SAINTS AND ANGELS IN THE SPANISH BALLADS

by

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INTRODUCTION

The ballad as a literary genre has had in no other country except England a development comparable to that in Spain. This development began at some uncertain time during the Middle Ages as a popular literary manifestation. With the Renaissance, its popularity spread to all classes, so that it became the possession of the whole Spanish nation. It became the expression of a race, for among its authors are representatives from the lowest to the highest classes. Indeed, the traditional ballads may be regarded as of communal authorship, because they were transmitted orally and received changes from almost all who sang them.

Because the ballads are a popular genre and are close to life, they reflect life in many of its phases. Religion has traditionally played an exceptionally large rôle in Spanish life, and would thus be reflected in any literature produced by the Spanish nation. The purpose of this study has been to determine the role of the Christian Saints and Angels in the national balladry, the romancero.

The primary source of material for the study was Agustín Durán's Romancero general (volumes ten and sixteen of the Biblioteca de autores españoles). The section on legends of Saints has been omitted because it was my desire
to find incidental references to Saints and Angels. Also omitted is the section on Old Testament History\(^5\) as well as that treating the mythological and heroic periods of Greek and Roman history\(^6\) for the sake of unity and because it was felt that references to Saints would be unlikely to appear in these sections.
CHAPTER I

MIRACLES PERFORMED BY SAINTS OR ANGELS

Spanish tradition cites many instances of direct aid being given the Spaniards, often by St. James, in their struggles over a period of seven centuries with the Moors. The patron saint of Spain always made his appearances mounted on a white horse and dressed in white and shining armor. His device was a red cross. Often he brought with him other knights dressed in the same fashion. Many of these traditional appearances of St. James and of other Saints have found their way into Spanish balladry.

An account of how St. James came to be the patron saint of Spain is given in a ballad of an erudite ballad-maker, Lorenzo de Sepúlveda,\(^1\) in connection with Ramiro I of León and Asturias (reigned 842 to 850). The Moorish king, Mauregato, sent a message to Ramiro saying that if the Christian king wished to be at peace with the Moors, he should send every year one hundred damsels of noble family to marry Mauregato. Ramiro, very much disturbed at this message, took his army into lands held by the Moors and fought a great battle with them. Evidently, the Christians were getting the worst of the battle, for that night, weeping and sighing, they called on God, asking him not to forget them
and to help them. Ramiro fell asleep and in his sleep:

Santiago le ha hablado:
Díjole: --Rey, sabe cierto
Que cuando Dios por su mano
Nos repartiera las tierras
Do fuésemos predicando,
Solo España a mí la dió
Que la tuviese a mi cargo.
Defendella he de los moros,
Favor soy de los cristianos:
Despierta tú, Rey, no duermas,
No dudes lo que te hablo,
Que yo te vengo a ayudar
Contra los moros paganos.
Con una cruz colorada,
Rey, me verás peleando,
Señá blanca sobre mí
Y también sobre el caballo.
Confíesate tú, el Rey,
Y también los tus vasallos,
Herid recio, que los moros
Muertos quedarán en campo:
Llamad el nombre de Dios
Con el mío apellidando.--2

The King woke up and did as St. James had commanded, routing
the Moors completely and leaving so many dead that they
could not be counted. The ballad concludes:

De allí quedara en Castilla
El invocar a Santiago
Al tiempo de las batallas.
Que han habido los cristianos.

Espasa, however, says that this battle, which supposedly
took place in 844, is, in all likelihood, merely a legendary
incident. In the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela are
found on a doorhead some reliefs which represent the battle
of Clavijo and the hundred damsels. These are pointed out
as "proofs" that the battle actually occurred.3
Fernán González twice in the Romancero received direct aid from St. James. The first instance, cited in an XVIIIth century ballad, Durán says, has no historical basis, but, he continues, "es preciso confesar que estos fraudes piadosos encendían la fe de los cristianos, y sostenían su valor para pelear contra los moros. El fanatismo a veces inspira un noble entusiasmo, y el fanatismo se alimenta con la superstición." This miraculous feat took place during the reign (912-961) of Abderramán in Córdoba. Abderramán was exacting a tribute of one hundred and eighty damsels, half of them noble, from the Christians. News came to him that the kings don Ramiro and don García, and the count Fernán González were killing his messengers and scorning payment of the tributes. Abderramán set out with a huge army to regain his rights, an army so large that "en los campos no cabía." He quickly made great inroads into Castile. When don Ramiro learned of this and of the incredible size of the army, he set up headquarters in Simancas, a small town only a few miles southwest of Valladolid, and sent for Fernán González and don García. Upon their arrival, they received the terrifying news that the Spaniards were outnumbered two hundred to one! Don Ramiro decided to commend his people, his property, and his life to St. James; the other two put their faith in St. Amilian (San Millán). The next day, they sallied forth to give
battle to the Moors, commending themselves to God and to the two Saints, promising to pay them tribute forever afterwards. The Moors, at the sight of the small band, believed they were going to receive an offer of surrender and went out to take the band:

Pero mal les sucedía,
Porque fueron rechazados
Con dalles grandes heridas:
Y en esto visiblemente
Dos caballeros venían
En unos caballos blancos,
Hermosos en demasía,
Y juntos con los cristianos,
A los moros perseguían,
Los cuales con grande espanto
Se pusieron en huida,
Matándose unos a otros,
Por huir quien más podía:
Porque afirmaban los moros
Que a todos les parecía
Que para cada uno de ellos
Mil caballeros había
De aquellos caballos blancos,
Que muy recio los herían.

The pursuit continued to a place called Aza. After the victory was assured, the Christians gave their well-merited thanks to the two Saints, granting, in addition, tributes which, the poet says, are still being paid in Castile.

Another instance of Fernán González's receiving direct help from St. James is recounted by Lorenzo de Sepúlveda. The doughty Castilian count was in battle with the pagan king, Almansi. Although the Count's forces were small in number, they were killing many Moors. In spite of their valor, Fernán González and his troops found themselves
surrounded. The Count began praying fervently for help. He hadn't killed many more pagans, when he heard a voice from the heavens saying that God was sending him aid.

Alzara el Conde los ojos
For ver quien lo había llamado;
Vido a Santiago, el Apóstol,
Que junto a él ha llegado;
Gran gente de caballeros
Lo vienen acompañando,
Ricas armas traen vestidas,
Cruces grandes en su lado.
Los haces tienen paradas
Contra Almanzor y su bando.

Almanzor and his Moors became frightened at such an awesome spectacle, the Christians rallied, and soon the Spaniards had gained another triumph over the Moors.

Piety among the heroes of the ballads did not go without reward. One Fernán Antolínez, a contemporary of the Infantes of Lara, was assisting at the siege of San Estevan de Gormaz on the Duero River. Lorenzo de Sepúlveda tells how the besieging count, Garcí Fernández, had summoned the Moors to battle. The Christians heard mass before going out to battle; our hero, Fernán Antolínez, was accustomed to attending all holy masses, remaining always until they were finished. Accordingly, in spite of the fact that the good count Fernández went out to battle after the first mass had been said, Antolínez remained. The battle began and the Moors were losing, but murmurs against the pious knight began to be heard. God saw that Antolínez was not being cowardly and sent an angel in his likeness to fight in his
place. At this point, the author fuses two legends about this battle. In popular legend, the oldest of the seven sons of Gonzalo Gustioz practically won the battle by killing heroically the Moorish standard-bearer. Sepúlveda credits the miraculous proxy of Antólinez with the feat. The battle continued with the angel fighting so well and so courageously that all admired him.

In the meantime, Fernán Antólinez was unaware of the miracle being performed for him. When the battle was over and the Moors were conquered, he shamefully returned to the church, fearing that he would be considered a coward by all. God saw into his heart again and freed him from his shame by making the wounds received by the angel and its horse appear on the bodies of the knight and his steed. Sepúlveda does not neglect having his hero thank God for all He had done for him.

The king during whose reign Rodrigo Díaz de Bivar began his career, Ferdinand I, was once in the ballads favored with aid from St. James. History tells us that the King besieged Coímbra, perhaps for seven years, and overthrew it in 1064. This ballad, originally collected by Sepúlveda, recounts that, just prior to the fall of the town, the food supplies ran out and the King began to hear expressed desires of lifting the siege. Fortunately, two monks from a near-by monastery put in an appearance just at this moment, offering
food to the army if the siege were continued. After a good meal, the troops attacked with renewed vigor, soon securing the unconditional surrender of the Moors in the city.

But, while the siege was still in progress, a pilgrim from some vague place beyond Greece arrived. When he heard talk of St. James entering battles armed and mounted, this pilgrim, being a bishop, objected to the Saint's being called a "caballero," for, he said, St. James was a fisherman. Later, while the pilgrim was asleep, St. James appeared to him with keys in his hand and spoke thus:

---"Tú faces escarnio
Por llamarme caballero,
Y en ello tanto has cuidado,
Vengo yo ahora a mostrarte
Porque no dudes en vano.
Caballero soy de Cristo,
Ayudador de cristianos
Contra el poder de los moros,
Y d'ellos soy abogado."---II

As he spoke, a beautiful white horse was brought to him. Mounted, and armed with the traditional shining white armor, he went off to help Ferdinand, saying that he himself would open the town, on the morrow, with the keys he carried, and would give it to the King. And thus, concludes the poet, did indeed come about the fall of the town, in which, a short time afterwards, the Cid was dubbed knight.

Around the Battle of las Navas where, in 1212, Alfonso VIII won a decisive victory over the Moors—a victory very important in the long reconquest of Spain—have grown up many legends. Sepúlveda's fairly accurate account refrains
from attributing the victory to a miracle until, at the end, he concludes:

Era fue la gran batalla
Que todo el mundo decía
De las Navas de Tolosa,
Donde Dios su cruz envía,
Donde al Miramamolín
Con deshonra lo vencían.13

However, in an anonymous ballad14 on the same subject, found by Durán in a collection made by Sepúlveda, the legendary miracle of the cross is told. Here, the reader learns that on the day when the great battle was to be fought, the Christians arose before dawn, attended mass, and there received the holy sacrament. Afterwards,

Armados están en campo
Cada cual en su cuadrilla;
Una cruz muy colorada
En el cielo parecía,
Hermosa, resplandeciente,
¡Gran consuelo les ponía!
Tiénenlo a buena señal,
Adorado la habían.15

The appearance of the cross in the sky encouraged especially don Diego López de Haro, in command of the vanguard. He was to lead the attack against the Moors. After the good omen, he attacked with confidence.

The capture of Seville by St. Ferdinand in 1248 is accredited, in the romances vulgares, to the miraculous help of both St. Mary and St. James, the former promising St. Ferdinand that he would win the battle, while the latter, characteristically, took active part in bringing about the
capitulation of Seville. St. Ferdinand, says this XVIIIth century ballad, had regained many cities and towns and villages from the Moors and now was besieging Seville. One night while he was asleep, St. Mary appeared to him, woke him up and told him that his victory was assured, that he would win Seville on St. Clement's day (November 23). The Saint's reaction to this prophecy was:

==Virgen sagrada,  
Madre que nos alimentas,  
Si Dios y vos sois conmigo,  
¿Cómo es posible que pierda  
El ganar esta ciudad  
Que mi corazón desea?==

Ferdinand at once made preparations for the attack, dividing his forces into two parts, one under the command of García Pérez de Vargas, and one under his own command. He led his troops to the Puerta Real. Their attack was fiercely resisted by the Moors, but

aunque al santo Rey le cercan  
Algunas angustias, nunca  
Sin esperanza se queda,  
FIado y muy confiado  
En la celestial promesa  
De la soberana Virgen  
María, Señora nuestra.

In the meantime, he was encouraged by the help of don Juan Pelayo Correa, whose forces were attacking the Moors in Triana, a suburb across the river from the Puerta Real. These Moors had been molesting Ferdinand's forces from boats. At about the same time, the bridge to Triana was broken,
making it almost inevitable that the castle would surrender. At this juncture, the Moors discussed conceding half the city, including the royal palace. Because there were many diversities in opinion, a truce of four or five days was granted to them by Ferdinand. At last they resolved to offer him half the city, but Ferdinand, certain of a complete victory sooner or later, refused. The battle began again, and now the Moors were gaining because of their superior numbers. Ferdinand raised his eyes toward heaven and asked St. Mary to concede him the victory since she had promised it. The Christians rallied, and then:

En medio de la batalla
Un caballero se muestra
De finas armas armado:
Trae una cruz y bandera,
Sobre la cruz un letrero,
Que dice de esta manera:
"Jacobo soy, gran ministro
De Dios, para que lo entiendas."
Conocen que es Santiago,
Según las señales muestra,
Y todos a una dicen:
---¡Santiago, guerra, guerra!---
Al mismo tiempo los moros
Por rendidos se confiesan.

Ferdinand, anxious to show his gratitude for such opportune aid, immediately ordered images made of the Virgin in an attempt to get one resembling his vision of her. None, however, satisfied him, although he accepted all that were brought to him. One day, while he was in his tent, two young men who wished to speak with him were announced.
Admitted to the presence of the future Saint, they offered to make the desired image, on the condition that they be enclosed in a room into which no one, not even the King himself, be permitted to enter for three days. The King consented and locked them up himself, retaining the key in his possession. At the end of the three days, Ferdinand entered the room. He was no little surprised to find the two young men gone and their food untouched. As he went farther in, he saw, to his awe and astonishment, an image of the Virgin exactly like his vision. This image, the Virgen de los Reves, was put in the Cathedral and is there now, although Baedeker states that it was probably a gift from France's St. Louis. Ferdinand, in his will, requested that he be buried at the feet of this image. Today the silver shrine containing his body is exhibited to the public on certain days (one is November 23, the anniversary of his conquest of Seville) while troops of the garrison march past and lower their colors. The anonymous poet of this ballad states that from the time of that apparition of St. Mary, the Moors began losing their powers.

Lorenzo de Sepúlveda, in a ballad classified by Durán as relative to the history of Spain, again relates a miracle performed by St. James at the siege of Jerez in 1255. This town, he says, was besieged by Alfonso, the son of St. Ferdinand. The Christians were winning the battle, in spite of
the fact that they were outnumbered by the Moors twenty to one. The explanation for this singular achievement appears in the following verses from the ballad:

Trabaron sangrienta lid,
Muy recio se van matando,
Muy ferida es la batalla,
Los moros huyen del campo.
Santiago, el buen apóstol,
Es el que los va matando;
Gran compañía trae consigo,
Las armas todas de blanco.

The victory over the Moors was complete, thanks to the aid of St. James.

A miracle with a rather strange twist to it is told in the XVIth and XVIIth century ballads of the Catalan Admiral. Durán states that the source is one of the historic deeds which monks used in composing religious fables. In this case, a count of Barcelona sent aid to Alfonso VII, who was attempting to conquer Almeria. The Catalanians were under the command of the admiral Galcerán o Dalmao de Pinós, who was captured with a certain Sanserín and later freed by flight or rescue. In the ballads here being considered, this flight is turned into a miraculous rescue. They follow the historical events up to the capture of don Galcerán and Sanserín. Then, according to these ballads, the Moors set a ransom of one hundred damsels, one hundred thousand doblas, one hundred white horses, one hundred golden cloths, and one hundred cows. The Spaniards were aghast at the size of
the ransom, but the Admiral was so highly esteemed that they immediately set about gathering together the ransom articles. In regard to the damsels, the vassals decided that if a man had two daughters, he was to contribute one to the ransom; if he had four, two would have to be delivered to the Moors; but, if he had only one, he and another with only one daughter would draw lots to see which daughter would have to be one of the hundred.

In the meantime, Galcerán and Sanserín were languishing in a tower prison. Galcerán remembered that in his home town, the feast of St. Stephen, who was his father's Saint, was being celebrated on that day. No sooner had he begun to call on him than St. Stephen appeared. He took Galcerán by the hand to lead him out of the prison, but Galcerán requested that the holy martyr help Sanserín escape also. St. Stephen's singular reply was:

Que reclamase a su santo,
Qu'él también le sacaría.

