially banned, as we have seen, in 1080, the Mozarabic influence was so pervasive that the medieval liturgy of Braga, still discernible in the present day, though much assimilated to the Roman rite, bore a close resemblance to the Mozarabic rite. If this influence can be seen to have persisted in the liturgy, it is justifiable to suppose that the Mozarabic influence may also be detected at the popular level in the love songs of Galicia.

There is, however, another dimension to the *cantigas de amigo* in the form in which they have been handed down to posterity, for which the simple explanation of the pagan background of Galicia is not fully adequate, and that is the
dimension of the thirteenth-century troubadours who found the cantigas an attractive medium of poetic expression. The question that arises - why did the sophisticated poets of the courts of Fernando III and particularly of Alfonso X find the cantigas attractive? - can be subdivided into two parts: first, why did the 'ballimatae' and the nefariae cantilenae suddenly become respectable, fit for a king in fact, in the thirteenth century, and, secondly, what special significance did the imagery and atmosphere of the cantigas de amigo hold for the troubadour poets? These questions admit of several answers, many of which will be illustrated in the course of the discussion of the themes of peninsular poetry. The obvious general answer is that the cantigas themselves display an intrinsic merit and charm which must appeal to the aesthetic taste of any age. The poet, however, has to be able to identify the poetic expression with some element of his own experience, however remote, whether it be the actual experience of the romería or the literary experience of a classical or Biblical allusion. It is, therefore, necessary to examine briefly the growing literary awareness of the northern kingdoms in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in an attempt to assess the literary influences that prevailed at court which may have affected the poetic concepts held by the Galician troubadours.

As A.D. Deyermond has observed, the cultural awakening of the northern kingdoms of Spain trailed a century or so behind the rest of Europe, mainly because of the constant threat of warfare and invasion from the south. It was not until the twelfth century that the northern kingdoms began to diversify their literary activities from a spate of Latin chronicles,
and the most notable exception to this somewhat stunted literary
growth, the Poema de Mio Cid, was probably not composed before
the year 1200. However, in the newly recaptured city of
Toledo, developments were taking place which would be significant
for the cultural evolution not only of Spain but of the whole of
western Europe. Following the famous precedent of the monastery
of Santa Maria de Ripoll in the Spanish Marches, the French
Archbishop of Toledo, Raimundo (1125-52), established an
important translation centre for the rendering into Latin of
classical Greek, Arabic and Hebrew works previously unknown to
western Europe. Scholars from all over Europe — Abelard of
Bath, Daniel of Morley, Gerard of Cremona — joined the native
Spaniards, Domingo González, the Archdeacon of Segovia, and
Johannes Hispanus, a converted Jew, to name but a few, to work
on the translations of Avicenna’s Logic and Metaphysics,
Avicebron’s Fons Vitae, the works of Aristotle and Ptolemy’s
Almagest. The methods of Arabic scholarship, now revealed
to Christian writers, were to influence the previously
unimaginative Christian approach to history, and it was with
the benefits of Arabic insight and objectivity that the
thirteenth-century archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de
Rada (1208-1247), through his major chronicles, De Rebus
Hispaniae and Historia Arabum, was to exert a profound influence
on future generations of Spanish historians, not least upon the
ambitious young king, Alfonso X (1252-1284), who founded his
own school of translation in Toledo.

The polymath Alfonso el Sabio, with his fascination for
Arabic science, his concern for a unified legal system for his
kingdom, his obsession with history and his love of lyrical
poetry, as well as his unfortunate political ambition, imposed a culture on the hitherto barren wastes of Castile from his court. This imposition was not undemocratic, for in his desire to wrest power and wealth from the nobility Alfonso found it expedient to address the subjects of his realm in the vernacular tongue instead of in Latin, and it was the vernacular which he subsequently sought to stabilise as a fitting means of literary expression, as the vehicle for translation, the medium for historical accounts, and the language of poetry. For all their novelty, however, the influences coming into Spain through Toledo were not the only ones exerting pressure on the nascent culture of the court of Castile; French influence was still extremely strong and in literary matters had increased with the gradual abandonment of the Gothic script in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries and its replacement by the French, in the interests, according to Lucas, Bishop of Tuy, of liturgical conformity. One of the most important channels of French influence in the Peninsula was the monastery of Ripoll, which already in the eleventh century was an established international translation centre. The monastery was founded before 888 by the Duke of Barcelona with a rich endowment. Its closest links were with the French abbey of Fleury and it was to France that the monastery looked for its religious and literary inspiration.

Modern interest in the literary productions of Ripoll centres on the handful of anonymous lyrics inserted by a young monk into a manuscript of the late twelfth century. Metrically the poems are not distinguished, but in several aspects they display the characteristics of contemporary French literary
fashions and are important in providing a clue to the provenance of these fashions in the Peninsula. The poetry abounds in classical allusions for which there was an increasing vogue in France from the Carolingian era. At the same time Solomonic imagery, often interwoven with the Classical, was a powerful factor in literary composition. The first extant adaptation of the Song of Solomon is found written in a ninth-century hand in a seventh-century manuscript of Gregory of Tours. The genre reached its climax in the eleventh century Rhythmus de b(eata) virg(ine) which begins 'Quis est hic qui pulsat ad ostium'. Thus the Ripoll poet would have been well aware of both the Classical and Biblical significance of the stag and the huntsman in his version of the Manerius poem. In both poems a young huntsman is searching for his hounds at sunset in the forest. In the Manerius poem he is met by a vision of the king's daughter, in the Ripoll poem by the God of Love. The vision of the king's daughter the Ripoll poet reserves for another poem 'Si vera somnia forent' in which the beautiful princess woos the young man in a manner which makes of the poem an interesting possibility as a literary precedent for the Razón de amor.

Apart from reflecting the literary and courtly influences of the age, the Ripoll poems also indicate another predilection of the learned poet which was becoming widespread throughout Europe, that of the adaptation of popular verse forms to classical modes - or vice versa. Dronke finds a suggestion of the rhythmical and verbal style of the cantiga:

Enas verdes ervas
Vi anda' las cervas,
Meu amigo.
in the Ripoll poem, 'Ad Amicam', which begins with classical epanaleptic couplets but which continues:

Dulcis amica mei,
superat tua forma puellas
luna velut stellas,
dulcis amica mei.

Dulcis amica mei,
nimiiis fervoribus angor:
igne tuo tangor,
dulcis amica mei. 43

The Ripoll lyrics have a wide inspirational basis; Ovid and Propertius serve as models in some contexts while others clearly recall the themes of popular vernacular poetry, as for instance the dance set in the rhetorical framework of the spring opening:

cum Aprilis reedit gratus
floribus circumstipatus,
Philomena cantilena
replet memoris amena,
et puellae per plateas
intricatas dant choreas.
onis ergo adolescens
in amore sit fervescens,
querat cum quo delectetur
et, ut amet, sic ametur. 44

As other Latin collections from outside the Peninsula indicate, the Ripoll poet's compositions bear witness to a general and constant learned preoccupation with popular poetry. Two at least of the eleventh century Cambridge Songs are voiced by women, thereby illustrating one of the fundamental aspects of popular poetry. One, as Dronke points out, closely resembles the kharja 'Veni, sidi, veni':

Veni, dilectissime
et a et o,
gratam me invisere
et a et o.
while another, a lyric of dawn meeting, would appear to be much closer in spirit to the essence of the *cantigas de amigo*:

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Nam languens
amore tuo
consurrexi
diluculo,
perrexii
que pedes nuda
per nives et
(per) frigora,
atque maria
rimabar mesa,
si forte ventivola
vela cernerem,
aut frontem navis
consipicerem. 46
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Still within the confines of the Iberian Peninsula, another influence which favoured popular poetry, that of the classical Arabic and Hebrew *muwassaha* poets with their predilection for the Romance *kharjas*, would certainly have been known to the poets of the Christian kingdoms. Indeed, Nykl insisted that the Provençal troubadours were actually acquainted with Arabic poetry via the medium of Spain and borrowed both theme and form from Arabic. 47  

Ironically, the classical Arabic form which used the Romance refrain, the *muwassaha*, reached its climax in the twelfth century, particularly in the compositions of Abu-l-Abbas al-Ama at-Tutili, otherwise known as el Ciego de Tudela (d. 1126), at exactly the time of the fanatical Almoravid invasions which made life in the south intolerable, for the first time in the long centuries of Moorish occupation, for both Christians and Jews and caused many to flee, bringing their southern cultural heritage, including undoubtedly their poetry, to the kingdoms of the north. 48  

Political fluctuations did not determine the boundaries of poetic inspiration, so that, when Alfonso VI's courtier, el Cidello, visited Guadalajara
some time between 1091 and 1095, it was a panegyrical muwassāba that the Toledan Jew, Yehuda Halewi, composed in his honour.

Moreover, in the thrust of the Reconquest, Moorish taifas or local kings became vassals of the northern monarchs and, in 1138, Alfonso VII brought his tributary Moorish kings to Toledo to impress the visiting king of France, Louis VII, with his magnificence. So close was the relationship between Fernando III and his vassal Ibn-al-Ahmar Nasrid, King of Granada, that Ibn-al-Ahmar was entrusted to assist in the reconquest of western Andalusia, culminating in the capture of Seville, and Fernando III's funeral in 1252 was attended by one hundred knights from Granada. Moorish influence in the visual arts of the period is nowhere more apparent than in the twelfth-century convent of Las Huelgas at Burgos, built by Alfonso VIII and his Queen, Eleanor, daughter of Henry II of England. The delicacy of the mudéjar tracery, in the Romanesque cloister, depicting birds, flowers and geometrical shapes, the favourite motifs of Islam from India to Al-Andalus, is matched in craftsmanship by the splendour of the silken garments of Oriental weave in which members of the royal family were buried and indicates a veritable Christian obsession with Islamic art.

The impressions of southern culture received and retained by the Christians of the north were reinforced by the presence at court of Moorish entertainers. In the miniatures of the Cantigas de Santa María, Moorish juglareas are to be seen performing with Christians and Jews and the accounts of Sancho IV, Alfonso's successor, testify to the employment at court in the year 1293 of several Moors in numerous capacities, as musicians, drummers, juglareas and acrobats, including juglareas from the
Moorish school of *juglares* at Jativa in Aragon. More significant than this circumstantial evidence for the transmission of Arabic methods — and incidentally of Mozarabic poetry — to the Christian kingdoms of the north is the attested presence at the courts of Alfonso X and Sancho IV of one of the last of the Hebrew *muwāṣṣāha* poets, Todros Halewi Abulafia, whose use of the *muwāṣṣāha*-kharja combination in his panegyrics, one to Isaac ibn Sadoq, one of Alfonso's advisers, and two to his relative, the learned and respected courtier, Don Todros Abulafia, is as fresh and effective as was its use by the earliest documented *muwāṣṣāha* poet, Joseph the Scribe, two centuries earlier. One of the kharjas adopted by Todros Halewi Abulafia is almost the same as that used by Yehuda Halewi in the early twelfth century, a fact which confirms the continuity of both the classical Arabic style, in the hands of a Hebrew poet, and the popular Romance tradition, particularly in the case of the latter, since the poet in the transition stresses his borrowing 'from the language of the Christians':

Mi corazón enfermo vuela como una golondrina hacia él, mientras exclamo en la lengua de Edom:

*bay-še mio qorason de mib*  
*ya rabbı̂ ki še tornaraδ*  
*țan mal mio doler al-garı̂b*  
*enfermo țed quan șanaraδ*  

*Sola-Solé XXXVIIIb*

In Sola-Solé's definitive reading, Todros Halewi Abulafia's rendering of the kharja differs from that of Yehuda Halewi in the third line where the earlier poet has: *'tan mal me doled li-al-habib'*. Helen Boreland has suggested that Todros Halewi Abulafia's amendment of this line to *'mio doler al-garib' (my strange distress)* may indicate the influence of the language of
the Provençal planh on the Spanish/Hebrew poet, for estranh
dola is a recurrent feature of the Provençal lament. 52

Similarly the other two kharjas adopted by Todros Halewi
Abulafia convey to northern culture the earlier traditions of
the south, unbroken. In the other panegyric to the poet's
relative, the transition and kharja perpetuate the ancient
tradition of the dawn welcome:

Quand il vient, elle chante une chanson d'amour
à la lumière de sa face:

Al-gabâh bono gar me d'on venis
ya ḫeš que otri amas
a mibi tu no queris

while, in the panegyric to Isaac ibn Sadoq, the desolation of
the girl who asks:

Que farayo o que serad de mibi
habibî
non te tolgas de mibi

echoes the typical formulaic lament of the type used by the
twelfth-century poet, Abraham ibn Ezra:

Gar que farayu
Com vivirayu
este'1-habib por el morirayu

There is, therefore, considerable justification from these
combined sources of evidence for supposing that not simply the
attitudes and tastes of the south but even the details of style
and form began to infiltrate the court of Castile from the
twelfth century. Earlier migrations may well have introduced
aspects of Mozarabic and Moorish culture, including possibly
oral poetic traditions, at the popular level, but the decisive
events which brought the court into close and forcible contact
with Moorish culture were the Reconquest, ever gaining momentum
after the capture of Toledo in 1085, which carried the Christian forces south into Moorish territory, and the twelfth-century Almoravid invasion which drove Jews and Christians, bearers of the polyglot and many faceted culture of Al-Andalus, north into the haven of the Christian kingdoms.

At the sophisticated level of the court of Castile, the influence of Al-Andalus appears to have been overwhelming: it dictated tastes in art, styles of architecture, music, entertainment and even fashions in dress. It may be, therefore, that even the court poetry of the south was known to the court of Castile before the arrival of Todros Halewi Abulafia in the thirteenth century. His presence, however, indicates that the muwassaha, even in its decline, had been brought to the notice of the poets of the north, including the poet-king Alfonso X, and its precedent may have been instrumental in encouraging interest in native, popular, vernacular poetic expression, along the lines of the kharjas, thereby balancing the Provençal example which eminently portrayed the vernacular as a medium for poetic sophistication.

The strongest influence for the acceptance of the vernacular as a fitting language for learned poetic expression came from Provence which was outside the geographical though not the political boundaries of the Peninsula, in the first half of the twelfth century, when Guilhem IX sang his 'novel chan'. Already by 1138 Marcabru, the Gascon master of the arcane art of 'trobar clus', had attended the Toledan court of Alfonso VII. on the occasion of the visit of Louis VII of France. It was at this time too that the states of southern France were seeking to establish their independence from the north and were
looking to Spain for support. The lords of Gascony, Montpellier and Poitiers, therefore, came to pay homage to Alfonso VII and thereby introduced to Spain the cultural developments of Provence. On the death of Alfonso VII in 1157, and the minority of Alfonso VIII, the Provencal troubadours turned their attention to the rich rewards to be gleaned from the court of Aragon where the king, Alfonso II, prided himself on his skill as a troubadour. By 1170, at the height of the Provencal school, Aragon was an important centre of Provencal poetry, boasting such names as Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, Arnaut de Maruelh, Pistoleta and, eventually, Bertran de Born who, however, expressed extreme dissatisfaction with the rewards offered him at court, in satirical verse directed against Alfonso II.

The marriage ceremonies of the minor, Alfonso VIII to Eleanor of England, in 1170 attracted the troubadours once more to the court of Castile with the result that a troubadour routine became established; Peire Rogier, for instance, visited both the courts of Castile and of Pedro II of Aragon; Guiraut de Bornelh studied in Provence in winter and travelled the courts in summer. By the early thirteenth century, the court of León had become a part of the circuit and Alfonso IX was regarded as a generous patron, particularly of Peire Vidal and Elias Cairel. Hugo de Saint-Circ made a protracted tour of the Spanish courts; he travelled from Catalonia in 1210 to Castile which he left for León in 1218.54

The cultural splendour of Provence began to fade with her wavering political fortunes after the defeat by the French at Muret in 1215. The troubadours ceased to find the Castilian court attractive after the death of Alfonso VIII in 1214, when
once again a minor, Enrique I, was on the throne, and Jaime I, el Conquistador of Aragon was not a noted patron of the arts. Moreover, the Provençal-Aragonese relationship turned somewhat sour eventually, when in 1242 Aragon failed to come to the aid of Provence in her final campaign for independence and then, in 1258, signed away all interest in Provence in the Treaty of Corbeil. It was not until the reign of Alfonso X of Castile and Leon that the Provençal poets were again attracted to Spain, this time by the reputation of a king whose literary pretensions were exceeded only by his political ambitions. The departure of Guiraut de Riquier from the court of Castile in 1279 marked the end of Provençal poetry, though not of the courtly influence, in the Peninsula.

As Menéndez Pidal has pointed out, the influence of Provençal poetry and of the intricacies of its philosophising was not proportionate to its vast diffusion because the difficulties of interpreting the cryptic 'trobar clus' made it accessible only to the highly literate. The population at large outside the court looked to native performers for their entertainment; from the mid-twelfth century a few references to popular Galician minstrels are found but it was not until the reign of Fernando III, father of Alfonso X, that the Galician troubadours and their poetry found favour at the court of Castile.

Between the Provençal and the Galician troubadours there existed a master-pupil relationship: Picandón was the Galician juglar or performer of an Italian/Provençal troubadour, Sordello, but Picandón always used his mother tongue for his own compositions. His nationalism best illustrates the
essential nature of the Galician attitude towards the poetry of Provence: Provence provides the precedents, for the use of the vernacular, for the formal modes, the *sirventes*, the *tenso*, the *planh* and for the bitterness of satirical verse: it also provides the exalted concepts of an ennobled love aspiring to an idealised but sensual goal. The Galician poets adopt some of these concepts and forms and dress them in the language and style dictated by their own native inspiration. Much of the delicate refinement and sophistication of the Provençal poetry is lost to them, but they bring to their learned love poetry, the *cantigas de amor*, the influence, long lost in Provence, of popular poetry. Reckert illustrates this evolution in a *cantiga de amor* of Pai Gomes Charinho. The poet uses a refrain in a *cantiga de amor*, but he modifies it so that the refrain is incorporated into the body of the poem — a device called 'atafiinda' — and thus conforms to the precept of 'um simulacro de lógica discursiva', as Reckert terms the requirement of the Provençal style:

Ua dona que eu quero gran bem
(por mal de mi, par Deu, que non por a!)
pero que sempre mi fez e faz mal,
e fará, direi-vo-lo que m'avém:
mar, nem terra, nem prazer nem pesar,
nem bem nem mal, non ma podem quitar
do coração. E que sera de mim?
Morto som, se cedo non morrer!
Ela já nunca bem mi há-de fazer,
mais sempre mal; e pero est' assi,
mar, nem terra, nem prazer nem pesar,
nem bem nem mal, non ma podem quitar
do coração. Ora mi vai peior,
ca mi vem dela, por vos non mentir,
mal se a vej', e mal se a non vir;
que é de coitas mais, cuid', a maior;
mar, nem terra, nem prazer nem pesar,
nem bem nem mal, non ma podem quitar.
Information about the Galician troubadours is scant and often inaccurate - as the so-called biographies of the Provençal troubadours are now considered to be. From the tentative assessments of the poets of the cantigas de amigo made by Carolina Michælis and by Nunes, Menéndez Pidal and Costa Pimpâo it is possible to gain at least a rough idea of the numbers involved and to set them in some sort of chronological order. Three Galician troubadours are thought to have flourished in the early part of the thirteenth century, Nuno Porco, Vasco Praga de Sandim and Pai Soares. In the reign of Fernando III, who had been brought up in León and Galicia, the cantiga ousted Provençal poetry as the favourite amusement of the court; at least fourteen of the troubadours listed by Nunes are presumed to have attended Fernando's court and to have accompanied him on campaign. Of these about six spanned his reign and that of his son Alfonso X. More than twenty of the cantiga de amigo poets are considered to have attended the court of Alfonso X, and these taken in conjunction with those who attended the court of Alfonso III of Portugal - that is to say, the poets of the third quarter of the thirteenth century - amount to at least thirty-five. A lull ensues in the reign of Sancho IV of Castile and Alfonso IV of Portugal, but in the reign of Alfonso X's grandson, Don Dinis, there is a revival with a dozen or so troubadours appearing at the court of the troubadour king. These numbers are approximate in the extreme. They do, however, serve to illustrate how dramatically the relaxation and pleasure of the old campaigner, Fernando III, developed into a full-scale literary industry in the reign of Alfonso X. The various influences outlined above, which may have induced this
royal appreciation of both the vernacular and the popular, were brought to a logical climax in the king's own contribution, the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, in which both the vernacular language and the popular form are apotheosized, not for the expression of human love, but for the portrayal of divine grace. Thus the royal seal of approval is set on the Galician lyric.  

The composition of *cantigas de amigo*, *cantigas de amor* and *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer* was not restricted to any one class. The fashion probably began with a king, Sancho I of Portugal, ended with another, Don Dinis of Portugal, and reached its apogee under the aegis of Alfonso el Sabio. Pai Gómes Charinho was admiral of Alfonso X's fleet; D. Gómes García who resided at the court of Sancho IV was abbot of Valladolid but, on the other hand, Fernando III, who was no respecter of persons in matters of poetry, took the humble *juglar*, Martim Codax, into his confidence on a par with the nobles of his court who probably included Gonçalo Eanes do Vinhal, João Soares de Coelho and his nephew Esteveam. Galisteu Fernandes and García Soares were burghers, while Sancho Sanches, Airas Nunes, and Pai de Cana were probably clerics. *Juglares*, the performers who on occasion turned their talents to composition, are often designated by a single nickname such as Lourenço, Lopo or Golperro or by a diminutive such as Mendinho. Little can be ascertained about Pero Meogo.

There is a strange perversity about the versatility of these disparate poets from king to *juglar*, almost any of whom could freely express himself in the most scurrilous terms in the *cantigas de escárnio* while wrangling over the favours of the notorious María Pérez at the court of Alfonso and yet
could, in the *cantigas de amor*, aspire to emulate the ideals of the Provençal school. The language of the *cantigas de amor* is dry and unappealing to modern tastes, yet the same poets could capture the evocative freshness and candour of popular song in the *cantigas do amigo*. It may be that this versatility is simply a reflection of the demands made on the troubadours by their craft. The account in the Provençal narrative poem *Flamenca*, dated at about 1234, lists the repertoire of the troubadours and jongleurs performing at the marriage feast of Flamenca and Archimbautz:

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Anc null' aurella non lai colc,
Quar l'us comtet de Priamus,
E l'autre diz de Piramus;
L'us comtet de la bell' Elena,
Com Paris l'enquer, poisa'n mena;
L'autres comtava d'Ulixes,
L'autre d'Ector e d'Anchilles;
L'autre comtava d'Eneas
E de Diò consi remas
Per lui dolenta e mesquina;
L'autre comtava de Lavina
Con fes lo breu el cairel traire
A la gaita de l'auzor caire;
L'us comtet de Pollonices,
De Tideu e d'Etiocles;
L'autres comtava d'Apolloine
Consí retenc Tyr e Sidoine;
L'us comtet de rei Alexandri,
L'autre d'Ero e de Leandri;
L'us diz de Catmus can fugi
E de Tebas con las basti,
L'autre comtava de Jason
E del dragon que non hac son;
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The list is endless; it includes Orpheus, David and Goliath, Samson and Delilah, Julius Caesar, the knights of the Round Table, Charlemagne and Daedalus. This, however, was precisely the repertoire which Guiraut de Calanson in the early thirteenth century advised the juglar Fadet would be required of him at the court of Pedro II of Aragon. Although the *cantigas* contain few references to the characters of legend and pseudo-
history - Don Dinis in two of his *cantigas de amor* mentions Flores and Blancaflor and Tristan and Isolde - the troubadours would nevertheless possess a wide Biblical and classical knowledge and might well therefore read classical and Biblical allusions into the pagan imagery of the popular poetry of Galicia.

The Galician Alborada

The dawn *cantigas* clearly illustrate at once the pagan background of the popular tradition and the nature of the learned interest in popular poetry of the troubadours, whose own experience in the courtly milieu can have had little in common with the circumstances of the songs they relate. An extreme example of the meeting of both ends of the spectrum, of popular inspiration and of learned interpolation, is to be found in the *cantigas* of one of the last of the troubadours, Don Dinis. It was from the court of Aragon that Isabel, wife of Don Dinis, came in the late thirteenth century. Aragon had a strong Provençal bias and one might expect, therefore, that the Provençal courtly convention of dawn parting, which must have represented a closer approximation to the experience of the nobility than the popular poetic convention of dawn meeting, might have taken a strong hold over the imagination of the troubadours in Spain. The fact that this did not happen testifies to the strength of the native tradition and to the power of literary attraction which the images of the *cantigas* held for the cultured poets.

In one of Don Dinis's dawn poems the girl rises at dawn and sets out on an ostensibly practical errand, to wash shirts
in the stream: the poem is, therefore, automatically set
against the natural background of the mountains and streams
of Galicia, the north-western corner of the Peninsula, exposed
to the turbulence of the Atlantic winds. The wind catches the
tunics and blows them away. This cantiga apparently summarises
the elements of the most lyrical and the most unpretentious
examples of the genre:

Levantou-s' a velida,
levantou-s' alva,
e vai lavar camisas
em o alto:
vai-las lavar alva.

Levantou-s' a loucãa,
levantou-s' alva,
e vai lavar delgadas
em o alto:
vai-las lavar alva.

Vai lavar camisas
(levantou-s' alva);
o vento lhas desvia
em o alto:
vai-las lavar alva.

E vai lavar delgadas
(levantou-s' alva);
o vento lhas levava
em o alto:
vai-las lavar alva.

O vento lhas desvia
(levantou-s' alva);
meteu-s' alva em ira
em o alto.
Vai-las lavar alva.

Cdea XLV

The simplicity and candour of the cantiga, however, belie the
highly skilled poetic craft. Don Dinis's handling of the
techniques of parallelism and leixa-pren reveals the artless
fluency of a master. Beside such fluency, Helder Macedo's
ingenious exposition of the significance of alva does not
appear unfounded or unjustifiably contrived:
A palavra alva porque usada simultâneamente em todos os seus sentidos, define uma perfeita identidade entre a moça e — por extensão metonímica — a própria água onde ela lava a roupa para, implicitamente, também a tornar ou manter alva. E a mesma palavra alva é o nóculo morfológico e fonológico do poema. Com efeito, as suas sílabas — e muito especialmente as suas consoantes — recorrem através de todo o poema em sucessivas transliterações. Observe-se, por exemplo, como os componentes do refrão "VAI-LÁS LAVAR ALVA" são, praticamente, os da palavra alva.

The cantiga is open to interpretation at other levels apart from the purely aesthetic. At the popular level it reflects a latent pagan tradition of celebrating the dawn, the type of festival Christianised in the orthodox Catholic areas of Spain several centuries earlier and incorporated into the Breviarium Gothicum. The dawn of the cantiga is feminine, a pagan goddess whose beauty is identified with that of the dawn, unlike the liturgical Latin and popular vernacular poetic forms of the south where the masculine images of an intense Christianity predominate. In his sensitive examination of the workings of symbolism in Don Dinis's cantiga, Macedo emphasizes the image of purity conveyed in the dawn:

Os vários sentidos da palavra alva têm todos em comum uma sugestão de pureza. A madrugada é sempre 'pura'. E uma camponesa que lava ela mesma a roupa, ao sol, em alto, para ser ainda alva tem de ser muito jovem — o que realista e mente permite que a palavra seja entendida com o valor associativo de 'virgem', aliás também comum: o branco é a cor tradicionalmente simbólica da virgindade.

The girl washes the tunics in the stream — a stream dedicated perhaps to one of the ancient fertility gods or goddesses of Galicia — and she is interrupted and disturbed by the playful antics of the wind. It is perhaps worth remembering that, in his De Natura Rerum, Isidore of Seville had tried to dispel the pagan notion that the wind was a vehicle of evil spirits,
and it may be as a remnant of this pagan belief that the wind appears in this cantiga. The image persists in a villancico:

Estos mis cabellos, madre,
dos a dos me los lleva el aire

All these elements which are reminiscent of past pagan ritual, and yet can contribute to a highly sophisticated pattern of symbolism, hold the further attraction for the thirteenth-century troubadour that, in their evocation of a delightful natural setting, they at least pay lip service to the rhetorician's precepts for the composition of poetry. Matthew of Vendôme in his *Ars Versificatoria* had, in the twelfth century, outlined the formal poetic rules for the description of the lovely place, the *locus amoenus*. Charles Faulhaber has claimed that the rhetorician's principles had little influence in Castile until the fourteenth century. He has, however, emphasized the close relationship between Alfonso el Sabio and Geoffrey of Eversley, an English cleric who visited Spain in the late 1250's and simultaneously served as ambassador to Alfonso X and to Edward I of England from 1276 until his death in 1283. Geoffrey of Eversley was strongly influenced by Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars Versificatoria*, and he himself exerted a strong influence on the scholar king whose *Setenario* expounded the first formal definition of rhetoric in Castilian. Evidence from earlier works, however, suggests that poets were not unaware of the principles which appertained to their art: the *Libro de Alexandre* enunciates them carefully, while the poet of the *Razón de amor* observes the conventions as a matter of course. Thus it would seem that the formal poetic rules of the rhetoricians reflect learned literary practices.
which are already well established, and it would be naive to suppose that a troubadour poet of the sophistication of Don Dinis was unaware of their existence, since he obviously enjoys bringing all possible influences to bear on his compositions, while at the same time stamping them with the mark of his own originality. Thus Don Dinis's dawn *cantiga* exhibits informally many of the features of the *locus amoenus* yet also displays the features of the real Galician landscape. These features moreover are not simply a passive background to the action of the poetry but, by virtue of their pagan connotations and as a result of the nascent medieval fascination for symbolism, they all, dawn, wind, trees, flowers, participate actively in the brief but intense drama of the *cantigas*.

According to Curtius the sources of the formal medieval convention were a combination of Biblical and classical influences; he observes:

> Mediaeval descriptions of nature are not meant to represent reality. This is generally recognised in respect to Romanesque art, but not in respect to the literature of the same period. 72

Curtius' assertion, as we have seen, does not hold good for Don Dinis's *cantigas* where the native landscape is a powerful reality. It is no less of a powerful reality in the earlier *cantigas* of Pero Meogo, but his *cantigas* contain additional, unavoidable Biblical and classical overtones which lend weight to Curtius' argument, and perhaps confound the suggestion made by Reckert and Macedo that Don Dinis's dawn *cantiga* is necessarily derived from the superficially remarkably similar *cantiga* of Pero Meogo.73

Although in Pero Meogo's *alborada* the atmosphere is
indicative of a dawn meeting, the dawn is not specifically mentioned; the girl gets up and goes to the spring to wash her hair:

Levou-s' a louçana
Levou-s' a velida;
vai lavar cabelos
na fontana fria,
leda dos amores
dos amores leda.

The scene in this cantiga is apparently more clearly drawn: the lover appears, initially in person, not in some transmogrified form:

Vai lavar cabelos
na fria fontana
passa seu amigo
que a muit' ama

but then the veil descends and the rest of the encounter is shrouded in a natural but subtle imagery:

Passa seu amigo
que a muit' ama;
o cervo do monte
volvia a augua
leda dos amores
dos amores leda.