Sanserín prayed to St. Dionysius and received similar help from him. The two arrived just in time to save the hundred damsels.

The version of the miracle related by Gabriel Lobo Laso de la Vega differs from the anonymous version in that St. Ginés is substituted for St. Dionysius. Juan José López, an XVIIth century maker of romances de ciegos, has twice told of miracles which, supposedly,
happened to Charlemagne. One of his ballads contains a curious account of the miraculous finding of St. James' body in Galicia. Durán says the source of his misconception is the *History of Charles the Great and Orlando*, ascribed to Archbishop Turpin. The account of the starry way in the heavens, the vision of St. James, and his message to Charlemagne indeed follow Turpin's account closely. López, as well as Turpin, follows the traditional account of the miracle, but substitutes Charlemagne for Bishop Teodomiro. Their story is:

Charlemagne, after prodigious and triumphant battles, had turned back toward France. While resting one night, he saw in the sky a path of stars traversing Italy, Gascony, and other reigns of Aragon and Catalonia until it came to Galicia. Charlemagne was filled with awe and prayed that the mystery be revealed to him. A beautiful vision appeared at the great king's bedside, asking him what he wished to know. Charlemagne made his request and learned that the vision was St. James, the son of Zebedee. The path of stars, said St. James, was to lead Charlemagne to Galicia, where he would find the Saint's body in the possession of pagans. Charlemagne was to recover the body and build a sanctuary for it, a temple to which would come many pilgrims. Immediately, Charlemagne set out for Galicia and, with great toils, found the sacred body. He caused to be built, then, a rich
and beautiful temple, and to be installed there the requisite number of clergy. Having accomplished all this, he set out once more for France. It was on this return that occurred the battle of Roncesvalles.

The same López, using popular traditional material, relates another miracle falsely connected with Charlemagne. He tells how Charlemagne, early in his career, was carrying on a war with the Turks. Now, the Turkish leader had a son, Fierabras, of gigantic size, very skilled in the war-like arts. This giant had besieged and sacked Rome; the French were, at the moment, trying to punish him. Fierabras offered to challenge the Franks and was permitted to do so. Seeing that none of the French knights wished to accept the challenge, Charlemagne was about to go out into the field himself. Just at that moment, Oliver appeared and requested a boon from the King. Charlemagne promised the favor, but wished to withdraw his promise after Oliver asked to fight Fierabras. The false and treacherous Ganelón, however, knowing that Oliver was only now recuperating from recent wounds, challenged Charlemagne to retract his word and the King was forced to cede against his will.

Oliver sallied forth to meet Fierabras, by whom he was at first scorned. He persisted and Fierabras at last consented to fight with the man he thought was a novice knight. To the giant's amazement, they battled furiously for two and
a half hours. At the end of that time, the Turk asked for a truce so that he could rest. While they were resting, Fierabras learned the true identity of his adversary and immediately offered him all sorts of awards if Oliver would only join the Turks. Needless to say, the offer was refused.

Again, the two knights mounted and spurred their horses to the attack. At each moment, the fight became more bitter. Guarín, Oliver's squire,

Que todo lo estaba viendo,
Fue, y dijo a Carlo-Magno
Ruego a Dios por Oliveros,
Que estaba en grande peligro.
Con grande fervor y celo
Ante un divino Señor
Dijo de rodillas puesto:
---Dulce Jesús de mi vida,
Humilde y manso Cordero,
Consuelo del afligido,
Mirad por mi caballero!--
Y estando en estas fatigas,
Oyó una voz que del cielo
Le decía:---Carlo-Magno,
No tengas temor ni miedo,
Porque ello, aunque sea tarde,
Será tuyo el vencimiento.---31

The prophecy came true, but only after Oliver went through a lengthy and bitter struggle with the giant. Fierabras, on being thrown to the ground, asked for mercy, promising to become a Christian. The mercy was granted, the promise was kept, and, afterwards, the giant fought at the side of Roland. The poet says he became the

azote de Turquis
Y castigo de protervos.32
Occasionally in the ballads, Saints or Angels intervene in affairs of the heart. A popular tradition about Teresa, sister of Alfonso V, is told by an anonymous poet in a ballad collected by Lorenzó de Sepúlveda. Juan de la Cueva has used the same material in an artistic ballad.

The story as told by both ballads is: Alfonso V, reigning in Leon, found himself so severely pressed by Abdalla, the Moorish king in Toledo, that he had to promise the Moor his sister Teresa in marriage, in order to keep relative peace. Teresa objected forcefully, but her objections were over-ruled and the marriage took place. The princess still did not despair and, on her wedding night, she spiritedly threatened her husband:

No quiero tu compañía,
Tu vista no me agradaba;
Si pones manos en mí,
Y de ti soy deshonrada,
El ángel de Jesucristo,
A quien él me ha dado en guarda,
Hirirá ese tu cuerpo,
Con su muy tajante espada.

The Moor disregarded her warning, but to his sorrow, for Abdalla did not further expose himself to the risk of such
punishment, dispatching, in all haste, his luckless wife to her brother. Once home, Teresa became a nun and spent the rest of her life serving God.

An XVIIIth century popular ballad-maker, one Juan Miguel del Fuego, tells the marvelous story of a Portuguese noble woman in the two ballads called "La Peregrina doctora." Doña Inés (thus is named the heroine) was a perfect woman and a faithful wife to don Alejandro de Figueroa y Sarmiento. The two were exceedingly happy, but, all unknowingly, they were harboring in their home a vile and perfidious traitor in the person of don Alejandro's brother, don Federico. Now it happened that this base creature fell in love with his pure and innocent sister-in-law and went around sad and downcast. Don Alejandro was a general in the army and once, when his duties had called him away from home, don Federico composed some verses imparting his love to doña Inés and put them with a letter just arrived from the absent husband. As soon as doña Inés read the verses, she tore the paper into bits and cast them into the wind. At this point, the poet warns:

¡Deténte, mujer heroica,
Guarda el papel en tu pecho,
Que podrá ser que te sirva
Algun día de provecho!
Mas en fin, ya lo rompió,
¡Qué lástima! no hay remedio.

Don Federico became extremely angry; from his face spilled over poison and venom. Doña Inés feared for her safety, and
discreetly managed, by trickery, to lock the villain up in a little garden house.

There he stayed until don Alejandro returned, victorious, from the wars. When doña Inés released Federico, he went to his brother and accused doña Inés of the very thing of which he himself was guilty! Don Alejandro at once ordered four servants to take his faithless wife into the woods, tear out her eyes and her heart, and bring them back to him wrapped in a piece of linen. When the four arrived at the designated spot with their fair prisoner, they fell to disputing over which one should kill her. In the dispute, one was killed. But while they were arguing,

la virgen María
Los aires bajó rompiendo
Con su hijo de la mano,
Sacro Niño y Rey immense:
La dice: —Devota mía,
Libre estás, no tengas miedo,
Que yo vendré a visitarte,
Aunque yo nunca te dejo:
Un león te ha de traer
Proporcionado alimento,
Y aqueste te ha de guardar,
Que estés velando o durmiendo.

Doña Inés went to live in a cave and, as St. Mary had promised, was cared for by a lion.

When the three remaining servants perceived that their prisoner had fled, they took the eyes and heart of the dead man to don Alejandro. But don Alejandro was astute and suspected that he had been deceived. At long last, the ser-
vants confessed that the eyes and heart were not those of their mistress. The four set out to look for her.

When they approached doña Inés' hiding place, the watchful lion made short work of them. However, doña Inés recognized her husband and prevented the lion from killing him. He returned home, grievously wounded.

On the day of the Incarnation of the Word, the Virgin again appeared to doña Inés, telling her that the time had arrived for her to go care for her husband. Also, she was to pardon her brother-in-law. St. Mary gave her some healing ointment to use.

Doña Inés returned to her city, healing with her miraculous ointment any ill person she found. The amount of the ointment never diminished, although she used it many times. After doña Inés had been in the city some time, don Alejandro heard of the wonderful prowess of this unknown woman and sent for her. Hardly had she applied the balm to his lips—he had told her he was suffering from grief—than he felt himself healed. As she was preparing to leave, don Alejandro asked his wife, whom he still did not recognize, to heal his brother. She refused unless the brother would confess in public all his sins. After the wicked brother, thus compelled to tell the truth, had freed her from the charges against her, don Alejandro recognized his wife and embraced her contritely. All was forgiven; don
Federico repented and finally made a good marriage, and,
in the words of the poet,

Con esto acaba la historia,
O aqueste breve compendio,
De la mujer más heroica
Que se ha visto en tales riesgos;
Y la Virgen nuestra Madre
La libró de los perversos,
Cubriendola con su manto,
Poniendo al demonio freno,
Que siendo devota suya
La libró del consuelo.40

Miracles can happen to converted Moors, if we are to
believe the story of Celinda and don Antonio Moreno.41
Don Antonio, captured by Moors, was sold in 1749 to the
father of Celinda. It was not long before Celinda had
fallen in love with him, but the chances for marrying seemed
slight, because neither wished to give up his religion. But
don Antonio did not give up. He told Celinda the true story
of the birth, life, and death of Mahomet, claiming as his
authority St. Peter Pascual.42 The account of the death of
Mahomet is especially amusing: Antonio said that Mahomet
had fallen in love with a Jewish girl. The girl and her
relatives contrived to get him to her home, where they
killed him. They cut off and saved one of his legs, but
gave the rest of his body to the pigs. When Mahomet's
friends came inquiring for him, they were told that he had
gone to Heaven. One of the Jews remarked that as the angels
carried Mahomet off, he, the Jew, had seized one of Mahomet's
legs and had pulled so hard that it came off. Thereupon, they displayed the leg as proof. An anticlimax is provided by these words of Antonio:

Y la pierna que decía
La llevaron y pusieron
Allá en la casa de Meca
Donde ignorantes y ciegos
Adoráis un zancarrón,
Pues él está en los infiernos.

Celinda immediately denied Mahomet. Now all that remained to Antonio was to make her a Christian. He began by eulogizing the omnipotence of God, and then came to the birth of Christ. When he said, however, that Mary remained a virgin, Celinda refused to believe this astounding fact. Antonio finally convinced her by comparing the conception of Christ to light shining through a glass without breaking it. Celinda became a Christian and the two were married in secret.

An actual miracle occurred when Celinda, without the knowledge of her father, had borne a child. It was not long till he was undeceived. He became very angry,

Y echando mano a un puñal,
Levantó el brazo soberbio;
Fue a dar un golpe a su hija,
Soltó de la madre el pecho
El niño, y así le dice:
—Deténte, querido abuelo,
No me mates a mi madre,
Que es quien me da alimento:
¡Mira que te mira Dios,
Y el castigo tendrás cierto!—
Quedóse el moro confuso
De oír al infante tierno,
De unos tres días nacido.
So astounded was he, in fact, that he not only forgave his daughter for becoming a Christian, but became one himself.

An ancient popular legend was the source of the ballads, printed in XVIIIth century broadsides, about the Captive Princess. In the legend and in these two ballads, a young Venetian Christian is well repaid for an act of Christian charity. The young man had left Venice with a ship load of merchandise and had sold it, with a nice profit, in Tunis. While there, he came upon a dead Christian being guarded by two Turks. When he learned that the unfortunate man had died in the debt of a Turkish potentate, he offered to pay the debt. He carried off the corpse to a Franciscan church, had it buried, and paid for one hundred masses for the dead man's soul. All this accomplished, our hero returned to pay the Turk.

There, he heard a delicate voice lamenting with its last wails. Upon inquiry, he was informed that the voice was that of a beautiful Christian girl who refused to submit herself to her master. The Venetian said the girl was his sister and offered to pay her ransom, but, unfortunately, it was too high. He racked his brains for a solution to the problem. Admitted to the presence of the grand Turk, the Venetian casually mentioned that he and his "sister" were Jews. The result was exactly what he had hoped for—the girl, considered dead, was turned over to him, for the Turks did not want even dead Jews in their homes.
The Venetian took what he thought was another corpse to bury it, but before this was accomplished, he found the girl was still alive. They immediately fled in his boat, and in Venice were married, although the girl refused to divulge the story of her life.

During the marriage celebrations, a captain invited the two to his boat. Before they realized what was going on, the ship had set sail and nothing could be seen except the sky and the sea. The Venetian was thrown into the sea. He prayed:

---¡Valedme, Virgen sagrada
Del Carmen, divina aurora,
Y a vos, Antonio de Padua,
Santa Bárbara gloriosa,
Ángel santo de mi guarda,
Pídame a Dios que me libre
De muerte tan desgraciada!--

He quickly received efficacious help, for he found himself on a plank and, after swimming all night, was thrown up on a sandy beach. He had called on the Saint (St. Anthony of Padua) who is often invoked by travelers, and the one (St. Barbara) who is called on for help during storms. An anchorite took him in and kept him for seven months. At last, a ship came by and the Venetian was taken aboard.

The ship arrived at Ireland (one wonders if the poet was not a trifle vague in his geography) and the Venetian was sent with this message to the king:

'Invictísimo señor,
Rey poderoso de Irlanda,
The sight of the "doctor" was, indeed, enough to cure her, for she turned out to be his wife.

The story becomes more and more confused. The Venetian learned from his wife that her father had killed the perfidious captain (but we don't know why he kidnapped the couple or how she got to Ireland); that, before her captivity, her parents had caused her to marry against her will a prince of Scotland; that she had escaped and had been captured by the Moors (but she was only on a mare and couldn't cross an ocean, and the Moors were never in Ireland); and, that it was from this captivity that the Venetian had rescued her.

Then the Venetian gave the King the letter (where this letter came from originally is left to the reader's imagination) which explained all the miracles:

"En la celestial morada
Por tus obras y virtudes
Goza descanso mi alma:
Te acordarás cuando en Túnez
Le diste tierra sagrada.
A mi cuerpo, y que pagaste
Cien misas para mi alma.
Cuando en el mar te arrojaron,
Sabe que yo fui la tabla,
Yo fui el anacoreta,
Y el que te condujo a Irlanda;
Y pues quedas con tu esposa
Libre de desdichas tantas,
Quédate en paz, que yo soy
A la celestial morada."
Whether the one who performed all this for the Venetian was a Saint appearing to the Venetian, as St. Lazarus did to the Cid, is not clear. At any rate, the King soon died, the Venetian was acclaimed ruler, and deduced this moral from his experiences:

Ahora suplico al cristiano
Que siempre en su pecho traiga
A la Virgen del Carmelo,
A San Antonio de Padua,
Santa Bárbara gloriosa,
Con el Ángel de la Guarda,
Que rueguen por sus devotos
A la Majestad sagrada.

The cathedral of San Salvador in Oviedo has among its most prized possessions a cross called the Cruz de los Ángeles, dating from 830. A legend about this cross has grown up. In the Romancero general, this legend is told in a ballad collected by Juan de Timoneda in 1573.

The time was one of peace during the reign of Alfonso II el Casto. He was occupied in building a church to be called San Salvador. The good king had a store of precious stones and was very desirous of using them in a golden cross, but was having difficulty finding someone to undertake making the cross. One day, as he was returning from mass, he met two Angels dressed as pilgrims. They were, they said, silversmiths. At once the King relegated to them the task of making the cross. They took the gold and jewels to a house set apart for their use, while Alfonso returned to his own habitation. Soon, he sent messengers to see what
they were doing; the messengers returned in a trice with the report that

 Cuando entraron en la casa
 Donde los habían dejado,
 Hallaron la cruz ya hecha,
 Y a ellos no habían hallado.
 De obra tan maravillosa
 Atónitos se han quedado;
 La claridad que salía
 La vista les ha turbado.51

As soon as the King heard this report,

 Del yantar se ha levantado:
 Fuése luego para allá,
 Y como dentro hubo entrado,
 Hallando hecha la cruz
 Mucho se ha maravillado,
 Y más del gran resplandor,
 Que d'esto quedó admirado,
 Y de no ver los maestros
 Quedó muy más espantado:
 Viendo ser obra de Dios
 Muy muchas gracias le ha dado.52

The King, the Bishop, all the clergy, and the whole population carried the cross with devotion to the altar of San Salvador.

The figure of Rodrigo Díaz de Bivar, the Cid, has been the inspiration for many legends and traditions. One of the most popular, because it shows the religious faith and the charity of the Cid, is that of the leper. In the Romancero, the legend is twice treated, once in a collection made by Sepúlveda in the XVIth century, and once in a XVIIth century collection made by Juan Escobar.53 The second is merely a modification of the first. Both follow the traditional account exactly.
After his marriage to Ximena, Rodrigo decided to go on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela. He set out with twenty other nobles, all of them piously giving many alms on the way. As they were traveling along, they saw in a quagmire on the side of the road a leper begging for help. All disdainfully passed by him except the Cid, who fearlessly helped the leper to get out. As if this weren’t enough to show his religious charity, he took the leper on his horse, and then to an inn. When Rodrigo proceeded to eat with him, the rest of the company grew very angry and left to go to another inn.

After the two had eaten, a bed was made for them. Rodrigo slept with the leper. At midnight, he felt his bedmate breathing hard on his back, but when he awoke, the leper had disappeared. He called for a light, but even then, the man could not be found. Rodrigo, wondering, returned to his bed and thereupon saw a man dressed in white robes coming toward him. The vision said:

---San Lázaro soy, Rodrigo,
Yo, que a te hablar venía,
Yo soy el gafo a que tú
Por Dios tanto bien hacías.
Rodrigo, Dios bien te quiere,
Otorgado te tenía
Que lo que tú comenzares
En lides, o en otra guisa,
Lo cumplirás a tu honra
Y crecerá cada día.
De todos serás temido,
De cristianos y morisma,
Y que los tus enemigos
St. Lazarus then disappeared. Rodrigo knelt to give thanks to God and to St. Mary, and remained in prayer the rest of the night. As Durán says, the legend was well calculated to increase the number of pilgrimages to Santiago, for who would not like to imitate a hero as great as Rodrigo?

The Saint most frequently associated with the Cid is St. Peter. It was at the church of San Pedro de Cardeña near Burgos that Rodrigo and Ximena were buried, with Bacieca, his faithful charger, supposedly being interred outside the door. And it was St. Peter who appeared to the Cid just before his death.

In two almost identical ballads collected by Sepúlveda in the XVIth century, this visit of St. Peter to Rodrigo is told. While the Cid was lying in bed worn out from the toils of life, news came to him that a powerful Moor named Búcar had arrived at Valencia. The Cid, worried, began to pray God to stay on his side and help his followers. Suddenly, a man appeared at his side and began to speak to Rodrigo:

---Sant Pedro llaman a mí,
Príncipe del apostolado,
Vengo a decirte, Rodrigo,
Otro que no estás cuidando,
Y es que dejes este mundo,
La vida que ha fin
Bo estin los santos holgand©
Moriras en treinta días,
Desde hoy que esto te hablo.
Dios te quiere mucho, Cid,
Y esta merced te ha otorgado;
Y es que después de tú muerto
Venzas a Búcar en campo.
Tus gentes habrán batalla
Con todos los de su bando.
Esta será con la ayuda
De mi hermano Santiago.
Y él verná a la batalla,
Ya se lo tiene mandado.

The reason for this special favor was, said St. Peter,

Que Dios por amor de mí
Todo aquesto ha ordenado,
Porque honraste mi casa,
Do Cardeña era nombrado.

All this made the Cid very happy, and, leaping from his bed, he bent to kiss the feet of the Saint; however, St. Peter refused to permit this act of gratitude.

Later, when the Cid was on the point of death,

Presente se halló San Pedro,
Que quiso hallarse presente
Para mostrar que su vida
Mereció fin tan alegre.

After the Campeador had died, he was propped up on a chair by his friends until his body became rigid. Two days later, the body was mounted on Babieca and led the attack against Búcar. The victory of the Spaniards was complete, as St. Peter had prophesied, but if St. James helped directly in winning this battle, the ballads do not mention the fact. After the battle, the body of the Cid
was buried in the church of San Pedro de Cardeña in compliance with the wish expressed in his will.

Another ballad found in a collection of Sepúlveda's tells of a miracle performed by the body of the Cid. It was seven years after Rodrigo's death. He had been interred in a sitting position and with his head uncovered so that the white beard of traditional fame was in sight. Tizona, one of his famous swords, was placed at his side. Many people visited the church to see the body of the Cid; one day, a Jew came in alone. He had heard how no one had ever dared touch the beard of the famous hero, and now decided to try touching it himself, since Rodrigo was long since dead.

Tendió la mano el judío
Para hacer lo que ha pensado,
Y antes que a la barba llegue,
El buen Cid había empuñado
A la su espada Tizona,
Y un palmo la había sacado.
El judío que esto vido
Muy gran pavor ha cobrado.
Tendido cayó de espaldas
Amortecido de espanto.

When the Jew had been brought back to consciousness, he recounted what had happened. All who heard gave thanks to God for this miracle. As for the Jew, the result of his harrowing experience was that he became a Christian and died serving God in San Pedro de Cardeña.

The "miracle-teller" of the ballads, Lorenzo de Sepúlveda, tells another in connection with the founding of
the church of San Isidro in León by Ferdinand I in 1005. This church was actually built by Ferdinand I and the body of the Vllth century Spanish Saint was placed in it. The ballad version of the events is that Ferdinand was building in León a church where he and his descendants would be buried. Since he was a good Christian, he wanted to have some holy body placed in the sepulchres there also.

The King decided to send to Seville, where one of his vassals, Almucamuz, ruled, for the bodies of the two martyred sisters, St. Justa and St. Rufina. Two bishops were entrusted with bringing the bodies to León. Upon their arrival, they went to Almucamuz to ask him for the bodies. To their dismay, Almucamuz did not know the location of the relics. In great perplexity, the bishops resorted to prayer and fasting, hoping that by some miracle God would reveal to them the whereabouts of the two bodies.

After three days of fasting, St. Isidore appeared to them, telling them that it was not God's will that the bodies of St. Justa and St. Rufina should be removed from Seville, for they were to be the patron saints of the Andalusian city. But, he continued,

por vuestra santidad,
Y honra del rey Fernando,
De quien recibe servicio,
Mi cuerpo os ha otorgado,
Que lo llevéis a León,
A quién aquí os ha enviado.
Los obispos que lo oyeron
Sin habla habían quedado.
Esidro los santiguó,
Ellos en si habían tornado:
Preguntaronle quién era,
Sant Esidro ha replicado:
—Yo soy Esidro, arzobispo
Da Sevilla, que os he hablado:
Allá en Sevilla la vieja
Mi cuerpo habréis hallado.65

In the company of the King, they went where St. Isidore had
directed and

Allí hallaron su cuerpo,
Salió olor muy sublimado
Que consolara a los moros,
Y también a los cristianos.66

A great procession escorted the bearers of the holy body to
León; along the way, it performed many miracles.

Sepúlveda tells67 of a miracle later performed by this same St. Isidore, in the church Ferdinand had built for him.

It was during the reign of Alfonso VI, the Alfonso from
whom the Cid had exacted the famous oath in Santa Gadea.

A certain don Pelayo of noble family had got himself into a
scrape with the King by committing many crimes and killing
more people than he should have. Alfonso, very angry with
him, ordered that don Pelayo be relieved of his head. The
don, fearing for his life, took refuge before the altar where
St. Isidore lay.

Alfonso was so very vexed that he would have gone so
far as to defile the sanctity of the church if he had not
feared incurring the wrath of a confessor he held in high
esteem. He was forced to be content with merely putting
guards around the church and forbidding anyone to give food or drink to the culprit. This state of affairs lasted seven days. Don Pelayo found himself in imminent danger of dying either from hunger or thirst. Desperately, he threw himself on his knees before the altar and prayed to St. Isidore to help him. In spite of the fact that his life was filled with crimes, he had great faith, as shown by his prayer.

Don Pelayo drank and found his thirst and hunger both completely satisfied. The water continued to run for three days. Many people were attracted to the church by this miracle. However, the poet neglects to tell us whether don Pelayo was saved from capture by the miracle.

Jaime I of Aragon had as his confessor Raymond of Peñafort, who was later canonized. Jaime led a rather irregular life and St. Raymond tried often, but in vain, to get the King to mend his ways.

Gabriel Lobo Laso de la Vega tells in a ballad a legendary account of what St. Raymond did when he saw that it was impossible to reform the King. At last, the poet says, the Saint saw that all his fasting, his prayers, his worries were of no avail and requested permission of the King to return to his monastery. But this request was not in accord
with the wishes of the King and he refused. Rearing that Raymond would nevertheless attempt to make the voyage to his monastery, Jaime forbade anyone to take his confessor on board a boat.

But St. Raymond had that naïve faith which is characteristic of the truly saintly man. He went down to the sea, knelt, and offered up a short prayer. Next,

Levantóse, y de sus hombros
Quitó el dichoso ropaje,
Lleno de santos misterios
Y secretos celestiales,
Y teniéndole en las ondas
En lugar de barca o nave,
Se puso de pies en él, 70

and spoke to God, saying that He had powers without limit. Then, on his cloak he placed his scapulary, his key, and his staff— they became the mast, the sail, and the rudder.

D'esta suerte se engolfó;  
Queriendo el Señor mostralle  
Serle acepta su demanda  
Y sus obras agradables,  
Mandando que el mar furioso  
Se le humille y avasalle,  
Y que las inquietas ondas  
En sus hombros le levanten,  
Queriendo también mostrar  
Que sus siervos han de honrarse  
No sólo en el otro mundo,  
Sino en este miserable. 71

At last, Raymond arrived at Barcelona, immediately gave thanks to Heaven for his miraculous voyage, and then went off to his monastery.

In the third century, there dwelt in Spain a man named Antolín who professed Christianity. He was persecuted for
his religious beliefs, until finally, Espasa says, he went with two other men to live in a forest. But, one day, the three were found by a hunting expedition. It was ordered that they should be decapitated and their bodies thrown into a near-by river. This cruel punishment was carried out.

Don Sancho the Great of Navarre (reigned during the X1th century) was, one day, according to legend, out hunting deer. He discovered a cave, where, as he was about to shoot an arrow, his arm became paralyzed. It was supposed that here was the body of Antolín, now become a Saint, and a church with a town (Palencia) around it grew up on the site. From that time on, concludes Espasa, St. Antolín has been the patron saint of Spanish hunters.

Here was good material for a romance, decided our old friend Sepúlveda, and he proceeded to make one slightly modifying the legend. Don Sancho, he says, found a cave with an ancient altar consecrated to St. Antolín. Right by the altar he saw a magnificent wild boar and prepared to shoot it, but before he could dispatch an arrow, his arm became useless. He begged God to restore him the use of his arm, using St. Antolín as his intermediary. Thanks to the Saint's aid, the King recovered and founded a temple on the site. Sepúlveda tacks this little moral lesson on to the end:

Hizo Dios este milagro
For darnos muestra muy clara,
A XVIth century ballad of anonymous authorship tells how a rather minor miracle happened to Philip II as he lay on his deathbed. The year, say history and the ballad, was 1598. Philip became ill in the latter part of July, and by August 12

*Por muerto ya le tenían.*
*Tres días estuvo echado.*
*Sobre un cuerpo de valía,*
*Que es un santo glorioso.*
*De la orden agustinas,*
*Sí queréis saber su nombre,*
*San Guillermo se decía.*
*A los quince de agosto*
*El buen Rey en sí volvía,*
*En su acuerdo y memoria*
*Y juicio que tenía.*

But in spite of the miracle wrought by the holy body, Philip died within a month. Curiously enough, there seems to be no St. William of the Augustine order, nor was there any St. William, apparently, whose body was even in Spain.

The private life of Alfonso VIII, the king who won the Battle of las Navas, was not as far above reproach as it should have been, says Lorenzo de Sepúlveda. This king had contracted a marriage with the daughter of Henry II of England. The marriage took place and the king arrived with his new wife at Toledo. But tragedy struck!

Alfonso suddenly became enamored of a Jewish girl, significantly named Fermosa. He spent the next seven years completely occupied with her and just as completely oblivious.
of the affairs of state which deserved his attention. The courtiers became quite concerned over the matter and decided to put an end to it. A group of them went to see the King; while part of the group talked with him, the rest sought out the Jewess and killed her.

When the King learned of her death, he became so sad that he scarcely knew what he was doing. By no one could he be consoled, until

Estando el Rey una noche
En la su cama acostado
Cuidando en la judía,
Un ángel le había hablado.
—¡Aun cuidas, le dijo, Alfonso,
En el tu grave pecado!
Dios de ti gran deservicio
De tu maldad ha tomado:
No fincará de ti hijo;
Mas hija te habrá heredado:
Procura de a Dios servir
Porque te haya perdonado.

The vision and message of the Angel immediately brought Alfonso to his senses and he promised to mend his ways.

History tells that he did, indeed, fail to have a male heir.

In the material treated above, it is to be noted that all the miracles related in the Romancero are in ballads which appeared after the XVth century. Not one of the romances viejos contains an account of a miraculous occurrence. This fact indicates that the ballad audiences of the early ages were more matter-of-fact and less credulous than those of later years.
Considered first in this chapter were the miracles having to do with battles. Here, St. James, rightfully, takes the lead. To him, the patron saint of Spain, naturally accrued the honor of aiding its people when they were in need of help, particularly in the struggles with the Moors. The ballads relate the tradition of how he became the patron saint and then continue by retelling the legends of his helping such worthies as Fernán González, Ferdinand I, St. Ferdinand, Alfonso, and Charlemagne. In one instance, the siege of Seville by St. Ferdinand, he worked with the Virgin Mary, who encouraged the King by promises of victory, while St. James actually helped bring about the victory. Another time, he worked with St. Emilian to help Fernán González.

Only two other Saints played any part in battles. These two were St. Stephen and St. Dionysius, who helped the two Catalanians escape from prison. Other miraculous heavenly aid in battles was performed by nameless angels. One took the place of Fernán Antólínez in a battle and two helped St. Ferdinand get an image of St. Mary after she had aided him in the capture of Seville.

In a few instances, miraculous aid was given in love affairs. A tradition, retold in the ballads, claims that an angel avenged the violation by a Moor of Teresa, daughter of Alfonso V. The other cases were in the long poems that appeared in broadsides during the XVIIIth century.
Miracles were performed in various other instances. An angel wrought a jeweled cross, says a legend narrated by a ballad, which can still be seen in the church of San Salvador at Oviedo. The appearances of St. Lazarus and St. Peter to Ruy Díaz de Bivar are recounted. Also told is the miracle by which St. Isidore's body was found for the church bearing his name in León and his aid to a criminal who later took refuge in the church. There is a ballad treatment of St. Raymond's miraculous ocean trip and one of how Sancho of Navarre found the resting place of the patron saint of Spanish hunters, St. Antolín. A ballad tribute to Philip II claims that the powers of a St. William's body temporarily revived him as he lay on his death bed. Alfonso VIII, says a ballad, was induced by an angel to cease mourning the death of his Jewish mistress.

The most important conclusion to be gained from a study of these ballads is that mentioned above, that all the accounts of miracles appear in the more recent ballads. These accounts are nothing more than legends and traditions put into ballad form.

St. James is the figure who appears as a miracle-worker most frequently. He appears oftenest during battles where the Christians are losing. He can be recognized by his shining white armor and his white steed. Sometimes he appears alone; other times, he is accompanied by a host of angels dressed and mounted in the same fashion.
Another interesting observation is the excessive interest of Lorenzo de Sepúlveda in miracles. Of all the ballads treated in this chapter, Sepúlveda is responsible for nearly half of them, having either composed them himself or collected them. He is also responsible for others, not included here, which relate miracles performed without the help of Saints or Angels. Not enough is known of his life, however, to explain his preference for miracles. It is known merely that he was a scribe in Seville during the XVIth century and that he was distinguished in balladry.
Because Spain is a strong Catholic country, a large percent of the references to Saints or Angels in the ballads consisted of invoking their help in some emergency, or of swearing, but not necessarily profanely, by them. On account of the cult of St. Mary in the Catholic Church, the Virgin was by far the favorite Saint called upon.