The appearance of the stag at the fountain in the cantiga may well, at the popular level, be a vestige of the pagan fertility rites condemned by Pacianus of Barcelona and Caesarius of Arles. These rites are thought to have been connected not with spring celebrations but with the January Kalends and the winter solstice, the time when deer are rutting and when signs of life's triumph over winter's death are eagerly sought. The stag is, however, the most enigmatic of the symbols of the Iberian lyric. Stylistic details in the poems of Pero Meogo would suggest that the troubadour had an intimate knowledge of the Song of Songs and that associations with
the Biblical source were ever present in his inspiration. He recreates the unpretentious candour of the lovers of the Song and the imagery of his cantigas suggests a similar attitude to natural phenomena, adopting and incorporating them in the individual erotic experience. The lover comes as a mountain stag in the Song:

Fuge dilecte mi, et assimilare capreae, hinnuloque cervorum super montes aromatum VIII. 14

and in the alborada:

Passa seu amigo que lhi ben queria
o cervo do monte a augua volvia.

In another of Meogo's cantigas, the 'roes and hinds of the field' of the Song bear the Galician girl company:

Enas verdes ervas vi anda-las cervas, meu amigo.
Enos verdes prados vi os cervos bravos, meu amigo. Gdea CCCCXVI

and, as in the alborada, the girl proceeds to wash her hair. In another cantiga she turns to the hinds for comfort:

Ai cervas do monte, vin vos preguntar: foi-s'o meu amigu'e, se alá tardar, que farei, velidas? 75 Gdea CCXCXIV

just as in the Song the bride confides her lovesickness to the daughters of Jerusalem:

Adiuro vos filiae Ierusalem, si inveneritis dilectum meum, ut nuncietis ei quia amore langueo. V. 8

The bride of the Song of Solomon is a 'spring shut up, a fountain sealed', and it is such a fountain that the thirsting stag, possibly the thirsting stag of Psalm XLII, seeks in the
cántiga where the anxious mother awaits the inevitable consequences of her daughter's foolhardiness:

esta fonte segue-a ben,
poil-o cervo i ven.  Odea CCCXXVII

Pero Meogo's adaptations of the imagery of the Song of Songs are not the first such adaptations in the popular poetry of the Peninsula, for, as has already been observed, the religious influence apparent in the kharjas includes the influence of the Song and this is particularly marked in the Hebrew muwaṣṣaḥas where the florid sensuality of the Song is conveyed unabated. The unmistakable stag of the Song appears in the muwaṣṣaḥa of Yosef ibn Saddiq (d. 1149):

Le jour ou le cerf est venu frapper a sa porte,
de sa chambre elle eleva la voix et dit a sa mere: Je ne peux pas me retenir.  Stern 14

Similis est dilectus meus capreae, hinnuloque cervorum, en ipse sperat post parietem nostrum respiciens per fenestras, prospeciens per cligecellos.  

Song II. 9

In the Arabic poetry of Al-Andalus, another image entirely compatible with the stag of the Song of Songs, that of the beloved as a gazelle, appears. The eleventh-century poet, Ben Ammar of Silvas (d. 1086), describes his beloved thus:

Era una gacelita que mira con narcigos, alarga azucenas y sonríe con margaritas. 76

In the muwaṣṣaḥa of Muhammed ibn Ubada al-Malaqi, the beloved is both stag and gazelle:

Cual tímido ciervo
mi amada es de bella.
Sus hermosos ojos
robó a la gacela.  G.G. XX.3
Typically the poet of an anonymous muwaṣṣaḥa sighs:

\[ \text{Ay mi gacela que de por si es esquiva!} \quad \text{G.G. VIIb} \]

Frequently in the Hebrew muwaṣṣaḥas the lover is likened to a stag:

\[ \text{El gracioso cervatillo daría su vida por la joven que contó su historia...} \quad \text{Sola-Solé XXXIII} \]

\[ \text{Es un ramo de mirra y el más selecto de los cervatillos} \quad \text{Sola-Solé XLII} \]

and occasionally the girl singer of the kharja is described as a gazelle:

\[ \text{Mi corazón se desgarra a causa de la gacela que de verle está sendienta} \quad \text{Sola-Solé XXXVIII} \]

While the Song of Songs is an acknowledged source of imagery for the Hebrew and also the Arabic poetry of Al-Andalus, Hatto rejects the parallels between the Song of Songs and Meogo's cantigas on the technical grounds that, if Meogo's images are to be traced directly to the Song of Songs, they must on account of the genders employed be traced through the Hebrew not the Vulgate Bible; that is to say, Meogo must have had access to a rendering of the Song in the Romance vernacular by a Jew. The only likely candidate apparently would have been Vidal, the Jew of Elvas, but the one surviving instance in which he uses stag imagery, in the courtly genre, the cantiga de amor, does not provide the evidence required: 77

\[ \text{a por que ei mort' a prender come cervo lançado, que se vai do mund' a perder da companha das cervas.} \quad \text{Cdea CCLXVI} \]

This argument against a direct borrowing from the Song of Songs
does not invalidate the claim, strongly advocated by Méndez Ferrín, 79 that the overtones of the Song are conspicuous in Meogo's poetry, and that the poet may have been inspired by the possibility of associating elements of the native Galician landscape and folklore with the images of Biblical and Classical culture.

Hatto draws attention to the remarkable similarity between the role of the stag in Meogo's cantigas and that of various other animals in the theme of wooing by the water at dawn or at dusk in other parts of Europe. 80 Invariably the girl explains her late arrival home to her parents with the excuse that a bird or animal has stirred up the water. Such is the universality of this particular development of the theme that Hatto regards a common source as inevitable. Indeed, a few examples illustrate Hatto's proposal. Unaccountably he overlooks the most cogent Galician example:

-Digades, filha, mia filha velida: porque tardastes na fontana fria? os amores ei.

Digades, filha, mia filha lougana: porque tardastes na fria fontana? os amores ei.

-Tardei, mia madre, na fontana fria, cervos do monte a augua volvian: os amores ei.

Tardei, mia madre, na fria fontana cervos do monte volvian a augua: os amores ei.

-Mentir, mia filha, mentir por amigo; nunca vi cervo que volvess'o rio: os amores ei.

Mentir, mia filha, mentir por amado; nunca vi cervo que volvess'o alto: os amores ei. 81
Frenk Alatorre quotes a Castilian example, collected by Hernán Núñez, of the same motif which she regards as a direct borrowing from the Galician:

- Dezid, hija garrida
  quién os manchó la camisa?
- Madre, las moras del carcal.
- Mentir, hija, mas no tanto,
  que no pica la carça tan alto. 82

An eighteenth-century Serbian poem repeats the exact situation of the Galician cantiga; the maiden meets her lover by a pool in the forest and he tells her how to lie to her mother:

Softly the maiden spoke to her mother: / "Do not scold me mother dear;/ There stood a stag by the cool water;/ With his horn he clouded it, with his eyes he cleared it;/ I waited until he had made it clear"/ Softly her mother spoke to the maiden: / "Don't lie, bitch, no daughter of mine!/ That, you bitch, was no stag from the forest/ But a stout hero down from the town. 83

The same theme is also adapted to a Bulgarian setting: the youth advises the girl:

"Tell her, Marushchitsa, your mother, your old mother,/ yesterday, mother, there passed by/ the pasha's grey flock,/ making the bridges rock loose and the fords muddied,/ so I waited for them to run clear." 84

The mother is of course not deceived and accuses her daughter of lying. In the Lithuanian variants on the theme the girl tells her mother, in one, that 'A flyer came flying/ A bird from the sea,/ and stirred up the water'85 and, in another, that 'Some drakes came flying,/ They made the water muddy', 86 but in a third, collected in the mid-eighteenth century, the imagery is more delicate:

Early, early in the morning/ The sun was rising/ And mother dear was sitting/ Below the glass window./ "I must ask you, dear daughter,/ Where have you been roaming?/ Where did the mist fall on your pretty garland?"/ "Early, early in the morning/ I went to fetch water./ That is where the mist fell on my pretty garland"/ "That's not true, dear daughter,/ What you you say's not true:/ You saw your lover off,/ Away over the field"/ "That is true, mother dear,/ What you say is true; I had a word to say,/ Together with my lover." 87
In Estonian whore, as in Galician, lovers meet at dawn in poetry, the interrogating parent answers her own questions:

Why were you so long at the well, / why were you talking at the well so long, / why were you so long on the path to the water? / No doubt you made a bargain to be off and away, you gave your hand that you would go to Alutaga, / over five cornfields, / over six fields of hayricks, / over seven seedfields, / over eight oatfields.

A fascinating insight into the possible origins of the fountain tradition in lyric poetry, together with those of the French weaving songs, is provided in an article by Charles Bertram Lewis who traces them to the accounts in two Apocryphal Gospels, the second-century Protevangelium of St James the Less and the late fifth century Pseudo-Matthew, of the Annunciation. In both Gospels, the Annunciation occurs twice, once while Mary is weaving and once while drawing water from the well, with the result that between the fifth and the eleventh century two different traditions, one of weaving and one of the visit to the well arose, the popularity of each depending on its appropriateness to local circumstance. Lewis's article suggests that the author was unfortunately unaware of the significance of the cantigas de amigo to his theme, for much of his analysis of the French weaving songs and of the fragmentary, though late, fountain songs in Old French and Provençal also applies to the cantigas de amigo of Pero Meogo. The heroine of the songs is a young, unmarried girl, sometimes with child, whose situation, beset with suspicion and uncertainty, reflects the ambiguities of Mary's situation in pregnancy. In the few French examples of the fountain tradition, the girl offers the excuse that the nightingale stirred up the waters of the well, hence her delay:
"Ah! que va dire ma belle mère
D'avoir si longtemps tardé (sic)!
"Tu lui diras, ma belle brune,
Que la fontaine était troublée
Et que le rossignol sauvage
Était dedans pour s'y baigner." 90

The role of the nightingale can be explained according to Lewis
by the medieval identification of the nightingale with the Holy
Spirit which, from the thirteenth century, ousted the earlier
tradition that the Holy Spirit took the form of a dove. The
rogue nightingale is a pre-eminent figure in the Castilian lyric
but it is not surprising that in the Galician tradition the
native mountain stag, also identifiable with the stag of the
Song of Songs, should assume the role of the dove.

Unfortunately the remarkable coincidences from Eastern
Europe with Meogo's cantigas pose more problems than they solve.
If all versions hark back to a Celtic or possibly Suevian common
source, then Meogo's version is indeed outstanding evidence for
the traditional nature of the cantigas de amigo. Meogo's
version is, however, the oldest documented rendering of the
theme and one cannot escape the possibility of its diffusion
at the courtly level throughout Europe from the Galician source,
a result possibly of the international attraction of Santiago
de Compostela. In one of the Lithuanian versions the reference
to the 'glass window' - a rarity - is taken as implying a
courtly ambience. In the other version the troubling of sea
water is an incongruity which suggests the degeneracy of the
motif in Lithuanian. There is, however, no other evidence
for the courtly transmission of the motif, and one would expect
some traces of this transmission, since courtly poems are much
more likely than popular ones to survive in writing. This
particular *cantiga* of Meogo's is, as we have seen, but one of several in which the troubadour exploits the possibilities of stag and fountain imagery either in a dawn setting or in one in which the dawn is strongly implied. He fully explores the transparent excuse motif, as Hatto calls it; the girl is in an unhappy predicament; she is afraid of displeasing her lover on the one hand or her mother on the other:

\[
\text{Talhei-lh'eu preito do o ir veer} \\
\text{ena fonte u os cervos van bever,} \\
\text{e, se non för, assanhar-s'á.}
\]

\[
\text{E non ei su de lhi mentir sabor,} \\
\text{mais mentir-lh(1)-ei con vosso pavor,} \\
\text{e, se non för, assanhar-s'á.} \quad \text{Cdea CCCCXI}
\]

The request made by the lover is a bold one, however, and the girl herself greets it with indignation:

\[
\text{Non faq' eu torto de mi lh'assanhar,} \\
\text{por s'atrever el de me demandar} \\
\text{que o foss' eu veer} \\
\text{a la font'u os cervos van bever.} \quad \text{Cdea CCCCXII}
\]

She decides to put her lover's audacity to the test:

\[
\text{Irei, mia madre, a la fonte} \\
\text{u van os cervos do monte!} \\
\text{se ouzará meu amigo} \\
\text{ante vós falar comigo.} \quad \text{Cdea CCCCXVII}
\]

In the description of the enamoured lover, however, a new element, alien both to the Song of Songs and to pagan fertility rites, that of the wounded stag, and by implication the huntsman, appears in the *cantigas*:

\[
\text{-Tal vai o meu amigo} \\
\text{con amor que lh'eu deí} \\
\text{como cervo ferido} \\
\text{de monteiro del-rei.} \quad \text{Cdea CCCCXIII}
\]

In this *cantiga* the Galician image of the stag is united with the mainstream European image of the hunted stag. As Marcelle
Thiébaut has pointed out in her study on the stag in medieval literature, the most emphatic Classical source for the image of the love chase is to be found in Ovid. In the Metamorphoses, characters who deliberately ignore the claims of love and resort instead to the pursuit of wild animals are often themselves changed into animal form. The hunt for women as 'praeda' is a recurring theme of the Ars Amatoria but, in the Remedia Amoris, the real hunt is recommended as an antidote to the tribulations of love. There is obviously in the works of Ovid an important source for the poem of the Ripoll manuscript in which the huntsman, searching alone at dusk for his lost hounds is confronted by Cupid who exhorts him to abandon Diana's arrows and take up Cupid's bow in the court of Venus. Apart from its Ovidian overtones, however, this poem is also regarded as a version of the Manerius poem, in which the exhausted huntsman is met by the vision of a princess who seduces him into the enchanted land of love:

vidit et loquitur sensit os osculans,
et sibi consulens et regis filie
extremum Veneris concessit lineae.

Through similarities with La naissance du Chevalier au Cygne and the Dolopathos, Raby traced the origins of the Manerius poem to the legend of the swan children, while Dronke indicates analogues with Breton lays in which the huntsman hero is led by a deer into an enchanted world, a frequent motif in medieval romance.

The Classical and mainstream European literary motif of the hunted stag was, therefore, certainly not unknown in the Peninsula from the twelfth century if not earlier. In this usage, however, the hunted male animal is an image of the
female beloved, but in the popular lyric, both Galician and Serbian, the stag stands for the male lover. It may have been this apparent irreconcilability of gender which restricted Pero Meogo's further exploitation of stag hunting imagery in the context of women's love song. He does nevertheless achieve the syncretism of the several metaphorical strains of stag imagery through the range of his cantigas and succeeds in adapting the stag victim of the love chase to the role of the lover while still maintaining a strong reminiscence of unhappy Dido's desperate flight:

Uritur infelix Dido, totaque vagatur
Urbe furens. Qualis conjecta cerva sagitta
Quam procul incautam nemora inter Cressia fixit
Pastor agens telis, liquitque volatile ferrum
Nescius; illa fuga sylvas saltusque peragrat
Dictaeos: haeret lateri letalis arundo. 97

Meogo's masterly handling of the full potential of stag imagery not only reveals his own versatility as a poet, his sensitivity to the popular tradition and his wide Biblical and Classical knowledge but also reflects the demands made upon him by his courtly audience who clearly expected the sort of repertoire exhibited by the performers in Flamenca and would doubtless have appreciated and understood every metaphorical allusion. A similar audience in France might well have responded with the same awareness to Chrétien de Troyes' amalgam and resolution of the hunting images he has employed in Erec et Enide when the lovers meet on their marriage night:

Cers chaciez qui de scof alainne
ne desirre tant la fontaine,
n'espreviers ne vient a reclain
si volontiers quant il a fain,
que plus volontiers n' i venissent,
einçois que il s'antre tenissent.
Cele nuit ont tant restoré
de ce qu'il ont tant domoré.
Quant vuidiee lor fu la chambr,
lor droit randent a chacun manbre. 98
Like the stag, the well or water course lends itself to numerous interpretations, both popular and cultured. Many of the Biblical allusions have already come to light in the discussion of stag imagery, while, in the survey of paganism in Galicia, the rituals which lent any water source a magical aura were examined. Hatto in *Eos* comments upon the obvious practical importance of the well:

Songs of wooing beside the spring or well at dawn are also widespread. They grow independently from the fact that among their many domestic tasks women fetch water at dawn or dusk, or rise to wash clothes at dawn, the world over, and so give enterprising suitors perhaps their only opportunity during the day of 'speaking a word' with their sweethearts.

Hatto adduces several examples - not least two from the *Odyssey*, the one of Eumaeus' nurse who was seduced while washing clothes beside the sea (XV. 420), and the other the account of Nausikaa's unsuccessful attempt to seduce Odysseus while she was engaged in the same occupation at dawn (VI. 15) - to prove the antiquity and universality of this theme. The implication in the Galician dawn/fountain *cantigas* is always of a disturbed relationship: the wind blows away the washing, the stag troubles the waters of the spring. Even in the reciprocated love affair of Don Dinis's *cantiga*, in which the girl wears her lover's ribbon in her hair, the pain of love is so intense that the dawn meeting brings its own distress:

-De que morredes, filha, a do corpo velido?
-Madre, morro d'amores que mi deu meu amigo
   Alva é, vai liero.

-De que morredes, filha, a do corpo loução?
-Madre, morro d'amores que mi deu meu amado
   Alva é, vai liero.

Madre, morro d'amores que mi deu meu amigo,
quando vej' esta cinta que per seu amor cingo
   Alva é, vai liero. 101
By the thirteenth century, the practical gestures of washing clothes or of washing and binding hair have become invested with an intimately sexual symbolism which Reckert elucidates thus:

A lavagem da camisa relaciona-se não só com a do corpo e do cabelo como com o tema das prendas de amor, cujo significado primordial mágico se torna patente nos casos concretos da cinta (para o corpo) e a fita (para o cabelo), com evidente valor, na magia simpática, de "atadura" da pessoa amada. 102

However, in the cantigas, though the relationship depicted may be troubled, the impression of the natural Galician setting at dawn with all its concomitant imagery is inseparable from and is one with the actions and the emotions of the protagonists. The picture, though evocatively painted, is still deliberately impressionistic, occasionally perplexing, and an aura of mystery always envelops the scene and mists the view. Here there is none of the clear-cut radiance of the kharjas, nor is there any of their urgent sense of anticipation. All the images of the Galician dawn, the wind, the water course, the stag, washing of shirts and hair, reappear in Castilian but in the style of the villancico, colourful, pithy, occasionally facetious, optimistic, a style, in short, far removed from the tragic nostalgia of the cantigas. The Galician sense of tragedy is perhaps best exemplified in Torneol's cantiga in which the girl ruefully calls to her sleeping lover to rise; he through his lethargy and lack of desire has desecrated the natural beauty of every feature of the lovers' meeting place, the typical locus amoenus: 103

Levad', amigo, que dormides as manhãs frias; todalas ayes do mundo d'amor dizian: leda m'and' eu.
Levad', amigo, que dormide'-las frias manhãs;  
todas ayes do mundo d'amor cantavan:  
leda m'and' eu.

Toda-las ayes do mundo d'amor diziam; 
do meu amor e do vosso en ment'avan:  
leda m'and' eu.

Toda-las ayes do mundo d'amor cantavan;  
do meu amor e do vosso' i enmentavan:  
leda m'and' eu.

Do meu amor e do vosso' en ment'avan;  
vos lhi tolhestes os ramos en que siian:  
leda m'and' eu.

Do meu amor e do vosso' i enmentavan;  
vos lhi tolhestes os ramos en que pousavan:  
leda m'and' eu.

Vos lhi tolhestes os ramos en que siian  
e lhis secastes as fontes en que bevian:  
leda m'and' eu.

Vos lhi tolhestes os ramos en que pousavan  
e lhis secastes as fontes u se banhavan:  
leda m'and' eu.

Odea LXXV

Michaëlis observed that the call to the lover to rise was still  
to be found in the popular poetry of Galicia and Portugal in  
the nineteenth century. 104 Torneol's cantiga is the first  
such call - other than the dawn summons of the khajjas - in  
the poetry of the Peninsula. Its repercussions were to be  
widespread throughout the Spanish-speaking world in the contexts  
of both the alborada and the alba, since clearly it lends itself  
to the two traditions - of dawn meeting and of dawn parting.  
It may be that the formula of the first line, 'Levad', amigo,'  
was already present in Galician popular song or it may be with  
Torneol, as with Meogo, that the poet found his inspiration for  
the adaptation of a popular tradition of dawn meeting in the  
Song of Songs. The cantiga echoes the invitation of the  
lover to his beloved in the Song: 105
Surge, propera amica mea, columba mea, formosa mea, et veni.

I. 4 (10)

In the Song the arrival of spring is marked by the passing of winter:

Iam enim hiems transit, imber abiit, et recessit.

I. 4 (11)

and in the cantiga the mornings through which the lover sleeps are the chill dawns of early spring:

que dormides as manhãs frias

The signs of spring in the Song are those which will become features of the medieval topos:

Flores apparuerunt in terra nostra, tempus putationis advenit: vox turturis audita est in terra nostra.

I. 4

and in the cantiga the girl reminisces over the joys not of the coming spring but of springs past:

toda-las aves do mundo d'amor cantavan;
do meu amor eu' e do voss' i enmentavan.

It is here that the Song of Songs and the cantiga part company, for the Song hereafter anticipates the consummation of mutual love, but the cantiga can only bitterly recall a rejected love, conveyed in the lover's destruction of the lovely place and its conversion into a locus foedus. This is not the locus amoenus in a wild setting as is the glade in the 'robredo de Corpes' of the Poema de Níu Cid,\textsuperscript{106} where 'los montes son altos, las rramas puian con las núes', but the simple transformation of a personal paradise into a hell.\textsuperscript{107} It may be, however, that the girl has the last word: read crudely her refrain 'leda m'and' eu' could be taken to mean 'I don't care'.

\textsuperscript{106} Poema de Níu Cid.

\textsuperscript{107} Poema de Níu Cid.
More prosaically, if one reads the refrain in the subjunctive, the tragic nostalgia of the narration is confirmed and the refrain becomes a plea for the restoration of past happiness: 'Let me go joyfully' or 'if only I could be happy'.

In Castilian the images of the Galician dawn meetings recur, though not necessarily only in dawn songs, in different proportions and in different combinations. It may be the influence of the *Fonte-frida* ballad of the widowed turtle-dove, which Asensio regards as probably being of French origins, which brings the image of the fountain or water-course into prominence while the stag fades almost to oblivion. There are only a few notable poetic appearances of the deer in the Castilian *villancico*. In a *villancico* of somewhat superficial tone the hind, symbol perhaps of a rival, is told to keep away from the water so that the singer can wash her lover's shirt. The symbolism is explicit with none of the mystery and magic of the *cantigas* of Pero Meogo:

Cervatica, que no me la vuelvas,  
que yo me la volveré.

Cervatica tan garrida,  
no enturbies el agua fría,  
que he de lavar la camisa  
de aquel a quien di mi fe.  
Cervatica, que no me la vuelvas,  
que yo me la volveré.

Asensio in his discussion of *Fonte-frida* traces the cool, clear aspect of the water back to St Jerome's gloss of it as 'consolatio', transmitted through the *Sylva allegioriarum Sacrae Scripturae* (Barcelona 1570) of Jerónimo Lloret. According to M. Batsillon, the notion of the turbid waters of discord was introduced to the turtle dove legend by Boncompagno, the Italian rhetorician (d. 1240). His *Epistolarium* is the love
letter\textsuperscript{112} of a deserted woman:

Like a turtle dove on a dry branch I moan incessantly, troubling the water I drink with my tears.

Undoubtedly, however, the clear/turbid water antithesis was already an established feature of popular culture before Don condumpos incorporated it into the legend of the turtle-dove.

Castilian, unlike Galician, appears to preserve the mainstream European and Eastern European tradition of birds at the fountain or water course, a role usurped in Galician by the stag. Nevertheless, in the cantiga\textsuperscript{s} song birds herald the dawn and sing of love, not only in Torneol's \textit{alborada}, but also in a pastorela:

\begin{quote}
E as aves que vosavan,  
quando saia l'alvor,  
todas d'amores cantavan  
pelos ramos d'arredor,  
mas non sei tal qu'i'stevesse  
que en al cuidar podesse  
senon todo en amor.  
\end{quote}

\textit{Cdea CCLXXX}

An echo of this cantiga of Joan Airao appears in Melibea's dawn song in \textit{La Celestina}:

\begin{quote}
Papagayo, ruiseñores  
que cantáis al alborada. 113
\end{quote}

In a pastorela of Don Dinis the shepherdess's 'papagayo' assumes a somewhat more important role in the dialogue:

\begin{quote}
Ela tragia na mae  
um papagai mui fremoso,  
cantando mui sabroso,  
ca entrava o verão,  
e disse: "Amigo loução  
que faria per amores,  
pois m'errastes tan en vão?"  
E caeu antr'usas flores.  
"Se no queres dar guarida"  
diss' a pastor, "di verdade,  
papagai, por caridade,  
ca morte m'è esta vida"  
Diss'el: "Senhor (mui) comprida  
de ben, e non vos queixedes,  
ca o que vos a servida  
erged'olho e vee-lo-edes"  
\end{quote}

\textit{Cdea II}
In this highly stylised *pastorela* the shepherdess is a lady of the court 'Senhor (mui) comprida/ de ben' and her parrot seems to fill the role of courtly go-between, a symbol of the lady's readiness for love. The beautiful and evil María Egipciaca carries just such a symbol both when she leaves home to embark on a life of sin in Alexandria and again when she embarks for Jerusalem:

Una aveziella tenié en mano,  
así canta yvierno como verano;  
María la tenié a grant honor  
porque cada día canta d'amor  
(11.143-146)

en mano tenié huna calandria  
en esta tierra le dizien triguera,  
non hi a ave tan cantadera-;  
e prisola en su punyo.  
(11.322-325)

Roger Walker observes that this interpolation in the legend of María Egipciaca is a peculiarly Spanish invention and appears in no other version. It is, however, perfectly consistent with a growing Castilian tradition which attaches considerable symbolic importance to the activities of birds. It is a white dove, a courtly messenger if one accepts Spitzer's interpretation, that splashes water into wine in the scholar's vision in the *Razón de amor* and, in the *Fonte frida* ballad, birds as images of contented lovers cluster round the clear waters of the spring:

*Fonte-frida, Fonte-frida,  
Fonte-frida y con amor,  
do todas las aveciças,  
van tomar consolación,  
si no es la tortolica,  
que está viuda y con dolor.*

Logically the enhanced role of birds in Castilian as images of lovers prevails over the less relevant image of the Galician stag so that ultimately in the popular lyric it is the bird/
fountain imagery which dominates:

Pajarillo que vas a la fuente,
bebe y vente.  

Only in the semi-learned poetry of Juião Bolseiro is there any intellectual justification for the *alboradas* of Galicia. In two of Bolseiro's *cantigas*, both sung by a girl longing for her lover's arrival, the dawn is regarded in precisely the same way as in the *kharjas*, with an additional, pronounced emphasis on the religious inspiration for the interplay of light/dark imagery. The dawn motif in both *cantigas* is subordinate to the contrasting themes of the darkness of night and the loneliness and sleeplessness of the girl:

Da noite d'eire poderam fazer grandes tres noites, segundo meu sen,
mas na d'oeje me voo muito ben,
ca voo meu amigo,
e, ante que lh'enviassse dizar ron,
veo a luz e foi logo comigo.  

The nocturnal *lament* of each strophe is relieved by the redeeming refrain:

veo a luz e foi logo comigo.

The lover is the light of dawn and the reminiscence of the treatment of the same theme in *muwassaha* and *kharja* is strong indeed:

Elle chante sur son amour des chansons pleines de désir: peut-être le verra-t-elle quand viendra l'aube:

Non dormiray mamma
a rayo de mañana
Bon Abu'l Qásim
la faj de matrana.  

In the other of Bolseiro's dawn *cantiga*, he elaborates upon the association of the coming of the lover with the dawn;
the girl prays to God for light and is disappointed; the light of God does not bring the comfort the girl knows in the light of her lover's presence. Christ, the light of the world, can only provide the long, lone winter nights of advent and, when the lover is actually present, the God-given light of dawn is unwelcome:

Sen meu amigo manh’ eu senlheira e sol non dormen estes olhos meus e, quant’ eu posso, pec’ a luz a Deus e non mi-a da per nulha maneira, mais, se masesse con meu amigo, a luz agora seria migo.

Quand’ eu con meu amigo dormia, a noite non durava nulha ren, e ora dur’a noit’e vai e ven, non ven (a) luz, nen parec’ o dia, mais, se masesse con meu amigo, a luz agora seria migo.

E, segundo, com’ a mi parece, comigo man meu lum’ e meu senhor, ven log’ a luz, de que non ei sabor, e ora vai noit’e van e cresce, mais se masesse con meu amigo, a luz agora seria migo.

‘Pater nostrus’ rez’eu mais de cento por aquel que morreu na vera cruz, que el mi mostre muy cedo a luz, mais mostra-mi as noites d’avento, mais, se masesse con meu amigo, a luz agora seria migo. Cdea CCCXCVI

In this strangely convoluted cantiga, the light of the lover has superseded the natural dawn light and the religious imagery from which it is derived; now any comparisons with Christ or with the brilliance of the dawn are superfluous to the depiction of this earthly lover. The conceit of this cantiga is too complex for it to be of purely popular origin. Bolseiro would undoubtedly have met Guiraut de Riquier at the court of Alfonso X and might well have been impressed by the latter’s
own poem of dawn longing and by the contemporary religious albas of Provence. It may be, however, that this external influence was simply a spur which stimulated Bolseiro to tap an already existent source of imagery within the Peninsula, the imagery of the Mozarabic hymns and of the kharjas. The fervid assertions of the Mozarabic liturgy with its intense light/dark imagery, and their echoes in the kharjas, brought to the north by refugees, could certainly have reinforced a popular tradition of dawn meeting in poetry and made it acceptable to the court poets for whom Provençal influence was strong.