In the ballads of chivalry, although she was evoked almost exclusively, only on rare occasions did the French heroes call on her. In fact, in only four of the stories of chivalry did the hero call on St. Mary.

The pilgrim who turned out to be the son of Charlemagne invoked St. Mary with success. The ballad story goes that he came to Paris from Mérida dressed in a ragged, worthless garment over one that was well worth a whole city. He arrived without any deviations at Paris and asked for the King. A gate-keeper, marveling at the fact that a man so poorly clad should make such a request, informed him that Charlemagne was hearing mass. The pilgrim immediately set out for the church. As soon as he entered, he knelt, first to God, then to St. Mary, then to the various dignitaries of church and state who were there. At first, it appeared that St. Mary was not
going to help him, for he got into an argument with Roland and became so carried away by anger that he actually slapped the most famous of the Twelve Peers, Charlemagne immediately sentenced the pilgrim to be hanged.

But all was not over yet. At the foot of the scaffold, the pilgrim announced that he was the son of Charlemagne and was found to be telling the truth. Undoubtedly, the fact that he had knelt to St. Mary helped him come out on top.

Valdovinos, one of Charlemagne's Twelve Peers, invoked St. Mary as he was dying and received immediate and efficacious results. This ballad tells how his uncle, the Marquis of Mantua, was out hunting. He became lost from the rest of his party and in his wanderings through the forest, heard a voice asking St. Mary to help someone in the throes of death. St. Mary must have had a hand in causing the Marquis to hear the prayer, for he found the owner of the voice was his nephew, Valdovinos. The young man told him that he had been given twenty wounds, all of them mortal, by Carloto, son of the king Charlemagne. The reason, Valdovinos said, was that Carloto had fallen in love with his wife and had been spurned by her. After Valdovinos expired in his arms, the Marquis swore by God and St. Mary to avenge his death.

The Marquis took his cause to the Emperor, and Charlemagne, despite the fact that it was a question of his own son, permitted a trial. Carloto was found guilty and sentenced to a death without honor in a sentence that began:
And thus the ones who called on St. Mary were those who prevailed in the end, even Valdovinos, for although he was dead, his honor remained without blemish.

Twice in his ballad career, Gayferos invoked St. Mary, and each time eventually got what he had requested. In the two well-known ballads about his vengeance on his uncle Galván, St. Mary is found to be on Gayferos' side. The Countess, his mother, incited him to vengeance by telling him that the Count had caused her husband to be killed treacherously so that he might marry her himself. Gayferos replied:

--Rúgole así a Dios del cielo
Y a Santa María su Madre.--

The Count heard the words and ordered at once the death of this potential menace to his life. However, the squires who were to carry out the Count's orders had no liking for the task. After they had prayed:

--¡Oh válasme Dios del cielo
Y Santa María su Madre!
Si a este niño matamos,
¿Qué galardón nos darán?

A little dog appeared and they realized they had received the answer to their prayer; they could give its heart instead of Gayferos' to the Count. St. Mary in this manner
saved his life and later allowed him to avenge his father's death, as he had requested.

After Gayferos was married, St. Mary was again called on in his favor in an old ballad. Melisendra, the wife of Gayferos and the daughter of Charlemagne, had been captured and held seven years by the Moors. But when he, at long last, learned her whereabouts, he was unable to go to her because his cousin Montesinos had his horse. However, Roland was persuaded to lend Gayferos his horse and arms.

Gayferos set out and found Melisendra in Sansueña. He took her on the horse, but before they could find a way out of the city, an alarm was raised. Melisendra wished aloud:

¡Ya quisiera Dios del cielo
Y Santa María su Madre
Fuese tal vuestro caballo
Como el de Don Roldane!

and, lo and behold! they were mounted on the powerful horse of Roland. Although Gayferos had to fight the Moors before he and his wife could make their escape, he overcame them completely, thanks to Roland's horse and arms.

The Admiral Guarinos is the fourth of the heroes of the ballads of chivalry to call on St. Mary. He had been captured by the Moors at Roncesvalles. When they asked him to turn Moorish, he refused with the words:

--No lo mande Dios del cielo
Ni Santa María su Madre,
Que deje la fe de Cristo
Por la de Mahoma tomar,
and was consequently thrown into a prison cell filled with water waist-deep. Three times a year he was to be flogged.

The imprisonment lasted seven years. Guarinos was still firm in his faith in St. Mary, for, when he heard a great noise outside, he exclaimed:

---¡Oh vallasme Dios del cielo
Y Santa María su Madre!
O casan hija del Rey,
O la quieren desposar,
O era venido el día
Que me quieren justiciar.---

The jail-keeper told him that it was none of these things, but that a tablado had been built so high none of the Moors could overthrow it. Guarinos, despite his cruel seven-year imprisonment, wished to try his prowess. He was permitted to do so and, no doubt because of his firm religious faith, he was successful. At this, the Moors became very angry and attacked him. After killing a goodly number of them, Guarinos escaped to France.

A Saint much esteemed in France during the Middle-Ages, St. Giles, is called on for help in the ballad of the Babilonian soldier and the Count of Narbonne. The episode takes place in a town called here Sant Gil; the town referred to is probably the St. Giles near Marseilles. The Babilonian soldier ("May God give him a bad life and a worse death," exclaims the poet) armed ships and galleys to attack Narbonne, a town on the Mediterranean coast about half way between St. Giles and the Spanish border. He dropped anchor
in the port of St. Giles and there captured the Count. The Count was put backwards on an old nag and:

Cient azotes dan al Conde
Y otros tantos al rocín;
Al rocín porque anduviese,
Y al Conde por lo rendirse.

The Countess saw all this and offered to her husband to ransom him, but he refused because, he said, he was already mortally wounded. In parting from him, the Countess said:

—Vayades con Dios, el Conde,
Y con gracia de Sant Gil.

A patron saint of France, St. Denis, is once called upon by Roland in a ballad of chivalry. Reinaldos, a cousin of Roland, had been sentenced to be hanged because he had been robbing. Roland objected angrily, and in the course of a long argument with Charlemagne, said:

No consienta nadie, no,
Tan gran turto ser pasado,
Que juro por Sant Dionís,
Y al Eterno soberano,
Que en lo tal yo no consienta,
Mi tal será ejecutado,
O todo el mundo se guarde.
De mi espada y de mi mano.

Charlemagne at last was persuaded to commute the sentence to exile and exacted that Reinaldos make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

In the ballads which Durán classes as relative to the history of Spain, the evocations of St. Mary constitute almost half the times Saints are called. The first time St. Mary was called, as recorded in the ballads, was during the reign of
Roderick, the last of the Goths. Strangely, the maker of the ballad allowed a villain to call her, but it did him no good. The occasion was: The Duke of Lorraine had promised his wife that if she remained chaste for two years after his death, she would inherit all his property; if not, it would all be lost to her. The Duke's brother, Lembrot, anxious to get the property for himself, accused her of not complying with the terms of the will. The case was taken to the Emperor, who decreed that her innocence should be proven by three men fighting Lembrot and two of his uncles.

There was no one in France willing to take the risk of fighting such men as these three, so the Duchess came to Spain at a time when Roderick was holding great celebrations in Toledo. There, having found three defenders, the Frenchmen were summoned. The battle between the six was lengthy and strenuous. Lembrot, badly wounded, said to himself:

---¡Válgame Santa María!
Este hombre es infernal,
Que destruirme quería,
Porque si él humano fuese
Mis golpes bien sentiría;
Mas veo que cada hora
Le recree la osadía.--- 12

However, it was not long till Lembrot was dead; the two uncles then fell to the ground, their heads were cut off, and the honor and chastity of the Duchess were affirmed.

Roderick himself later called St. Mary when he had lost all Spain to the Moors. When he came to the hermitage where
he wished to do penance, he explained to the hermit:

—El desdichado Rodrigo
Yo soy, que rey ser solía:
Vengo a hacer penitencia
Contigo en tu compañía:
No recibas pesadumbre
For Dios y Santa María.—

Pelayo, the man chosen king of the Spaniards after the defeat by the Moors, was responsible for the beginning of the Reconquest. Sepúlveda relates how the traitor bishop, don Úrbez, tried without success to make a pacifist of Pelayo. But Pelayo valiantly replied that God would be with the Spaniards, and would give them vengeance. He continued:

Yo bien fío en su bondad,
Que será como lo hablo,
Y esto me hace no temer
Los moros que me han cercado.
Cuánto más que es mi abogada
Virgen Madre, con sus santos!
Todos rogarán a Dios
Nos libre d'este quebranto.

Alfonso II, el casto, built a number of churches and buildings dedicated to pious uses. Notable among these buildings was the church of San Salvador in Oviedo for which two angels constructed a cross miraculously. A ballad enumerating all his "pious foundations" says that the King did all this in honor of the Blessed Virgin and her son.

When Bernardo del Carpio asked the King the first time for the liberty of his father, Alfonso angrily refused. Bernardo, with great sadness, replied:

—Señor, Rey sois, y haredes
A vuestra querer y guisa:
Empero yo ruego a Dios,
También a Santa María,
Que él os meta en corazón
Que lo soltedes aún,
Ca yo nunca dejare 16
De serviros todavía.

Appealing for help to Ruy Velázquez, the infamous uncle of the Siete Infantes de Lara, in the name of St. Mary did the Infantes no good when they found themselves about to be killed by the Moors, Sepúlveda tells us. When the oldest of the seven princes had been killed, they requested and received a truce to get help. One of them went to Ruy Velázquez, but in vain, for even when he said:

\[ \text{Hacedlo por Dios del cielo,} \\
\text{Y por su Madre sagrada,} \\
\text{Catad que somos cristianos,} \]

the wicked uncle remained adamant.

When Fernán González was imprisoned the first time, the fact that a pilgrim called on St. Mary helped persuade the Princess who later married the Castilian count that she should free him. The pilgrim persuaded her with the words:

\[ \text{—Dios os lo perdone, Infanta,} \\
\text{Dios, también Santa María,} \\
\text{Pues por vos se pierde un hombre,} \]

and Castile as well. When the pilgrim finished talking, he had thoroughly persuaded the Infanta that it was her duty to free the Count.

Two of the truly old ballads, the ones telling how Ximena first asked the King to punish the Cid and then asked
to marry him, contain evocations of St. Mary by Spain's national hero. After Ximena made her startling request to the very perplexed King, he sent a letter to Rodrigo, informing him of the latest development. The letter got into the hands of old Diego Lainez, however, causing the ensuing discussion. Rodrigo speaks first:

---Malas mañas habéis, Conde,  
No os las puedo quitaré,  
Que cartas que el Rey os manda  
No me las queréis mostrare.

---No era nada, mi hijo,  
Sino que vades allá,  
Quedaos vos aquí, mio hijo,  
Yo iré en vuestro lugare.

---Nunca Dios tal cosa quiera  
Ni Santa María lo mende,  
Sino que adonde vos fuéredes  
Que allá vaya yo delante.

Quite naturally, the ballads on Rodrigo's pilgrimage to Santiago found it very fitting to have St. Mary evoked. As the Cid went traveling along with his company, he handed out alms right and left for the sake of God and St. Mary.

When he and his companions came upon the leper, they found that he too was calling on St. Mary:

Dando voces que lo saquen  
Por Dios y Santa María.

And after St. Lazarus had disappeared, Rodrigo gave thanks to God, also to St. Mary.

When Ximena had sent a complaint to the King complaining of the long absences of her husband, he ended his reply thus:
'Con esto ceso, señora,
Y no de estar suplicando
A la Virgen, vos alumbre
En los peligros del parto.'23

The oath, exacted by the Cid in the church of Santa
Gadea from Alfonso VI, that the latter had no part in his
brother Sancho's death, was made in the name of St. Mary.
Alfonso swore:

Ruego a la Virgen María
Y a su Hijo muy amado,
Que muriese por tal muerte
Como murió el rey Don Sancho,
Si fuí en dicho, ni en hecho.
De la muerte de mi hermano.24

Lorenzo de Sepúlveda's version of the same incident
keeps the evocation of St. Mary, but changes the oath to
say, in part:

Y de aquí os juro a Dios,
Y aquella virgen María,
Que lo tal nunca mandé,
Ni consejado lo había,
Ni cuando su muerte supe
Placer d'ello me venía,
Aunque me echó de la tierra,
Y mi reino me tenía.--25

A late XVIth century ballad causes the Cid quite nobly
to say to Alfonso, on being exiled by him, that, although he
was not guilty, he would obey the sentence because it was
ordered by the King. Magnanimously, he added:

Y plegue a Nuestra Señora
Que vos faga aventurado,
Tal que non echedes menos
La mí espada ni el mi brazo.26

One of the great exploits of Alfonso VI was the conquest
of Toledo, but he made the mistake of putting his wife
Costanza in power. His policy seems to have been to let the Moors alone as much as was practical, for he became angry on learning that the Bishop had persuaded Costanza to turn a mosque,

Donde la Reina del cielo
Solía ser muy honrada

back into a Christian church. The Bishop, on the other hand was quite pleased, as these words of his show:

---¡Gracias doy a Jesucristo,
Y a su Madre, Virgen santa,
Que salís, Reina, al camino
De lo que yo deseaba! 27

Sepúlveda causes Alfonso VI, after the Battle of las Navas, 28 to give thanks for the victory:

El Rey da crecidas gracias
A Dios y a Santa María
Por esta tan gran victoria
Y gloria tanto cumplida. 29

In an anonymous ballad on the same subject, collected by Sepúlveda, the son of the commander of the vanguard incited his father to fight well by calling on St. Mary and by begging his father to recover his honor, lost in a previous battle:

Miémbreseos la prez y honra,
Que en Alarcos se perdía;
Cobradlo os ruego por Dios,
Y por su Madre María. 30

An interesting and rather amusing footnote to history appears in Sepúlveda's relation of the conquest of Niebla in 1257 by Alfonso the Wise. The ballad says that Alfonso had
been besieging the Andalusian town for eight months. Now, he was about to raise the siege and leave the Moors in the town to go their own blithe way. Alfonso's reason for admitting defeat was that his army had been besieged by one more powerful and more effective: an army of flies. At this crucial moment,

¿En el real hay dos frailes
Y así al buen Rey le decían:
Que no quite el cerco a Niebla
Por Dios y Santa María,
Pues está casi ganada.31

They offered, and the King accepted, their services in finding a remedy. They offered rewards for catching flies. With such an incentive, the soldiers had soon decreased the fury of the storm. The King was enabled to continue the siege with his newly envigorated army. Soon the town was his.

Alfonso X himself called on St. Mary for help twice in the ballads. The occasion was, in both ballads, his troubles, arising after the death of his oldest son, with his second son, Sancho, about the succession. Alfonso says, in an apparently old ballad, that he has suffered great misfortunes in his battles, and that he finds himself deserted by friends and relatives.

Ayúdeme Jesucristo
Y su Madre Santa María,
Que yo a ellos me encomiendo,
De noche y también de día.32

he pleads. A ballad collected by Sepúlveda tells of Alfonso's sufferings when he had later been actually deposed by Sancho.
With tears in his eyes, the old King said:

---Santa María, Señora,
No me quieras olvidar,
Caballeros de Castilla
Desamparado me han
Y por miedo de Don Sancho
No me osan ayudar.33

St. Mary must have been favorable to his appeal, for Alfonso ruled once more.