There are, however, certain elements in Bolseiro's cantigas which have nothing in common with the Mozarabic tradition or with the superstitious but genuine religious fervour of the other cantigas, particularly of the cantigas de romaria. These elements suggest a Goliardic influence – particularly in the reference to the lovers' Paternoster, an extract from a French version of which reads:

```
Da nobis Hodie
Et dimitte nobis. Por quoi
Dame, n'avez merci de moi
Debita nostra. Douce amie
Por Dieu, le filz Sainte Marie
Vous pri qu'aiez merci de moi. 119
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Yet paradoxically Bolseiro's cantiga is more profane and more blasphemous than the Goliardic verses – or than any of Juan Ruiz's religious parodies – because, for all their buffoonery, their risqué language and their irreverence, the latter remain for the most part within the ecclesiastical framework. In the cantiga, however, the girl rejects God and religion as inadequate and unable to help her. She denies the light of God in favour
of the light of the lover and makes a cult of love which conforms in its heresy to the precepts which made the excesses of the courtly love of Provence anathema to the Church. Significantly Bolseiro's other *cantigas de amigo*, apart from two *barcarolas*, betray a philosophical introversion more akin to the *cantigas de amor*; indeed, in one *cantiga de amigo*, the girl praises the poet's lyrical powers thus:

Fez un cantiga d'amor
ora meu amigo por mi,
que nunca melhor feita vi,
mais, como x'é mui trobador,
foz unas lirias no son
que mi sacam o coração.

Clearly for her and for the poet the appeal of the *cantiga* is intellectual as well as lyrical and artistic: she and he are aware of the associations, liturgical and heretical, of his verse and it is this conscious heresy which, in his dawn *cantigas*, divides Bolseiro's compositions from the innocence of the religious metaphors of the *kharjas* and from the guileless intensity of the *cantigas de romaria*.

Menéndez Pidal, in his definition of traditional poetry, stresses the importance of the relationship of the courtly and the popular in the preservation and transmission of traditional themes. The traditional theme is dependent on the two modes of expression for its survival. Nowhere, as we have seen, is this theory more fully illustrated than in the dawn songs of Galicia where the court poets seek their inspiration and imagery in the national tradition and in so doing preserve and enhance the themes of that tradition.
Notes to Chapter II

1. Scudieri Ruggieri actually claims that the kharjas derived from cantigas de amigo transmitted to Al-Andalus by northern captives and concubines. She sees in the kharjas the reduction of the cantigas to their basic elements. 'Riflession su "kharje" e "cantigas de amigo"', Cultura Neolatina, XXII (1962), 5-33.

2. Stephen McKenna, Paganism and Pagan Survivals in Spain (Washington, 1938), Ch. I.

3. This view is corroborated by Castro: "Los habitantes del norte y del noroeste de la Península nunca antes habían servido de sostén y de guía ejemplar a los ibero-romanos, o a los romano-visigodos. Los conocemos mal, fuera de saber que ofrecieron gran resistencia tanto a los romanos como a los visigodos. ... Los suevos permanecieron en Galicia 175 años, hasta que Leovigildo los redujera a obediencia en 585. San Martín compuso, en el siglo VI, su tratado De correctione rusticorum para despaganizar a los galaicos y astures... La Reconquista se inició en esas regiones escasamente romanizadas, del noroeste, y no muy ortodoxamente católicas, según mostrará más tarde el culto a Santiago, por lo menos en su forma originaria." La realidad histórica de España (Mexico City, 1954), p. 70.

4. From the Dianas are derived the 'xanas' or popular fairies of Asturias. Cabal, Los Dioses de la Uida, pp. 116-19.

5. McKenna, Paganism, Ch. II.

6. McKenna, Paganism, p. 47.

7. Quoted by McKenna, Paganism, Ch. II, in Mique P.L. XIII 1081.

8. Canon 14 of the Council of Auxerre: "Non licet kalendae Januariae vitulo aut cervulo facere." McKenna, p. 47. McKenna also draws attention to the work of H. Obermaier, Fossil Man in Spain, pp. 129, 130, which describes a palaeolithic cave painting near Malaga in which dancers are depicted wearing animal masks.


10. McKenna, Paganism, p. 82.

12. McKenna, Paganism, p. 130. Quotations from Valerius in Migne, Patrologia Latina, LXXVII, 444.


15. Thompson endorses this view: "... Pagan practices were widespread in Galicia and so late as 561 a Catholic bishop admitted that men living in the more outlying parts of this remote country had received little or no knowledge of the true teaching." The Goths in Spain, p. 90.


17. 'Riflession:', p. 25.

18. The fourth council of Toledo had in 633 imposed the orthodox Hispano-Visigothic liturgy on the provinces of the Peninsula, modifying this decree in 675 to allow for certain regional diversities in interpretation. It was, however, still necessary for the council of Braga in 675 to ban the eccentricities of Galician usage—milk instead of wine in the Mass, or the replacement of the wine by a bunch of grapes or the distribution of bread soaked in wine. See P. David, Études Historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal (Lisbon, 1947), pp. 108-109.


20. De la realidad histórica de España, p. 137.


"The hymn (A.H. 27., p. 186) is an acrostic hymn. The initial letters read 'O rex regum, regem plium Maurecatum aexaudi, cui probe (h)oc tuo amore probe'. Since Maurecatus or Mauregato ruled in the Asturias from 783 to 788, the date of the hymn may thus be indicated. If so, the national veneration of the saint is set back more than a generation."

26. Castro, quoting Cicero (De natura deorum III, 5; II, 6), compares this episode with the intervention of Castor and Pollux — on white horses — at the battle of Lake Regillus on the side of the dictator Postumius in 449 B.C. De la realidad, p. 141.

27. The church of St James in Santiago was consecrated in May 899.


29. According to Sumption, the first pilgrim known by name to have visited Santiago was Gottschalk, bishop of Le Puy, who went there in 950. Pilgrimage, pp. 115-16.

30. This point is made by Filgueira Valverde: "El mundo devoto y festivo de las romerías no es sino repetición mínima de la gran peregrinación jacobea: las vigilias de los santuarios fueron versiones aldeanas de las grandes solemnidades de la basílica de Compostela y los atrios, espejo de la Quintana y del Paraíso." "Poesía de santuarios", Compostellum, III (1955), p. 639.

And as Castro observes: "El culto de Santiago no fue un simple rasgo de piedad, utilizado luego en la lucha contra el moro. La verdad es, por el contrario, que tal creencia salió del plano humilde del folklore y asumió dimensión incalculable como respuesta a lo que estaba aconteciendo en el lado musulmán." De la realidad, p. 138.


33. O'Callaghan, A History of Medieval Spain, Ch. 13.

34. David, La Galice, p. 110.

35. Deyermond, The Middle Ages, Ch. 3; see also O'Callaghan, A History, Ch. 13.

36. Lomax, Derek W., "The Date of the 'Poema de Mio Cid'", in Mio Cid Studies, ed. A.D. Deyermond (London, 1977), 73-81.

37. Menéndez Pidal, "Sicilia y España antes de las vísperas sicilianas", in España, eslabón.


42. The 'Manerius' poem is quoted by Raby, p. 310, and the Ripoll versions on pages 238 and 242.

43. Dronke, p. 259.

44. Printed by Raby, pp. 245-6.


48. Read, *The Moors in Spain and Portugal*, p. 148, dramatically illustrates the changed circumstances of Christian and Jew in Al-Andalus with a passage from an Arabic chronicler, Ibn-Abdun al-Tujibi: "A Muslim must not give massage to a Jew or a Christian nor empty rubbish or clean latrines, because Jews and Christians are better suited to these jobs, which are for the unclean... Muslim women must be forbidden to defile themselves by entering a Christian church, since the priests are libertines, fornicators and sodomites... Scientific books must not be sold to Jews or Christians except those dealing with their law, because they translate them and attribute them to their own people and bishops, stealing the work of Muslims."


53. The peregrinations of the Provençal troubadours in Spain are fully documented by: Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Poesía juglaresca y orígenes de las literaturas románicas (Madrid, 1957), Ch. V; Martín de Riquer, Los trovadores, 3 vols. (Barcelona, 1975); Carlos Alvar, La poesía trovadoresca en España y Portugal (Barcelona, 1977).


56. p. 145.

57. Do cancioneiro de amigo, p. 13.

58. Do cancioneiro, p. 15.


Modern editors of the Galician troubadours are generally extremely cautious in assigning biographical details to the poets and prefer to judge their movements from the content and context of their poetry. Marroni, for instance, while indicating with extreme reserve the biographical speculations which surround the existence of Pedr' Amigo de Sevilha - possibly a canon of Salamanca, possibly of a Gallegan family, possibly a one-time resident of Seville - finds the poet's presence at the court of Alfonso X well attested in documented polemics, tensos, cantigas de maldizer and wranglings with other troubadours over the favours of the notorious María Pérez, la Balteira. "Le poesie di Pedr'Amigo de Sevilha", Annali dell' Istituto Orientale di Napoli, X (1968), 189-340.

60. The fact that Alfonso X did not cultivate the cantiga de amigo should not be interpreted as a mark of royal disdain for the genre according to Pellegrini, "Pero da Ponte e il provenzalismo di Alfonso X", AION, III (1961), 127-37.

61. Nunes, Cantigas de amigo, I, p. 201. As Nunes points out, the girl of one of Martim Codax's cantigas prides herself on her lover's association with the king:

Ca ven san' e vivo
e d'el-rei amigo.

Cdea CCCXGII
62. Tavani has traced the movements of Lourenço between the court of Castile and the court of Afonso III of Portugal through the tenso in which the juglar Lourenço participated with other troubadours. Tensos with his troubadour patron, Joan García de Guirlanda, and with Joan Soares Coelho and Pero Garcia and a cantiga de maldizer against Pedr’Amigo de Sevilla, all indicate residence at the Castilian court, since the presence of all these troubadours is documented there, while a dialogue with Martim Moya and tensos with Joan Perez d’Avoim and Rodrigo’ Banes Redondo indicate a stay at the court of Afonso III of Portugal. "Il canzoniere del giullare Lourenço", Cultura Neolatina, XIX (1959), 5-33; XXII (1962), 62-103.

63. Menéndez Pidal, Poesía juglaresca y orígenes, p. 132: ‘Sólo podemos afirmar que era un juglar, en vista de su nombre desprovisto de apellido y usado en la forma diminutiva tan común entre juglares.’

64. Méndez Ferrín, while respecting Michaëlis’s suggestion (Cancioneiro da Ajuda, II, p.622), endorsed by Aubrey F.G. Bell ("The Hill Songs of Pero Meogo", MLR, XVII (1922), 258), that the name MEOGO derives from MONAUCHU and that therefore Pero Meogo was probably a monk, prefers to derive MEOGO from the adverbial form, MEDIO LOCO. Although the existence of a number of clerics by the name of Meogo is attested in the thirteenth century, none can be specifically associated with the cantiga poet.


68. Do cancioneiro de amigo, p. 55.

69. Do cancioneiro, p. 56.

70. Deyermond expounds the sexual symbolism of the wind with universal examples in "Pero Meogo’s Stage and Fountains: Symbol and Anecdote in the Traditional Lyric." He draws attention to the Libro de buen amor, where Don Melón de la Huerta is identified with the wind in his attempt to seduce Dona Endrina:

‘fallé la puerta cerrada, mas la vieja bien me vido:
'¿Yuy!' diz '¿qué es aquella, qué faz aquel roído?
¿Es omne o es viento?'

Deyermond suggests that the closed door is an image of Endrina’s resistance.


73. 'E a cantiga imitada por Dom Dinis em "Levantou-s' a velida\"", Reckert, Do cancioneiro, p. 101.

Don Dinis's cantiga is undeniably complex; Meogo's, however, is richer in allusions and its complexity is therefore of a different nature. It may well be that Don Dinis knew Meogo's cantiga, but he may also have known a simpler, popular original and based his own version on that rather than on Meogo's.

74. See Hatto in his Appendix to Bos, p. 818.

75. The manuscript actually reads 'cervos do monte' and this is preserved by Méndez Ferrín, one of Pero Meogo's most recent editors (O cancioneiro de Pero Meogo (Vigo, 1966)). Reckert, however, prefers 'cervas' on the grounds that velidas would be inconsistent with cervos (Do cancioneiro de amigo, p. 100).

76. García Gómez, Poemas arábigo-andaluces, no. 9.

77. Bos, pp. 815-17.

78. As Stegagno Picchio points out, lançado may mean 'expelled from', 'wounded', both meanings being compatible with the context. A comparable usage is found in a cantiga de amor by Joan Meendiz de Briteiros:

E, poys m'eu for, mha senhor, que será?
poys mha assy Paz o voss' amor ir já,
come vai cervo lançad' a fugir.  Cdea CXXXIV

"Le poesie d'amor di Vidal giudeo di Elvas", Cultura Neolatina, XXII (1962), 40-61.


80. Bos, p. 84.

81. Bos, p. 85. The example that Hatto cites is Meogo's dawn poem - 'Levou-s'a lougana'.


83. Bos, p. 629 (no. 384a).

84. Bos, p. 655 (no. 408) - Bulgaria 19th century.

85. Bos, p. 687 (no. 429) - Lithuanian 20th century.
86. *Eos*, p. 688 (no. 430) - Lithuanian 19th century.

87. *Eos*, p. 689 (no. 431)


97. Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book IV.


99. p. 82.

100. *Eos*, p. 84.


103. Tavani, Poesia del duecento nella penisola iberica (Rome, 1969), pp. 265-74; and "Motivi della canzone d'alba in una cantiga di Nuno Fernandez Torneol", *Annali dell' Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, III (1961), 199-205. In this article Tavani supported the opposition first voiced by Costa Pimpão *(História da literatura*
portuguesa I Idade Média, pp. 89-90) to the view generally accepted by major critics (Michaëlis, Jeanroy, Rodrigues Lapa, Spitzer) that Torneol's cantiga conforms to the type of the Provençal alba.


105. Lida de Malkiel suggested a possible early precedent for the call to rise of the medieval alba in ancient Greek popular poetry:

El reproche del amante al alba probablemente emanase de alguna poesía popular, como el "cantar locrio" que cita Ateneo en XV 697 (Antología Griega) en el cual el ruego de la mujer al amante, para que se marche, acaba con el verso "Ya es de día: ¿ no ves la luz que entra por la ventana?"

La originalidad artística de la Celestina, p. 362, note 9. The unadulterous context of the Galician songs suggests, however, a closer analogue with the Song of Songs.

106. Poema de Mio Cid, ed. Ian Michael, p. 255, l. 2698. See also El Libro de Alexandre, ed. R.S. Willis (Princeton, 1934), st. 841:

Las sierras eran altas e las cuestas enfiestas las carreras angostas, las paredes aviesas.

The distinction between the locus foedus and the locus amoenus in a wild setting is further discussed in Ch. III in reference to the Castilian lyric and to La Celestina.

107. André S. Michalski is therefore wrong in his declaration that: 'It is only in the fifteenth century that the same valley or garden may be transformed from a paradise to a hell', "Description in Medieval Spanish Poetry" (Princeton, 1964).


109. Poética y realidad, p. 240:

Me inclino a creer que se trata de un tema internacional, pero la literatura francesa lo recoge por vez primera y lo desparrama a todos los vientos.

110. p. 239.


112. Quoted by Dronke, Medieval Latin, I, p. 251.


117. Nunes believed Bolseiro to have been in the service of Mem Rodrigues Teniro and to have visited Seville with the troubadour. *Cantigas de amigo*, I, pp. 298-300.

Menéndez Pidal gives a detailed account of the lives and relationships of the troubadours at the court of Alfonso X and refers particularly to the activities of Riquier and Bolseiro. *Poesía juglaresca y juglares* (Austral), p. 127.

Brilde Reali, however, is much more conservative in her assessment of the lives of the troubadours and suggests only that Bolseiro was possibly Portuguese and that he was much travelled (in which case of course a stay at the court of Alfonso X would have been highly probable). "Le cantigas di Juyao Bolseiro", *Annali dell' Istituto Orientale di Napoli*, VI (1966), 237-336.

118. This view is supported by Reali:

In realtà l'ispirazione poetica sembrerebbe qui, più vicina all'ambiente delle kharge che alla sommessa temperie della lirica amorosa gallego-portoghese. "Le cantigas", p. 243.


CHAPTER III

The Dawn Tradition and the Expansion of Imagery in the Castilian Lyric

Whether or not there existed an early tradition of lyric poetry in Castile, there is ample evidence, particularly in the Poema de Mio Cid, for the significance of dawn ritual, since many of the major events of the Poema take place at dawn. At dawn the Cid goes to the monastery of San Pedro de Cardeña to take his leave of Ximena who with the abbot, Don Sancho, is engaged in the religious duties appropriate to the time of day; the mention of cock crow reinforces the reminiscence of the Breviarium Gothicum in Ximena's devotions:

Apriessa cantan los gallos e quieren quebrar albores quando llegó a San Pero el buen Campeador con estos cavalleros quel' sirven a so sabor.
El abbat don Sancho, christiano del Criador, rrezava los matines abuela de los albores, í estava dona Ximena con cinco duenas de pro, rrogando a San Pero e al Criador:
"¡Tú que a todos guías vál a Mio Cid el Canpeador!"

There is, too, perhaps a hint of the type of invocations found in the Galician cantigas de romaria in Ximena's prayer for her husband. The dramatisation of the situation common to many a Mozarabic and Galician dawn lyric in this episode in the Poema culminates with the arrival of the Cid amid great rejoicing.

The Cid's first success in exile is the capture at dawn of Castejón de Henares. The poet rhapsodizes over the beauty of the dawn which draws the unsuspecting Moorish inhabitants out to the fields leaving the town undefended and open to attack:
Besieged in Alcocer, the Cid addresses his troops at dawn before battle:

Otro día mañana el sol quería apuntar
armado es Mio Qid con quantos que él ha,
fablava Mio Qid comme adredes contar. (682-684)

and at daybreak the Cid prepares to take Cebolla in the first battle of his Valencian campaign:

Mañana era y piénsanse de armer,
quis cada uno d'ellos bien sabe lo que ha de far.
Con los alvores Mio Qid ferirlos va:
"En el nombre del Criador e del apóstol Sancti Yague,
"ferídlos, cavalleros, d'amor e de grado e de gran voluntad,
"ca yo só Ruy Díaz, Mio Qid el de Bivar!" (1135-1140)

So much success and exultation at dawn is, however, but a prelude to the painful and ironic blow dealt to the Cid's honour by his blackguardly sons-in-law, the Infantes de Carrión, also at dawn. Journeying through the forest of Corpes, the Infantes de Carrión assault their wives, Elvira and Sol, the Cid's daughters, at daybreak and leave them for dead, in revenge for supposed insults inflicted on them by the Cid. There is here an obvious and intentional contrast with the circumstances of the Cid's military achievements; the care with which the poet depicts the scene both in time and place suggests that he also intends to create an ironic contrast with the tradition of lovers meeting at dawn in poetry. Not only is it at dawn but also in a clearing in the wild forest of Corpes, by a spring that the Infantes prepare their vicious
Thus there is evidence, cruel and antithetical though it be, from Castile, in the Poema de Mio Cid, half a century before the full flowering of the Galician Portuguese cantigas de amigo of the elements of the lyrical tradition of dawn meeting as they will appear in the cantigas of Pero Meogo and, later, of Don Dinis.

Like the spring introduction, the dawn becomes a topos in the narrative works of Castile and is used for purposes of parody and satire. This is particularly true of the Libro de Buen Amor. At dawn the Arcipreste de Hita encounters the antitheses of courtly beauty, the wild women of the mountains, in his parodies of the pastorela; he recounts his experiences both in his narration and in his Cantigas de serrana, composed in celebration of these somewhat obscene episodes:

Passando una mañana
El puerto de Malangosto
Salteó m' una serrana
A l'asomada del rostro.

Lunes ante del alba comenzé mi camino
Fallé cerca el cornejo, do tajava un pyno,
Una serrana lorida.

Cerca la Tablada
La sierra pasada
Falléme con Alda
A la madrugada

Yet at the same time, in his songs to the Virgin, Gozos de Santa María, the Arcipreste applies the image of the dawn to the Virgin Mary:
This versatility between the religious and the secular is even more apparent in Juan Ruiz's parody of the canonical hours which is effectively the first Castilian alborada.  

The *Libro de Buen Amor* owes its inspiration to many sources - to Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* directly and by way of two widely diffused elegiac comedies, *De Vetula* and *Pamphilus*, to the didactic tradition of the *exemplum* collections, to the *fabliaux*, to the canons of courtly love, to sermon technique, to the European genre of the erotic pseudo-autobiography, to Marian poetry and to the popular lyric. There is over all these aspects of the Arcipreste's composition, with the exception of his truly religious adoration of the Virgin and of his heartfelt imprecations against the ravages of death, the veneer of a witty, extremely able Goliardic poet. Juan Ruiz was not a wandering scholar but much of the *Libro de Buen Amor* suggests a deep sympathy, not only with the roistering excesses of the Ordo Vagorum, but also with their contempt for the senseless restrictions and the blatant hypocrisy of much of medieval monastic life.  

The Goliards exploited the parodic potential of many liturgical forms to suit any purpose: in the Poker Player's Mass the Almighty is invited to participate at the tables; a dying man in his Credo asserts his conviction that, in the course of his life, the pleasures of this earth have stood him in better stead than any belief in Heaven.  

The same collection contains Love's Paternoster:
Juan Ruiz' parody, however, is not of the Credo or the Paternoster but of the Canonical Hours and is probably the only documented such parody. He places it in the framework of his invective against Don Amor who assumes the form of a parish priest, disregarding the poor and needy and bent only on self-indulgence in the tavern with his boisterous friends:

Rezas muy bien las oras con garçonnes folguines
Cum his qui oderunt pacem fasta qu'el salterio afines.

The style is closely akin to that of the Archpoet in his Confessio:

Meum est propositum
in taberna mori,
ut sint vina proxima
morientis ori;
tunc cantabunt letius
angelorum oruici;
'Deus sit propitius
huic potatori.'

In 1279 the Council of Munster had found it necessary to issue an edict to the priests in its jurisdiction against the sort of behaviour in which Juan Ruiz's priest indulges:

Ne clerici vagentur nocturno tempore per plateas,
et si quos ex justa et legitima causa transire contingat,
hoc decentur faciant sine clamore, sine fistulis, sine tympanis, et quo libet strepitu et chorea.

The revellers in the Libro de Buen Amor raise the wine cup, 'in noctibus extollite', until the hour of matins, just after midnight, when, instead of repeating the first prayers of the new day, the priest goes home to bed with his amiga. (This presumably was not the situation envisaged by the Council of Rouen when, in 1214, it forbade prelates from hearing matins in
Otis H. Green, in his article on Juan Ruiz's parody of the Canonical Hours, has amply elucidated the thinly veiled obscene terminology which Juan Ruiz uses with apposite passages from the Psalms to describe the process of lovemaking; the vocabulary is universal and also appears in Chaucer's 'Wife of Bath's Prologue' and in Roman de la Rose. Amid great liturgical protestations of gratitude and delight, the priest achieves his climax at dawn, significantly, and perhaps surprisingly, the dawn of the Mozarabic hymn, 'Aurora lucis rutilat':

Desque sientes a ella, tu coração espaçias,
con maitinada cantate en las friuras laçias,
laudes 'Aurora lucis' [e] dasle grandes graçias,
con "Miserere mei" mucho te le engràcias.

Having thus generously provided such indisputable evidence for the persistence of the Mozarabic tradition in fourteenth-century Castile, Juan Ruiz changes the scene, for, with the break of day, the priest sets off on another amorous pursuit which itself introduces motifs reminiscent of other traditions. The priest summons his go-between and sends her on an errand:

En saliendo el sol, comienças luego prima:
Deus in nomine tuo ruegas a tu ýaquima
que la lieve por agua e dé a todo çima:
Va en achaque de agua a verte la mala esquima.

The go-between is to send the object of the priest's desires to fetch water from the well and bring it to him: the well, as we have already seen, is an important characteristic of the Galician alborâdas, it is also prominent as a trysting place in the Castilian lyric. If the girl whom the priest is seeking to seduce is not prepared to fetch water from the well, she
should be sent to the gardens to pick red roses:

\[
e, \text{ si es tal que non usa andar por las callejas que la lieve a las uortas por las rosas bermejas: si cree la bavielca sus dichos e consejas, quod Eva tristi trae de quicumque vult redruejas.}
\]

With a cruel irony, the rogue relishes the prospect of the girl's shame, anticipating his certain seduction of her and her distress at her own folly: he imagines her returning from the garden of love trailing the withered, sterile redruejas in place of the bloom of her virginity. The motif of gathering roses as a symbol of lovemaking appears frequently, in the dawn setting, in the villancico but not in either the cantigas or the kharijas. It is a universal image in medieval Europe and doubtless owes much of its popularity to the diffusion of the supreme allegory, Roman de la Rose, of which it is the central theme.

If this line of pursuit, with its intimations of the traditional lyric, proves unsuccessful, then the lover of the Libro de Buen Amor is forced to resort to the more tedious courtly method of wooing his beloved, of serenading her and laying siege to her senses:

\[
e, \text{ si es dueña tu amiga que d'esto non se compone, tu católica a ella cara manera que la trastorne: os, lenguaj la envade, seu con ardor pospone: va la dueña a tercia, en caridad legem pone.}
\]

This sketch of courtly lovemaking in the style of the cantigas de amor may contain an allusion to the clinically well-defined ailment of love, hereos, which, as John Livingston Lowes has demonstrated in 'The Loveres Maladys of Hereos' (Modern Philology XI (1913–14) 491–546), was introduced to western Europe by Arabic medicine. Here the suggestion is that the ailment is concomitant with the confusion
of the intellect caused by courtly love rather than with the sexual expediency of the priest's more direct amorous exploits. Such persistent wooing, however, inevitably leads to the same goal, the lover's mass, 'sin gloria e sin son'.

These lines from the *Libro de Buen Amor* represent a significant amalgam of the several influences, religious, courtly and popular, which in a variety of combinations underlie the traditional Castilian villancico. In his parody of the Canonical Hours Juan Ruiz returns, perhaps knowingly, to the Mozarabic hymns and the liturgical influence in the secular tradition of dawn meeting. He appears to be consciously regarding the tradition from all angles, for his versatility is not limited to his ability to reconcile the religious and the secular, but, within the secular, to adopt whatever mode of composition suits his satirical purpose. He is well able to assume the courtly guise of the Galician troubadour and exploit the hyperbole of the courtly repertoire; it may be that he is also aware of the troubadours' other repertoire, the traditional cantigas de amigo; the evidence is tenuous but there may be a reference to the Galician visit to the spring at dawn in the go-between's mission and, certainly, the 'serrana' engaged in chopping down a pine tree, contrasts rudely with the shepherdesses of the pastorelas and with Don Dinis' young girl who asks the flowers of the pine for news of her lover. Juan Ruiz is equally well aware of the hidden meanings contained in the symbolism of the popular Castilian lyric and obviously expects his audience to recognise them, thus indicating the existence of an established lyrical tradition in Castile. In his cynicism he discards the accrued layers of poetic mysticism
which envelop the love lyric, to reveal what he sees as the bare facts of life; he also conveniently reveals certain facts about the state of lyric poetry in Castile and, by implication, suggests where its sources lie - in the Mozarabic tradition, possibly also in the Galician popular lyric, in courtly poetry and in symbolism.

The alborada evolves in Castilian in two fairly distinct thematic styles: one is the direct invocation to the lover strongly reminiscent of the dawn summons of the kharjas and the imagery of the Mozarabic hymns; the other is narrative and descriptive, more closely akin to the cantigas de amigo with which it often shares both form and imagery. Inevitably the two styles fuse in many cases to produce a third, which combines the colour and exuberance of the Mozarabic dawn with the natural phenomena of the cantigas. Form appears to be adaptable: the villancico which most strikingly echoes the urgency of the dawn kharjas is rendered in parallelistic form; it was in fact this villancico which Lang translated back into what he supposed was its original Portuguese form:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Al alba venid, buen amigo,} \\
\text{al alba venid.} \\
\text{Amigo el que yo más quería,} \\
\text{venid al alba del día.} \\
\text{Amigo el que yo más amaba,} \\
\text{venid a la luz del alba.} \\
\text{Venid a la luz del día,} \\
\text{non traydís compañia.} \\
\text{Venid a la luz del alba,} \\
\text{non traigáis gran compañía.}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{P.T.T. 24}

The parallelism of this villancico, for all that it employs 'leix-prén', is not the parallelism of the Galician troubadours; the villancico opens with the estribillo, unlike the Galician form, and there is no refrain accompanying each distich, as
there would be if the *villancico* were true to the *cantiga* model. Here, unlike the treatment of the dawn theme in the *cantigas*, natural phenomena and reflective soliloquy play no part; apart from the identification of the lover with the approaching day, there are no subtler shades of meaning to be unveiled: the poem is simply a straightforward appeal to the lover to come alone at dawn. Only in the Mozarabic lyric is there a comparable precision:

¡Bēn, sīdī, bēnī!
El qerer es tanto bēnī
d'ēt' az-zamēnī,
kon fīlīo d' Ibn ad-Daiyēnī.

---

A Romance interjection appears in Ibn Quzman's *zéjel* of 1134, using the same vocabulary and evoking the same sense of joyful anticipation:

alba, alba es de luz en un día.

Unfortunately the text is too fragmentary and uncertain for much significance to be safely attached to it.

In the Sephardic tradition, the similarities with the Mozarabic dawn welcome are even more pronounced, though here it is the beloved who is summoned to meet her lover; there is an implicit comparison between his face and the dawn:

Hermana, hermana,
venís por la mañana
veréis al novio, hermana,
veréis al novio de la cara blanca.

No sé qué le diga, hermana, ni sé qué le hable:
tan de mañana, hermana, tan de mañana, como alboreaba.

The direct speech, the very early morning, the face of the lover, all these elements recall the *kharja*:
A wedding song in celebration of the bride's beauty repeats the image of the rising sun which, as we have seen, was favoured both by the Christian poets and hymn writers and by the Arabic court poets of Al-Andalus:

Y arrelumbre y arrelumbre
y arrelumbre su mazzale
como el sol cuando sale,
como arrelumbre esa novia
delante de todo el cañal. 22

The process comes full circle in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when the religious poets of Castile appropriate the imagery of the popular dawn lyric and restore to the Christ Child the glory of the rising sun; his Mother, Mary, then acquires the attributes of the dawn:

Dónde va el alba divina
con el Sol que al mundo salva?
Quieren matarle, y el alba
le cubre con su cortina. 23

The Christ Child may compete with the brilliance of the real sun:

De una Virgen hermosa
celos tiene el sol
porque vio en sus brazos
otro Sol mayor. 24

or he may actually take over the function of the sun in the sky:

El sol que alumbraba el suelo
y allá en el cielo se encierra,
y la alumbría desde la tierra
porque la tierra ya es cielo. 25

His radiance awakens the sleeping soul, still in the Prudentine tradition:

La luz es nascida:
sale el Sol, qu'es Dios.
No durmais, mi vida,
qu'este Sol, mi alma,
nasque para vos. 26
The interchangeable religious and secular nature of many of these lyrics becomes, however, apparent when they appear in different contexts. The lyric which anticipates the lover's arrival,

Quándo saldréys, el alua galana?
quándo saldréys, el alua? 27

in the seventeenth century is adopted by José de Valdivielso and used as a prayer to the Virgin:

Tirsi, que está codicioso
del Alua, que ver procura,
porque es Alua la blancura
que encierra aquel Sol hermoso,
que salga devoto espera
a aquel balcón de crystal
y por engañar su mal
le canta desta manera:
Quándo saliréis, Alua galana,
quándo saliréis, El Alua? 28

The identification of the Virgin and the beloved with the dawn and its beauty belongs not to the Mozarabic but to the Galician tradition. The religious poets resolve the resulting confusion in Castilian, as we have seen, by equating Christ with the sun and his Mother with the dawn. In the popular love lyric, where rules are less clear-cut and where conventions are moulded over generations, the distinction is less obvious. The coming of the lover is clearly identified with the coming of day, as in the kharjas, in 'Al alba venid' and in a Sephardic dialogue, which recalls the Song of Songs, the lover arrives with the dawn:

- Abrídme, galanica,
  que ya va a amanecer.
- Abrir vos abriría,
el mi lindo amor,
la noche no durmo
pensando a vos. 29

The beauty of the dawn, however, is usually in Castilian, as in Galician, an image of the beloved. Just as in religious poetry
the dawn is an epithet of the Virgin, so in cultured poetry it is developed as a conceit of the beloved's fairness:

Cuando sale el alba,
Lucinda bella
sale más hermosa,
la tierra alegra.
Con su sol enjuga
sus blancas perlas;
si una flor le quita
dos mil engendra. 30

The image persists in the semi-popular tradition in a less pretentious vein:

A coronarse de flores
salieron el alba y Menga
la mañana de San Juan,
por el prado de su aldea. 31
while in a lyric which, like many other Castilian villancicos, appears to be little more than a combination of traditional motifs and refrains its artless simplicity is unrivalled:

Que despertad, la blanca niña
que despertad, que ya viene el día;
que despertad, la niña blanca,
que despertad, que ya viene el alba. 32

Here the whiteness of the girl is identified with the whiteness of the dawn simply through the juxtaposition of traditional formulae. The explicit comparison thus echoes more dramatically, though perhaps less subtly, the ambivalence of Don Dinis's cantiga where 'alva' denotes both girl and dawn:

Levantou-s' velida,
levantou-s' alva
e vai lavar camisas
eno alto:
vai-las lavar alva.  

The two most frequent dawn openings of the Castilian lyric are found for the first time in Galician. The narrative account of the girl's visit to the stream to wash clothes in Don Dinis's cantiga, and of her visit to the well in Pero
Meogo's, both open in the same way: 'Levantou-s'a velida' and 'Levantou-s'a louçana'. This opening echoes through the Castilian lyric with one important modification: generally in Castilian the narration is recounted in the first person, 'Levantéme', 'Yo me levante'. There usually ensues a transformation of the Galician stag/wind symbolism - in terms of fetching water from the well or of gathering roses - with the same outcome, the loss of the girl's virginity. Thus the villancicos preserve the sense of the Galician cantigas if not their atmosphere of mystery, while transforming the imagery to a style more immediately appropriate to Castile:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Niña y viña} \\
\text{peral y habar,} \\
\text{malo es de guardar.}
\end{align*}
\]

Levantéme, o madre, mañanica frida;
Fuy cortar la rosa, la rosa florida,
Malo es de guardar.
Levantéme, o madre, mañanica clara,
Fuy cortar la rosa, la rosa granada.
Malo es de guardar.
Viñadero malo
prenda me pedía:
dile yo un cordone de la mi camisa.
Malo es de guardar
Viñadero malo
prenda me demanda:
yo dile una cinta de la mi delgada.
Malo es de guardar. 34

Here, gathering roses provides the pretext for the dawn meeting, as it does in Juan Ruiz's parody of the Canonical Hours. Echoes of the cantigas appear in the opening line 'Levantéme...', in the parallelistic form which nevertheless is typically Castilian in its opening estribillo, and in certain verbal reminiscences,
particularly in the *camisa/delgada* correspondence. The piece, however, retains a strongly Castilian identity. The girl is accosted not by an anthropomorphised stag or wind, but by the gardener whose uncompromising attitude is evident in the epithet applied to him. He demands a pledge, *cordone/cinta*, of the love he has enjoyed while, in an undercurrent, the refrain voices the misgivings, doubtless expressed by the mother figure, addressed in the first line of the poem.

The Castilian lyric has a facility for reducing the lyrical traditions of the Peninsula to their barest elements and of expressing them with a quintessential succinctness which conveys both an immediate sense of drama and far-reaching implications. Thus the dawn encounter can be summed up in a few lines which are just as eloquent as many a longer poem. The nightingale, of fickle affections, here illuminates the lover's untrustworthy character:

\[
\text{Aquel gentilhombre, madre,}  \\
\text{caro me cuesta el su amor.}  \\
\text{Yo me levantara un lunes,}  \\
\text{un lunes antes del día.}  \\
\text{Viera estar al ruysenor.}  \tag{35}
\]

Despite the ominous overtones of the traditional elements it uses, the Sephardic tradition of bridal songs manages to adapt dawn lyrics of this type to a happy ending, in which the girl marries the man who accosts her on the way to the well:

\[
\text{Yo me levantara un lunes}  \\
\text{y un lunes por la mañana,}  \\
\text{cogiera mi cantarillo}  \\
\text{y a la fuente fui por agua.}  \tag{36}
\]

Monday, the day of the week frequently designated in these songs of dawn meeting, is an unlucky day for lovers, according to Manuel Alvar who adduces evidence from the ballad of *El rapto de Elena* to substantiate this point:
Lunes era, caballeros,  
lunes fuerte y aciago. 37

Such superstition recalls St Martin of Braga's castigations of his flock in the sixth century for their belief in the power of the days of the week. Thus it would appear that the girl's misfortune might be forecast in the first line of the song. However, in these Sephardic wedding songs it would seem that the traditional theme of the dawn visit to the well with all its trappings and omens is adopted regardless of their original significance, and the portentous effect of the opening lines disappears in the anticipation of wedding festivities; a bright reality replaces Galician mystery and potential tragedy:

Y en la mitad del camino,  
con el mi amor me encontrara;  
tirame al pecho la mano  
y al pecho me la tirara.

- "Tate, tate, tú, el caballero,  
déjame irme para casa" 38

In the study of the Galician dawn cantigas, Torneol's cantiga 'Levad' amigo que dormides' was compared not with the dawn summons of the kharjas but with the call to rise of the Song of Songs. The spring awakening of the Song is inverted in Torneol's cantiga in an ironic revelation of the destructive power of love. Torneol's finely wrought irony finds no place in the Castilian calls to awake and rise where the Mozarabic brilliance of the sun enhances the features of the lovers' spring:

Despertad dando rayos,  
mi sol dormido,  
pues os llaman las aves  
y mis suspiros. 39

In a further blending of the various traditions, deriving both from the Song of Songs and from the Prudentine tradition, the
beloved is awakened and identified with the dawn and the rising sun:

Despertad, Marfisa, que viene el alba abriendo las puertas porque el sol salga. 40

Similarly, in religious poetry the call to rise is accompanied by the potent sun imagery, first couched, in less portentous terms, in the Peninsula in the poetry of Prudentius and the language of the Mozarabic hymns:

Levanta, hombre mortal, está despierto, madrugá a ver tu luz y tu alegría antes que salga el sol; resplandecía el día más hermoso, claro, abierto. Viste a Jesús crucificado y muerto, y aquel sepulcro nuevo en piedra fría: pues mira la gran lumbre al tercer día la vida, gloria y ser que ha descubierto...41

The persistent attraction for the Castilian poets of the Song of Songs is obvious in an alborada a lo divino of Lope de Vega in which Christ addresses his mother:

Levántate, amiga mía: camina, paloma hermosa. Ya pasó la noche fría del invierno rigurosa, y vino el alegre día. 42

In another stock formula of the dawn lyric the arrival of the dawn is announced with the succinct jubilation of the Mozarabic style. There is no explicit association of the dawn with the lover but such symbolism may be inferred, particularly since Lope de Vega renders the refrain a lo divino with very definite symbolical implications:

Alegraos pastores ya viene el aluore tened alegría que ya viene el día. 43

In the love lyric the girl is urged to hurry to meet her lover:
Ya viene el alba, la niña,  
ya viene el día. 44  

and similarly, in a pastoral setting, the shepherdess is called down to the valley:

Descendid al valle la niña  
quë ya es venido el día. 45

This type of refrain - 'que ya es venido el día' - and the call to rise - 'Levántate' - are stock formulae which can obviously be of ambivalent connotations in an erotic context. Clearly they can lend themselves both to the tradition of the songs of meeting at dawn, the alboradas, or to the tradition which prevails outside the Iberian Peninsula, of the alba, song of parting at dawn. There is, however, little evidence of the alba in the Peninsula before the sixteenth century, and this would suggest that when the alba uses such stock formulae they are in fact being borrowed from the alborada tradition. Thus the call to rise and the refrain formula join forces to announce the end of a night of lovemaking:

Levántate, morenita,  
levántate, resalada,  
levántate, morenita,  
que ya viene la mañana,  
levántate. 46

In the second stanza the girl is depicted sleeping in the arms of her lover, thus indicating that the lyric falls into the category of the alba, but in other lyrics it is not always clear from the content of the poem whether meeting or parting is implied:

Caracol  
cómo pica el sol;  
los pájaros pían.  
Levántate, morena,  
que viene el día. 47
Similarly the calls to awake are often ambivalent:

Sahe a estela de alba,
a manhan se ven;
recordai, minha alma,
acon dormais, mio bem. 48

A Castilian villancico on the same theme is, however, definitely glossed as an alborada:

Recordedes, niña,
con el albor,
oiredes el canto
del ruisenore.

Non finquéis dormida,
fembra enamorada
pues el alborada
a amar nos convida. 49

Although these poems vary greatly in atmosphere and import, they would appear to bear out Rodrigues Lapa's suggestion that there was available to the traditional poet, whether popular or courtly, a common stock of introductory formulae which could be conveniently adapted to serve either the alba or the alborada. 50 Gangutia Elîcegui has expanded a suggestion made by Lida de Malkiel 51 and has found fairly close parallels to the dawn awakening poems of medieval Europe in the ancient Greek Locrio songs which are believed to be of popular origins. 52 She has also adduced a cogent example from Propertius of a popular quotation:

ne dicet "Timeo, propera iam surgere, quae so infelix,
hodie vir mihi rare venit" 53

Monroe cites the appearance of a similar piece of reported speech in an Arabic dawn poem:

She awoke me, then she said with sorrow, while tears flowed from her eyes:
"Arise, a pure soul, do not dishonour me. The dawn has appeared, as well as the early morning chill." 54

This coincidence has tempted Gangutia Elîcegui to postulate a
link between the Latin and the Arabic: unfortunately, she does not seem to be aware of the many comparable but unrelated occurrences of the call to rise, similarly interpolated in longer poems, in Eos, in Chinese, Indian, Old Czech and Latvian. 55

As we have seen, there is little evidence of a prevalent early poetic tradition of lovers' meeting at night and parting at dawn in the Peninsula. The kharjas contain a suggestion of nocturnal meeting which accords with the predominant Arabic convention of dawn parting:

Mew sīdī 'Ībrāhīm
yā nuemne dolze,
țën-te mīb
dē nojte.
In nōn, si non kēris
yirē-me tīb
- 'Gar-me'a'ob!
a fēr-te.  

G. G. I

The only suggestion of a dawn parting in specific terms in the kharjas is plagued by the problems of reading an ill-attested Romance dialect in Arabic script and is subject, as we have already seen in Chapter I, to two quite contradictory interpretations. Stern's version reads as an alba:

Vay yā saḥhāra
alba ......  

Stern 28

while García Gómez's rival reading with its dawn summons definitely implies an alborada:

Ben, yā saḥhārā!
alba q'ešta kon bel fogore
kand bene bid'amore.  

G. G. VII

In the cantigas de amigo, poems of dawn meeting dominate with a few exceptions, the most notable being Don Dinis's ambiguous cantiga in which the flowering pine may indicate
the arrival of spring or perhaps the break of day, in the first light of which such details of nature become apparent:

Amad'e meu amigo, 
valha Deus! 
ve de la frol do pinho 
e guisade d'andar. 

Amigu'e meu amado, 
valha Deus! 
ve de la frol do ramo 
e guisade d'andar. 

In Castilian the most dramatic portrayal of dawn parting appears in the sixteen-act Comedia of 1499 of La Celestina. For Calisto, who has scaled the walls of Melibea's garden, the dawn literally means the final parting when he misses his footing and falls off the ladder to his death. In the twenty-one act Tragicomedia (1502), however, Calisto's death comes when the lovers' meeting is interrupted before dawn. As Doyermond has pointed out, Pármeno's leave taking of Areusa falls into the category of the alba, modified to the prose dialogue of the work: 56

Pármeno: ¿ Amanece o qué es esto, que tanta claridad está en esta cámera? 
Areusa: ¿ Qué amanecer? Duerme, señor, que aun agora nos acostamos. No he yo peñado bien los ojos, ¿ ya había de ser de día? Abre, por Dios, esa ventana de tu cabecera e verlo has. 

Pármeno: En mi seso estoy yo, señora, que es de día claro, en ver entrar luz entre las puerças. ¡ Oh traidor de mi! ¡ en qué gran falta he caído con mi amo! De mucha pena soy digno. ¡ Oh, qué tarde que es! 57

In an ironic reversal of roles it is here the man who is anxious to leave, and not because of the imminent arrival of a jealous husband, but because he believes himself to have failed in his duty to his master, Calisto. Areusa, the prostitute, has no such scruples and is content to go on sleeping - in a manner contrary to that of the elevated, frenetic, anxious courtly
passion which gave rise to the European genre of the alba.

In the medieval lyric of the Iberian Peninsula, the alba per se is essentially reduced to one villancico which nevertheless occurs in many forms and persists to the present day:

Ya cantan los gallos,
buen amor y vetes,
cata que amanece. 58

In his study of this refrain in Eos, E.M. Wilson provides evidence for believing that it was in circulation before 1508,59 and tentatively quotes from Le Gentil's argument:

La mélodie et le refrain doivent être fort anciens; on a reconnu en effet le thème de l'aube provençale, genre rare de reste au sud des Pyrénées. 60

Here indeed the cock at last comes into his own in the Peninsula, but it is not at all certain whether his appearance can in fact be derived from the Provençal alba, since the cock is a persistent and noisome figure in early Spanish Christian hymnody, not only in the works of Prudentius but also in the Breviariu Gothicum:

Post gallorum canorum concentum noctisque quietam exclusam, tibi, Domine, matura nox parturit diem, et galli concrepantibus alig, ore praeconio matutinum iubilant hymnum. 61

There is too the subsequent and ample evidence of the Mozarabic hymns, where the very formula of the alba in question is already established:

Iam gallus canit..
Ya cantan los gallos. 62

Although obviously the Mozarabic Liturgy, which was still in partial use at the beginning of the sixteenth century,63 cannot help in the problem of dating the alba, it does at least provide a cogent argument for the native origins of its style. In any case, the cock was never the exclusive property of the Provençal
troubadours; in the Arabic poetry of Spain it features in its own right, the flamboyant Zoroastrian counterpart of the Christian figure. Indeed, the Christian symbolism of the cock in the medieval period was largely derived from, and interpreted in terms of, the Asian precedent which came to Christendom from India via Persia and Zoroastrianism. Its role as the disperser of the shades of night, though not of the conscience of the Christian soul, is apparent in its depiction in Hispano-Arabic:

Para anunciar la muerte de las tinieblas se alzó el ave adornada con una amapola y que hace girar para nosotros las centellas de sus ojos.

The variants on the Castilian villancico from both sides of the Atlantic are numerous; from Argentina comes a lyric in which the refrain of cockcrow and the refrain of the dawn welcome are combined:

Ya cantaron los gallos
ya viene el día;
cada cual a su casa
y yo a la mía.

Others are more faithful to the exact formula of the early Castilian form:

- Vete, que ya canta el gallo,
vete, que amanece el día.

while some dispense with the cock altogether:

- Ora vete, amor, y bete,
cata que amaneça.
- Vete, amor, y vete,
mira que amanece.

As well as signalling the end of the night of lovemaking, the cock may also announce the welcome end of a sleepless night of lovelonging, and a lyric used by Gil Vicente serves to introduce this theme which is closely associated with the imagery of dawn meeting. The antithesis of both the alba and the alborada, it
is yet compatible with the styles and formulae of both:

Cantan los gallos
yo no duermo
ni tengo sueño. 70

The Lyrical Landscape

In the course of this thesis, many comparisons have already been drawn between the Castilian, the Galician and the Mozarabic lyrics; the unities of theme shared by all three types of lyric have been examined; similarities of style, sometimes so close as to suggest poetic borrowing, sometimes more tenuous, have been indicated. By way of contrast, an attempt has also been made to demonstrate the originality of inspiration in each area of poetic composition. The dramatic imagery of the Christian Latin liturgy has been presented as a possible source for the dawn imagery of the kharjas; the cantigas de amigo have been examined against the background of the paganising tendencies of Galicia. In each case, the learned poet has inevitably brought his art and his influence to bear on the popular genre and, although necessarily investing the traditional lyric with something of a sophisticated veneer, has facilitated its preservation at a fixed point in time. A similar process occurred in Castilian in the Renaissance when court poets were attracted by the rustic simplicity of the traditional lyric. Here again, however, as with the kharjas and the cantigas, rustic simplicity can be deceptive and can mask a background of ancient culture slowly impressed on the lyric over generations, if not centuries, and of which the lyric, preserved and fossilised in one sense, yet still flourishing and alive in another, becomes the present reflection. In the
traditional lyric of Castile it is symbolism, the key to medieval culture and the basis of much medieval thought from the twelfth century, which reveals at once the antiquity of the Castilian lyric, its uniformity with the culture of the rest of Europe and its own Spanish originality.

Until the twelfth century a simple system of symbolism, inspired by Classical and Biblical precedent, prevailed in medieval thought. It depended on similarity and immediate significance and was conveyed particularly through the writings of St Augustine, of Isidore of Seville and of Rabanus Maurus. For St Augustine, Nature constituted a divine image; Nature was to the senses as the Scriptures to the intellect:

Liber sit tibi pagina divina ut haec audias; liber tibi sit orbis terrarum, ut haec vides.

Isidore of Seville continued the Augustinian tradition and accounted for all natural phenomena in terms symbolic of the divine: thus, according to Isidore, the flames of Mount Etna were symbolic of hell-fire. Isidore's method was pursued by Rabanus Maurus, who, in his De universo, expanded the allegorical possibilities of this approach, thus preserving and enlarging upon the tradition of the Physiologus and paving the way for the medieval Bestiaries and Lapidaries. This stance in medieval culture prior to the twelfth century consisted, therefore, primarily of a symbolical and religious contemplation of nature, antagonistic to the curiosities of scientific research.

The twelfth century brought about a revolution in ideas partly as a result of increasing contact with Arabic learning, and a dissatisfaction with the miraculous as opposed to the
rational explanation of creation began to emanate from the school of Chartres. William of Conches, for instance, defiantly refused to accept scriptural statements of fact without explanation:

Noe autem dicimus 'in omnibus rationem esse quaerendum'. 72

The basis of thought of the School of Chartres is found in Plato's Timaeus, where the visible universe is conceived as a unified whole, the copy of an ideal exemplar created as an expression of the goodness of the Creator.73 God the Creator created matter and was the initial operative force in the creation of the universe. Within the universe, however, the World Soul, the Anima Mundi, variously identified by Alain of Lille and Bernard Silvestris as Natura or Genius, and by William of Conches as the Holy Spirit, was envisaged as the connecting link between God and his creation. This principle was also expounded by the Toledan philosopher/translator, Gundissalinus, who postulated nature as the link between the higher and lower worlds:

Motus autem superiorum in his inferioribus nihil operari potest, nisi adminiculu naturae. 74

This philosophy was analogous to that of Hermann of Carinthia who, in his De essentiis, proposed that all cosmology was founded on secondary causes.75 It was also closely linked with the Arabic tradition of astrology whereby the heavens and the planets, themselves the originators of movement and of life, came to dominate all things temporal with micro-macrocosmic parallels evolving in an endless series of correspondences. Although the heavenly bodies had thus been divested of their divine inspiration, they nevertheless maintained their direct influence
on the affairs of men and of things because the whole basis of the approach remained Platonic. Indeed, in the work of Bernard Silvestris the planets acquire an even stronger influence on the world beneath, since they, though no longer divine in themselves, become the instruments of the will of the Creator, indicative of the action of the laws of providence rather than of spiritual significance.76

The Platonic notion of plenitude postulated the fullness of the realisation of conceptual possibility in actuality.77 Aristotle's development of his mentor's philosophy rejected the concept of plenitude and proposed the principle of continuity in Nature whereby classes of things shade into each other in a continuum of existence. From these closely related Platonic, Aristotelian and Arabic scientific and philosophical ideas, there arose the view of world harmony which dominated the Middle Ages and extended into the Renaissance, of the cosmic order as a great chain of being from the lowest inanimate class of elements, liquids and metals, ascending upwards through the various classes of life, vegetative and sensitive, to man. Beyond man the classes of the angels ascend in spirituality towards God.78 The progressions along the chain overlap and also admit of correspondences so that the position and attributes of a category in one class may be compared with those of another in another class; thus, for instance, gold, the highest of the metals, may be compared with the lion, king of beasts.

Although the scientific rationalism of Chartres met with the open hostility of established mysticism, the world view implicit in neo-Platonic philosophy with its concomitant
correspondences became the instrument of religion. The world could be seen as an image of the eternal and all things sublunar as but corrupted symbols of higher forms. The value of symbolism, latent though not over-exploited in early medieval philosophy, became enhanced by the correspondences produced in the chain of being, so that any one object could be seen in terms of something else, if the two shared some common though variable quality. Huizinga defines the mechanism of correspondence thus:

From the causal point of view symbolism appears as a sort of short-circuit of thought. Instead of looking for the relation between two things by following the hidden detours of their causal connexions, thought makes a leap and discovers their relation, not in a connexion of cause or effects, but in a connexion of signification or finality. Such a connexion will at once appear convincing provided only that the two things have an essential quality in common which can be referred to a general value. Expressed in terms of experimental psychology: all mental association based on any causal similitude whatever will immediately set up the idea of an essential and mystic connexion.

While this vulgarisation of the products of the twelfth century Renaissance kept in check the vast superabundance of medieval religious imagery, the systematisation of symbolism inevitably overflowed into all walks of life, not least into that area always closely associated with religion, poetry. Huizinga is scathing in his condemnation of the effects of symbolism:

Symbolism, with its servant allegory, ultimately became an intellectual pastime.

As soon as the craze for symbolism spreads to profane or simply moral matters, decadence is manifest.

There is nevertheless a field of poetry, that of the traditional lyric, where symbolism, though sometimes perfunctory and commonplace, can be delicately employed as a sort of code language, the deciphering of which reveals a depth of meaning
otherwise concealed behind a colourful and evocative façade. This is particularly true of the language of the Castilian villancico. Brevity is of the essence in the villancico, yet the import of a few lines of verse of apparently linear structure can, through symbolism, be expanded into a multi-faceted edifice of numerous possible interpretations. Symbolism is an eminently useful tool for the poet of the villancico - which often consists of little more than an exclamation - since this particular lyric form demands a conciseness of expression which may yet convey a complete impression of a relationship, portray a person and describe an actual setting. The poet, therefore, abandons the linear plane and builds a complex poetic structure on a basic source of imagery, the symbol. The structure fulfils several functions which are open to interpretation individually or together in harmony. Curtius' definition of the Classical locus amoenus, and Matthew of Vendôme's rhetorical prescription for the lovely place, are both two-dimensional in that the place is decoratively but naturalistically described and from the pleasantness of the features one may judge the nature of the action to be conducted therein. The traditional poet, however, is not limited to Classical models but draws on the whole range of his cultural experience, on such Classical notions as may have filtered within the bounds of his knowledge, on the scriptural influences of his potent Christian background, on the undercurrents of pagan culture still endemic in his society, on fashions received from abroad, and, finally, on the effect of his own environment. Each of these influences is efficacious in its contribution to the stock of imagery of the traditional love poet, and, in some cases, he succeeds in
transforming them into new, fresh concepts, so that a basic image from one cultural source fuses with the connotations of its equivalent in another cultural source. The poet thus blends the influences that have come down to him and adds his own personal intention, so that the basic symbol is further enriched by accrued layers of meaning.

The treatment of the lovely place itself effectively illustrates the workings of this process of the acquisition of significance. The very features of the *locus amoensus* which Curtius sifts from Homer and the poets of the Hellenistic period, and from Virgil and Ovid, may equally well be gleaned from the Book of Genesis and the Song of Songs. Moreover, in western medieval art, in accord with Biblical exegesis, Heaven is portrayed as a fertile garden full of grassy banks, trees and flowers and the garden of the bride of the Song of Songs becomes the garden of the Virgin Mary, for she indeed is the 'hortus conclusus'. 85 Berceo, in the thirteenth century, depicted the Virgin as the meadow which affords the weary pilgrim rest and refreshment; he compares this meadow with Paradise:

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Yo maestro Gonçalvo de Veroeo nomnado
iendo en romería caeci en un prado
verde e bien senciido, de flores bien poblado
logar cobdiaduero pora omne cansado.

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

Aвиé y grand abondo de buen as arboledas,
milgranos e figueras, peros e mazanedas,
e muchas otras fructas de diversas monedas,
mas non avié ninuas podridas nin azedas.

La verdura del prado, la color de las flores,
las sombras de los árbores de temprados savores
refrescárón me todo, e perdí los sudores:
podrí vevir el omne con aquellos olores. 86
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A fifteenth-century English prayer to the Virgin assembles her types and titles, among them the 'hortus conclusus':

Blessed Mary, moder virginal
Integrate maiden, sterre of the see,
Have remembraunce at the day final
On thy poor servaunt now praying to thee.
Mirroure without spot, rede rose of Jerico
Close garden of grace, hope in disparage,
When my soul the body parte fro,
Socoure it from mine enmies' rage. 87

The import of the image is not always clear, however, as the various modern critical arguments over the interpretation of the Razón de amor have illustrated. Alfred Jacob in his excess of Robertsonian zeal for scriptural exegesis would interpret the garden in which the escolar finds himself as the garden of the Church, which, like Berceo's meadow, exhibits all the attributes of the lovely place and of the Biblical garden - trees, flowers and fountain: 88

Sobre un prado pus mi tiesta,
que nom fiziese mal la siesta;
parti de mi las vistiduras,
que nom fizies mal la calentura.
Plegem a una fuente p(er)erenal,
nu(n)ca fue omne que vies tall;
tan grant virtud en si avia,
que de la frydor que d'i yxia,
cient pasadas aderedor
non sintryades la calor.
Todas yervas que bien olien
la fuent cerca si las tenie:
y es la salvia, y ssen as Rosas,
y el liryo e las violas;
otras tantas yervas y avia
que sol no(m)bra(r) no las sabria;
mas ell olor que d'i yxia
a omne muerto Ressuqitarya. 89 (33-50)

More convincing, however, than Jacob's exegetical approach is Spitzer's concept of the Razón de amor con los denuestos del agua y el vino as a single unified work portraying both sensual and spiritual love. 90 Even in this context, however, the identification of the garden with the Virgin is still a valid
one, for the lover is not only well versed in the arts of troubadour poetry but is also a cleric who might well be expected to have interpolated Christian, symbolical overtones into his secular compositions; the 'señora del huerto' speaks of him thus:

'a plan, con grant amor ando, 
mas non conozco mi amado; 
pero dizem un su mesaiero 
que es clerygo e non cavalero, 
sabe muito de trobar, 
de leyer e de cantar; 
dizem que es de buenas yentas, 
mancebo, barva punnientes. (108-115)

It may well be, therefore, that the poet is deliberately rendering a lo profano an image which for him, despite its mixed Biblical/rhetorical origins, would have held very definite sacred connotations.

The popular poet, like the courtly poet, identifies his lady love with the Virgin Mary and makes of her a rival cult. Naturally he transfers the attributes of the Virgin to his lady and the ideal of divine spirituality becomes the ideal of profane eroticism. The garden and the features within it at once fulfil the descriptive, narrative and allegorical needs of the poet in his search for conciseness of expression. With the mere mention of the garden, he may evoke a beautiful setting, the pleasures of love and the image of the perfect beloved enhanced by the image of the Virgin. A prospective suitor is warned to beware of the jealousy of the man who already possesses the love he would seek:

No entréis en huerto ajeno, 
que os dirá mal su dueño; 
no entréis en huerto vedado, 
que os dirá mal su amo. LHTP 77
The huerto here is the lady, its dueño her present husband or lover, but in another poem the huerto ageno refers not to the beloved but to the pleasures of an illicit relationship:

Entrastes mi señora
en el huerto ageno
cogistes tres pericas
del peral del medio
dejáxades la prenda
d' amor verdadero.  

PTT 125

The lady dallies in the stranger's garden and by plucking three pears, a specific reference to the consummation of the relationship, pledges herself to her new lover. The beloved may be a flower in the garden of love:

En la huerta nasce la rosa
quiere ir allí
Gil Vicente, PTT 356

or the act of love may be suggested by the gathering of flowers in the garden:

Perdida dentro de un huerto
coyendo rosas y flores...

The garden may only yield the rejection of bitter lemons:

en huerta de monjas
limones cogía

PTT 87

or the lover may fail in his attempt to seduce his beloved and find himself thwarted by a jealous rival who ravishes the beloved; la flor primera, and desecrates the garden:

De un jardín quise
cortar la flor primera
vino el jardinero
y me echó afuera.

Y después volví
hallé la flor cortada
y abierto el jardín.  

92

This is yet another instance, in miniature, of the 'locus foedus', the topos of Torneol's canto 'Levad' amigo...', which attains its fullest exposition in La Celestina:
Melibea welcomes Calisto to her father's garden, the lovely place for love:

Todo se goza este huerto con tu venida. Mira la luna cuán clara se nos muestra, mira las nubes cómo huyen. ¡Oye la corriente agua de esta fontecita, cuánto más suave murmurio y zurrió lleva por entre las frescas hierbas! Escucha los altos cipreces, cómo se dan paz unos ramos con otros por intercesión de un templadico viento que los menea. Mira sus quietas sombras, cuán escuras están y aparejadas para encubrir nuestro deleite. 93

The sudden calamity which brings about Calisto's death causes, however, a dramatic change in Melibea's appraisal of the events which took place in the garden and, in her final confession to her bewildered father, she expresses her guilt thus:

Venida de su amor, dile entrada en tu casa. Quebrantó con escalas las paredes de tu huerto, quebrantó mi propósito. Perdi mi virginidad. 94

The central feature of the lovely place is usually a tree; its presence is nearly always implicit in mention of the flowers and fruit it bears. In Classical style the action may take place under a tree:

en los sus bravos dormir
baxo dun arbol 95

but the tree is also of Biblical significance, especially when the beloved plucks the fruit of the tree:

cogistes tres pericas

but even here the reminiscence is not simply that of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil but also, in the medieval mind, of the Tree of Life, the Tree of the Cross and of Man's Redemption. It is, therefore, not only the depressing image of Man's Fall but also the hopeful image of his salvation and by extension of Paradise: Adam and human frailty are evoked in mention of the Tree of Knowledge, but the Tree of Life and the Tree of the Cross are images of Christ and of his assumption
of man's sin. For the secular love poet, therefore, the
tree of Biblical exegesis is a useful acquisition and it can
serve many purposes as an image for the lover or the beloved,
for the indulgence of sensual pleasures and for the lovers' paradise. Moreover, as we have already seen with regard to
Galicia, the tree is a potent fertility symbol in folklore,
and the ritualistic properties of any specific tree may bear
yet more particular connotations.

The lyric poet's treatment of the olive tree, for instance,
may best be used to illustrate the fusion of Classical and
Christian symbolic traditions within the real environment of
the Castilian poet, for the olive is no less a conspicuous
feature of Spain than it was of the Greek, Roman or Palestinian
countryside. The gift of Pallas Athene to man, the olive, won
universal acceptance as the symbol of peace for its healing
properties. In Greek and Roman politics and art the symbol
of the olive, both tree and fruit, was of unchanging value.
In scriptural exegesis the olive acquires the additional concept
of reconciliation between God and Man and thus is to be
interpreted the olive leaf which the dove bears in its beak
to Noah - and also, for that matter, the olive branches borne
aloft by the angels rejoicing at the birth of Christ in
Botticelli's Nativity. The olive tree becomes an image for
the Virgin by association with the figure of Wisdom: 'A fair
olive tree in a pleasant field'. The love poet adopts all
these quite compatible attributes and adds yet another which
may arise from pagan reverence for the tree's longevity, that
of fidelity; explicit evidence for this equation is found in
a French verse:
La jus descouz l'olive  
- ne vos repentez mie -  
fontaine i scourt serie,  
puceles carolez:  
ne vos repentez mie  
de loyaument aimer. 99

The Spanish use of the olive conforms with this symbolism. In the Razón de amor the lovers are united under the olive tree:

junniemos amos en par  
e posamos so ell olivar

In a traditional lyric which has pronounced courtly overtones, Cupid, high in the olive tree, casts a reprimanding eye on the unfaithful lover whom he intends to teach a salutary lesson:

Por encima de la oliva  
mirame el amor, mira.

Con el rostro muy airado  
y su cabello dorado  
una flecha me ha arrojado  
con el arco que las tira;  
mirame el amor, mira.  

By contrast, the way in which the traditional poet conveys the bliss of a true and faithful love, using the completely naturalistic image of the olive grove, suggests an artless simplicity of imagery built into the poetic subconscious:

Que no hay tal andar  
por el verde olivico,  
que no hay tal andar  
por el verde olivar.  

Similarly there is no other way of expressing the constancy of the helpless dark-skinned girl to her dead lover and, though the poet may not deliberately intend it, the symbol of fidelity which he uses also becomes the tree of Christ in its compassion and its sympathetic reaction to the girl's distress:

Gritos daba la morenica  
s o el olivar,  
que las ramas hace temblar.
La niña, cuerpo garrido,
morenica, cuerpo garrido,
loraba su muerto amigo
so el olivar:
quie las ramas hace temblar.  

Traditionally, though with no textual grounds for such belief, the apple is held to have been the forbidden fruit of the Garden of Eden, possibly because of some confusion between the two Latin forms, \textit{malum} meaning evil and \textit{mala} meaning apple.\textsuperscript{100} Despite the doctrine of the Church that disobedience constituted original sin and that the act of sex was but one of the consequences of the Fall, in the medieval mind, certainly in the mind of Juan Ruiz and the traditional poets, it seems that the act of love itself constituted original sin and that the plucking of the fruit of the Tree of Knowledge implied that act.\textsuperscript{101} The apple tree is prominent in the Razón de amor; the escolar and his lady sit under the olive but the apple bears aloft the vessels of cold, still water and red wine which may represent good and evil or idealised, spiritual love and sensual, carnal passion. It is the fruit, rather, which attracts the attention of the traditional lyric poets. One ruefully points an accusatory finger at Adam and Eve:

\begin{verbatim}
Vos comistes la manzana
Adán y su compañera,
vos gustastes la manzana,
y otros tienen la dentera.  
\end{verbatim}

Juan Ruiz adopts a more philosophical attitude and decides that love is like the apple and that neither is all that it purports to be:

\begin{verbatim}
si las manzanas siempre viesen tal sabor
de dentro, qual de fuera dan vista e color,
on avrié de las plantas fruta de tal valor;
mas ante pudren que otra, pero dan buen olor.\textsuperscript{102}
\end{verbatim}
The apples of the Song of Solomon and the apple of discord endorse the fruit's claim to eminence in medieval culture, but it is because of its literary and metaphorical connotations of sexual indulgence and beauty, if, as Juan Ruiz points out, a deceptive beauty, rather than because of its inherent qualities that the apple becomes an exemplary fruit and is deemed worthy of describing the beloved; in the Razón de amor the doncela's face is 'fresca como maçana' and a certain Beatriz is said by her lover to stand out among women, as the apple stands out among fruits:

De las frutas, la manzana...
De las damas la Beatriz.  

An interplay of the symbolism of the olive and the apple may elucidate the situation in which the three Moorish girls find themselves:

Tres morillas me enamoran
en Jaén,
Axa y Fátima y Marién.

Tres morillas tan garridas
iban a coger olivas,
y hallábanlas cogidas
en Jaén,
Axa y Fátima y Marién.

Y hallábanlas cogidas,
y tornaban desmaídás
y las colores perdidas
en Jaén,
Axa y Fátima y Marién.

Tres moricas tan lozanas,
tres moricas tan lozanas,
iban a coger manzanas
a Jaén,
Axa y Fátima y Marién.

The three dark girls go out in search of the true love identified with the olive, but, because of the colour prejudice inherent in traditional Spanish poetry, the fruits of true love
are denied them; they return deceived and jilted 'tornaban desmaídas'. (Plainly Romóu Figueras' reconstruction of this villancico (see Chapter I, note 138) as a parallelistic lyric by reordering the verses is unacceptable, since it destroys their pattern of symbolism.) Henceforth, their eyes opened to their fate, when they next set out, they go in search only of sensual pleasure - 'iban a coger manzanas'.

It is a feature common to Western European culture that the apple of Eden is not infrequently replaced by the pear, possibly a pagan symbol of female fertility. Berceo specifically mentions the pear as the fruit of the Garden of Eden in his Vida de Santo Domingo. Chaucer, in the steps of Boccaccio, does not mince his words in indicating its erotic possibilities. In the Merchant's Tale, Damian, May's lover, waits hidden in the pear tree in January's garden, the typical lovely place for love. Walking in the garden with her blind husband, May veils her desire with talk of pears: May's desires are fulfilled; she climbs into the pear tree where Damian makes love to her and she eats the metaphorical fruit of the tree, a situation not unlike that of the villancico already quoted:

cogistes tres pericas
del peral del medio.

The pear tree also stands in the middle of an English lyrical garden of the early fifteenth century:

In the middes of my garden
Is a peryr set,
And it will non per bern
But a per Jenet.

The fairest maide of this town preyedme
For to griffen her a grif
Of mine pery tree. 104
The 'fairest maide', however, is promiscuous and the resultant offspring is not of the 'per Jenet' variety as was to be expected but of another variety altogether. A Castilian gardener has similar difficulty in keeping his fertile pear tree to himself: here possibly the pear tree refers to his lady and the pears to the pleasures she affords:

Este peral tiene peras
cuantos pasan comen de ellas
Ayudádmele a tener.

In an analogue of the Garden of Eden, a pear tree stands in the garden of one of Juan Ruiz's fables:

Era un ortolano bien simple e sin mal;
en el mes de enero, con fuerte ventral,
andando por su huerta, vido un peral
una culebra chica, medio muerta alal.

The gardener revives and cares for the snake which then poisons his house and strangles him. Juan Ruiz himself has had to be content with vicarious pleasures; he has served many ladies without ever achieving anything, but at least he finds some consolation in the shade of the pear tree:

pero aunque non goste la pera del peral
en estar a la sombra es placer comunial.

The shade of the trees in Berceo's meadow of the Virgin affords the weary pilgrims shelter and among them is a pear tree, possibly turned a lo divino to represent the immaculate conception. In the erotic and secular context, however, the shade of the pear tree affords the lover and those of the ilk of Juan Ruiz only the dubious pleasures of desire. The pear is in fact firmly rooted in erotic folklore throughout the European tradition, so that obviously the Spanish girl who dresses like the ripe pear is intent on seduction:
A localising tendency appears in the Spanish additions to the fruits of common culture and literary tradition. Particularly important in this respect are the citrus fruits, imported into Spain by the Arabs, fruits that are more familiar to the poet and more closely identified with the Iberian Peninsula. The orange, tree and fruit, fulfils a role not unlike that of the pear; it may symbolise both the beloved and the act of love but without, apparently, the connotations of a sinful or adulterous relationship, and it sets the lyrics in which it appears very definitely against the agrarian background of Spain's more fertile areas:

Meu naranjedo non ten fruta
mas agora ven;
no me le toque ninguen!

Meu naranjedo florido
el fruto no le es venido
mas agora ven;
no me le toque ninguen!

The beloved is young; her virginity is implied in the reference to orange blossom - 'meu naranjedo florido' - and she is closely guarded by her lover who looks forward to the fruits of her maturity. In the shade of the mature orange tree, however, the heat of passion is greater than the heat of the sun:

Salid mi señora de so'
de so'l naranjale
que sois tan hermosa
que marvos ha el aire
de amores, sí.

The orange becomes a figure for the sun with life and love-giving properties and its persistence in folk song emphatically
illustrates the remarkable continuity of the themes and images of the traditional lyric of Spain. Its dramatic sensuality appeals to Lorca whose use of the image is somewhat brazen and unsubtle compared with that of the earlier lyrics:

Alma,
ponte color naranja
Alma,
ponte color de amor! 107

He equates lovelessness with the sea and a corresponding dearth of the fruit:

La mar no tiene naranjas
Ni Sevilla tiene amor. 108

and for him, as for his lyrical forebears, rejection is signified in the lemon:

Llevo el No que me diste
en la palma de la mano;
como un limón de cera casi blanco. 109

The medieval poets, however, do not state in so many words that the lover is rejected, instead they prefer to employ a delicate interplay of imagery and innuendo which, as long as it does not become clichéd, is at once more sensitive, more colourful and more appealing. They assume an awareness of the value of their symbolism and, consequently, with not so much as a mention of the harsh realities of 'no' or of rejection, they convey the full poignancy of the situation. For instance, occasionally, the lemon is juxtaposed with a fertility symbol, such as a garden or water, which should suggest fulfilment. The paradox signifies a frustrated love: the lover from Seville perseveres in his suit, although his beloved has taken, or has been forced to take, the veil; he finds his beloved in a garden, possibly the garden of their former love, now transformed perhaps
to the garden of the Virgin Mary; but the beloved is now a nun, she cannot respond to his love and she can only offer him the bitterness of lemons:

Venía el caballero,
venía de Sevilla,
en huerta de monjas
limones cogía.

Similarly, the beloved wanders along the river bank in an ideal setting for love but, since she rejects the lover's passionate advances, the fruits she culls for him are not oranges but lemons:

Por las riberas del río
limones coge la virgo:
quíérome ir allá
por mirar al ruiseñor
como cantabá.

Limones cogía la virgo
para dar al su amigo:
quíérome ir allá
por mirar al ruiseñor
como cantabá.

Gil Vicente, PTT 356

Here the identification of the lemons with the chastity of the girl and of the nightingale with the lover's desires increases the tension. A Sephardic poem displays the same tension, using the lemon as an image for the girl's chastity in conjunction with a different set of fertility images:

Debajo del limón
dormía la niña,
y sus pies en el agua fría.
Su amor, por allí vendría:
- ¿Qué haces, mi novia garrida?
- Asperando a vos, mi vida,
lavando vuestra camisa
con xabón y lexía.
Debajo del limón, la niña,
sus pies en el agua fría:
su amor por allí vendría.

PTT 499

Flowers are a prerequisite of the ideal scene of lovers' meetings. Poets tend to avoid the generic term which smacks
of impersonality and prefer to specify the variety of flower which they or the beloved are gathering or by which they wish the beloved to be represented: the majority of them, perhaps unaware of its total significance, choose the most complex and transcendental of all symbols, artistic and poetic, religious and secular, the rose. Ephemeral but perpetual, the rose is life and love, death and rebirth. In Classical mythology, the rose of life and love was born with Venus/Aphrodite, the Earth Mother of Cyprus, who was adopted by the Greeks as their goddess of human love. The rose of Venus, the symbol of sexual passion, became the emblem of lovers. It pervaded the rites and customs of love and permeated literature as the only fitting measure of the beloved’s beauty. Not surprisingly, the Church spurned the flower and, in the early Christian era, made of it a compulsory badge for prostitutes. Eventually the Church succumbed and made the rose of Venus the rose of its lady, the Virgin Mary, the 'rosa sine spina':

Levedy flown of all thing,
Rosa sine spina,
Thu bore Jesu, Hoyono King,
Gratia Divina.

As we have already seen, the dark-skinned girl uses the epithets of the Virgin to justify her own skin colouring:

Soy la sin espina rosa
que Salomón canta y glosa
nigra sum sed formosa
y por mí se cantará.

Thus the rose already has at least a dual significance: on the one hand, it suggests the delights of Venus, the life-giving goddess of sensual beauty, of human pleasure and desire; on the other, in opposition, stands the rose of the Virgin,
the epitome of purity, the expression of divine love, the mother of the Redeemer. The picture is not as simple as that, for the rose has another whole sphere of influence: out of the blood of the dead Adonis, lover of Venus, sprang roses and life triumphed over death. The Church again appropriated the pagan symbol, this time to the glory of the martyrs. Roses were said to have sprung from their blood; Strabo declared the rose to be the flower of martyrdom and Melitus of Sardes likened the rose to the blood of the martyrs\textsuperscript{112} – it is not surprisingly the symbol of the first martyr in Britain, St Alban. Since the rose bloomed in death, in the death of Adonis and the death of the martyrs, so it is natural for it to reappear as the flower of the afterlife, the flower of the Elysian fields in Pindar, Propertius and Tibullus, and the flower of the Judaic paradise, according to the description of the Apocryphal Prophet Esdras:

\begin{quote}
Twelve trees laden with divers fruits
and as many fountains flowing with milk and honey,
and seven mighty mountains; whereupon there grow
roses and lilies. \textsuperscript{113}
\end{quote}

In love poetry the rose garden of the celestial paradise returns to earth and becomes the lovers' paradise.

The popular poets were probably not aware of every possible nuance of suggestion enfolded in the many petals of the literary rose but, since the rose was originally a popular symbol of spring, they were certainly at least aware of the basic features of its symbolism and of its value as an image of beauty, of death, of victory over death and of paradise, and of love, human and divine. Girls gather roses in search of the love with which Venus is identified:
Por el val verdico mozas
vamos a coger rosas!  

The symbol becomes Freudian in its application:

Y soñaba yo, mi madre,
dos horas antes del día
que me florecía la rosa:
ell vino so ell agua frída:
no pueden dormir.  

In this lyrical reminiscence of the Razón de amor, the girl, in her dreams, or in the dreamy haze of love, has yielded to her lover at dawn and he has deflowered her. The rose becomes the obvious pledge of love:

Dame del tu amor, señora,
siquiera una rosa;
dame del tu amor, galana,
siquiera una rama.

It is culled by the intrepid lover in any language:

All night by the rose,
All night by the rose I lay,
I dare not steal the rose tree
But I bore the flower away.

The cultured poet may elevate his lady to such a position of superiority that she becomes the ideal beloved, Venus herself. She is at the centre of his universe and is the centripetal force in that universe:

Contempos rosa de rosas...

The rose of the popular poets is perhaps a less self-conscious bloom:

A la gala de la bella rosa
a la gala del galán que la goza.

but more cryptic is the observation:

Florida estaba la rosa
que o vento le volvia la folla.

If, however, for rosa one reads beloved and for vento, lover,
as in Don Dinis's dawn *cantiga*, this tiny vignette blossoms into a delicate and timeless portrayal of love-making.

Even to this most universal of images the traditional poets succeed in lending a peculiarly Spanish flavour by associating it with the carnation, so that the rose of the beloved finds her complement in the carnation of the lover, explicitly:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Esposo y esposa} & \quad \text{Juan de Timoneda, PTT 390} \\
\text{son clavel y rosa.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

and implicitly:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{¿Qué el clavel y la rosa} & \quad \text{Tirso de Molina, PTT 462} \\
\text{¿cuál era más hermosa?} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The tradition persists in Santander and Asturias:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{La madrina es una rosa} & \\
\text{y el padrino es un clavel} & \\
\text{y la novia es un espejo} & \\
\text{y el novio se mira en él.} & \quad \text{117}
\end{align*}
\]

The symbolism of the carnation is further borne out by a lyric from the *Cancionero de Ixar*:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{En clavell, sí m ajut Déu,} & \quad \text{LITP 342} \\
\text{tan belles olors haveu!} & \\
\text{En clavell vert y florit,} & \\
\text{ma senyora. us ha collit.} & \\
\text{Tan belles olors haveu!} & \\
\text{En clavell vert y granat,} & \\
\text{ma senyora. us ha segat.} & \\
\text{Tan belles olors haveu!} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

The rose garden of the lovers' paradise as a version of the *locus amoenus* may evoke a setting and it may also convey an atmosphere:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{En la fuente del rosel,} & \quad \text{PTT 127} \\
\text{lavan la niña y el doncel.} & \\
\text{En la fuente de agua clara} & \\
\text{con sus manos lavan la cara} & \\
\text{él a ella y ella a él,} & \\
\text{lavan la niña y el doncel.} & \\
\text{En la fuente del rosel,} & \\
\text{lavan la niña y el doncel.} & \\
\end{align*}
\]
The impression is one of complete harmony, created by the combination of the motifs which express an untroubled relationship together with their strong visual effect — the fountain of clear water, the rose garden and the lovers, gently bathing each other's faces.

The dramatic, morbid undertones of the rose garden may equally well come to the fore and it becomes the symbol of the death of one of the lovers; but the lover dies the death of love to be reborn into love's paradise:

*Dentro en el vergel*
*moriré,*
*Dentro en el rosal*
*matarm' han.*

*Yo m'iba, mi madre,*
*las rosas coger;*
*hallé mis amores*
*dentro en el vergel.*
*Dentro del rosal*
*matarm' han.* 118

There is in this earthly paradise a hint of mystical experience. The lovers are drawn together in a common quest for the rose, for perfection in love. The quest and the beauty of its goal are portrayed in the subtle insinuation of the image, creating thereby in the lyric a more delicate effect than that of the two great allegories of the rose, 'Paradiso' of *La Divina Commedia* and *Le Roman de la Rose*. In these works, in which an attempt is made to unite divine love and earthly love, the rose is the central symbol. Dante succeeds in uniting the many facets of the symbol of the rose. It is Eden and Paradise and the Virgin sits enthroned above it in the light of God's grace. But Dante is led to this vision of eternity by Beatrice, now herself apotheosized as one of the petals of the rose. Closer to earthly experience is Guillaume de Lorris'
Roman, in which the poet seeks to create the heavenly paradise on earth in the allegorical garden of love. The rose is the central figure and the ecstasy which it affords the poet transcends any glory that heaven might afford. Jean de Meun, on the other hand, attempts to unite the earthly emotion with divine love by means of naturalistic philosophy: since the love of the rose fulfills a divine decree by procreating the human race, love is at one with the will of the Creator, and the fulfilled Christian will find his reward in the celestial rose of which the earthly rose is but a mere reflection. The diffusion of these works fostered the growth of the literary rose and it also fostered the dichotomy which these works sought to unite.

The dichotomy may take the form of a definite cleavage, so that one rose is the rose of the Virgin, while other roses are the blooms of human love. Juan Ruiz sings the praise of the Virgin and asks for her protection:

\[
\text{te pido, virtuosa,}
\]
\[
\text{que me guardes, linpia rosa,}
\]
\[
\text{de follía}
\]

\[\text{st. 1663}\]

He is presumably asking to be guarded from his own self. Diametrically opposed to the rose of the Virgin are the roses of Venus with which the go-between must try to seduce the amiga:

\[
\text{que la lieve a las uertas por las rosas bermejas}
\]

\[\text{st. 378b}\]

The dichotomy may, however, not be so drastic. It may be limited to a certain ambivalence, so that one is not sure whether the image of the rose, standing alone, untouched by any subjective interpretation, represents one or more of the facets of the complete symbol – as for instance:
The rose is the beloved and the Virgin Mary, human love and divine, the earthly paradise and the reflection of the heavenly sphere. It is open to as many interpretations as the Dantesque rose. Each one is valid individually as a complete expression, yet if each possible interpretation is viewed as but a contribution to the cosmic whole, the content of this villancico may be considered as a further attempt, on a small scale, to unite the human and the divine.

While the rose is perhaps the most complex and the most universal of the symbols available to the lyric poet, whether courtly or popular, the traditional lyric also employs the wild flowers of rural Spain and Portugal as erotic symbols. The most frequent of these is the trefoil, commonly gathered on St John's Day; its significance is delicately suggested by Reckert:

The masculine connotations of the trefoil in Spanish folklore (and the number three itself, in Freudian dream interpretation) are well known. 119

The celebration of the trefoil may be little more than an exclamation:

Trébol, florido trébol,  
trébol florido.  

or its potency - and consequently the frustrations of the girl who is not able to enjoy it - may be more fully evoked:
The masculine trefoil is coupled with the feminine mallow:

Alta estaba la peña
riberas del río;
nace la malva en ella
y el trébol florido.  

The estribillo of this villancico actually resolves an enigma presented by a whimsical dark-skinned girl to her prospective lover when he asks:

- Digas, morena garrida,
  ¿cuándo serás mi amiga?

She replies:

- Cuando esté florida la peña
de una flor morena.  

The mallow, however, is 'una flor morena':

La malva morenica, y va,
la malva morená  
José de Valdevielso  

and, as we have seen, it does grow on the high crag:

Alta estaba la peña,
nace la malva en ella.  

So perhaps the lover's suit is not as vain as it would at first appear.

Plants of aphrodisiac qualities are of course gathered at the appropriate season and are woven into garlands:

Vamos a coger verbena,
poleo con hierba-buena.  

The breeze of the locus amoenus, image of the lover in
Don Dinis's alborada, like the other symbols used in the villancico, conforms to the localised Castilian setting; the hot wind blows from the sierra, burning the girl's skin:

Con el aire de la sierra
hiceme morena.  \[\text{PTT 291}\]

It assaults her on the mountain top:

En la cumbre, madre,
tal aire me dió
que el amor que tenía
aire se volvió.  \[\text{PTT 256}\]

A breeze ruffles her loose hair, mark of her virginity, just as the wind in Don Dinis's cantiga plays with the camisas which the girl is washing:

Estos mis cabellos madre,
dos a dos me los lleva el aire. \[\text{PTT 220}\]

Airecillo en los mis cabellos,
y aire en ellos. \[\text{PTT 292}\]

The wind from the sea, doubtless in the form of a sailor, is cruder and more direct in attack; not unlike perhaps the wind which rattles Dona Endrina's door in the Libro de Buen Amor (see Ch. II, note 70).

Levantóse un viento
de la mar salada
y dióme en la cara.

Levantóse un viento
que de la mar salía
y alzóme la falda
de mi camisa.  \[\text{PTT 303}\]

In the course of other chapters much has been written about the symbolism of water in the traditional lyric of Spain and Portugal. It is subject to as many interpretations as the rose. It is both pagan and Biblical in origins, basic and sophisticated in import; in the lyric it appears in many forms and contexts. The clear fountain conveys harmony in love:
El galán y la galana
ambos vuelven ell agua clara
mano a mano. 

This is shunned by the widowed turtle dove who henceforth
denies the pleasures of love:

si el agua clara fallo
turbia la bebo yo. 120

The cold clear water of harmony in love may be tainted with
the red wine of carnal passion:

el vino so ell agua frida

or it may be disturbed by the intervention of a rival, seen
in the symbolic guise of a hind:

Cervatica tan garrida
no enturbies el agua fría.

Water may imply male potency:

A mi puerta nace una fonte,
¿por dó salíré que no me moje?
A mi puerta la garrida
nasce una fonte frida
donde lavo la mi camisa
y la de aquel que yo más quería.
¿Por dó salíré que no me moje? 180

or it may suggest female fertility:

Guay de (la) molinera
que al molinero
el agua le lleva.

The visit to the well at dawn or twilight, in the tradition of
the Apocryphal Gospels, as indicated by C. Bertram Lewis,121
may, as in the cantigas, result in dire consequences for the
girl:

Enviárame mi madre
por agua a la fuente fría:
vengo del amor herida.

Fuí por agua a tal sazón
que corrió mi triste hado,
traigo el cántaro quebrado
y partido el corazón.
Well, fountain, mill, all these features associated with the symbolism of water, like all the other aspects of natural imagery in the traditional lyric, evoke the essence of the Castilian landscape and yet accord with the symbolism current in the rest of Europe. The lyric poet adopts nothing from outside which might be inappropriate to the Spanish setting, yet his imagery becomes part of a poetic lingua franca, the significance of which is comprehensible not only in medieval Europe but universally, as Reckert observes:

The symbol is preliterate man's oldest and most effective instrument for interpreting the universe and manipulating his environment. By the same token it is also the raw material of all the arts, with their utilitarian beginnings in cave painting, in the making of cult objects, and in propitiatory song and dance. This being so, the inextricable intermingling of vegetation and sexuality in primal symbolism is hardly to be wondered at; for all these activities are goal seeking, and their goal is the preservation and continuation of life. 122

The obsession with symbolism in the medieval period and, at the same time, the sensitivity with which the traditional poets handle even stock symbols, such as the pear, suggest that they are fulfilling more than simply this basic universal need. 123

It may be that the symbolical lyricism considered above illustrates a certain conflict endemic in Europe from the twelfth century between the sacramental view of nature, nature celebrated as revealing the presence of God, nature as a book of emblems, and the investigation and affirmation of nature for its own sake, autonomously, at the expense of the supernatural, an investigation which, nevertheless, produced its own system of hierarchy and concordance. The love poet inherits, even at the popular level, something of the sacramental view of nature, with its tendency to straitjacket nature and to make
her conform to a set of given values and also something of the new systematic, investigative approach which none the less reinforces symbolism and yet allows the poet a wider degree of individuality in his use of it. Perhaps, therefore, the world of the cantigas, incipiently, and of traditional Castilian poetry, in its full flowering, shows an interplay, at times a conflict, between the received notions of stylised, hierarchic, emblematic nature and the nature communicated to the senses - the first conscious and intellectual, the second much less so; for, however deliberate the symbolism of the lyric, its power of evocation is strong and colourful in its appeal to the senses of sight:

Orillicas del río
mis amores he,
y debajo de los álamos
me atendé.  PTT 279

of hearing:

En la cumbre, madre,
canta el ruisenor;
si él de amores canta,
yo lloro de amor.  PTT 275

of taste and smell:

Besóme el colmenero,
y a la miel me supo el beso.  PTT 293

and even of temperature:

La del abanillo
calor tiene, madre.
Aire, Dios, y aire,
y podrá sufrillo.  PTT 241

Thus the brilliant and effective but rigid and basic imagery of the kharjas, in which the tradition of dawn meeting in the love lyric of the Peninsula is established, is expanded into a much more comprehensive and complex system in the poetry
of lovers' meetings of Castile where the whole of nature, in some form or other, is made relevant to the poetic experience. Yet even in this context, the poet, with artless skill and apparent ingenuousness, succeeds in imparting to nature the immediacy and sensuality of appeal which constitute the essential attraction of the traditional lyric and ensure its survival, with the appropriate adaptations, in all the Spanish-speaking areas of the globe.
Notes to Chapter III


2. A.D. Deyermond in his discussion of the spring song in the PMC explains that the poet uses it to remind us delicately that the relationship of the Cid and Ximena is still that of lovers. "Lyric Traditions in Non-lyrical Genres", Studies in Honor of Lloyd A. Kasten (Madison, 1975), 40.

3. This symbolism is discussed by Deyermond in "Lyric Traditions in Non-lyrical Genres", p. 41. He reads, however, the passage as an adaptation of the alba, since married lovers are parted at dawn by the cruelty and treachery of the husbands. The Infantes' actions could however be construed as an ironic contrast to the act of love at dawn and the passage in consequence could be read as an alborada.


6. Deyermond draws attention to the double parody in this section of the Libro de Buen Amor: 'The services concerned - laudes and prime - are just before and just after dawn; the words aurora (376c) and "salyendo el sol" (377a) make the point explicit; and the context is an erotic one. The lovers are not, however, youth and maiden, nor even romantic adulterers, but a lecherous priest and his compliant parishioner. Juan Ruiz has, therefore, not only written a dawn-poem much earlier than the Castilian poems collected in Eos; he has also parodied the alborada while at the same time parodying the canonical hours.' "Some Aspects of Parody in the Libro de Buen Amor", in "Libro de Buen Amor" Studies, ed. G.B. Gybon-Monypenny (London, 1970), 62.


9. E. Barbazan et M. Méon, Fabliaux et contes des poètes français des XI. XII, XIII, XIV et XV siècles (Paris, 1808) IV, p. 485; Carmina Burana, 189 - "Incipit Officium Lusorum".

11. Barbazan et Méon, IV.


15. Waddell, The Wandering Scholars, p. 282, from J.D. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum, XXII, 917.


17. LBA, ed. Joset, st. 380c.


20. Menéndez Pidal, España, eslabón, p. 73.


23. Dionisia Empaytaz, Albas y alboradas; Antología de poemas hasta 1625 (Madrid, 1976), no. XLVIII, p. 66; from Lope de Vega, Los pastores de Belén (1612); BAR XXXV (Madrid, 19 ), pp. 329-30.

24. XLIV, p. 63; Lope de Vega, Los pastores, p. 200.

25. Empaytaz, Albas y alboradas, no. II, p. 70; from Juan López de Ubeda, Cancionero general de la doctrina cristiana.


27. Empaytaz, no. CI, Flor de varios romances (Madrid, 1597).

la divinización de formas líricas juglarescas fue la consecuencia de un agregado de causas, tales como la apreciación generalizada de esa lírica, apoyada en su elemento musical, la influencia de los juglares franciscanos, y el celo religioso de a la vez los poetas y el pueblo de la Edad Media tardía.

José de Valdivielso y la poesía religiosa tradicional (Toledo, 1965), p. 49.


33. Cantigas de amigo, CCCXCV.

34. Empaytaz, Albas y alboradas, no. LXXXII, p. 115. Cancionero musical de la Biblioteca Colombina, fol. 72. The Catalan version of this villancico is the same in import though different in detail and atmosphere. The ominous Castilian refrain 'malo es de guardar' is replaced by the ubiquitous sigh 'què faré':

Si em llevi de bon matí
i aní-me'n tota soleta
i entrí-me'n dins mon jardí
de matinet,
d'aire dolcet la fa rira-riret
per collir la videta.
Ài, llàsseta què faré
ni què diré.
Valga'm Deu, que estic dolenta:
l'amor és que m'aturmenta.


37. Alvar, Cantos de boda judío-españoles, p. 246.
42. Empaytaz, Albas y alboradas, no. LXXI, p. 100. Lope de Vega, La siega, MS 1762, B.N.M. BAB LVIII (Madrid, 1918), p. 136.
43. Lope de Vega, El Cardenal Belén, in Trezena parte de las comedias (Madrid, 1620), fol. 149; and in Bos, no. 31 (232), p. 341.
44. From Auto de los Hierros de Adán, ed. Leo Rouanet, in Colección de autos, farsas y coloquios del siglo XVI, 4 vols. (Madrid, 1901), vol. II, p. 223.
45. From Juan Vásquez, Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos a quatro y cinco (Sevilla, 1560).
48. Torner, no. 134, p. 234, from Lope de Vega, El Príncipe perfecto, Part II.
49. Romancero general, ed. Ángel González Palencia, no. 1001.
55. *Boa*, nos. 2, 68, 87, 344, 442, 443.


The Mozarabic Rite continued in use as the national liturgy of Spain until the end of the 11th century when Gregory VII imposed the Roman usage. The Mozarabic Rite was still in partial use at the beginning of the 16th century, when it was re-edited and printed on the orders of Cardinal Ximenes. Raby found it still used in the 20th century in Toledo and Salamanca.

64. Hatto, "Religion" in *Boa*, Ch. VI, p. 91.


71. A comprehensive survey by Tullio Gregory, "L'idea di natura nella filosofia medievale prima dell' ingresso della fisica di Aristotele", in La filosofia della natura nel Medioevo, Atti del III congresso internazionale di filosofia medievale (Milan, 1965), 27-65, provides much useful information on this subject and contains the quotations from St Augustine (p.27) (PL XXXVI 518), and from Gundissalinus (p.49) (De processione mundi, ed. Bülow in Beiträge XXIV, 3 (Munster, 1925), p. 52.

72. Philosophia Mundi I. 23; PL 172. 56.


74. In Gregory, "L'idea di natura". Gregory also quotes the same principle as emphasized by Bernard Silvestris: Mundus enim quiddam continuum et in ea catena nihil vel dissipabile vel abruptum De mundi universitate, ed. Barach-Wrobel (Innsbruck, 1876), p. 31.

75. Haskins has traced the movements of the twelfth-century translators: Adelard of Bath, Plato of Tivoli, Robert of Chester, Hermann of Carinthia and Gerard of Cremona were all attracted to Spain, where translation work was conducted in various places - Barcelona, Tarragona, Segovia, Leon, Pamplona - before the establishment of the principal centre in Toledo. Studies, p. 9.


79. E.H. Gombrich, Symbolic Images. Studies in the Art of the Renaissance (London, 1972): "Christianity had inherited from Platonism an essential argument in the justification of symbolism - what might be called the doctrine of the two worlds. Our world, the world of the senses as we know it, is in this interpretation no more than an imperfect reflection of the intelligible world, the world of the spirit", p. 146.

81. Huizinga, p. 204.

82. Huizinga, p. 200.

   "A beautiful shaded natural site. Its minimum ingredients comprise a tree or several trees, a meadow and a spring or brook. Birdsong and flowers may be added. The most elaborate examples also add a breeze."

84. Descriptio Loci from Ars Versificatoria.
   Natura studium locus est, quo veris abundant
   Delicias, veris gratia, veris opes.
   Blanditur Natura loco, donando favoris
   Prodiga, donatis rebus egere potest.
   Donandi transgressa modum, eibi nulla reservans,
   Purpurat ornatu floridior locum.
   Flos sapit, herba viret, parit arbor, fructus abundat,
   Garrit avis, rivus murmurat, aura tepot.
   Voce placent volucrés, umbra nemus, aura tepore,
   Fons potu, rivus murmuro, flore solum.


88. "Razón de amor as Christian Symbolism", Hispanic Review, XX (1952), 282-301. "The locus amoenus, then, is the Christian Church. The water of the spring is baptism. Its purifying, regenerative quality circulates through the Church and makes fruition possible", p. 290.