The poets of the romances vulgares, as we shall see later, often added a flourish to their ballads by beginning with a prologue asking St. Mary to aid them in their composition. But once only in the historical ballads does the poet preface his ballad with an evocation of St. Mary. This ballad, taken from the XVIth century Cancionero de romances, tells of the death of the Carvejales and of the ensuing death within thirty days of Ferdinand IV, the Summoned. The poet begins:

Válasme, nuestra Señora,
Cual dicen, de la Ribera,
Donde el buen rey Don Fernando
Tuvo la su cuarentena.34

The execution of don Álvaro de Luna in 1453 gave rise to many ballads. They credit him with extreme piety and cite two instances when he called on the Blessed Virgin. The first was at the time he was notified of his sentence. Don Álvaro commended himself to God with the words:

Vos, mi Dios, tomad mis cuentas,
Y tú, Virgen, madre suya,
Intercede hoy en las mías 35
Mientras yo paso las tuyas.
Later on, when the unfortunate don Álvaro was actually on the scaffold, he spoke thus to the Mother of God:

Vos, Virgen inmaculada
De la encarnación del Verbo,
Aquel que en vuestras entrañas
Fué a todo el mundo remedio,
Hogad a vuestro Hijo,
Que en este punto postrero
Sin la vara de justicia, mir
Mire mi triste proceso.

An anonymous poet in the *Cancionero de romances* relates how the Ferdinand who later became Ferdinand I (1410-1416) of Aragon, attacked and won a border town. The ballad terminates with this thought, which shows that, although the poet was not invoking the aid of St. Mary, he piously kept her in mind:

Y así se ganó a Antequera
A loor de Santa María.

Battle cries in the ballads were, as a rule, made to St. James, or to St. James and God, but Sepúlveda violates this rule in his relation of a border battle. The commander, he says,

Santiago va diciendo,
Ayuda, Sancta María.

The unusual evocation proved effective, for the battle was soon won and much booty, including horses, was taken. The Spaniards expressed their gratitude in this manner:

Vendieron la cabalgada,
Parte d'ella dado habían
A aquella Reina del cielo
A quien tomaron por guía,
Y al apóstol Santiago
A quien su favor pedían.
Another frontier ballad, collected by Sepúlveda, does not use Santa María as a war cry, but after the victory was won, it says:

Todos vuelven placenteros
For la victoria que habían
Alabando a Dios del cielo,
También a Sancta María,
Que les dió tanta victoria
Contra tan gran morería.

A Moor, dying as a result of wounds received in a frontier battle, asked for and received baptism. In a pious, but rather lengthy, speech expressing his joy at becoming a Christian, he addressed himself to both the Mother of Christ and to His Precursor, John the Baptist:

Y tú, de Dios Madre Virgen,
De los aflictos guarida,
A un nuevo cristiano ampara
Que te llama con fe viva.
Y tú, Precursor glorioso,
En quien he puesto la mira,
Por cuyo nombre troqué
Aquel de la secta inicua,
Pues tanto con Dios alcanzas,
Suplicale que remita
La gravedad de mis culpas
Culpas en hombre no vistas.

Pérez de Hita, in his Historia de los bandos de Cegríes, includes a ballad about the same Moor. He spoke in this manner here:

---Sírvete, dulce Jesús,
Que en este tránsito acierte
A acusarme de mis culpas
Para que yo pueda verte,
Y tu Madre piadosa
Mi lengua rija y concierte,
Porque Satanás maldito
Mi alma no desconcierte.
The exploits of Garcilaso de la Vega as a warrior provided material for a large number of ballads. The favorite is his battle with Tarfe, the triumph which gained him the surname of de la Vega. The Moor Tarfe, the poems recount, had defiled the Hail Mary. Ferdinand the Catholic had tried without success to get one of his knights to challenge Tarfe. Only a young page, Garcilaso, responded to the call. When the King refused to let him fight the Moor, Garcilaso armed himself secretly and set out, saying to himself:

--No la gloria d'esta empresa
Pretendo por mi interés,
Como tú, Virgen, lo ves;

Un don te pido humildemente:
Haz, Virgen, se me conceda,
Y es, tu nombre quitar pueda
De lugar tan indecente.

He met, challenged, and conquered Tarfe, then returned triumphantly to the camp.

A preposterous prophecy of the triumphs of Charles V in Africa and Hungary was invented by one of the XVIth century makers of ballads. He tells how the Grand Sophi and other Turkish rulers went out on a fabulous hunt. They found a bear, which hid from them; a wild boar, which fled from them; and a lion, which attacked and killed many of the retainers. A wise man told his ruler that the bear symbolized the Hungarians, the boar, an enemy which would flee from the Turks, and the Lion, Spain, by whom the Turks would
be conquered under Charles V. He advised the Sophi to turn back,

Y así todos se tornaron,
Como Haduán decía,
Hasta que nosotros vamos
Con Cristo y Santa María,
Y el emperador Don Carlos,
Que el romance apercibía
Para tan santa jornada.

This, again, is no evocation of St. Mary, but stresses the fact that the Spaniards considered the heavenly hierarchy to be always on their side.

Ginés Pérez de Hita has a lyrical ballad on the heroic death of don Luis Ponce de León. This death occurred in 1587 during the last rebellion of the moriscos of the Alpujarra. Don Luis was leading an attack. Although he saw that his forces were too far outnumbered to hope for success, he refused to retreat, preferring a glorious death to life. When he found himself dying, he uttered, in Pérez de Hita's ballad, a touching lament in which there was an evocation of the Virgin Mary:

¡Ay Virgen Santa María,
Madre del Crucificado!
¡Señora, valedme ahora
En este terrible paso!

The resounding victory of the Spaniards at Lepanto in 1571 provided excellent ballad material. Naturally, St. Mary had a part in seeing that the Spaniards won the battle, for, before the battle, don Juan of Austria went around from
galley to galley rallying his men and telling them it would be an honor to

morir en este día
Por Cristo crucificado,
Por su Madre esclarecida.--46

When the battle was actually in progress,

en el nombre de María
Los cristianos belicosos.
Asalta el que más podía,
Y rindieron la turquesca
Por la voluntad divina.47

The death of the austere Catholic, Philip II, gave to an anonymous Catalan poet much material for a ballad. He begins by saying that all the elements are in mourning on account of the death of Philip, and then admonishes:

Roguemos los cristianos
A Dios y Santa María,
Qu'el rey nuevo que nos queda
Haga como el padre hacía.48

Then he gives an account of the death of the King. He had been in a coma and was temporarily revived by a miracle.49 To his daughter doña Isabel, he said,

Encárgoos la santa Iglesia,
Que sea bien defendida;
Plegue al encarnado Verbo
Y a la sagrada María
Que lo hagáis mejor que yo;
Mi alma descansaría.50

Later, as he felt Death drawing nearer and nearer, he requested St. Laurence and St. James:

Rogad a la Virgen pura,
Beatísima María,
Que es madre de pecadores,
Que a su Hijo rogaría.51
In a moment, he was dead. At the end, the poet asks his readers to pardon his faults,

\[ \begin{align*}
Y \text{ este católico Rey,} \\
\text{Que en cristianidad relucía,} \\
\text{Que lo encomienden a Dios} \\
\text{Con algún Ave-María,} \\
\text{Suplicando al Rey del cielo} \\
\text{Y a la sagrada María,} \\
\text{Que le haya hallado en gracia} \\
\text{Y le dé gloria cumplida.}
\end{align*} \]

In 1609 and 1610, Philip III acceded to the demands for expulsion of the moriscos. The order, unfortunately, was applicable to good and bad alike and many hardships were worked on innocent people by the decree. Those who had become Catholics were particularly affected. A ballad on the subject tells how they lamented leaving various churches and how they called on favorite Saints to help them in their troubles:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Otros llamaban a voces} \\
\text{A la virgen del Rosario} \\
\text{Y a la virgen del Belén} \\
\text{Ella sea en nuestro amparo.52}
\end{align*} \]

A ballad based on an actual incident in Portuguese history tells how the Duke of Braganza killed his wife in a fit of unjustified jealousy. The Duke warned her that he was going to kill her, and when she saw that pleading with him would do no good, she asked only:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{--Confesar me dejes, Duque,} \\
\text{Y mi alma ordenaría.} \\
\text{--Confesas con Dios, Duquesa,} \\
\text{Con Dios y Santa María.53}
\end{align*} \]
But he scarcely gave her any time for confession before he raised his sword and struck her down.

The pope Alexander VI of the notorious Borja family once called on St. Mary in a rather amusing fashion. His son had been murdered, and when his body was found, the Holy Father exclaimed:

---¡Malditos sean de Dios,
También de Santa María,
Los que a mi hijo mataron,
Todo mi bien y alegría!--

But, on learning that the murderers were still around and constituted a potential threat to his family, he reversed his supplication:

---Benditos sean de Dios,
También de Santa María,
Los que a mi hijo mataron
Con tan grande alevosía;
Absúélvols desde aquí,
Pues Dios así lo quería.--

It has been seen in Chapter I how St. James frequently came to the aid of the Spaniards in their battles with the Moors and how, according to tradition, he became the patron saint of the Christians. After St. James promised to help the Spaniards against the pagan Moors, the custom gradually evolved of calling on him during battles. These evocations finally developed into the well-known battle-cry, "Santiago, y cierra España!" Unfortunately, effective aid was not always forthcoming.

In the case of the Siete Infantes de Lara, they called on St. James too late. When the Moors had already killed
their tutor Nuño Salido, and the oldest of the Infantes had perished, only then they

Encomendáronse a Dios, Santiago, valme, decían. 56

It was a case of too little too late. Another ballad on the death by ambush of the Infantes states that, knowing they had no chance to win, they nevertheless valiantly attacked the Moors and

"Santiago, Santiago, cierra,"
A grandes voces clamaban:
Muy muchos moros mataron,
Mas ellos allí quedaran. 57

The evocation worked better for Fernán González, says a ballad by Juan de la Cueva. During a battle with the Moors, the Count's forces were far out-numbered and had lost courage. The Count gave them a pep talk and at the right psychological moment cried:

¡Éa, hijos, ea, amigos,
Invocad vuestra patrón!
¡Santiago, Santiago, ellos!
¡Santiago, ayudanos! 58

With this, he led the attack with such spirit that, when the victorious Spaniards left the field, it was covered with dead Moors.

The events of the challenge of the Castilians by the two Zamorans during Sancho's siege of Zamora are almost exactly reversed in a poem which seems very similar to the more famous one. In the version here being considered, the Castilians win. When the Zamorans come out brandishing
their lances, they

traen por apellido
A Sant Jorge y Santiago. 59

In the better-known version, the Zamorans did not invoke the help of any Saints, and did not win the battle.

In the ceremony in which Arias Gonzalo dubbed his youngest son a knight, the help of St. James was invoked, as well as that of St. George, the dragon-slayer, and of St. Romanus, a French dragon-slayer. The occasion was the challenge of Zamora, and the poet seems to be comparing Diego Ordóñez to a monster. Incense was burned to the three Saints to invoke their favor. 60

The scene changes and the battle between Diego Ordóñez and the defenders of Zamora is in progress, in a XVIth century ballad by Lucas Rodríguez. Already two of the sons of Arias Gonzalo have fallen. As he sends the third out on the field, he speaks:

—Hijo, Dios vaya contigo,
Y el apóstol Santiago:
Gran razón llevas contigo,
Con que serás ayudado.—

The evocation did not save the boy's life, but he did force his adversary out of the lists, thus making the outcome a draw.

After the Cid had forced Alfonso VI to take the oath at Santa Gadea, the angry king rebuked his vassal thus:

Yo fa go testigo a Dios
Y a nuestro patrón Santiago,
That non he sido traidor
En la muerte de Don Sancho.

The rest of the rebuke was rather uncomplimentary to Rodrigo.

Sepúlveda tells how Pedro Bermúdez, as he was made standard-bearer for the Cid at the attack of Alcocer, swore by God and St. James:

--Y os juro, buen Cid honrado,
Por Dios trino, verdadero,
Y al apóstol Santiago,
De la poner hoy en parte
Do jamás hubiera entrado,
Y que ella gane gran honra,
O morir como hidalgo.---63

As we have seen in the case of Fernán González, merely calling on Santiago could sometimes work miracles in the morale of the Christians. Sepúlveda collected a poem which said that, on one occasion, the forces of the Cid were almost overcome by the Moors,

Mas el buen Cid ha llegado
A grandes voces diciendo,
En Babiesa cabalgado:
---¡Dios, ayuda, y Santiago!---64

The hoped-for effect was instantaneous and the Moors were soon put to rout.

Another romance collected by the same man tells how the Cid was living peacefully with his family at Valencia:

Daba a Dios crecidas gracias,
Y al apóstol Santiago,
Porque lo ha favorecido,
Y tenido de su mano,
En vencer tantas batallas,
Y en salir d'allas tan salvo,
Ganando tanto a los moros,
Cuanto ninguno ha ganado.

But this peaceful state was not to last long, for this was the time of the advent of the Infantes of Carrión.

¡Dios ayuda y Santiago,
Seguidme, que a ello iba!—

shouted the son of don Diego López de Haro as his father went off to fight Miramamolín in the Battle of las Navas, and history tells us that the attack was successful. This same don Diego was also responsible for the winning of another battle, the Battle of Martos. The poet mentions the fact that the Spaniards

andezan contra ellos (i.e., the Moors)
A Santiago invocando.

The Carvajales invoked the aid of three powerful Saints when they "summoned" Ferdinand IV to his death within thirty days after theirs:

ponemos por testigos
A San Pedro y a San Pablo:
Por escribano ponemos
Al apóstol Santiago.

At the attack of Jaén, the Spaniards, as they went into battle, began to call loudly their patron St. James. Fighting like raging lions, they killed more than two thousand Moors and took prisoner two hundred and thirty-six. Few, says the poem, escaped their fury.

Lucas Rodríguez tells the story of a Moorish love affair and, incidentally, relates the events of a battle. He
described all the preparations for the battle, making the invocation of St. James an integral part:

Ya llaman a Santiago,
Ya las lanzas son astillas,
Ya los arneses bollados,
No les queda cosa sana
Hasta venir a los brazos. 71

During the reign of Isabel the Catholic, Mahomet once proved a much more powerful intermediary than St. James. A Moor challenged the Christian camp. This kind of challenge meant that he must conquer five Spaniards.

Al encuentro sale Muza
Cual león escarnizado:
El uno dice Mahoma, 72
Y los cinco Santiago.

Muza came out of the encounter with five heads. However, this situation had to be remedied. A Spaniard, don Manuel Ponce de León, defied the Moor, who

A gritos viene diciendo:
—Sea Mahoma mi guarda.—
Santiago para la suya
El cristiano a voces llama. 73

This time, St. James carried off the honors.

In three ballads about the rebellion of the moriscos of the Alpujarra by Ginés Pérez de Hita, St. James is called on. In the first, the commander

manda de presto
Que salga la retaguarda,
Y apelliden Santiago, 74
Y arremetan con pujanza.

The Christians won, but almost mutinied because this same commander took all the Moorish girls who had been captured.
In another ballad, Pérez de Hita says the Spaniards were about to win and

\[
\text{Apretaron los cristianos} \\
\text{y Santiago appelidán;} \\
\text{Los moros dan a huir} \\
\text{Cada uno cual más podía.} \text{75}
\]

The poet continues in a vein of pity for the Moors as he tells of the complete sacking of the town and of the cruelty of the Christians, who massacred what he calls paradoxically all the "canalla morisca." In the third instance, about the same kind of cruelty was shown by the Christians, who, at the beginning of another battle, which they won,

\[
dicen: \text{---Santiago;} \\
\text{Otros gritan: ---Cierra España,} \\
\text{Muera el bando renegado.---76}
\]

A historical ballad from Navarre tells how a don Beltrán de la Cueva fought and killed a serpent. As Beltrán approached the serpent before killing it, the poet exclaimed:

\[
\text{¡Santiago, e qué fiera sierpe!} \text{77}
\]

All but one of the evocations of St. Peter appear in poems of the Cid cycle. When Alfonso exiled his best knight, he exclaimed:

\[
\text{¡Non repliquedes palabra,} \\
\text{Que vos juro por San Pedro} \\
\text{Y por San Millán bendito} \\
\text{Que vos enforcaré luego.---78}
\]

In spite of the angry words of the King, Rodrigo promised, by Sts. Peter and Paul, to continue serving him:

\[
yo fago pleitesía \\
\text{A San Pedro y a San Pablo}
\]
De mezclar, Dios en ayusa,
Mi hueste con los paganos.