91. Juan de Linares, Cancionero llamado "Flor de enamorados" (Barcelona, 1582), re-edited by A. Rodríguez Mohino and D. Devoto (Valencia, 1954), fol. 33.
92. Torner, Lírica hispánica, no. 18, p. 42, from J.M. Furt, Cancionero popular rioplatense, I. 1082.


94. p. 230.

95. Cancionero llamado "Flor de enamorados", fol. 37.


98. Ecclesiasticus XXIV. 14.

99. See Asensio, Poética y realidad, p. 39.


102. IBA, ed. Joset, st. 163.

103. En essa misma forma, cosa es verdadera. acometió a Eva, de Adam compañera, cuando mordieron ambos la devedada pera; sentímosla los nietos aún essa dentera. st. 330 Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos, ed. Teresa Labarta de Chaves (Madrid, 1972), p. 125. Compare the villancico (LHTP 489) quoted above.

104. Davies (ed.), Medieval English Lyrics, no. 69, p. 158.

105. In Scriptural exegesis the shade of the tree of Eden is associated with Scientia, which leads to a false sense of security. See Robertson, "The Doctrine of Charity", p. 26.


108. p. 377, "Adelina, de paseo".
109. p. 396, "Murió al amanecer". The motif of throwing fruits - especially citrus fruits - appears widely in Spanish and Portuguese:

Arrojóme las naranjitas
con el ramo del verde azahar,
arrojómelas y arrojeselaa
y volviómelas (a) arrojar.

Reckert finds an analogue for this motif in the seventh century Chinese Book of Songs, Shih Ching, in which the lovers throw quinces at each other. Lyra Minima, p. 24.


111. Medieval English Lyrics, no. 5, p. 53.


115. Cancionero llamado "Flor de enamorados", fol. 28.

116. Torner, Lirica hispanica, no. 6, p. 29, from Olmeda, Folklore de Castilla, p. 65.

117. Torner, no. 6, p. 65.

118. In his discussion of the deliberately puritanical misinterpretation by modern critics of cancionero poetry, Keith Whinnom observes: "In a significant number of texts there is no possible doubt that the connotation of some of these terms is sexual. The word gloria in Juan del Encina, in the Celestina in the Comedia Thebeida, is a euphemism for sexual possession. In Italian poetry of this period morire is an erotic metaphor." Spanish Literary Historiography: three forms of distortion (Exeter, 1967), p. 22.

119. Lyra Minima, p. 36.

120. In Cancionero musical de Palacio, ed. H. Anglés (Barcelona, 1947), no. 142.

121. "The Origin of the Weaving Songs and the Theme of the Girl at the Fountain", Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, XXXVII (1922), 141-81. See Ch. II.

122. Lyra Minima, p. 46.
123. H. Flanders Dunbar's observation in relation to the Divine Comedy also holds good for the traditional lyric: "Symbolism, whether conscious or unconscious, always fundamental in thinking, became in the Middle Ages both the natural medium of thought and expression, and an instrument consciously developed as the truest means of penetration into the mystery of reality", *Symbolism in Medieval Thought and its Consummation in the Divine Comedy* (New Haven, 1929), p. 24.

124. With time of course the intensity of much medieval symbolism has become diluted; this perhaps accounts for the reservations expressed by Carlos H. Magis:

Por la sutileza del mecanismo en que se funda, y por el carácter oscuro de su referencia, el símbolo presenta algunos problemas. Uno de ellos es la deturpación y la estereotipia a que se halla expuesto. El otro es la dificultad de trazar de modo preciso el límite que lo separa de la metáfora. En este último caso están algunas figuras cuya caracterización es un dilema. El conflicto importa porque podría tratarse de símbolos cuyo uso como elementos poéticos sería más reciente y general que el de los que acabamos de ver. Me refiero a la figura "cortar o deshojar la flor" que para mí es un símbolo de la posesión sexual. Creo que en otros casos equivalentes en apariencia, la sustitución de planos se realiza por caminos más lúcidos que el de la pura intuición.

La lírica popular contemporánea: España, México, Argentina (Mexico City, 1969), p. 335.
CHAPTER IV
Religion and Poems of Meeting

Attitudes to God

As we have already seen in the study of the language of the dawn kharijâa, the pervasive influence of the Church in the Christian culture of Muslim Spain appears to have been of considerable importance in the composition of popular Mozarabic poetry. The influence of religion is, however, not merely implicit in the lyrical love poetry of the Peninsula but in many instances is also explicit. God is frequently invoked as the arbiter of love's cause, and the passage of time is marked by religious festivals which may bring lovers together or may intensify the length of absence. In the cantigas, the festivals are situated in place as well as in time: the celebration of a particular saint's festival involves a pilgrimage to the appropriate shrine and this obviously affords greater scope for the metaphorical representation of the lovers' situation.

The popular poetry of the Peninsula, particularly in Galicia, is pervaded by the sense of religion. Religion plays a major role in the lives of the protagonists and they are unable, least of all in love, to escape the religious precepts by which they are conditioned. This does not, however, necessarily mean that love and religion are antagonistically opposed to each other, for it seems that it is only with the deliberate, intellectual heresies of the courtly poems of Bolseiro that the love/religion dichotomy actually becomes a moral dilemma. The attitude of the early poetry of the
Peninsula reveals a more primitive, all-embracing concept of the relationship between God and his Creation. In these poems God is responsible for the whole of his Creation, not least for man's ability to love and for the suffering that love may bring. God is, therefore, freely called upon to aid lovers in distress and it is only natural to regard the festivals of God's Church as preordained occasions for lovers to meet.

The first extant references to religious festivals in popular Spanish poetry occur in the kharja. In the kharja adopted by the Hebrew poet Yehuda Halevi the Christian festival of Easter, also the Jewish feast of the Passover, indicates the passage of time in his lament for his bereaved friend Moshe Ibn Ezra:

Venid la pasca ayun sin ellu
... meu corajon por ellu. ¹

The complete fusion of the three cultures of Southern Spain is well illustrated by this kharja in which the Hebrew poet adopts the most important Christian feast day, and by another which celebrates a festival which García Gómez identifies with St John's Night, the Midsummer Solstice: the designation of the festival and the customs associated with it are Arabic in the Mozarabic kharja:

'Albo día este día
Diya de l'ansara ḥaqqa!
Beṣirey me-w l-mudabbaṭ
wa naṣuqqi r-rumḥa šaqqa. ²

It was according to García Gómez a Muslim custom to don new clothes on the feast of La Ansara and the tournament became the traditional means of celebration. Apart from the fact that both the Christian and the Muslim festivals celebrate the
summer solstice, García Gómez adduces more specific evidence, mainly from the works of Lope de Vega, to establish a closer connection between the two. He quotes from a poem which Lope places in the mouth of a Morisco:

El mañana de San Juan
al tiempo que el manecía
gran fiesta hace dé los moros
al senior San Juan Baptista.

¡Ay ha!

Salimos todos al vega
divididos al cuadrillas:
Benzaide llevar leonado
con lunas de plata fina.

¡Ay ha!

Alcaide de los donceles
una marlota marília,
toda de Mahomas de oro
e mil arábegas cifras.

¡Ay ha!

In fact the ballad of the capture of Guarinos, based on a thirteenth-century epic, depicts Christians, Moors and Jews engaged in the celebrations appropriate to the festival:

Van días y vienen días,
la fiesta era San Juan,
en que moros y cristianos
hacen gran solemnidad:
los moros esparcen juncia,
los cristianos arrayán
y los judíos anean
por la fiesta más honorar.
Marlotas con alegría
un tablado mandó armar;
los moros con algazara
empiezan de tirar.

J.G. Armistead and J.H. Silverman have shown that there exist much closer parallels to the Mozarabic kharija in the ballad tradition than the artificial ballad by Lope de Vega adduced by García Gómez. They maintain that Lope was only imitating a popular ballad much printed in the sixteenth century, La pérdida de Antequera:
La mañana de San Juan al punto que alboreaba gran fiesta hazen los moros por la bega de Granada, revolviendo sus caballos y jugando de las langas: ricos pendones en ellas labradas por sus amadas, ricas aljubas bestidas de sedas y finas granas ricos albornozes puestos tezidos de oro y plata. El moro que amores tiene señales d'ellos mostraua, mas quien amores no abía, allí no escaramuçaba.

Armistead and Silverman trace many variants of this ballad introduction in other ballads. Echoes of it are still to be found among the Jews of Morocco, in Portugal and in the Asturias. Armistead and Silverman conclude that the striking concordance in theme and metre between the ballad introductions and the kharja militate in favour of a direct relationship between the two. The Galician version which they quote is remarkable for its complete assimilation to the Galician dawn tradition of the visit to the well, albeit rendered a lo divino:

Mañancina de San Xoan cando o sol alborexaba
Xesucristo se paseia ao redor da fonte crara.

The element of donning new decorative apparel, which is prominent in the kharja and in the ballads, reappears in a variety of guises in the San Juan lyrics of Castile, both in the symbolical context:

Ya no me porné guarñalda
la mañana de San Juan

and in the evocative:

La verbena verde
que viste las selvas
albas de San Juan.

There are also the Castilian lyric reminiscences of the chivalric competitions suggested in the kharjas:

La mañana de San Juan, damas,
ciñe el rey sus armas.

Invocations to the deity are rare in the kharjas and,
strangely, the three extant occurrences are all addressed not to the Christian God of the Mozarabs but to Allah. One instance is to be found in the kharja used by el Ciego de Tudela, Abu-l-Abbas al-Ama al Tutili, who died in 1126:

Amanu, amanu! Ya l-malah gare;  
Borké tu (me) qeres, ya-llah, matare?  

Abu Bakr Yahya, who died in 1145, employs a similarly plangent kharja:

Mew yelos ka-rey  
Mi-a morte la trey,  
Arifu kulli say,  
E non sè yo nada;  
Bi-llah, ké farey?  

If García Gómez's version of the kharja is somewhat fanciful, Stern's rendering is extremely conservative:

.............
meu morte (?)
gar(?) que(?)...
bi-llah que faray  

but it nevertheless incorporates the operative exclamation. Likewise Stern does not commit himself to an interpretation of the kharja used by the Cid's contemporary, Abu Isa ibn Labbun

Garid me(?)  
.....ya qawmi  
..... bi-llah  

.............  

Stern 49

while García Gómez's translation obviously places the kharja firmly in the Arabic tradition of the illness of love:

Garide-me  
Kom' mew sidi, ya qaumu  
- Tara, bi-llah-  
Su melesim no dad-lo.  

G.G. XXXVII

Clearly in all three instances, despite the difficulties of translation, the references to Allah are merely perfunctory Arabic exclamations with no religious significance. They
illustrate once more the intermingling of the cultures of the region: a supposedly Christian girl adopts Arabic colloquialisms.

Although the underlying inspiration for the kharjas, at least for the dawn kharjas, may well be found in the Christian liturgy, the poems themselves do not demonstrate any religious emotion or suggest a continuance of superstitious practices. The earliest reference to the festivities of St John's Day contained in the kharjas, like its Castilian successors, bears no strong religious connotations and, as in the Castilian sanjuanadas, no mention is made of the religious rites of the feast day. The atmosphere is that of any holiday - a time of merry-making and of amorous encounters. In like manner, the frequent Castilian interjection, '¡Ay Dios!', recalls the 'bi-allah' of the kharjas and is merely a common exclamation.

In the cantigas de amigo, however, religion plays a far more significant role; it permeates the poems and is inextricably involved in the love affairs which they relate. God, far from being simply the subject of involuntary exclamations, is held responsible for the lovers' fate. His name is invoked in oft-repeated formulae which may have become mere perfunctory interjections but which by their frequency and insistence smack of superstitious incantation. Many of these formulae correspond to the 'bi-allah', '¡Ay Dios!' type:

"par Deus, vi-t'en grave dia, aí amor!"  Cdea I
Mais, Deus, como pode durar.  Cdea VI
amiga, par Deus, de grado.  Cdea VII
aí, Deus, e u é ?  Cdea XIX
Par Deus de Cruz, dona, sei eu que avedes amor  
Cdea CIII

Por Nostro Senhor  
Cdea CCCLIX

There are, too, frequent longer phrases which may also be casual in function:

se Deus mi valha  
Cdea VII

valha Deus!  
Cdea XXI

ai, Deus val  
Cdea CC

There is, however, in these phrases a subtle transformation; God gradually becomes more involved in the action:

se Deus me de ben  
Cdea CCLVII

assi Deus m'empar  
Cdea CCOIXXXVII

se Deus me perdon  

His name ceases to be a mere formula as it becomes clear that God actually participates in the subject matter of the cantigas. It is God who ordains the birth of the love affair:

pois me vos Deus por' amigo deu  
Cdea C  
(Joan d'Avoin)
e mi a vös por amiga

he determines its course:

e, amigo, grado já Deus que vos veen os olhos meus  
Cdea LXVIII  
(Vaasco Praga de Sandin)

he sanctions the union of the lovers, using the girl's mother as his agent:

Vi-vos, madre, con meu amig'aqui oje falar e ouv'en gran prazer, porque o vi de cabo vós erger led', e tenho que mi faz Deus ben i  
Cdea XXXVII  
(Don Dinis)

It may be, however, that divine will conflicts with parental authority:
Rogues-vos eu, madre, ai gran sazon,
por meu amig'a que quero gram ben
que o viis'eu e a vós non progu'en,
mais, poi-lo eu já vi, de coração
gradesc' a Deus que mi-o fezo veer
e que non ei a vós que gradecer.  Cdea CCLI
(Vaasco Rodríguez de Calvelo)

It is in God's power to control the emotions of the lover:

Ai meu amigu' e meu senhor
e lume d'estes olhos meus,
por que non quer agora Deus
que non ajades tal sabor
de viver migo, qual eu ouv'i
de viver vosco, des que vós vi?  Cdea CXXXIII
(Pero Gonçalvez Pontocarreiro)

Oaths are made with God as witness:

Amiga, do meu amigo
(o)i eu oje recado:
que a viv'e namorado
d'outra dona ben vos digo,
mais jur' a Deus que quiser
oir ante que mort'era.  Cdea CCLXXV
(John Airas)

and his help is enlisted in wreaking vengeance:

Id'e meu amigo d'aqui
e non me quis ante veer
e Deus mi tolha parecer
e quanto de ben a en mi,
se el ven e m'eu non vingar,
quan'el quiser migo falar.  Cdea CCLXVII
(Roy Fernandez)

God is in fact the girl's confidant and she addresses him as
she would her friends or the 'cervas':

Ai, Deus a vo-lo digo:
foi-s'or o meu amigo:
e se o verei, velida!  Cdea CXXXIII
(João Soares Coelho)

and it is as an object of God's creation that the amiga
justifies her own vanity in front of the mirror:
Direi verdade, de Deus mi perdon:  
o meu amigo, se mi quer gran ben  
non lho gradesco e mais d'outra ren  
grades'a Deus eno meu coracon  
que m'el fremosa fez; tanto mi deu  
tanto de ben quanto lhi pedi eu.  
God is the Creator of all things: he created love and lovers,  
making of this earth a better place than Paradise:  
O paraixo bôo x' é'de pran,  
a o fez Deus e non digu'eu de non,  
mai-los amigos, que no mundo son,  
(e) amigas muit'ambos lezer am;  
aqueste mundo x'est a melhor ren  
das que Deus fez a quen el i faz ben.  
The remarkable uniformity and uniqueness of the religious  
attitude of the Galician cantigas de amigo is further enhanced  
by comparison with the Provençal. It used to be a cliche of  
medieval studies to talk of the 'heresy of courtly love':  
Denomy, for example, condemned the love which the troubadours  
extol in no uncertain terms:  
Courtly Love was formed, developed and spread in a  
milieu that was fundamentally Christian and which had  
been so for centuries. The lyrics that voice the  
sentiments of Courtly Love were written by men who  
were for the most part Christian and who had been  
reared in that faith and that atmosphere. Aside  
from a purely surface coloring and the transference  
of the Christian virtues to the lover, there is little  
or no trace of Christianity in their love lyrics.  
When the troubadours do refer to God and to holy  
things, invariably their references strike us as  
shocking and irreverent. The conception of love  
they developed is directly at variance with Christian  
morality. It is impossible to reconcile the tenets  
of Courtly Love with the commandments of God, with  
the teaching of Christ and of His Church.  
Courtly Love is neither moral nor immoral. It  
is amoral in the sense that it is wholly divorced  
from Christian morality.  

The seeds of this approach were sown, though perhaps not as  
dogmatically as Dronke suggests, by C.S. Lewis in his
demonstration of Ovidian influence in the *Concilium in Monte Romarici*:

The result is a close and impudent parody of the practices of the Church in which Ovid becomes a doctor egregius and the *Ars Amatoria* a gospel. 14

Lewis does, however, take the Ovidian analogy further than is justified, though with certain qualifications, and interpolates the parody of religion into the work of the lyric poets:

The variations are not only between jest and earnest: for the love religion can become more serious without becoming reconciled to the real religion. Where it is not a parody of the Church, it may be, in a sense, her rival - a temporary escape, a truancy from the ardours of a religion that was believed into the delights of a religion that was merely inspired.

Certainly this interpretation might justifiably be applied to the lament of the girl in Bolseiro's *cantiga*:

\[\text{Pater nostrus rez'eu mais de cento por aquel que morreu na vora cruz, que el mi mostre mui ced(o) a luz mais mostra-mi as noites d'avento, mais, se masesse con meu amigo a luz agora seria migo.} \]

*Cdea CCCXCVI*

But in fact a cursory inspection of the poetry of the Provençal troubadours reveals an attitude to religion which is wide-ranging and inconsistent - from the zeal of the Crusaders to the unconscious exclamations of the Ai, Deius type. There are indeed many similarities with the Galician attitude in the invocations to God and acknowledgements of his power and intervention. God is the God of Creation who made the beloved:

\[\text{Ai, bon' amors encobida,} \\
\text{Cors be faihz, delgatz e plas,} \\
\text{Frescha chara colorida,} \\
\text{Cui Deus formet ab sas mas!} \]  

*p. 51*  

Bernart de Ventadour, V
The lover's fate lies in God's hands:

Cui Deus vol ben si l'aiuda,
G'a mi volc ben longamen,
Qe. m det un ric joi gauzen
De vos, c'ara ai perduda.  p. 125, Uc de Saint Circ, XIX

and Beatrice de Die assumes that divine will must take her part:

in Dompnidieus non vuilla
Q'en ma colpa sia-l departimens  p. 67, VIII

Bernart de Ventadour even calls the wrath of God down on the scandalmongers who have come between him and his mistress:

Deus li do mal'escharida
Qui porta mauvais mesatge,
Qu'eu agra amor jauzida,
Si no foso lauzenger.  p. 56, VI

There is at the same time throughout Provençal poetry a vein of irony in the treatment of religion which appears to be quite deliberate and which is not found to the same extent in Galician.  Guillem IX trusts that God will allow him to live long enough to make love again:

Enquer me lais Dieus viure tan
C'aja mas manz soz so mantel!  p. 37, Guillem de Poitiers, II

and Guillem de Cabestanh, in a blatant piece of sophistry, implies that the beauty of his lady rivals that of Eve:

Anc pus N'Adam culhic del fust
Lo fruig don tug em en tabust
Tam bella no.n aspiret Crist;
Del cors benesstan, car e just,
Blanco e lis plus qu'un almatist.  p. 67, Guillem de Cabestanh, X

Although this poet sees himself about to repeat the Fall, his allusions can hardly be said to be heretical, only irreverent perhaps, or at worst profane.

It is, however, in the artificial cult of supposedly adulterous love and the deification of Amore that arguments
for the heretical nature of troubadour poetry might most strongly be asserted. Bernart de Ventadour relates the effects of embracing the precepts of love:

Non es meravelha s’eu chan  
Melhs de nul autre chantador,  
Que plus me tra.L cors vas amour  
E melhs sui faihz a so coman.  
Cor e cors e saber e sen  
E fors’e poder i ai mes;  
Si.m tira vas amor lo fres  
Que vas autra part no m’aten.  
p. 44, IV

The whole concept of Love now permeates the poet’s existence and rules the course of his life. The God of Love is, however, fickle and cruel:

Eu, las! cui Amors oblida,  
Que sui fors del dreih viatge  
p. 55, VI

and eventually the poet realises that all his attempts to understand Love, to reduce it to a comprehensible system of ideas, have come to nought:

Ai, las! tan cuidava saber  
D’amor, et tan petit en sai!  
Car eu d’amar no.m posc tener  
Geleis don ja pro non aurai.  
p. 60, VII

Folquet de Marseille attempts to come to terms with Love by reducing it and its companion forces to allegorical figures:

Mout i fetz gran peoch Amors,  
Quant li plac que.s mezes en me,  
Quar Merco no i aduiss ab se  
Ab que s’adousses ma dolors:  
p. 94, Folquet de Marseille, XIV

It is perhaps in this type of allegory that we see the Provençal God of Love for what he really is — an attempt by man to master in philosophical terms the unwieldy passions of his own biology. Love does not therefore represent a rival to true religion, and this is quite plain in Pons de Chapteuil’s lament on the death
of his lady-love; the poet does not envisage her beatification in a lovers' paradise but in the conventional Christian paradise in the company of the angels: 17

Aras podem saber que l'angel aus
Son de sa mort alegre e jauzen,
Qu'a'uzit ai dir, e trobam o ligen:
Cui lauza pobles, lauza Dominus. p. 101, XV

It would appear that troubadour poetry, despite the Cathar heresies of Provence, should be viewed in the context of a reasonably orthodox Christian background, the strength of which can be inferred from the references to God and to Christ in the poetry. Indeed, fanciful though the biographies of the troubadours are now deemed to be, it is worth remembering that the biography of Bernart de Ventadour recounts his retirement to a monastery after a life of courtly activity:

En Bernartz, per aquella dolor, si s'en rendet a l'ordre de Dalon, e lai el definet. 18

The Monk of Montaudon, moreover, is reported as having brought such honour and wealth to his monastery through his art that the Abbot of Orlao granted his request to attend the court of Alfonso II of Aragon. There is, nevertheless, among the troubadours an incipient tendency to break away, to experiment and to satirise. Risqué parallels, ironic asides and the specific identification and isolation of Love as a unique force, albeit an element of God's Creation, are all symptoms of this tendency and represent an intellectual progression from the simplicity and candour of the watchman's prayers which in their expression may hark back to an earlier popular tradition. Guiraut de Bornelh's watchman prays for his friend in the style of a hymn:
Reis glorios, verais lums e clartatz,
Deus poderos, Senher ...

a style echoed by Raimon de las Salas:

Dieus, aidatz
S'a vos platz,
Senher cars,
(E) dous e verais...

and his watchman's call at first light suggests popular inspiration:

...Tro la gayta orida que l'alba vi.
Oy Dieus, oy Dieue, de l'alba! tan tost ve.

There is, in short, within the Christian framework a fairly liberal concept of God and of the role of religion in the lives of the protagonists. Although there are various points of common usage with Galician, the poems of the troubadours do not portray the obsessions with religion and with the involvement of God in the lives of the protagonists that are typical of the cantigas. Blasphemy in the cantigas is rare, occurring only in Bolseiro's poems where the girl dismisses the light of Christ in favour of the light of the lover, and perhaps in Guilhade's concept of the lovers' paradise rivalling the celestial. Only, too, in a couple of instances is Love represented as an entity:

Rogo-te, ai Amor, que queiras migo morar
tod'este tempo, en que vai andar
a Granada meu amigo.

Huit'ei, ai Amor, que te gradescer,
por que quiseste comigo morar
e nom me quiseste desemparar.

In these two poems, as in Bolseiro's cantigas, Love has usurped religion and is worshipped in the same terms which, in other
cantigas, the girl uses to appeal to God. It is, too, in poems such as these that one sees the bridge in the relationship between the cantigas de amigo and the cantigas de amor. Typically of the cantigas de amigo the girl is the mouthpiece for the song and the song may even assume the traditional parallelistic form, but the expressions are contrived and courtly, akin to those of the cantigas de amor.\(^\text{22}\)

It is important at this juncture to turn to the cantigas de amor to compare the attitude to religion in them with both the Provençal and that of the cantigas de amigo. The result, as one might expect, shows a hybrid effect – an amalgam of the heavily superstitious religious emphasis of the cantigas de amigo with perhaps a hankering for more daring improvisations in the Provençal style. As in the cantigas de amigo, exclamations abound:

\begin{align*}
\text{assy Deus me perdon} & (\text{III}) \\
\text{poys Deus quer assy} & (\text{V}) \\
\text{Ay Deus} & (\text{VII}) \\
\text{a Deus loado} & (\text{IX}) \\
\text{par Nostro Senhor} & (\text{XIV}) \\
\text{quis Deus} & (\text{XVIII}) \\
\text{Par Deus} 23 & (\text{XIX})
\end{align*}

and, as in the cantigas de amigo, God is apparently the master-mind, the all-powerful force who can create a love affair and who decreed the beauty of the beloved:

\begin{align*}
\text{porque moyr'eu polo seu} & \\
\text{parecer que lhy Deus deu} & \\
\text{a esta (e) louçania} & \text{Pero Vyvyaez} \\
\text{Gde amor XXI}
\end{align*}

God is the witness of the lover's fidelity:

\begin{align*}
\text{Ca de pran Deus non vos perdoará} & \\
\text{a mha morte, ca El sabe mui ben} & \text{Don Dinis} \\
\text{ca sempre foy meu saber e meu sen} & \text{Gde amor XXXI} \\
\text{en vos servir.}
\end{align*}
The concept of the loving Christian God, however, cannot embrace the incongruity of the sufferings which the lover undergoes, and to account for this suffering the poet has to introduce the literary concept of the Ovidian god of love, Amor:

Nunca Deus fez tal coyta qual eu ey (XXXV)
Tanto me coyta e trax mal Amor (LXXII)

A dichotomy arises here, as it does not in Provençal, between God and Love; blind Amor becomes the force of evil and God the only hope of salvation:

A min fez gram ben querer
Amor hua molher tal
que sempre quis o meu mal
a que praz d'eu morrer
e, poys que o quer fazer,
non posa' eu fazer hi al,
mays Deus, que sab' o gram torto
que mi ten, mi de conorto
a este mal sen mesura,
que tanto comigo dura.  

Don Dinis
Cde amor XUI

God's aid is enlisted against Amor, which is here not the ennobling force that it was for the Provençal troubadours but the dismal harbinger of Love's illness:

En grave dia que vos vi, Amor,
poys a de que sempre foy servidor
me fez e faz cada dia peyor,
e poys ey por vos tal coyta mortal,
faça Deus sempre ben a mha senhor
e vos, Amor, ajades todo mal.  

Don Dinis
Cde amor LXXXVIII

Ultimately, though, even divine power is of no avail against the power of Love:

E non mi val
Deus, non mi val,
e d'este mal
moyr'eu
moyr'eu
moyr'eu.

Roy Fernandiz
Cde amor CLVI
An effect of this constant juxtaposition of God and Amor is that God is reduced to the level of a literary cliche, a foil to enhance the power of Love. It then becomes possible to construct word plays on such concepts as his might:

Non pode Deus, pero pod'en poder,
poder El tanto, pero poder ha,
ja hua dona non me tolherá
ben, pero pode quanto quer poder;
(a) ssey eu d'El hua rren, a la ffé,
que, pero El pod', enquanto Deus he,
sseu ben que perca non pod'El poder.  

Joan Lobeyra
Ode amor II

The similarity of expression in the cantigas de amigo and the cantigas de amor masks a definite change in philosophy which extends beyond the reaches of literary ingenuity. As we have seen, the God of the cantigas de amigo is at one with his whole creation. In the cantigas de amor, the idea, which may be incipient but is by no means fully or consistently developed in Provençal, of a dichotomy or a moral dilemma between the Christian God and a deity of Love is much more forcibly presented. It may be that the cantigas represent in miniature a reflection of the thirteenth-century schism of religion and philosophy provoked by the diffusion throughout Europe from Alfonso el Sabio's centre of learning and translation at Toledo and from the Sicilian court of Frederick II of Aristotelian rationalism. The archaic cantigas de amigo portray the old, secure, unified order of things with God as man's sole authority. It is possible to see in the cantigas de amor a suggestion of the new order in which God remains man's spiritual authority but has to contend with man's ability to rationalise the forces of the natural world and dissociate them from his influence. For chronological reasons it is obviously not possible to
discern, as Denomy tried to do, the effect of Latin Averroism in the compositions of the Provençal troubadours, but it is quite feasible to postulate its influence on the minds of men who frequented the court of Alfonso el Sabio in the thirteenth century. Thus, in the cantigas de amor, alongside the persistent religious fervour which they inherit from the pristine traditional poems, the cantigas de romaría in particular and the cantigas de amigo in general, Aristotelianism raises the spectre of a natural force which the human race is bound to obey but which cannot be reconciled with divine will.

While in both the cantigas de amigo and the cantigas de amor the attitude to God is at once more uniform, more intense and less philosophical than in the Provençal courtly poems, the attitude of the cantigas de amigo is much more naive and all-embracing than that of the cantigas de amor, and in the cantigas de amigo the acceptance of the natural harmony between Creator and Creation is uncritical. It does not seem possible to find a satisfactory precedent for the religious intensity of the cantigas outside the region of Galicia and one has, therefore, to assume that it was already a long-established element of national culture when the Galician troubadours began their recasting of the popular love songs and their composing of imitations.

The Galician Pilgrimage

The religious intensity of the cantigas de amigo may reflect the pantheistic nature of the primitive pagan religions of the north-western corner of the Peninsula now lurking under the guise of Christianity, and may well be a logical progression
from the superstitious worship of the fertility gods and goddesses of fountain and forest. Certainly the frequency of the catch-phrase evocations - se Deus me perdon, se Deus me valha, se Deus ben me de - and the constant desire to involve God in the action of the cantigas bring to mind St Martin of Braga's admonitions to his wayward flock whose every action appears to have been ruled by a pagan code, accompanied by numerous incantations which St Martin sought to christianise to the glory of God:

Non liceat in collectione herbarum quae medicinales sunt aliaque observationes aut incantationes attendere, nisi tantum cum symbolo divino aut oratione dominica ut Deus creator omnium et dominus honoreetur. 26

It may be that it is precisely this process recommended by St Martin that we witness in the love poetry of Galicia. Inevitably there is a considerable gap between the paganism of the sixth century and the poetry of the thirteenth; this gap, however, is narrowed when one realises that, for all the emphasis on Deus in the cantigas, his position is none the less precarious for, particularly in the parallelistic cantigas, Deus is easily, unconsciously, exchanged for the spirits of the landscape and, instead of sighing 'Ai, Deus', the girl turns for comfort to the trees:

- Ai flores, ai, flores do verde pło,
and, as easily, in the refrain she turns again to Deus:

ai, Deus, e u é?  

Don Dinis  
Cdea XIX

Similarly she turns to the hinds of the mountain, minions perhaps of Diana Venatrix:

Ai cervas do monte, vin vos preguntar

Pero Meogo  
Cdea CCCXXIV
or to the sea gods, again invoked interchangeably with the Christian God:

Ondas do mar de Vigo,  
se vistes meu amigo!  
e ai Dous, se verra cedo!  

This evidence is inevitably somewhat circumstantial, but from another Celtic source, outside the Peninsula, comes a clear indication of the inseparable association in the Celtic imagination of the love ritual and the now christianised religion in terms which are strongly suggestive of some past pagan incantation. The lover's Lorica, known as the Leyden Lorica, is of Irish provenance; in it the lover beseeches God that love may descend and pervade every aspect of the loved one's person - 'a uertice capitis/usque ad plantas pedum'.

The features of the beloved's person are meticulously detailed in the first part of the Lorica:

capillos cutem.  
uerticem frontem. tergum crebrum.  
oculars palpebras nares. genas aures  
labia dentes gignas facies linguam.

In the second part, God and the archangels are invoked by name and the suppliant goes on to call to his aid not only the whole company of heaven but all creation as well. In the light of St Martin of Braga's gentle but insistent admonitions, it is perhaps significant that the lover calls upon the features of the natural landscape to implement his supplication:

adiuro uos noctes et dies tenebre et luna ut euacuatis  
adiuro uos ligna omnia et lapides et onore et momenta  
ut euacuatis cor. N pro amore meo.

This erotic Lorica is contained in a manuscript of the ninth or tenth century. It conforms very closely in style to the Lorica of Gildas, which was probably composed in 547, and prays
for protection from demons for every part of the body, a reference perhaps to the yellow plague which in that year invaded Europe from Persia. \(^{29}\) Such invocations, couched in the peculiarly idiosyncratic Latin, \textit{latinitatis hisperica}, of the Celtic monasteries of the British Isles, betray, according to Celtic specialists, all the features of Celtic composition, particularly in the detailed enumeration of the first section. \(^{30}\)

It is significant in this respect that the diocese of Britonia or Britania was peopled, as its name suggests, in the fifth and sixth centuries by Britons fleeing from the Anglo-Saxon invasion of their native territory. In Galicia the central monastery of the British area was the 'monasterium Maximi'. It and its surrounding churches were organised in the Celtic manner, and it would appear that the emigre Britons brought their own traditions with them. The British Bishop Mailoc was the first to participate in the provincial council of Braga in 572. The monastery of Maximus can be identified with the Church of Santa María de Britoña near Mondoñedo. \(^{31}\)

It is therefore quite possible that prayers of the \textit{Lorica} type existed in Celtic Galicia and it may be that they are the inspiration for some aspects of the \textit{cantigas de romaria} and may even account for the religious fervour of the \textit{cantigas} as a whole. In a somewhat eccentric study, L. Wiener asserts that the \textit{Lorica} of Gildas must be of Arabic or Mozarabic origins because of linguistic similarities between the strange Celtic Latin in which the \textit{Lorica} is couched and Arabic expressions in prayers from the Koran and prayers against demons from the Mozarabic Liturgy. \(^{32}\) He fails, however, to take account of the scholarship of Celtic experts in dating the \textit{Lorica} at about
Wiener's study is useful, however, in the context of this discussion in that it draws attention to a Spanish Latin anatomical poem which may indicate that a longer *Lorica* type incantation was known in the Peninsula:

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Partibus (his) constat humanae machina carnis
sed multipliciter quae numerentur habes;
portio prima caput, collut as brachia, truncus
inera, sensus inera, femora, crura, pedes,
auditus, visus, gustus, olfactio, tactus
aure, oculis, ore, nare, cute corporis extant. 33
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Modern scholarship has tended to concentrate on the poetic sophistications of the *cantigas de romeria* and to stress the importance of the vogue for their composition in cycles among troubadour poets who would certainly have come to know each other at court and on campaign. It is fashionable to disregard the history of the Galician shrines, painstakingly researched by Michælis. 34 Asensio, while admitting the reflection in the *cantigas de romeria* of popular inspiration and culture, nevertheless asserts:

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Muchos indicios apuntan que nos hallamos muy lejos del manantial y en pleno paisaje literario.
Estamos ante una pintura realista de costumbres sino ante una motivación de temas tradicionales. 35
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Asensio concedes that occasionally the pristine fervour of an original *romaria* poem emerges, but in general he regards these poems as:

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meras oportunidades, a menudo, para variar el tema del encuentro, la soledad del corazón.
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His reasons for this attitude appear to be twofold. First, because, apart from the local colour evoked by the rituals, there is little attempt to specify the particular role of each saint, and, secondly, the archaic opening formula of many of the *romaria* poems — 'Fui eu a San Servando...', 'Fui eu madre en romaria...' — is used interchangeably for *pastorelos* and
serranillas as well as for romarias. As we have seen, however, the all-pervasive religion of the cantigas as a whole, not simply in the romaria poems, cannot satisfactorily be accounted for by courtly influence and, therefore, a study of its popular origins is unavoidable.

José Filgueira Valverde adopts a similar approach to that of Asensio; he suggests that the cycles of the cantigas de romaria may have been composed by troubadour poets away from home on campaign, nostalgically recalling the customs of their native land:

Las menciones marineras, el recuerdo de lugares, los recuerdos costumbristas ... todo tiene mucho de poesía nostálgica y de distancia.

Filgueira Valverde has, however, identified many of the sites of the shrines of the cantigas and attests the continued popularity of the pilgrimage in modern Galicia. Rituals, such as bathing in the sea, the blessing of branches and even conjuration, are still observed in some areas. Nocturnal vigils, the bringing of offerings and the burning of candles or of wax images form part of the various ceremonials and accord still with the description of the pilgrimage in the Cantigas de Santa Maria:

A aqueste logar con devogón veen i as gentes e son romeus por servis á nobre Madre de Deus et dan i todos muy grand’ofregón C.S.M. 326
e quisou por en candeas et cera et al que convén a tod’ aquel que en romaria for 37 C.S.M. 298

It is generally accepted that many of the shrines in honour of the Christian saints were erected on the sites of former pagan altars, and it would seem that the pagan practices of
these places were perpetuated in the subsequent Christian ceremonial. The blessing of trees, conjuration and the burning of candles were all rituals condemned by St Martin of Braga in *De Correctione Rusticorum*; he asks:

Nam ad petras et ad arbores et ad fontes et pertriuia cereolos incendere quid est aliud, nisi cultura diaboli? 38

As in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, candles and wax images form a constant motif of the *cantigas de romaria*:

> Quer'eu ora mui cedo provar se poderei ir queimar mis candees con gran coita que ei, e por veer meu amigo log'u'i

Airas Corpancho
Cdea CXVII

The motif of the wax image of the lover which the girl takes to the shrine is an instance of an extensive custom which may date from Roman times. That the custom was known in Italy is evident from Boccaccio's parodic use of it in his *Decameron* (Eighth Day, Seventh Story): Elena, a gullible but malicious widow, believes the scholar Rinieri who has good reason to avenge himself on her, when he tells her that the most effective way to bring her lover to her presence is to bathe seven times naked by night in the river clutching a tin image of the lover and then to climb a tree or tower (in the same state of undress) and recite certain incantatory verses. In Gil Vicente's *Auto da India*, the unfaithful wife mimics the sentiments of the *cantigas de romaria* to impress her returning husband with her concern for his well-being; she professes to have wept, to have said prayers and to have offered his wax image at the altar:
Eu fui-me de madrugada
a nossa Senhora d'Oliveira.
E co'a memoria da cruz
fiz-lhe dizer huma missa,
e prometi-vos em camisa
a Sancta Maria da Luz;
e logo á quinta feira
fui-me ao Spirito Sancto
com outra missa tambem:
chorei tanto que ninguem
nunca cuidou ver tal pranto. 39

The tradition still persists in Portugal in 1977 of bringing

candles, sometimes very large ones, and wax images to the altar

of the church or shrine. Pilgrims to Fátima, the site of the

apparition of the Virgin in 1910, bring wax models of the part

of the body for which a cure is solicited and, in the

conservative cathedral of Braga, the altars of the cloister

are laden with the heads, sculpted in wax, of loved ones for

whom divine grace is sought. The style of these heads is

remarkably similar to that of Roman ex-votos in pottery on

display in the Museo San Marcos in León.

The romaria is not, however, simply a pretext for a lovers'

meeting: it is actually an intrinsic part of a christianised

ritual of love. The candles always serve as a prelude to that

meeting, as if the girl, possibly intoning an oration similar

to that of the Irish Lorica, hopes to conjure up her lover's

presence in the candle flame:

Fui eu rogar muit' a Nostro Senhor,
non por mia alma candees queimar,
mas por veer o que eu muit' amei
sompr', e non veo o meu traedor: Afonso Lopez de Baian
Cdea CIXXII

In fact, although, in the cantigas, oraçon becomes synonymous

with romaria in some cases:

A San Servando foi en oraçon
eu, que o viss', e non foi el enton
João Servando
Cdea CCCCLXXIV
Poís todas i van de grado oração fazer

Cdea CCCLXIX

in others, oração remains a specific part of the pilgrimage as its interchanging use with 'candeas queimar' here makes clear:

Estava-m'en San Clemengo
u fora fazer oração

Estava-m'en San Clemengo
u fora candeas queimar

Kuno Perez
Cdea CCCXXX

It is perhaps ironic that the influence not only of the popular Galician pilgrimage ritual, but also, possibly, of the erotic prayer, is seen for the first time in a lyrical poetic context not in Galician but in Provençal. At the end of the twelfth century, Arnaut Daniel declares his total enslavement to his beloved - in the words of the Lorica, 'from head to foot', he hears masses and burns candles in the hope that God will grant his prayers. The poet's religious ardour is, however, seen in its true perspective when finally he spurns the religious imagery which he has just been using to describe the intensity of his passion by declaring that he would not exchange his lady love for Luserna. Though not positively identified, Luserna may have been the town on the pilgrim route to Santiago, which occurs frequently in the chansons de geste:

Tot jorn meillur et esmeri
Car la gensor serv'e colò
Del mon, so us dic en apert.
Sieus sui del pe trop qu'en cima,
E si tot venta ill freid'aura.
L'amorò qu'inz el cor mi plou
Mi ten chaut on plus inverna.
Incidentally this poem serves to show how very different is the Provençal attitude to a popular motif from the Galician. The Provençal poet adopts the colourful Galician notions of the mass, the candles, the pilgrimage and even perhaps the prayer and uses them to describe his own situation and his own state of mind. He plays out the images and then discards them. Despite the courtly façade given them by the Galician poets, the same motifs in the cantigas are used in a much more literal manner, an indication possibly of their closer proximity to their popular origins. It should be noted in this context that there is in the kharjas, despite the clarity and immediacy of their imagery and expression, at least a hint of the incantatory mystery of the cantigas. Religion is not important to the human love of the kharjas, but the appeal to the clairvoyante suggests a superstitious credulity not unlike that of the cantigas:

Gar si yes devina
y devinas bi'l-haqq
Gar me cand me vernad
meu ḥabībī Ishaq

Gangutia Blicegui associates this ritual of the kharjas with that of Theocritus' Pharmacœutриαι, in which a girl attempts to conjure up by magic her lost love.42

Dancing as a form of divination is another motif of the cantigas de romaria. The girls who go with their mothers to San Simon leave the matrons to light the candles at the shrine
while they dance in anticipation of their lovers' arrival:

Nossos amigos todos lá iram
por nos veer e andaremos nós
bailando ant' eles, frescas, em cós,
e nossas mães, pois que lá van,
quemem candeias por nós e por si
e nós, meninas, bailaremos i.
Pero Vivialcz
Cdeu CLXIX

The intention here is much the same as that of the hazel tree
dance song which survives in two similar versions, that of
Airas Nunes and that of Joan Zorro:

Bailemos nos ja todas tres, ai amigas,
so estas avelaneiras frolidas
e quen for velida, como nós, velidas,
se amig' amar,
so estas avelaneiras frolidas
verrá bailar.

Airas Nunes
Cdeu COLWII

This song does, however, not fall into the category of the
romaria poems; it may nevertheless hark back to the primitive
tree-cult rituals of Galicia and as such its basic origins may
be substantially the same as those of the song of the lone
dancer at the shrine of Vigo:

Eno sagrado, en Vigo,
bailava corpo velido:
amor ei!

Martin Codax
Cdeu CCCXCVI

Dancing in sacred places was from earliest times condemned by
the Church, since it perpetuated pagan obscenities of the
type encountered by Valerius on his nocturnal peregrinations.
The dance songs of the cantigas, with their suggestion of
divination, may reflect the last lingering remnants in the
popular imagination of the cult of Nemesis which, according
to Commodian, who probably wrote in the third century,
flourished in the north-west of Spain. The Nemesiaci
danced around a wooden image of their goddess and then told
the fortunes of the onlookers. This cult was probably secularised by the fifth century, but dancing as a part of Church festivals was still creating problems for the third council of Toledo in 589. It might seem preposterous to postulate survivals from the late sixth century to the thirteenth were it not for two cogent arguments which make such an extrapolation possible. First, as we have already seen, Christianity came late and haphazardly to Galicia and was subject to constant subversion. It was only precariously established in the region at the time of the Moorish invasion. If, while under the tutelage of Toledo, Galicia represented a weak spot in the Christianisation of Spain, it is hardly likely that the inherent weakness would have been eradicated once that supervisory influence was removed. Secondly, as Filgueira Valverde has shown, customs have survived from the thirteenth century to modern times and it is therefore not impossible that similar customs may have survived the previous six hundred years or longer. Thus, for instance, the ritual of bathing in the sea of the cantiga:

Treides comig'a lo mar de Vigo
e veeremo-lo meu amigo
e banhar-nos emos nas ondas. Martin Codax

may recall some ancient pagan conjuration ritual to the water deities condemned by St Martin of Braga:

Et in mari quidem Neptunum appellant, in fluminibus Laminas, in fontibus Nymphas, in siluis Dianas, quae omnia maligni daemones et spiritus nequam sunt. 47

Christianised as a baptismal or purification ceremony, the practice of bathing in nine waves at midnight survives at the shrine of La Lanzada in the twentieth century.
It may be relevant to note the polemic between St Martin of Braga and an unidentified Bishop Boniface, who accused the bishops of the See of Braga of performing triple baptismal ceremonies - that is, repeating the single ceremony three times, each time in the name of a different member of the Trinity. St Martin refuted the charge in his letter 'De Trina meroione'. He implies that Bishop Boniface has wrongly addressed his criticisms, since such practices were in any case a part not of the Arian heresy but of the Sabellian heresy which flourished elsewhere. Bishop Boniface, however, appears to have based his accusations on the information given him by travellers to the region who may possibly have had access to ceremonies which would have been concealed from St Martin.

The argument which would remove the cantigas de romaria far from the popular source of their inspiration and put them, in the words of Asensio, 'en pleno paisaje literario' implies that the rituals of the romaria are no longer of any religious import to the troubadours, but are simply the colourful tools of the poet's trade, rather perhaps in the style of Arnaut Daniel's composition. This argument, however, as has already been suggested, fails to take account of the ardent religious/erotic zeal of the romaria poems which is consistent with the attitude to God and religion of the cantigas de amigo as a whole. In the romaria the general religiosity of the cantigas is crystallised into a fervent assertion of the power of God and the saints to make the lover appear, to curtail his absence or to temper his displeasure:

Se meu amig' a San Servando for
e lho Deus aguisa, polo seu amor
1-lo quer'eu, madre, veer.  

João Servando  
Cdea CCCIIXX
It may be that the lovers actually have an assignation at the shrine:

Mal faç'eu, velida, que ora non vou veer meu amigo, pois que me mandou que foss'(oj) eu con el ena sagraçõ fazer oraçaon a San Greeçon.  

or the situation may be more subtle; the girl may go to the shrine to pray that her lover might appear and his appearance is then directly related to the efficacy of her prayers:

Estava-m'en San Clemengo, u fora oraçaon fazer, e disse-mi o mandadeiro: "fremosa de bon parecer, agora verra'qui voss'amigo".

She trusts implicitly in the power of prayer:

Rogu'eu Santa Cecilia e Nostro Senhor que ach'oj eu i, madr', o meu traedor na ermida do soveral u m'el fez muitas vezes coitad'estar na ermida do soveral.

When her prayers are ignored, however, her bitterness is great and she seeks to avenge herself against God as well as against her lover:

Non vou eu a San Clemengo orar e faço gram razon, ca el non mi tolhe a coita que trago no meu coração nen mi aduz o meu amigo pero lho rogu' e lho digo

As if to make her displeasure quite clear, she bargains with God:

Ca, se el m(e) adussesse o que me faz pensad' andar, nunca tantos estadaes arderan ant'o seu altar.
In her naivety she invokes the saints to her side in her
disappointment and her desire for vengeance:

San Clemengo do mar,  
se mi d'el non vingar,  
non dormirei.  

Nuno Perez  
Cdea CCCCXXVIII

She may utter some Lorica type incantation to bring down divine
wrath - in the form of the toils of love - on the unfortunate
miscreant who has betrayed her:

El me rogou que lhi quisesse ben  
e rogo a Deus que lhi dia por en
coitas d'amor.  

João Servando  
Cdea CCOLXXVII

Frequently the supplication is left unanswered and the girl
turns sadly in disillusionment from the Christian saint who
has not heeded her request to the primitive spirits of the sea
or grove of the pagan subculture:

Quand' eu a San Mamede fui e non vi
meu amigo con que quisiera falar,
a mui gram sabor, nas ribeiras do mar,
sospirei no coração e dix'assi:
pois (meu amigo') non ven, sei úa ren:
por mi se perdeu, que nunca lhi fiz ben.

Joan de Cangas  
Cdea CCOLXXXI

From this fairly representative sample of the cantigas de
amigo, it can be seen that the belief in God expressed in the
poems is simple, profound and unquestioning. Here there is
no moral conflict between love and religion, nor is there any
very real suggestion of heresy or blasphemy, except in
Bolseiro's poems which in every respect point to a courtly,
intellectual inspiration. At the same time, however, it must
be said that for all its fervour the veneer of Christianity is
thin and through that veneer it is possible to discern the
trappings of a pagan past, flourishing under a new name. The uniformity of the approach to religion in the *cantigas de amigo* may well reflect a national pagan predisposition for pantheism and for implicating divine will in all aspects of everyday life. It would appear that the troubadours are sensitive to the individuality of this national attitude and, on the whole, resist any courtly influence to take advantage of it for the purposes of poetic sophistication and ingenuity, at least in the *cantigas de amigo*, if not in the *cantigas de amor* where poetic licence begins to usurp religious reverence.

A marginally similar situation arises in the Arabic poetry of Al-Andalus. The pilgrimage is used by the poets of the muwassahas purely as a literary conceit. El Ciego de Tudela develops the notion of the cult of love:

```
Devoto a esa Ka'ba brillante he de ir,
pues no puedo el grito de amor desoir.  
Si soy un esclavo, me debo rendir.
'Aquí estoy! Lo que hablen de ti no he oir.  
Permite que acuda piadoso a rezar
en ese altar
y como holocausto mi pecho a inmolar.  
G.G. VIII
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and, again, an anonymous poet elaborates on the idea of the pilgrim in love, at all costs, despite all the slander and gossip about his beloved that is brought to his notice:

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Diga lo que diga el maldiciente,
en labios y en ojos bebe, bebe,
vino de la vida y de la muerte,
y dile al que aplaza tu deleite:
"De tu gentileza en la Ka'ba
soy peregrino,
y me quitas el alma".
G.G. I
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Such sophistications are alien to the kharijas where, as we have seen, to a large extent a unity of expression, religious and erotic, suggests an outlook as yet untroubled by the
schismatic implications for Church and people of Avicennan philosophy. Thus the cultured Arabic poets anticipate the religious/erotic dilemma of the poets of the cantigas de amor, while the kharjas and later the cantigas de amigo reflect the security of the old order.

Although the language of the cantigas de amigo strongly resembles that of the cantigas de amor, and the emphasis on divine intervention is heavy in both, there exists none the less a subtle difference between the two, and that is perhaps the difference between reality and artificiality. The concept of the constant intervention of God's will in everyday life as it is portrayed generally in the cantigas de amigo is lent substance by the remote but specific and traceable details of the castigas de romaria. Already God is perhaps becoming something of a cliché and the romaria simply a pretext for the lovers to meet, but, nevertheless, there prevails still a very real sense of an earlier deeply superstitious life-style in which love and religion were inextricably bound up. Such historical perspective is irrelevant to the troubadours in composing the cantigas de amor, and they reject it in favour of the artificial, intellectual innovation of the idea of the god of love in competition with the omniscient God of the native tradition. It is God who suffers from the competition, for he emerges as a literary device conscripted into the service of Amor. One suspects, too, that the poets are attracted to the colourful details of the pagan subculture of Galicia—dancing, bathing, trees, the stag—not simply for the record they provide of popular beliefs and customs but because these elements can be used and incorporated into the European passion
for symbolism, and, within that system, can be enhanced by literary parallels from other sources. In another sense this transformation marks the first stage of the devaluation of an expression of genuine emotion — such as the religious piety of the romaria — to the level of a literary device, so that in one context the pilgrimage becomes nothing more than the framework for the Canterbury Tales and in another, the Castilian lyric, simply a byword for eroticism.