Rodrigo once acknowledged his indebtedness to St. Peter, whom he called the Great Prince of the Church. During his exile, this most famous of Spaniards sent back a message to the king Alfonso. The messenger also brought back various Moorish flags won by the Cid, who desired that

' en San Pedro
Se pongan estas banderas
A los ojos del glorioso
Gran Príncipe de la Iglesia,
En señal que con su ayuda
Apenas enhiestas quedan
En toda España otras tantas,
Y ya se parte por ellas.

Twice the infamous Infantes of Carrión aroused evocations of St. Peter. One of them had shown great cowardice during a battle and was thus rebuked by a vassal of his father-in-law in a ballad by Lope de Vega:

Decides que sois fidalgos
¡Pues yo vos juro a San Pedro,
Que tales desaguisados
Non facen fidalgos buenos!

And when, after their husbands had so mistreated Rodrigo's daughters, he swore, as he left Valencia to ask justice of the King:

¡Voto hago al Pescador
Que gobierna nuestra Iglesia,
Y mal grado haya con él,
Cuando le fable en Cardená,
Si en Fromesta y Carrión,
Torquemada y Valenzuela,
Villas de vuesos condados,
Queda piedra sobre piedra!
St. Peter is evoked only once more in the ballads, this time by the brothers Carvajales when they summoned Ferdinand IV to his death. St. Paul also appears here.

No other Saint is consistently evoked in the historical ballads. Twice, the whole body of Saints was evoked collectively. The Gothic king Vamba, after putting down a rebellion against him in Toledo, had signs put on the towers of the churches:

¡Oh vosotros, santos de Dios,  
Que en este lugar se honraban,  
Salvad y honrad este pueblo,  
Pues en él gracias se os daban!

The other invocation of Saints in general was by Pelayo, the king who won the first significant victory over the Moors.

Urraca once expressed, in a XVth century ballad, the wish that St. Michael should have her father King Ferdinand's soul. She was at the time complaining of his partition, unfair to her, of the kingdom, and probably had in mind the thought that St. Michael is lord of the souls of the dead, and has power to decide if they shall go to Heaven or Hell.

Rodrigo, on returning from his exile, was welcomed back by Alfonso VI. According to the testimony of a XVth century ballad, the King, in his welcome to the Cid, evoked a Saint which might be St. Laurence:
Non la [i.e. the death of the King] atendáis home bueno,
Ansi os valga San Llorente. 87

Sepúlveda puts in the mouth of this same King an evocation of St. Isidore of Seville. On hearing of all the exploits of his vassal, including the recent conquest of Valencia, the King exclaims:

—¡Si me vala San Isidro,
Dijo, que soy espantado
De aqueso que me decís,
De ese buen Cid tan nombrado. 88

Philip II was particularly fond of St. Laurence, to whom he dedicated the Escorial. When the King lay on his deathbed, thirty blood-letters were summoned, and, although the slightest touch caused excruciating pain, Philip endured all by

Invocando a San Lorenzo,
Cuya devoción tenía. 89

Just before his death, in the same ballad, he asked St. Laurence and St. James to intercede for him with the Blessed Virgin.

St. Mary was very much the favorite Saint in the romances vulgares. Prologues, in these ballads, became quite common, and invariably the poets asked St. Mary to guide their pens, to enlighten their crude understanding, or to give them sufficient breath to tell the most prodigious, horrible, atrocious, strange, rare, or wonderful story ever told. A typical prologue goes:
Sagrada Virgen María,
Antorcha del cielo emپreо,
Hija del eterno Padre,
Madre del supremo Hijo,
Dame tu divina gracia,
Pues de veras te lo pido;
Da luz a mi entendimiento
Y a mi torpe pluma brío,
Para que a escribir acierte
El caso más peregrino
Que celebran los anales,
Ni en las historias se ha oído.90

Four of these prologues appear in the section Durán calls Romances vulgares novelescos. They tell all the trials and tribulations of pairs of lovers. Included in this series is "La Peregrina Doctora."91 There are two in the Romances vulgares de cautivos y renegados. These ballads tell the love stories of prisoners and captives of the Moors. Two prologues are from the Rомances vulgares que tratan de valentías, guapezas, y desafueros. In these cases, it is easily understood why the poet felt the necessity of writing first something of an apology in his prologue. The last of these prologues appears in the first92 of the series of ballads on the comparative virtues of day and night. These lists of virtues enumerated Biblical and other Christian events that happened either during the day or at night. The poet dealing with such pious material would naturally feel necessary a prologue evoking the aid of Mary as well as that of the four writers of the Gospels, all the Saints, and all the Angels.
Evocations of St. Mary are mentioned in two ballads about unfaithful wives. In one, the wife was unjustly accused of being unfaithful. Eventually, she and her husband were reconciled. In the other case, the wife was justly accused. Her husband killed her and, under his hand, her lover

Gayó sin poder llamar
A Dios ni su santa Madre.

In three instances in the popular ballads on captives and renegades, the Queen of the Church was called on to help love affairs between the Christian captive and a Moor. In each case, the Moor became a Christian; in one, the two lovers were burned at the stake after making an unsuccessful attempt at escape. The Moorish girl, turned Christian, spoke:

Esta es la fe verdadera,
Por ella hemos de morir,
¡Viva Dios, viva la inmensa
María, llena de gracia!
Y pues es de gracia llena,
Pidámosle que nos dé
Para este martirio fuerza.

St. Mary's help was also considered effective in avenging a dishonoured woman. The case in point is about a woman who had fallen in love with someone outside her class. After dishonouring her, the young man deserted her. Frequent evocations of St. Mary, and the help of the narrator enabled her to get the false lover hanged and to be herself admitted to a convent.
Calling on St. Mary proved immediately effective for one young lover. He was going through the customary trials, searching in vain at the moment for his loved one. He went into a church, prayed to St. Mary for help, and, on coming out, saw the girl! Eventually they eloped and married.

From the scaffold are heard frequent evocations of St. Mary. The _romances vulgares_ tell of one woman who found herself there, and with just cause. She prayed to St. Mary, asking her to intercede and pardon her sins. The poet warns women to avoid such an unhappy end by living better lives.

The moral lesson to be drawn from such stories is nicely summed up in the ballad about Pedro Cadenas. The ballad tells how four men lost their lives on account of one woman. Moral: men, beware of women and

```
 así temamos a Dios
 Y a la Virgen madre nuestra,
 Porque después de esta vida
 Gocemos su gloria eterna.
```

The vulgar version of the duel of Garcilaso de la Vega with Tarfe makes the young knight much more pious than he is in the historical ballad. In the vulgar ballad, after his triumph, Garcilaso knelt and prayed:

```
—¡Salve,
Intacta virgen María,
Pura, limpia, y dulce Madre!
Salve, soberana aurora!
Salve, luna sin menguante.
```

and much more of the same.
A vulgar ballad about a love affair mentions a battle incidentally and says that the victory was attained with the aid of St. Mary, the "Reina Poderosa."\(^{101}\)

Oliver, of the Twelve Peers, found the aid of St. Mary effective. He had called on her to help him triumph over Fierabrás.\(^{102}\) When later he won another battle, how he had been able to conquer his opponent was a puzzle to some, but the answer was:

\[\text{---Con el ayuda de Dios} \]
\[\text{Y la Reina de los cielos.}\]

And as Charlemagne and his knights were returning to France after conquering Galicia and after, supposedly, finding the body of St. James, but before the battle of Roncesvalles, they went along

\[\text{Dándole gracias a Dios} \]
\[\text{Y a la Reina de los cielos} \]
\[\text{Y al apóstol Santiago,} \]
\[\text{De haber sacado su cuerpo} \]
\[\text{De entre poder de paganos.}\]

Of the remaining ballads, lumped together by Durán under the title "Romances varios," only three evoking St. Mary are found. The first is from the late XVth or early XVIth century and is called "Romance hecho por Alonso de Proaza en loor de la ciudad de Valencia."\(^{105}\) A villancico at the end commends Valencia to St. Mary, St. George, and the two Sts. Vincent, patron saints of the city of the Cid.

The second evocation of St. Mary is in a ballad from Torres Naharro's \textit{la Propaladia}. The speaker is in love
and laments that

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Me veo en tal agonía} \\
\text{Que cosa no me consuela} \\
\text{Ni Dios ni Santa María.}^{106}
\end{align*}
\]

The last evocation of St. Mary appears in a ballad by a \textit{jaque}. This particular \textit{jaque} is composing his last will and testament and makes it in the name of the "Big Boss" and his Blessed Mother:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{En el nombre del gran Coime} \\
\text{Que el alto crió y la tierra,} \\
\text{Y de su Madre bendita,} \\
\text{Del claro estrellado Reina,} \\
\text{Ordeno mi testamento.}^{107}
\end{align*}
\]

Evocations of other saints are also rare in these miscellaneous ballads. The first appears in a ballad describing a storm at sea:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Los pequeños barcos se hunden,} \\
\text{Las gruesas naves se afondan,} \\
\text{Y la gente agonizando} \\
\text{Sus abogados invocan.}^{108}
\end{align*}
\]

In a poem to a newly married woman, a young man swore by St. Salvador not to cause her any grief if only he were not deprived of seeing her.\(^{109}\)

Another young lady had two potential lovers. One swore by St. Peter that he would rather spend a night with her than be ruler of Toledo. But this man got only ridicule for his pains. When he threatened to kill his rival, the lady in the case swore, by St. Domingo of Silos, to enter a convent if he carried out his threat. In his haste to
leave, the rejected suitor fell off his horse and had to endure the laughter of all the ladies of the court as he rode off.110

Quevedo has people in his ballads call on St. Roch (San Roque), St. Anthony, and St. Blaise. In one picaresque ballad, a man who had been wounded by love asks St. Roch to cause someone to have need of the doctor whom he is consulting. St. Roch was a French saint, remembered primarily because he cured miraculously many people afflicted with the plague. Quevedo had scant faith in the powers of doctors to heal, and much faith in their powers to kill. In the same ballad, he wishes for this doctor two things, according to Quevedo's belief, good. He requests:

que así Dios
Te deje poblar iglesias, [i.e., de muertos]
Y San Antón a tu mula
Del fuego suyo defienda.111

St. Anthony's fire, a name for erysipelas, is thus called because people of the Middle Ages believed St. Anthony could cure it. St. Blaise was the Saint who could supposedly cure throat troubles. In a ballad of a jaque, Quevedo has his "hero" reply to a warning that he might be hanged:

Guarde el Señor tus espaldas
Y mi garganta San Blas.112

That is, God was to keep the whip away from the shoulders of the one and St. Blaise was to keep the rope of the hangman away from the neck of the other.
When some Sevillian *pícaras* went out on a gay boat trip and a storm came up, they immediately began to call on St. Elmo to help them and made all sorts of promises. There are two possible reasons why they used this name. The first is that St. Elmo (the popular appellation of St. Peter González) is the patron saint of Spanish sailors. The second explanation is that the phenomenon of the electrical discharge seen at the end of storms around ship masts, church towers, and other high places, is called St. Elmo's fire. Thus, the *pícaras* were praying for the end of the storm to come.

In this chapter have been considered evocations of Saints, praises of them, and oaths made in their names. The division of ballads—Moorish, chivalrous, historical, vulgar, and miscellaneous—used by Durán has been utilized here. There were no evocations of Saints in the Moorish ballads. In all the others, St. Mary predominated by far. St. James was evoked almost as frequently in the historical ballads, due to the fact that it was a general practice to call him for aid during the stress of a battle. Evocations of other Saints were varied.

The French ballads contain few evocations of Saints. St. Mary was evoked in five poems. An evocation of St. Giles occurred once in these ballads, and Roland once evoked the patron saint of France, St. Denis.
In the historical ballads, evocations of St. Mary and oaths made in her name occur from the earliest ballads on through the most recent, from those about the times of Roderick the Goth, down through the times of Bernardo del Carpio and Fernán González, to those of Philip III. All the great heroes and kings piously called St. Mary during any time of unusual stress. Evocations of Spain's patron saint are also frequent in these ballads. Most of these occur in connection with battles, as in the ballads about Fernán González and the Cid, or in single duels, like the story of the challenge of Zamora. In this case, the Castilians (who won the duel) called for the help of St. George and of St. James. The only instance that St. James was evoked in the ballads outside of a battle or duel was when the Carvajal brothers summoned Ferdinand III to his death and called Sts. Peter and Paul to be their witnesses and St. James to be their scribe.

St. Peter's name occurs next most frequently. He is evoked almost exclusively in the ballads of the Cid, the only exception being the one mentioned above when the Carvajales asked him to be one of their witnesses. Other Saints called were St. Michael, a San Llorente who may be assumed to be St. Laurence, St. Isidore of Seville, and St. Laurence.

The *romances vulgares* evoke scarcely any other Saint than the Blessed Virgin. The only instance when another Saint
is evoked is in the fabulous ballad about Charlemagne's finding the body of St. James. Here, the great Charles thanks St. James, along with St. Mary, for being of help to him. Many of the evocations of St. Mary appear in prologues to these ballads, prologues in which the poet calls her to aid him in his composition.

The miscellaneous ballads contain few evocations of Saints. Evocations of St. Mary occur here three times, but one of those times, she is joined by St. George and the Sts. Vincent, patrons of Valencia. Other Saints evoked in these ballads are St. Salvador, St. Peter, St. Dominic, St. Elmo, and, by the learned Quevedo, Sts. Roch, Anthony, and Blaise.

Ballad evocations of the Saints appear, in the opinion of the author, in much the same frequency and circumstances that they occur in every-day situations. Thus, St. Mary is an important figure in the religious life of the Spaniard, and therefore comes most naturally to his lips, whether he be a king, peasant, or poet. The duties of St. James as patron saint of Spain are largely concerned with helping her prevail in battles. For this reason, his name is the natural one to use during a battle, and the historical ballads, dealing largely with battles, reflect this fact.

The infrequency of evocations of Saints in the ballads of French origin gives evidence that the Spaniards are a more religious race. The one single evocation of the patron saint
of France, St. Denis, compared to the frequent ones of St. James, are an indication of the relative importance of the two Saints in their respective countries.
CHAPTER III

SAINTS' DAYS IN THE BALLADS

En el venturoso día
Celebrado en nuestra España,
Y por todo el universo
De tal nombradía y fama,
Del glorioso Juan Baptista
A quien la Iglesia señala
Por uno de los mayores
Que en los nacidos se halla:
Cuando la morisma toda
En fiestas se señalaba. . .1

On this happy day (June 24) occurred many of the ballad events. Occasionally, a ballad-maker observes that the events of which he is writing happened on some other Saint's day, but St. John's Day was, in the ballads, the most popular time to place a happening, particularly if it were in any fashion amorous.

St. John's Day was evidently a celebrated day among the Moors. Two ballads describe the festivities on that day. One describes a bull-fight; the other gives descriptions of the gay costumes worn in honor of the Christian Saint. Their esteem for the day is testified to in these lines:

Noche que huelgan los moros
Y la estiman más que el alma,
Más que el sábado el judío,
Más que el cristiano la Pascua
Del venturoso Bautista,
A quien la Iglesia señala
Por uno de los mayores
Que en los nacidos se halla. . .4
One of the favorite activities of the Moors on this day is succinctly put in these verses:

El moro que amores tiene
Allí bien se señalaba,
Y el moro que no los tiene
De tenerlos procuraba.

In this particular ballad, two girls, both in love with the same man, had a little argument over him.

In another instance, the quarrel is between two men. Each tries to convince the other that the girl in question is in love with him. One of the proofs is that on St. John's Day, the girl never gave a favor to one of the men when he went out to the skirmishes which were part of the day's celebration.

Another Moorish ballad gives a picture of a girl sitting in a garden waiting for St. John's Day to come around because her lover had promised to return from the wars on that day. A Moor who seems to have had a good many love affairs was suffering, tells still another ballad, from an unrequited love. He swore to the girl, by Allah, that, before the feast of St. John, he would carry her off.