Morality and Ritual in Castile

In Castilian the cleavage between religion and love is complete. Like Andreas Capellanus, who in his De Amore recommends human love in its most elevated form yet adds the proviso in De Reprobatione that divine love excels all human love, Juan Ruiz, too, is caught on the horns of the dilemma. He authoritatively asserts:

Como diz' Salamón, e dize la verdat, que las cosas del mundo todas son vanidad, todas son pasaderas, vanse con le edat, salvo amor de Dios, todas son liviandat.

Yet at the same time the rational man argues for the consideration of the natural law, attributed not to a Patriarch but directly to Aristotle:

Como dize Aristótiles, cosa es verdadera, el mundo por dos cosas trabaja: la primera, por aver mantenencia; la otra cosa era por aver juntamiento con fenbra plazentera. Si lo dexiés' de mío, sería de culpar; dízelo grand filósofo, non só yo de reptar; de lo que dize el sabio non devemos dubdar, ca por obra se prueba el sabio e su fablar. Que diz verdat el sabio claramente se prueba: omnes, aves, animalias, toda bestia de cueva quieren segund natura compañía sienpre nueva, e mucho más el omne que toda cosa que s'mueva.
He attempts to unify the human and the divine:

Mucho sería villano e (muy) torpe pagés
si de la muger noble dixies' cosa refez,
ca en muger loçana, fermosa e cortés,
todo bien d'este mundo e todo plazer es.
Si Dios, quando formó el omne, entendiéra
que era mala cosa la muger, non la diera
al omne por compañera nin d él non la feziera;
si para bien non fuera, tan noble non saliera.

st. 108-109

Love is, therefore, inevitable and should not be regarded as
an impediment to canonisation since it is merely the fulfilment
of a natural law:

Si omne a la muger non la quisiesse bien,
non ternía tantos presos el amor quantos tien;
por santo nin (por) santa que seya, non sé quién
non cobdície compaña, si solo se mantién.

st. 110

It is none the less not without a certain sense of irony at
the pass to which man's increased knowledge has brought him,
and a hint of nostalgia for the security of the good old days,
that, in this context, Juan Ruiz mimics the language of the
cantigas of the Galician troubadours for whom God could still
be considered a suitable witness of nobility in love:

Sabe Dios que aquesta dueña e quantas yo vi,
siempre quise guardarlas e siempre las servi;
si servir non las pude, nunca las deserví:
de dueña mesurada siempre bien escrivi.

st. 107

It is, however, this definite antithesis between human
love and divine love which enables Juan Ruiz to lampoon the
external forms of both effectively. In the Canonical Hours,
for instance, it is both the popular image of the courtly lover
and the salacious priest who form the butt of Juan Ruiz's
satire.\textsuperscript{51} Master as he is of the bathetic contrast, he also
reveals what he considers to be the true nature and purpose of
By analogy with the prayers of the lady, Trotaconventos becomes God, la majestat, in the life of the Argüipreste and the charitable work he asks her to undertake in his prayers is the procuring of the lady at prayer. This situation is expanded and elaborated in a ballad:

En Sevilla está una ermita cual dicen de San Simón, adonde todas las damas iban a hacer oración. Allá va la mi señora, sobre todas la mejor, saya lleva sobre saya, mantillo de un tornasol, en la su boca muy linda lleva un poco de dulzor, en la su cara muy blanca lleva un poco de color, y en los sus ojuelos garzos lleva un poco de alcohol, a la entrada de la ermita relumbando como el sol. El abad que dice la misa no la puede decir, non, monacillos que la ayudan no aciertan responder, non. Por decir "amén, amón", decían "amor, amor". 52

In the lyric poetry of Castile the potential of the erotico-religious dilemma dwelt upon at such length by the Argüipreste de Hita is not developed. The court poets of the fifteenth century imitate the style of the cantigas de amor, but God for them, as he was incipiently in the cantigas de amor, becomes a hyperbolical tool of their trade, a measure of the beloved's beauty:

Pintos mi señora Dios
con un pinzel tan gentil
que soys una entre cien mil. 53

or, like many a character of Classical mythology, an aid to the poet’s powers of expression; Santillana declares:
Del todo muero por vos
e non mejora
mi mal, jurovos a Dios,
mas empeora. 54

The God of these Castilian renderings of the sentiments of courtly love is a sadly emaciated reflection of the all-powerful, omniscient God of the cantigas de amigo. There the constant intervention of the Christian God or of the primitive spirits of the pagan background determines all the circumstances of the love depicted in the poems, and despite the recasting of the cantigas by the troubadours the intensely superstitious pagan culture of the region is obvious. Here in court poetry, however, God's role is drastically diminished, and it is at the whim and convenience of the poet that he is obliged to participate in the poetry.

In the traditional lyric of Castile casual references to God have more in common with the 'bi-allah' exclamations of the kharjas than with the fervour of the cantigas. 'Ay Dios!' is the most frequent exclamation:

Por el montecico sola,
¿cómo iré, cómo iré?
¡Ay Dios! ¿se me perderé?

Sañosa esta la niña!
¡Ay Dios! ¿quién lo hablaría?

This secularisation which may perhaps be regarded as a depreciation of the religious coinage, but a depreciation which has its roots in antiquity, is also apparent in the few Castilian romería poems. Menéndez Pidal denies the religious aspect of the cantigas de romería when he declares:

La galleguita de las cantigas de amigo no va a
la romería con gran devoción 55
and he finds the Castilian counterpart of the Galician romerías more satisfactory than the Galician in the simplicity of its narrative style:

So ell encina, encina,
so ell encina.

Yo me iba, mi madre, a la romería,
por ir más devota, fui sin compañía
So ell encina.

Por ir más devota, fui sin compañía
tomé otro camino, dejé el que tenía.
So ell encina.

Halleme perdida en una montina,
ochéme a dormir al pie dell encina.
So ell encina.

A la media noche recordé, mezquina;
halleme en los brazos del que más quería
So ell encina.

Pesoéme, cuitada, de que amanección,
porque yo gozaba del que más quería
So ell encina.

Muy biendita sia
la tal romería,
so ell encina.  PITT 53

Menéndez Pidal indicates the close similarity between the blessing of the pilgrimage in this Castilian villancico - 'Muy biendita sia / la tal romería' - with those of the cantigas of João Servando and Martin do Ginzo:

Que boa romaria
con meu amigo fiz,
ca lhi diz', a Deus grado,
quanto lh'eu dizer quix  

Nunc'eu vi melhor ermida, nen mais santa  

but, despite the parallelistic form of the Castilian poem, he declines to see in their relationship any more than 'un reflejo independiente de una tradición difusa por el occidente y el centro de la Península'. Menéndez Pidal bases this conclusion on his conviction that the Castilian poem is more popular than the cantigas. Unquestionably the form in which the troubadours
have preserved the cantigas de romaria for posterity reveals a certain degree of courtly sophistication, whereas the Castilian romeria poem is straightforwardly flippant and ingenuous. A villancico from the collection of Juan Vásquez quite unashamedly blames the romeria for the girl's present condition:

Perdida traigo la color:
todos me dicen que lo he de amor.
Viniendo de romeria
encontré a mi buen amor:
pidiérame tres besicos,
luego perdí la color.
Dicen a mi que lo he de amor.
Perdida traigo la color,
todos me dicen que lo he de amor. PTT 92

and the same attitude is apparent in a late medieval English pregnancy lament; here in fact the girl declares her intention of using the pilgrimage to excuse her condition:

When he and I got under sheet,
I let him have his way complete,
And now my girdle will not meet.
Dear God, what shall I say of it?
Ah dear God, I am forsaken,
Now my maidenhead is taken!