St. John's Day also had a place in the chivalrous ballads of French origin. Two important events happened to French heroes on that day. The first of these heroes was Montesinos, a grandson of Charlemagne. His parents had been unjustly exiled through the treacherous connivings of a certain courtier. The child Montesinos was born and reared
during this exile. When he had reached the age of fifteen, on St. John's Day his father sent Montesinos off to avenge him. The young knight eventually secured the vengeance.

The admiral Guarinos was the second French hero who had reason to regard St. John's Day with special significance, for it was on that day that, by his own prowess, he gained his liberty from the Moors.  

An early ballad has made a parody of a part of the admiral Guarinos ballad. To the poet, St. John's Day is not very meaningful, for he says:

venido es un tal día
Que llaman señor Sant Joan,
Cuando los qu'han contentos
Con placer comen su pan,
Cuando los desconsolados
Mayores dolores dan.  

During the reign of the Moorish rey Chico in Granada (XVth century), occurred the battle of Antequera. Ferdinand, regent for John II, conquered the town on one St. John's Day, says one ballad. However, the fact that he had won it on such a day did not prove of much luck to him, for he soon was forced to relinquish it to the Moors. The Moorish king, notes another ballad, received the news of its fall on St. John's Eve.

A popular superstition that things which happen on St. John's Day continue for the next year gave rise to the custom of wishing a bad St. John's Day on someone toward whom the wisher was ill-disposed. Thus an unhappy young
man told the one who had caused his sorrow:

Mala vida la dé Dios,
Mal San Juan y mala pascua.  

And after an old Celestina had given unwanted advice to a young one, she got this for her pains:

--Dios te dé, perversa vieja,
Malos San Juanes y pascuas. 

Instead of wishing a bad St. John's Day for the object of his former affections, one jilted lover wished for her

que el día de San Juan
Ni bailes ni veas toros,

in the hope that she might be deprived, not only for one day, but for a whole year of two things she enjoyed very much.

Alfonso VI, when he became reconciled with his powerful vassal, Rodrigo Díaz de Bivar, wanted the superstition to work backwards, for he said to the Cid,

riñas de por San Juan
Sean paz que dure siempre.

More important than St. John's Day in Spanish literature and customs is the Eve of St. John--Midsummer's Eve in English folklore, and the mañana de San Juan in Spanish. That is the time for lovers' trysts, the time when a girl might see, if she performs certain rites, the man she'll eventually marry, the time for night-long wakes, the time for many another superstitious rite, as often pagan in origin as Christian.
St. John's Eve, like St. John's Day, assumed a place in the Moorish ballads. The most famous of these ballads which mentions St. John's Day is the one of Moriana. Moriana was a Christian girl made captive by the Moors:

Captivaronla los moros
La mañana de Sant Juane,
Cogiendo rosas y flores
En la huerta de su padre.

The ballad tells how she was playing cards with a Moor. He fell asleep and Moriana saw through the window her husband, who had been looking for her seven years. The sight of him made tears run down her cheeks. The tears fell on the Moor's face, waking him. He first struck her in the mouth, then ordered her beheaded.

Unpleasant events happened in another Moorish ballad when a queen and her ladies were picking flowers:

La mañana de San Juan
Salen a coger guirnaldas,
Zara, mujer del rey Chico,
Con sus más queridas damas.

But in the midst of such a pleasant occupation, she accused one of her "dear ladies" of being in love with her husband.

A knight had better luck on St. John's Eve in one of Góngora's ballads. As he was riding along, he saw a "bee-keeper." He dismounted and hardly had he spoken to her when they fell in love. He helped her on the back of his horse and the two rode jauntily off.

From a XVIIth century amorous ballad came the following verses:
Mananica era, mañana
De San Juan se decía en fin,
Cuando aquella diosa Venus
Dentro de un fresco jardín
A la sombra de un jazmín...

The "goddess" was making a garland of roses for someone who had died from love.

Gathering, on St. John's Eve, certain plants and herbs which are supposed to bring good luck, has been customary among girls and women for centuries. The custom is referred to by a XVIth century poet:

La mañana de San Juan,
Cuando se cogen las yerbas...

But the girl to whom the poem is addressed was already married and the poet wisely decided to let her alone.

One of the nicest of the XVIth century ballads, a romance villanescó, tells of an interesting event that happened on St. John's Eve:

Yo me levantaría, madre,
Mananica de Sant Joan;
Vide estar una doncella
Ribericas de la mar...

The girl was alone, washing and spreading out clothes. As she worked, she sang of her lost love.

The fact that St. John's Eve celebrations often became a little rowdy provided a pun for don Luis de Góngora. In a satirical ballad about the luckless conquest of a soldier, he says that the soldier sought to impress the girl with his fine uniform, with his
Corchetes refers to either the hooks and eyes on the jacket or the minor constables who tried, probably in vain, to keep the peace on St. John's Eve.

The Eve of St. John, as well as the evocations of St. Mary, brought good luck to Valdovinos, for it was on that day that his uncle, the Marquis of Mantua, went out to hunt and found him mortally wounded.

Another St. John's Eve brought adventure to Roland and Reinaldos. The latter being exiled, both were wandering, disguised as pilgrims, in Moorish lands. They distinguished themselves in a tourney held on the "vispera de San Juan," but their luck didn't last much longer. The ever-present traitor Ganelón sent word to the Moorish king, informing him of the true identity of the two. All their plans, including some amorous ones of Reinaldos, were thus foiled.

A duel fought on St. John's Eve between a Moor and a Christian was won by the Christian, don Manuel Ponce de León. However, the Moor avowed that the reason he lost was that a girl refused to give him her favor.

An unwritten truce for the celebration of St. John's Day existed between the Moors and Christians. In one famous ballad, the Moors broke this truce:

Cercáronme los moros
La mañana de San Juane;
Siete años van pasados
El cerco no quieren quitarse,²⁹

but at long last, the Spaniards succeeded in causing the siege to be lifted by a clever stratagem.

The renowned adventure of the conde Arnaldos took place on St. John's Eve:

¡Quién hubiese tal ventura
Sobre las aguas del mar,
Como hubo el conde Arnaldos
La mañana de San Juan!³⁰

He was standing on the shore and saw a wonderful ship with a mariner singing a song of miraculous powers.

Dates are mentioned in the ballads, by other Saints' Days than St. John's, but no other day is consistently mentioned. Naturally, in the case of ballads on historical events, the date is merely a matter of coincidence, unless the maker of the ballad on the event changed the date to a Saint's day he considered more appropriate.

There are several ballads on the subject of the drive of the Christians from Jaén under the command of a bishop. This event occurred in the XVth century and was a minor defeat in the Reconquest. The leader was captured by the Moors. Two ballads place the defeat on the "día de San Antón," probably the Day of St. Antony of Padua, June 13, because he was famous in Spain and because his day comes in the summer when such a drive would be more likely to take place.³¹
From Torres Naharro comes the allegorical lament of a young girl who has lost Happiness and Liberty, probably on account of a love affair. She had tried to keep them, she says, with this device:

Con cuerdas de mis cabellos,
Los que tanto yo he preciado,
Un día de San Antón,
Que mal me las ha guardado,
Se las puse de los cuellos: of the two sheep representing Happiness and Liberty
Hame nada aprovechado.32

Góngora makes up a St. "Plum-tree" in a satirical parody of the romances moriscos:

Aunque es largo mi negocio,
Mi vuelta será muy breve:
El día de San Ciruelo,
0 la semana sin viernes.33

On one October 24, the Day of St. Francis, patron saint of the poor, a guapa killed, for no reason, a peasant, in a picaresque ballad. Although she escaped punishment on that day, she ultimately paid for the deed with her life.34

A beautiful lady receives the praise of Góngora in a ballad of rather obscure style. He mentions the feast of St. Ginés (August 25) when important bull-fights take place.35

April 23, the day of England's patron saint, was once the day of great events in the ballad stories of Charlemagne. The two ballads on the subject36 tell how St. George's Day was being celebrated with great festivities in Paris. Roland became involved in a quarrel about the absence of his cousin Reinaldos, and ended up by receiving a sentence of exile.
Much later, he made a dramatic return to Paris and to his glory.

A ballad attributed by Durán to Góngora deems Love a traitor. The poet accuses the god of showing to him on St. Luke's Day a face which caused him to leave his former idyllic life for one of unhappiness by falling in love. Góngora, if he is indeed responsible for this poem, evinces an ironic note when he complains about being so severely wounded by Cupid on the day of a great physician and healer.

In the Catholic calendar, St. Mary is honored on several days throughout the year for her different attributes. Strangely enough, however, only twice in the ballads are events dated on St. Mary's Day. Because the date of her death is not known and since the references to St. Mary's Day don't specify a particular one of her other days, it seems safe to assume that the one spoken of is the day of her birth, September 8. The kings Sancho IV and Charles V are the ones to whom important events happened on St. Mary's Day. The former, in ballad history, conquered Tarifa on the Eve of St. Mary. Sepúlveda, writing a long poem on the conquest of the city of Africa by Charles V, states that the King decided to begin an important attack on that day in order that St. Mary might guide the Spaniards. Eventually, the city was taken.
St. Emilian (San Millán) was chosen by the composer to figure in an old historical ballad. He takes us back to the time of the Cid and gives a touching picture of Arias Gonzalo advising his sons before they went out to answer the challenge of Zamora.

Dia era de San Millán
Ese día señalado,
Todos duermen en Zamora;
Mas no duerme Arias Gonzalo.

Epiphany, or Twelfth Night, is the traditional day in many European countries for giving gifts, as Christmas is in English-speaking countries. According to an apparently old ballad, Ximena took advantage of this custom to ask the King for vengeance on the Cid after he had killed her father:

Dia era de los Reyes
Dia era señalado,
Cuando dueñas y doncellas
Al rey piden aguinaldo,
Si no es Jimena Gómez,
Hija del conde Lozano.

A Saint used rather jocosely by many Spanish authors during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries is referred to by Góngora. This Santo Nuflo, or Santenuflo, or San Tinuflo, is probably St. Onofre, a IVth century Egyptian Saint. Góngora's satirical ballad Belerma tells how the widow of Roland tried to persuade Belerma that she should stop carrying around her lover Durandarte's heart wrapped up in a dirty handkerchief, and that she should get busy getting a husband, else she would be an old maid. The widow, doña
Alda, says that she herself has been without her husband six years and is in the market for a new one.

Seis hace, si bien me acuerdo,
El día de Santo Nuflo,
Que perdí aquel malogrado
Que hoy entre los vivos busco. 43

The day of St. Onofre is June 12, but does not appear on the Spanish calendar. It seems safe to assume that Góngora was not referring to any particular date in using *Santo Nuflo*, but was just poking a little more fun at the popular mispronunciation of St. Onofre's name.

Two historical characters, St. Ferdinand and the Cid Campeador, did important things on St. Peter's Day. The former captured a town, Alcalá de los Gazules, on that day (Durán says in a note to this ballad 44 that it belongs among the frontier ballads of the epoch of "Fernando V, el Santo"! It was the third Ferdinand who was canonized, not Ferdinand V, the Catholic.) and the Cid called a meeting of his vassals after he had celebrated St. Peter's Day. 45 The object of this meeting was to exhort the vassals to be loyal to their lord in the forthcoming indictment of the Infantes of Carrion.

A XVIth century version of the Mudarra legend tells of the meeting of the young man with his father and the vengeance for the death of the Siete Infantes. The first meeting of the father and son took place on the day of "San Salvador," probably Christmas. 46
In spite of the great popularity enjoyed by St. James in Spain, and in spite of the fact that St. James is Spain's patron saint, only one ballad mentions an event occurring on his day. On St. James' Day, says this ballad, Charles V won a battle against the Turks. That day would be a very appropriate one for winning battles, in view of the number of times St. James helped against the Moors.

Nearly all events dated in the ballads by Saints' days are on St. John's Day. That it was an important date, even in the Moorish calendar, is testified to by the fact that seven poems about the Moors mention it. Some of these allusions to St. John's Day contain descriptions of the celebrations on that holiday and show that great festivities took place in Moorish land on that day.

The importance of this day is carried over into the chivalrous ballads of French origin also. The heroes Montesinos, Valdovinos, Roland, Reinaldos, and the Admiral Guarinos all had reason to regard St. John's Day and his Eve as lucky for them at least once in their lives.

The battle of Antequera, according to the ballads, occurred on St. John's Day, but, although the Spaniards won, on that day, the town of Antequera, it was subsequently regained by the Moors. No other battles, in the ballads, are placed on that day.
The superstition that things which happen on St. John's Day will continue during the ensuing year gave rise to the custom of wishing a good or bad, depending upon the occasion, St. John's Day for someone. In four ballads, this custom is observed.

St. John's Eve, la mañana de San Juan, is an oft-repeated tag line in the ballads. It is found in the ballads about the Moors, in the French chivalrous ballads, and in the purely Spanish ballads.

Other Saints' days mentioned are the days of St. Anthony of Padua, the fictitious St. Plum tree, St. Ginés, St. George, St. Luke, St. Mary, St. Emilian, St. Onofre, St. Salvador, and St. James. All these days are mentioned but once, as was Epiphany, or Twelfth Night. St. Peter's Day was mentioned twice, one of these references being in a Cid ballad.

St. John's Day and the Eve of St. John are, by far, the most important dates in the calendar of the Romancero. In fact, these dates are mentioned in the ballads twice as often as all other Saints' days together. Because St. John's Day is the traditional lovers' day, naturally almost any love affair that was dated had to happen then. However, the events dated on that day in the ballads were by no means exclusively amorous. Indeed, the heterogeneity of the events leads to the conclusion that la mañana de San Juan was not much more than a tag line. Things which occurred on St. John's
Day or Eve were not necessarily successful, either. For example, although Ferdinand of Antequera won a town on that day, he subsequently lost it. No other Saint's day is consistently mentioned in the ballads. Naturally, in the case of ballads on historical events, the date is merely a matter of coincidence, unless the maker of the ballad on the event changed the date to a Saint's day he considered more appropriate.
CHAPTER IV

SAINTS AND ANGELS MENTIONED AS BIBLICAL CHARACTERS IN THE PROFANE BALLADS

A number of references are made in the ballads to the lives of various Biblical characters who were later canonized by the Catholic Church. Roughly two-thirds of these references occur in the controversial ballads on the relative virtues of day and night, or of poverty and wealth. Indeed, the purpose of the four on the virtues of day and night seems to be rather to give a compendium of Biblical and other Christian stories than to prove that day is better than night or vice versa.

The four ballads, two called Las Virtudes del día,\(^1\) and two called Las Virtudes de la noche,\(^2\) are from the XVIIIth century and cannot be considered as truly representative or typical of the Spanish ballads. The Biblical Saints whom they mention are: Elizabeth, mother of John the Baptist; the Archangel Gabriel; John the Baptist; Joseph; Lazarus; Mary, mother of Jesus; Mary Magdalene; Matthew; Peter; Paul; Stephen; the Apostles in general; and, although he isn't a Saint, Judas. The references are all in accord with Biblical history. By placing various events connected with these characters either during the day or the night, the author attempts to establish the superiority of one over the other,
but the arguments are foolish and the poems as a whole are, to the highest degree, uninteresting.

Much the same can be said for the arguments given in the ballads *La Riqueza y la pobreza* and *Contienda y argumento entre un pobre y un rico*. These poems speak of Lazarus, Mary, the Apostles in general, and Saints in general.

The remaining references to the Saints as characters in the Bible are of much more value to this study and of much more interest.

St. John the Apostle appears only once in the ballads, and that time he is assigned the rôle of second fiddle. When St. James appeared to Charlemagne and revealed to the King where his body was hidden, he identified himself by saying he was the son of Zebedee and the brother of St. John the Evangelist.

Isabella, in her praise of Garcilaso de la Vega for his rescue of the Ave María, calls the prayer the charge God gave to St. Mary. The Virgin Mary also appears in the ballads on the execution of don Álvaro de Luna. When he was awaiting his execution, he addressed himself to Jesus in a long sentence relating that Christ was born of the Virgin Mary in the coldness of a stable.