I shall say to man and page
That I have been on pilgrimage.
If priest again show lustful rage,
I'll not let him make play of it.
Ah dear God, I am forsaken,
Now my maidenhead is taken. 56

These poems embody no equivocations of God and love, none of the tension, anxiety and ultimate melancholy of the cantigas.

In this study various features of the cantigas have come to light which may well be said to belong to a distant pagan folkloric past. These features clearly indicate that the roots of the romaria are firmly embedded in the popular background of Galicia - as even Jeanroy acknowledged. 57

The background may be of decreasing relevance to the life
style of the Galician troubadours but, for all their sophistication, their cantigas de romería can be said to belong to a fairly well defined, fervently religious, in the sense of both pagan and Christian, popular tradition. The same cannot be said of the Castilian references to the romería in which, by comparison, the pilgrimage is used as a superficial device, a pretext for a lovers' meeting or an excuse for the results of that meeting. It contains little suggestion of background reality, however remote, no hint of a long established tradition nor any confusion between love and religion, indicative of an earlier unified culture. It would seem appropriate to regard the Castilian romería poems as at least partial borrowings of the Galician topos. It is not a wholesale borrowing of the Galician motif since, in atmosphere, it conforms much more closely to the secular exuberance of the Castilian treatment of religious festivals in general, a result perhaps of the Mozarabic inheritance.

As we have seen, 'la mañana de San Juan' is a potently evocative introductory formula both to the Castilian lyric and to the ballad. Indeed the romance fronterizo, which depicts the fall of the city of Antequera in 1410, substitutes 'la mañana de San Juan', the festival common to both Christians and Moors, for the actual date of the collapse of the city on 28th September.

La mañana de San Juan
al punto que alboreaba.

For the poet of the ballad of El Conde Arnaldos, 'la mañana de San Juan' is a conveniently succinct formula which will evoke the required magical and festive atmosphere in the minds of his audience:


Mention of the festival may, however, as in the ballad of the capture of Guarinos, be used to intensify the poignancy of a tragic situation: the Conde Niño, for example, is to meet his death on the night of the festival, the night when other more fortunate lovers are able to indulge their passion:

Conde Niño por amores
es niño y pasó la mar;
va a dar agua a su caballo
la mañana de San Juan. 60

These sixteenth-century ballads testify in many ways to the fusion of earlier lyrical traditions. A San Juan love ballad begins with two stock opening formulae of the villancico:

Yo me levantaré, madre, mañánica de Sant Juan 61

The ballad, addressed to a mother figure, places the girl in a setting which is a mixture of the natural Galician and poetic Castilian features:

vide estar una doncella ribérica de la mar:
sola lava y sola tuerce, sola tiende en un rosal

The activities the girl is engaged in are first found in the cantigas of Pero Meogo:

vai lavar cabelos
na fria fontana

and reappear in Castilian:

'Cómo lo tuerce y lava
la monjita el su cabello,
cómo lo tuerce y lava,
y luego lo tiende al hielo!' 62

The style of the ballad approaches that of the Galician pastorela: the poet observes the girl, and, without accosting her, listens to her song:
¿Dólo mis amores, dó lo? ¿Dónde los iré a buscar?

The poet returns to his description and depicts the girl, comb in hand - a symbol that is both Ovidian and Teutonic in origin - pacing the shore-line. Then, with the Castilian's overriding sense of reality, the girl repeats her question, not to the Galician spirits of tree and wave from whom no answer can be expected, but to the recognizable, sympathetic human form of the sailor who, for the extent of this poem, assumes the role of God for the girl, since he can provide the answer to her question; at the same time she utters a Galician-type charm - 'que Dios te guarde de mal' - which becomes a part of the search motif in Castilian:

Dígasem tú el marinero, que Dios te guarde de mal, ¿si los viste, a mis amores, si los viste allá pasar?

A glosa in Juan Vásquez's sixteenth-century collection expands this snatch of popular song:

Dígas marinero  
del cuerpo carrido  
¿en cual de aquellas naves  
pasa Fernandico?  
¡Ay, que era casado!  
¡Mal me ha mentido!  
Puse mis amores  
en Fernandico.  

This, the search motif, and several other traditional elements blend with intimations of courtly vocabulary in a Castilian poem which, apparently, approaches most closely the spirit of the Galician romería poems; the girl's visit to the shrine, her expectation and her disappointment are not conspicuous elements of the other romería poems in Castilian, but here they are vividly portrayed. This, however, is a complete Castilian transformation of the Galician pilgrimage
theme by a skilful poet who has dramatised the whole episode and rearranged the several parts. The formerly absent lover appears distractedly on the scene, while the unhappy girl whose distressing situation is recounted in the course of the poem has already departed. Her part is taken by the hermit at the shrine who becomes her mouthpiece. Thus the situation of the solitary girl praying at the shrine in a state of religious and amorous agitation is developed in such a way that the drama can be viewed from all directions in time: the present emergency reveals both an unhappy past and an uncertain future:

De velar viene la niña,
de velar venía.

-Dígame tú, el ermitaño,
así Dios te dé alegría,
si has visto por aquí pasar
las cosas que yo más quería.
De velar venía.

-Por mí fe, buen caballero,
la verdad yo te diría:
yo la vi por aquí pasar
tres horas antes del día.
De velar venía.

Lloraba de los sus ojos,
dio la su boca decía:
-¡Maldita sea el enamorado
que su fe no mantenía.
De velar venía.

Y maldito sea aquel hombre
que su palabra rompía,
más que más con las mueres
a quien más se le debía.
De velar venía.

-Mas maldita sea la hembra
que de los hombres se fía,
porque aquella es engañada
la que en palabras confía.
De velar venía.
The opening estribillo - 'De velar venía la niña / de velar venía' - resembles both metrically and verbally the dawn summons - 'Descendid al valle, la niña / que ya es venido el día'. The caballero addresses the hermit in the stock search formula together with a variant of what one might call the 'charm' formula, 'así Dios te dé alegría'. The hermit replies using a common phrase of the alborada - 'tres horas antes del día'. Thereafter the niña appears through her reported speech, which indicates that she is no rustic shepherdess. She is not content with the succinct, direct recriminations of the cantigas nor does her speech betray the personal anguish and hopelessness of the romería poems of Galicia: she utters her diatribe in the conventional generalised terms of courtly love, in expressions of faith and duty, without direct reference to herself or to her lover:

-Mal haya el enamorado
que su fe no mantenía.

Thus the true colours of the protagonists are revealed: they are court characters playing at rusticity on the theme of the Galician pilgrimage.

The subject matter of this chapter is efficiently summarised by a comparison between the two treatments in Galician and Castilian of one of the topoi associated with a festival or pilgrimage - that of bathing. As we have seen in the cantigas, bathing as part of the homage due at the shrine is essentially a religious ceremonial with connotations of baptism and purification, and as such it persists into the twentieth century. Admittedly in the cantigas there is a certain ambivalence: religion is used to the advantage of
the lovers; this, however, may be the natural, subconscious
reaction of a primitive society accustomed to the intervention
of a divine power in all its activities. Thus, when the girl
announces her intention of going to bathe in the sea by the
shrine at Vigo, where she will meet her lover, the sincerity
of her religious zeal cannot be held in doubt, since in her
mind religion has a major role to play in the course of her
love; the latter is in fact unthinkable without the former.
Nevertheless already in the cantigas the transformation from
the semi-religious to the purely secular begins to take place.
In the cantiga of Estevam Coelho there is no mention of shrine,
pilgrimage or obvious religious ceremonial:

Se oj'ô meu amigo
soubess', iria migo:
eu al rio me vou banhar.

Se oj'el este dia
soubesso, migo iria:
eu al rio me vou banhar.

Quem lhi dise's' atanto,
ca ja filhei o manto:
eu al rio me vou banhar.  

There is, however, a striking echo in this cantiga of another
of Martin Codax's cantigas on the Vigo pilgrimage theme:

Ai Deus, se sab'ora meu amigo
com'eu senlheira estou en Vigo
o vou namornda.  

Stephen Reckert suggests that the reference in the last line
of Coelho's cantiga to changing clothes may hark back to an
earlier pagan ritual on which the Jewish nuptial ritual of the
immersion of the bride-to-be in the presence of her mother and
her mother-in-law was based. The mother-in-law would receive
the bride with a new garment on her emergence from the water.
Reckert quotes examples from Sephardic poetry to illustrate the custom:

Que si te fueres a bañar, novia,
llava a tu madre, no vayas sola,
para quitarte la tu camisa,
para meterte en l’agua fria.

Que si te fueres a bañar, novia,
llava a tu suegra, no vayas sola,
para ponerte la tu delsada,
para meterte en l’agua clara. 64

Early medieval Europe inherited from Rome the taste and the facilities for bathing. In Spain, moreover, the baths of the Alhambra eloquently testify to the Moorish predilection for the same practice. For the Moors the bath held the promise of sensual pleasure, but Roman bath houses had the reputation of gambling dens rather than erotic venues. In medieval Europe the various connotations of bathing, of baptismal purification on the one hand, and sensual depravity on the other, become confused. Notker, 65 in the course of his life of Charlemagne, tells both the tale of the bishop given to fornication who bathed his sweaty limbs in an ice cold spring before saying mass for the king’s emissaries and was promptly smitten with a paralysing chill from which he died, and also the strange story of the encounter of King Pepin the Short with the devil on his way to bathe in the hot springs at Aachen. The king protected himself with the sign of the Cross and slew the adversary whose gore polluted all the neighbouring springs. Huizinga 66 cites the reference made by Georges Chastellain, chronicler of the dukes of Burgundy, to the reservation of the baths at Valenciennes for a visiting English embassy, ‘for them and for all their retinue, baths provided with everything required for the calling of Venus, to take by choice and by
election what they like best, and all at the expense of the Duke'. Einhard, however, stresses the healthful pleasures of swimming in which Charlemagne excelled. Such was his delight in the water that he would invite his sons, his friends and even his guards to join him. According to Einhard, Charlemagne built his palace at Aachen and spent his last years there simply because he enjoyed the thermal baths so greatly. The anti-French author of the Historia Silense attributed Charlemagne's abandonment of his Spanish crusade to his desire for a bathe at Aachen:

\[
\text{Anelabat etenim Carolus in termis illis citius lauari quae Grani ad hoc opus delitiose construxerat.}\]

Clearly, in Castile, bathing becomes interpreted as a sign of moral and physical weakness, possibly because both the Moors and the French were known to indulge in it and possibly, too, as the lyrics suggest, because it formed part of a widespread erotic ritual. Thus, although the Chronicle of León describes Alfonso III's restoration of palaces and old Roman bath houses, the Estoria de España recounts Alfonso VI's order for their destruction:

\[
\text{Et pues que el rey Don Alfonso uio tan grand danno et tanto mal en su tierra, et como uinie la una grand partida por los cavalleros et por la su mengua pregunto un dia a sus sabios que era aquello por que sus cavalleros non podien soffrir la lazeria de las armas. Respondieronle ellos que porque entrauan mucho a menudo en los bannos et sa duan mucho a los uicios. El rey fixo entonces derribar todos los bannos de su regno, et fixo los cavalleros trabair en muchas huesates.}\]

The motif of bathing is taken up by the traditional Castilian poets who assimilate all its previous connotations of pagan religious ritual, of heresy, of nuptial ceremonial and invest it with a new mysticism - not the mysticism of a
pagan or Christian religion but the medieval mysticism of the
cult of love. The ritual is no longer simply a means of
intercession, an attempt to conjure up the lover's presence
or a purification ceremony, it is all these and more, for it
becomes a celebration of love, a celebration which imparts to
the festive occasion of San Juan an added dimension of magic
and excitement:

Caballero queríame dejar,
que me dirán mal.

Oh qué mañanica mañana
la mañana de San Juan,
cuando la niña y el caballero
ambos se iban a bañar!

The difference in emphasis is apparent in a Sephardic poem on
the same theme: the act of bathing is synonymous with the
happiness of mutual love, common in Castilian, rare in Galician:

Fuérame a bañar
a orillas del río
ahí encontré, madre.
a mi lindo amigo;
é él mi dió un abrazo
yo le di sino.

Finally, in an estribillo of the Cancionero musical de Palacio,
the conscious symbolism of medieval Castile is fully revealed;
bathing is the induction ceremony, the baptism of the cult of
love. To this ceremony the girl, like the Galician girl,
goes alone, but, unlike the Galician girl, she goes with
justified optimism, for since she is going to the baths of
love she knows her lover must be there:

A los baños del amor
sola me iré,
y en ellos me bañaré.
Notes to Chapter IV

1. The same kharja is used by Abū Bakr Yaḥyā ibn Baqi, who died rather earlier than Yehuda Halewi, in 1145 (Halewi died in 1170). García Gómez renders the kharja thus:

   Benid la pasq, ay, aun sin elle
   Lasrando mew qorazun por elle.    XII

Sola-Solé agrees with Stern in rejecting García Gómez's reading 'lasrando' and substitutes 'hasari', meaning 'lost' or 'deceived':

   benid la basqa e yo on sin el(1)e
   hasari mio qoragon bor el(1)o    XXVIIIa


5. "La sanjuanada: huellas de una harja mozárabe en la tradición actual?", Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica, XVIII (1965), 436-43.


9. Sola-Solé's version reads:

   mio galis kere
   mia morte katare
   ārifu kul(l)ī qe
   a ti te sar(r)ada
   bi-llāh ke fare    XXVII

10. Sola-Solé expresses dissatisfaction with García Gómez's version and proposes instead:

    ṣuride-me
    k(u)and mio sīfī yū qawmu
    ker(r)a bi-llāh
    suo al-asī me dar-lo    VI

11. Quotations from Cantigas de amigo in this section are taken from Nunes unless otherwise stated; reference is by number and, where appropriate, by poet's name.


15. Quotations from the Provençal troubadours in this section are from Jeanroy, Anthologie des Troubadours, XIIe - XIIIe siècles, re-edited by J. Boelcke (Paris, 1974). Reference is by page, poet's name and number of poem.

16. Dronke objects strongly to the blanket denunciation of the love celebrated by the troubadours in their poetry as adulterous: "Anyone who has read extensively and without prejudice in the poetry will know that adultery plays no formative role in the lyrics of amour courtois themselves", Medieval Latin, p. 46.

17. Dronke discerns a certain harmony in the attitude of the troubadours towards God and love:

> It - "le culte d'un objet excellent" (Bédier) - is based on the feeling that finite human love can, at its highest, have something infinitely more than human about it, that it is through a human beloved that the 'divine' concepts - Paradise, salvation, eternity - take on meaning, that divinity hedges the beloved and can be experienced through her. Such feelings imply that human and divine love are not in conflict with each other but on the contrary can become identified.

Medieval Latin, p. 5.

Thus in the poetry dominated by the courtly experience, God is seldom imagined as opposed to love - on the contrary he is continually seen as on the lovers' side, even if they feel the world is against them, p. 7.


23. All quotations from Nunes, Cantigas de amor dos trovadores galego-portugueses, 2 vols. (Coimbra, 1932).

24. Averroes' commentaries were translated at the Sicilian court of Frederick II.
25. Adaptations of Avicenna began with De anima by Dominicus Gundissalinus, considered one of the greatest Spanish translators of Arabic. Gilson assesses Gundissalinus thus:

The De anima is a compilation of Gundissalinus himself, like his De unitate and his De processione mundi; he borrowed numerous elements of it from his own translations of Avicenna, Liber VI, Naturalium and from Gebirol, Fons Vitae.

Gilson in his discussion of Gundissalinus concludes:

Here we have a Latin on whose mind the philosophy of Averroes imposes itself as the only philosophy that is rationally demonstrable.

The work, however, is seen to have strong Christian overtones which Gilson describes as "the grafting of Augustinianism on the trunk of Avicenna".


27. Text published by V.H. Friedel, "La Lorica de Leyde", Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie, II (1898), 64. I am indebted to Peter Dronke for bringing it to my notice.

28. Charles Singer explains that the term lorica for this type of prayer derives from the Latin lorica - a protective coat of armour (cf. Spanish lóriga), frequently found in the Vulgate Bible and also found in Virgil (Aeneid III, 467). He suggests that the Latin designation may closely approximate to the type of heavy leather coat worn by the Celts. Singer also points out the similarity between the Lorica of Gildas and St Patrick's prayer, the Faeth Fiada, the 'cry of the deer' which calls for protection against 'incantations of false prophets, against the black laws of paganism...against the deceit of idolatry and against spells of women, smiths and druids'. From Magic to Science (London, 1928) ch. III, p. 111.


30. Friedel, p. 66.


33. In Wiener, Contributions from Monumenta Germaniae Historica Auctores antiquissimi, XIV, 258.

34. Cancioneiro da Ajuda, II.


38. In McKenna, Paganism, p. 103, note 119.


40. Jeanroy, Anthologie des Troubadours, p. 70, Arnaut Daniel, IX.

41. In a note to Jeanroy's edition of Daniel's poem, Boelcke draws attention to Bédier's essay on the lost city of Luíserne. Bédier indicates the historical existence of Luíserne, otherwise known as Luçorna, by excerpts from the chansons de geste. According to Gui de Bourgogne, the city was besieged for ten years by Charlemagne. An angel directed him to pay homage to St James at Compostela and, in the king's absence, Gui de Bourgogne took the city. Charlemagne returned to find his own lords contending for the victor's honours, so he ordered the evacuation of the city and prayed for its destruction. His prayer was answered: 'la cites est toute en abysme coulée'. In Anceis de Carthage Charlemagne returned to France leaving Luíserne to Anceis. The city was retaken by the Saracens and Charlemagne was forced to return. Pity for the fate of his own men prevented his attack and he prayed for divine vengeance on the city:

Paien sont mort, n'en est nus escapés.
Par la proière Karlon, c'est vérité
Fondi Luíserne, tous est li lium gasté;
Encor le voient li pelerin asés
Ki a saint Jaque ont les cemina antés.

Bédier locates Luíserne west of Rabanal and Astorga in Valverde, near the lake of Carucedo on the site of the abbey of the same name two kilometres from the road to Compostela. Les légendes épiques, III, 152.

42. "Poesia griega de amigo", p. 346.
43. Asensio refers to the argument between Menéndez y Pelayo (Antología, I, pp.229-30) and Jeanroy (Origines, p.320) over the origins of this dance cantiga. Menéndez y Pelayo considered it to be of purely popular origins while Jeanroy pointed to similar forms in French, particularly the refrain: 'Tuit cil qui sunt enamorat/vigent dançar, li autre non'. Asensio adds another example:

La jus desouz l'olive
- ne vos repentez mie -
fontaine i sort serie,
puces carolez:
ne vos repentez mie
de loyaument aimer.

While not committing himself to a firm opinion, Asensio remarks that the Galician poems preceded the French and compares the girl's invitation to her friends to join the dance with that of the bathing poem, 'treides comig a lo mar de Vigo', labelling formulae of this type as 'remotos usos románicos'. Poética y realidad, p. 38.

44. Gougaud relates the cautionary tale of the dancers of Kölnigk who, in 1020 or 1021, danced a frenzied and loud ronde at the door of the church on Christmas night, ignoring the demands of the priest to desist. Divine retribution curtailed their revelries, some were struck down, others condemned to dance unceasingly for a whole year.

Dancing persists as an accepted Church practice in twentieth-century Seville, although from the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries, the ecclesiastical courts sought to stamp it out. "La Danse dans les Eglises", Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique, XV (1914), 229-45. Much earlier, in 589 the third council of Toledo issued an edict against dancing at church festivals:

quia ista consuetudo balandi de paganorum observatione remansit.

In McKenna, Paganism, p. 116.


46. Commodian, Instructiones, in McKenna, Paganism, p. 44.

47. In Paganism, p. 95, note 76.

48. Roger M. Walker propounds the view that the LBA can be divided into two parts on the basis on this moral dilemma. The first part Walker sees as a justification of human love and the second part as the older man's realisation of the futility of earthly love, his awareness of approaching death and his need for spiritual grace. "Towards an Interpretation of the Libro de buen amor", Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, XLIII (1966), 7-16.
For a less rigid interpretation, which perhaps does
greater justice to the complexities of the LBA,
see Deyermond, "The Greeks, the Romans, the
Astrologers and the Meaning of the Libro de
buen amor", Romance Notes, V (1963), (1-4) §8-91

49. Juan Ruiz, Libro de Buen Amor, ed., Jacques Joset
(Madrid, 1974), st. 105.

50. Compare Chaucer's argument that certain parts of the
human body were created for a purpose:
for office and for ese
of engendure, ther we nat God di©plese.
Why sholde men elles in hir bookes sette
That man shal yeilde to his wyf hire dette?
Now wher-with sholde he make his paiement
If he ne used his selly instrument?
The Canterbury Tales, ed., Pollard, Heath,

51. LBA st. 374-387. See Chapter III. Of Juan Ruiz's
intentions in this section, Otis H. Green says:
'What he sought to achieve by his "accommodation"
of texts from the Hours of Our Lady was a burst -
or gales - of medieval laughter', Spain and the
Western Tradition (Madison, 1963), I, p. 60.

52. Menéndez y Pelayo, Romances viejos castellanos (Primavera
y flor de romances), I, in Antología de poetas
líricos castellanos (Madrid, 1912-23), VIII,
p. 259, no. 143.

53. Juan de Linares, Cancionero llamado "Flor de enamorados"
(Barcelona, 1562), re-edited A. Rodríguez-Mohino
and D. Devoto (Valencia, 1954) f. 28.


55. Although he fails to see its expression in the cantigas
de amigo, Menéndez Pidal does acknowledge the
potency of religious feeling in Galicia:
La romería tiene en el norte de la Península
una importancia especial: el fuerte espíritu
religioso que allí domina, y el ser la población
espesa y estar muy repartida en lugarcillos y
aldeas favorecen la costumbre que busca en los
santuarios famosos el punto de reunión.
"La primitiva poesía lírica española", in
Estudios literarios, p. 200.

56. Medieval English Verse, tr., Brian Stone (London, Penguin,
1964), no. 59 (from R.H. Robbins, Secular Lyrics of
the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries (Oxford,
1956), p. 18, no. 77).

57. Les Origines, p. 335: 'le thème du rendez-vous à un lieu
de pèlerinage parait purement portugais'.
58. See this chapter, pp. 262-65.


60. Menéndez Pidal, *Flor nueva de romances viejos*, p. 117.


62. PTT nos. 106 and 58.

63. Reckert and Macedo, *Do cancioneiro de amigo*, p. 222.


67. Eginhardus, *Vita Caroli Magni*, ch. 22; *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, Scriptores, II.


70. I am most grateful to Dr G.R. West for bringing several of these references to my notice.
Conclusion

In the course of this study each type of medieval Spanish love lyric has been set in the context of its cultural background, and from that background such influences as may have been productive in the genesis of traditional poetry have been deduced. This approach has brought to light information which is important for the understanding of the origins of the tradition of dawn meeting and of the development of its imagery throughout the Peninsula. In Al-Andalus, just prior to the Moorish invasion, deep-rooted pagan practices had been assimilated to the newly victorious Christian tradition which itself depended strongly on the potent light/dark imagery of the New Testament and of the Prudentine hymns. The insistent splendour of the hymns of the Christian community of Muslim Spain appears to exert a forceful influence on the style of the Mozarabic poetry of lovers' meetings. The influences of the Hebrew and Arabic cultures of Al-Andalus are however also apparent in the kharjas, sometimes through learned interpolation, sometimes spontaneously. Much of this inspiration stems from the Song of Songs, while a certain explicit sensuality, alien to the later poetry of the Peninsula, echoes the eroticism of classical Arabic poetry.

The imagery of the Galician poems of dawn meeting harks back to a remote pagan past, less effectively modified by orthodox Catholicism than in other parts of the Peninsula. Spirits of tree, fountain and sea are invoked and the protagonists emerge from the natural background in the transmogrified forms of dawn, stag or wind. The pilgrimage ritual retains a much more
intense reality in the cantigas de amigo than in the Castilian lyric and underlines the heavily superstitious nature of the Galician lyric. In contrast to Provengal, where God and religion are intellectualised, in Galician God and religion have an intrinsic part to play in determining the course of love.

The dawn tradition is attested in Castile in narrative works long before the documentation of the lyric. The strength of light/dark imagery and of sun and dawn imagery in the Castilian lyric, both secular and rendered 'a lo divino', suggests a vigorous tradition which may owe its inspiration to Mozarabic influence, either liturgical or lyrical. While the interchange of religious and secular imagery maintains a constant tension in the Castilian lyric, a new potency and depth is brought to traditional poetry by the enhanced role of symbolism in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The lyric thus accrues layers of meaning, often colourful and evocative, each of which may be interpreted individually or as part of a more complex structure.

I have tried to show how in each period the traditional lyric brings the influences of its own regional culture to bear on the elaboration of themes and imagery. While inevitably differences occur between the three areas, the striking feature of the popular lyric poetry of medieval Spain and Portugal is its basic consistency of theme and imagery. This basic consistency conforms to the general precepts of women's love song, the while maintaining an Iberian individuality in the unmarried status of the girl and in the tradition of dawn meeting. An equally singular uniformity is displayed in the method of preservation and transmission of the three types of lyric. Each type, kharja, cantiga and villancico owes its
documented preservation to the interest of learned poets who for a variety of reasons are attracted to the popular form. The intervention of the learned poet enables the lyric to be viewed in an historical perspective, even if, as one frequently supposes to be the case, that learned intervention is considerably later than the estimated date of popular composition.

The similarities and discrepancies in the evolution of the Spanish lyric have in this thesis been examined in relation to one main theme, that of dawn meeting and its concomitant imagery. Other closely related themes and images have been traced from the time of their first appearance. The field however is boundless and a subject for future study which immediately springs to mind is that of the antithetical situation, the poetry of lovers' absence and separation. Necessarily some aspects of this situation have been alluded to in the course of this thesis, since the tradition of separation is as old as the tradition of meeting and the dawn of the lover's arrival obviously implies the long night of his absence.

For Prudentius the darkness of night symbolised the alienation of the soul from Christ and his qualms reappear in the Mozarabic hymns. The theme of sleeplessness is attested in the kharja in which the girl anticipates her lover's arrival with the dawn:

Non dormiray mamma
a rayo de manana
Bon Abu'l-Qasim
la faj de matrana

This longing is echoed with a comparable simplicity in a cantiga of Pedro Solaz:

Stern 36
Airas Nunes portrays a shepherdess lamenting her lovesickness:

\[
Pela ribeira do rio cantando
ia la virgo d'amor: quen amores
a cómo dormira, ai bela frol! \text{ Cd\`ea CCCLVI}
\]

Two centuries later, the Marqués de Santillana, in the vanguard of the popularising trend among court poets, incorporated a Castilian version of the same lyric, possibly first documented by Suero de Ribera, in his poem to his three daughters:

\[
La otra con grand tristura
comenco do suspirar
e dezir este cantar
con muy honesta mesura:
'La niña que amores ha,
sola ¿cómo dormirá?'.
\]

An additional element, that of the long night, is introduced to the theme of sleeplessness in the Peninsula by Ju{	extsuperscript{i}}{	extordmasculine}o Bolseiro who may well have been influenced by the Provençal poets Uc de la Bacalaria and Guiraut Riquier. For the lovesick Provençal poet, as for the religious Provençal poet, night is a time of suffering. In the early thirteenth century Uc de la Bacalaria complained:

\[
\text{Dieus, qual enueg}
Mi fay la nueg!
Per qu'ieu dezir l'alba... \text{ Ros p.375}
\]

It may be that Bolseiro became acquainted with Uc de la Bacalaria's lament through Guiraut Riquier whom he probably met at the court of Alfonso el Sabio. Guiraut Riquier had in any case composed his own lament on the same theme though without specific mention of the long night:
Ab plazen
Passamen
Amoros
Ai cozen
Kal talen
Cossiros,
Tant quel ser no pueso durmir.
Ans torney e vuelf e vir
E dezir
Vezer l'alba.

As we have seen, Bolseiro brings the full sophistication of the Provençal style to the women's love song of the cantigas de amigo:

Aquestas noites tan longas
que Deus fez en grave dia
por mi, porque as non dormio,
e porque as non fazia
no tempo que meu amigo
sola falar comigo?

The memorable first line of the cantiga, 'Aquestas noites tan longas', with its long assonant vowels expressive of the tedium of the night, reappears in Castilian:

Estas noches atan largas
para mí
no solían ser así

Menéndez Pidal, while recognising the basic similarity between the Galician and the Castilian lyrics, discounts the possibility of the direct influence of the former on the latter and indicates his preference for attributing such similarities to a common poetic stock. Indeed, one cannot deny the possibility of the existence of such a fund universally since the long night also appears in an English lyric of the early thirteenth century:

Mirie it is, while sumer ilast,
With fugheles song.
Oo nu necheth windes blast,
And weder strong.
Ey! Ey! what this night is long!
And ich, with well michel wrong,
Soregh and murne and fast.
However the salient feature which suggests a close relationship between the Galician *cantiga* and the Castilian *villancico* is the succinct precision with which the latter grasps and condenses all the details of the lengthy complexity and sophistication of the former with the result that, apparently artlessly, the *villancico* manages to convey the whole matter of the *cantiga* in a much more concise form. This perhaps is the most graphic demonstration of the workings of traditional poetry and of the ease with which it assimilates all influences, popular and learned, simple and sophisticated, to produce a form which is new yet familiar and original yet identifiable with all that has preceded it.
Notes to Conclusion

1. La primitiva poesía lírica española in *Estudios literarios*, p. 203.

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Postface

Since the writing of this thesis, three major works of scholarship which have a bearing on this study have been published and have become available. In an important review of the kharjas, Las iarchas mozárabes y los comienzos de la lírica románica, (Mexico City, 1975) Margit Frank Alatorre discusses the nature of popular poetry and, in that context examines many of the fundamental problems posed by the kharjas. Roger Boase's masterly survey of the history of Provençal scholarship, The Origin and Meaning of Courtly Love: a critical study of European scholarship, (Manchester, 1977) provides a welcome clarification of the many conflicting theories concerning the origins of Courtly Love. Unlike some modern critics who prefer to regard Courtly Love in general and universal terms, Boase views it as a very real phenomenon closely identifiable with the feudalism of medieval Provence and strongly influenced in its ideals and philosophy by classical Arabic poetry transmitted through Muslim Spain. Finally, John Cummins, the editor of a new critical anthology, The Spanish Traditional Lyric, (Oxford, 1977) analyses the types and styles of the poetry of the Peninsula and classifies his selections by theme.