In the same ballad, don Álvaro asked God to pardon him, for, he said, "You ordered St. Peter to forgive as many times as he was sinned against."
Judas Iscariot does not properly belong in a treatment of Saints and Angels, but since his name appears in the ballads almost more frequently than that of his less notorious fellow disciples, it seems fitting to include him here. His fame spread far and wide, even among the Moors, if the fact that he appeared in a romance morisco indicates that the Moors knew of him. In a Morrist ballad, a Moor tells his current flame that if the favors she bestows on him are false, then they are, among other things, "the kiss and the peace of Judas."  

There are some poems satirizing the mania for writing the romances moriscos, but one brave soul spoke up in defense of the romanceristas of these poems. He rallied them and told them a Judas existed among them:

Un miembro de vuestro cuerpo
Quiere romper vuestras galas;
Un Judas de vuestro gremio,
Que jamas un Judas falta.  

The Cid called his cowardly sons-in-law Judases in one ballad. Speaking of the first time he had eaten with them, he said that, although it wasn't Holy Thursday, two two-faced Judases ate with him:

sin ser jueves de cena
Comieron con faz doblada
Ambos Judas a mi mesa.  

Juan José López, of the XVIIth century ballad-writers, becomes quite venomous in his attack on Ganelón, as he describes the Battle of Roncesvalles and the treachery which
brought it about. Greed, he says, caused Judas to sell his
Master, Lucifer to be thrown into Hell, and Adam to lose
his earthly paradise; envy caused Cain to kill his own
brother; but greed and envy combined caused Canelón to
betray the French knights.14

In a ballad whose purpose was to determine the relative
virtues of wheat and money, wheat sought to debase money
by accusing it of being the cause of the treachery of Judas.15

Judas appears five times in the romances varios jocosos,
satíricos, y burlescos. Two of these poems come from the
pen of Francisco de Quevedo. He complains about the trite
poetical praises, such as teeth compared to pearls, tears
like dewdrops, hair of gold, and, he says, "if Judas isn't
careful, even the redheads come out in the ballads."16 Judas
was a redhead and, for centuries, redheads were suspect. In
a complaint on his poverty, don Francisco says that some
might accuse him of having the greedy hand of Judas Iscariot.
He does not deny the nickname, but does refuse to admit the
attribute of coins.17

A XVIth century satirist displayed his cleverness in
a ballad telling how he escaped from two begging old bags,
but with much difficulty. He gave fervent thanks to God
that he had escaped from the two furies, from the two ser­
pents, from the two witches, from the two Judases, etc.,
ad infinitum.18
Another of the many satires on matrimony contains a note of farewell from the man to the woman in the case. He says the one who would throw on him the yoke of marriage would be a Judas.¹⁹

His pedantic erudition and conceit shine through Diego García's (XVIth century) ballad on the maledictions of Salaya. Salaya had a cloak stolen from him, and, although he says he always tried to keep away from cursing, he shows himself a past master of this delicate art. He calls down on the thief the ignominious deaths of all Biblical, ancient historical, and Spanish historical characters who suffered ignominious deaths. Among all the other kinds of death he'd like the thief to suffer is a death like that of Judas.²⁰

A new and different twist is added to the art of writing prologues by a satirist. Instead of evoking the aid of St. Mary, or of some other powerful Saint, he calls on the tree where Judas hanged himself because he is desperate:

El árbol que ahorcó a Judas
Invoco para mi canto,
No musas, selvas ni valles,
Fuentes, montes ni parnasos;
Que para mi intento basta,
Pues estoy desesperado,
Un árbol que fue bastante
A sufrir un ahorcado.²¹

(He seems to have an axe to grind with other ballad-makers, too.) As one might expect, this poet is suffering from mal de amores.
The roles played by various Saints in the Bible, it is easily seen, are seldom mentioned in the Romancero. A large section of the few references are in the controversial ballads on the relative virtues of such things as night and day and wealth and poverty. In the poems outside this category, we find St. John the Apostle mentioned once, but only incidentally. The birth of Christ to the Virgin Mary is once related, as is the incident of Jesus' telling St. Peter to forgive as often as he was sinned against.

The traitor Judas Iscariot has a much more important role in the ballads; in the Moorish ballads, the French chivalrous ballads, and, particularly, in the satirical ballads, he is mentioned a number of times. The irrepressible Quevedo was responsible for two of these references.
CHAPTER V

OTHER REFERENCES TO SAINTS AND ANGELS

Saints and Angels appeared in the ballads in various other fashions. There are a few references to things that actually happened to the Saints during their lives. Spain's own St. Ferdinand figures largely in this category. In other instances, people are compared to Saints or Angels. The majority of these references occur when men, struck by the arrow of the blind-folded god, call a girl an angel. Images and relics of the Saints are referred to a few times. In a small number of ballads, the word Saint is mistakenly prefixed to someone's name or to some object. Other references too variegated for classification constitute the remaining ones to Saints or Angels. All these references have been divided, in each section, into two classifications, sincere and burlesque.

Several ballads deal with the life of the only Spanish king who gained canonization, Ferdinand III (reigned 1217-1252). The Battle of Las Navas, which in 1212 had broken the strength of the Moors, provided the opportunity for further important steps in the Reconquest, and Ferdinand wisely continued the struggle with all his strength. The regaining of Seville and of Córdoba were his important contributions to the Reconquest. Since a large part of his
activity during his reign was the skirmishes and battles with the Moors, the ballad-makers found him a good subject.

A reference to St. Ferdinand appears in a romance morisco. It says that Alcalá de los Gazules had been overthrown by the Santo Rey Fernando and goes on to give the speech made by the Moor Muley as he surrendered to Ferdinand.¹

Of the seven St. Ferdinand ballads in the historical section of the Romancero, five were written by the XVIth century lover of miracles, Lorenzo de Sepúlveda. One comes from the pen of the dramatist Juan de la Cueva. The remaining one is by an anonymous XVIth century poet.

Sepúlveda relates how the good king conquered Córdoba after his forces had successfully besieged it but had arrived at an impasse. The arrival of the King soon brought about a victory.² The next poem, also by Sepúlveda, relates how, after Córdoba had fallen to the Christians, Ferdinand left don Diego Pérez de Castro in command of a strategic gate. He in turn left his nephew in charge while he went off to get provisions. The nephew boldly, but imprudently, took all his forces off to an excursion into the morería. On his return, he found the gate surrounded by Moors and valiantly defended by the Spanish women. The Spaniards attacked boldly because they would have been ashamed even to show themselves before King Ferdinand had they shown cowardice. The attack was successful.³
Sepúlveda next tells how the prince Alfonso, son of Ferdinand the Saint, besieged and conquered Jérez.\footnote{1}

The next three poems are about the deeds of García Pérez de Vargas in the siege of Seville. The first two, one by Sepúlveda and the other anonymous, tell how the bold knight was traveling along in a field and boldly approached some Moors. Seeing who he was, they dared not attack, although they far out-numbered him. After he had passed by the Moors, García Pérez missed a hat and quite calmly put his life in jeopardy a second time. He felt he had to retrieve it because he was bald. Ferdinand and all his followers watched the little drama from a distance. When García Pérez had come through successfully, he was highly commended by his King.\footnote{5} The third, by Sepúlveda, tells how a prince, not recognizing García Pérez, belittled him behind his back. The knight went out into the field and displayed his amazing prowess. Thereupon, the visiting prince apologized and was magnanimously forgiven. When Ferdinand heard of this, he had nothing but the highest of praise for García Pérez.\footnote{6}

The last poem in this section, by Juan de la Cueva, relates how the Moorish king of Granada refused to pay tribute to Ferdinand. The latter promised to see that he paid double!\footnote{7}

St. Ferdinand is four times mentioned as the father of Alfonso X. Alfonso is called the son of the king who
conquered Seville in a ballad telling how he provided ransom
money for his cousin's husband. Sepúlveda says that Alfonso,
son of St. Ferdinand, conquered Murcia, and a poem collected
by Sepúlveda says that he was buried next to St. Ferdinand
in Seville. Sepúlveda tells also how Alfonso, son of St.
Ferdinand, cruelly massacred some rebels. The author says
it was cruel, but that traitors deserved such treatment.

Two romances vulgares relate the story of the Enchanted
Princess, a story Arabic in origin. The author, Alonso de
Morales, begins by placing the time during the epoch of St.
Ferdinand:

¿Cuando el católico rey,
Que globos de estrellas pisa,
San Fernando, rey de España,
Lanzó la secta morisca
De la España y sus dominios...  

The poem mentioned before about the virtues of the
day tells legends about two saints in an attempt to prove
that day is better than night. The story of St. Christopher
is told, but with a surprising error, for this episode,
according to legend, took place at night, not in daytime, as
the poem claims. Legend has it that the giant later known
as Christopher (Christ-bearer) was serving Christ by carrying
people safely across a dangerous river. The poem tells the
part of the legend which says that a child appeared to the
giant and asked to be carried across. As they crossed, the
child became heavier and heavier till Christopher feared for
their lives. When they had reached the other side, the giant realized he had carried Christ across the river. Another child appeared to St. Augustine as he walked by the sea, meditating on the greatness of the Trinity. The poem tells how Augustine beheld the child dipping water from the ocean and pouring it into a hole. On being questioned, the child said that he was emptying all the water from the sea. Augustine exclaimed, "Impossible!" but the child replied that it was more impossible for the Saint to understand the thing on which he was meditating. Augustine then asked the child if it were not the one who had appeared to his friend Ambrose. (During a dispute over who should become bishop of Milan, St. Ambrose had quieted the crowd with his eloquence. When a child's voice was heard saying that Ambrose would be Bishop, the people immediately made him Bishop.) But to St. Augustine's question, the child replied that he had said enough.

A lament over the needless sacking of Rome by the troops of Charles V mentions a legend about St. Helena. The poem says that among the relics taken was the true cross found by St. Helen. Legend says that this English Saint made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and there recovered the cross on which Christ was crucified.

St. Anthony, the hermit, is referred to twice. A XVIIth century poet puts into words the complaints of a little
stream. One is that a Narcissus makes a mirror of it; the little stream says all it saw was a coarse young man bending over it, a temptation of St. Anthony. This same St. Anthony appears in a poem by a young lady who has not only a husband, but three gallants as well. She describes her husband as of a rather easy-going nature:

Come sin traello;  
Piensa que a los dos  
Nos lo trae un cuervo;  
Como a San Antón.

The allusion becomes clear when we learn that, when St. Anthony visited another hermit, a raven brought them their food. We now see the husband as one of those men whose wives must do the providing.

In cases of comparisons of humans to Saints or Angels, the poet may be speaking with sincerity, but in most cases, his tone is one of irony. Sincerity is the keynote when a ballad-maker compares Guzmán el Bueno, as a result of one of his heroic deeds, to St. George and to St. Jerome. Guzmán had killed a serpent and tamed a lion which was fighting with the serpent. The allusions to the two Saints are quite obvious, for St. George is famous for slaying a dragon, and St. Jerome is credited by legend with taming a lion and using it to watch over an ass.

A man considered to be just a little enfeebled mentally won respect for himself, in a ballad about the Enchanted Princess, by imitating St. James. Before a battle, he
armed himself with resplendent armor, as St. James was armed when he made his miraculous appearances. He went out on the battlefield and continued his imitation of St. James by slaying an incredible number of the enemy.18

If one is to believe the ballads, Cortés once compared himself in zeal, if not in deeds, to St. Paul. He had overthrown some idols in a Mexican temple and said:

si en aquesta ocasión,
Dios, a vuestro Pablo imité,
Ya que en las obras no sea,
Serélo en el celo limpio.19

Queen Isabella, in two ballads, compared Garcilaso de la Vega to the angel Gabriel. Garcilaso had heroically rescued a copy of the Ave María from the shameful place where it had been put by the Moor Tarfe. Isabella told Garcilaso that he was leaving the Archangel behind, since Gabriel only brought the Ave María from Heaven, while Garcilaso rescued it from Hell.20 Isabella went on with more extravagant praises (which must have been a bit embarrassing to the youthful Garcilaso). She said that since "Gabriel" means "strength" or "courage," and since Garcilaso had so much of that quality, she would confer that title on him.21

Irony is more often found to be the tone of the poem when a person is compared to Saints or Angels, particularly if he is compared to no one Saint or Angel specifically. This is the case when a man smitten with love commands various types of people to listen as he tells his sad tale;
"Listen to me, dear widow ladies, saints in appearance only," he exclaims bitterly.

The name of Lazarus is a popular Saint's name in the Romancero. St. Lazarus is traditionally connected with poverty and with misery in general. Quevedo compares himself to Lazarus in a satirical ballad about the expulsion of the Moriscos. He pretends here to be the one who had to make the proclamation. The same biting poet remembers the sores of Lazarus as he speaks of a pícaro confined to a hospital and compares her to Lazarus. A pícaro in another ballad says he doesn't care one jot if he's poor; "Let Sir Lazarus follow us!" he fearlessly exclaims.

The story of St. Martin of Tours' sharing his cloak on a cold day with a naked beggar was popular during the Middle Ages and gave rise to two comparisons in the Spanish balladry. One poet addresses himself to a lady who's in love with him. He says that, unfortunately, he's in love with someone else and finds it impossible to be a St. Martin in love. Durán carefully explains that the poet means he can't divide his love as St. Martin divided his cloak. Another poet tells some ladies of the court that he, foolishly, has been letting them take advantage of him. He says he's been dividing his cloak like St. Martin.

Two attributes of St. Michael are referred to in a love ballad. The poet says he fell in love with a storekeeper.
He approached her and tried by flattery to win her love.
One thing he told her was that she looked like St. Michael when she held the scales. (The Archangel, charged with deciding whether souls shall go to Heaven or to Hell, is often represented with a balance in his hand.) To this dubious compliment, the young lady, unmoved, replied that if she resembled Michael, the poet must represent Lucifer stretched out at her feet. (It was Michael whom God commissioned to expel the rebellious angels from Heaven. When represented as the conqueror of Satan, Michael stands with his foot on the Evil One.)

That human beings may become angels before St. Peter has passed them through the pearly gates is a misconception frequently held during ballad days. The group of people most liable to this misconception is the one composed of young men in love. They find, to their amazement, that they are in love with an angel, but, almost invariably, they soon become disillusioned. I have found fifteen ballads in which the poet calls a girl an angel, sometimes sincerely, sometimes satirically. A notable fact is that all these ballads date from the XVIth century or later; no person is called an angel in an early ballad. This is an additional, but un-needed, proof that the life reflected by the old ballads was more realistic than the life of later centuries.
Two poets who had suffered this disillusionment addressed their complaints to Cupid and told him that he looked like an angel. One added the remark that he was a Satan in his deeds.

One other time a person is compared to an angel, but more sincerely this time. In a poem praising the innocence of childhood, the poet says that he will make a little child his guardian angel.

Images or relics of the Saints play a very minor part in the ballads. In fact, it appears that the ballad-makers were occupied with them almost never unless they wanted to scold somebody. Thus we find the Moors reproved three times for destroying images. In a lament on the sacking of Rome by troops of Charles V, the poet says that relics and images of the Saints are scattered all over the sand, including the foot of an image of Mary Magdalene.

A girl about to be married was examining a gift from her fiance. It was a coral necklace with an amulet on the end. On one side was an image of Mary Magdalene; on the other, one of St. Sebastian. These two Saints were chosen because the couple about to be married bore their names.

An image of the Virgin Mary was the direct cause of the death of an unfortunate converted Moor. When it was discovered that he carried an image of her, he was promptly condemned to death and executed.
Ximena, in the ballads, wore little statuettes of three different Saints on various occasions. One ballad describes how she dressed for her wedding, and says that she wore on a chain a little statuette of St. Michael. There does not seem to be any apparent reason for her choice of St. Michael. After she had borne her first child, she went to a misa de parida and wore statuettes of St. Lazarus and St. Peter, santos de su devoción. That Lazarus was one of her favorite Saints would indicate her charity and humility. St. Peter is the favored Saint in all the Cid legends (the church of San Pedro de Cardeña near Burgos figures frequently in the ballads on the Cid) and would thus be a logical one for the poet to have her choose. In addition, St. Peter is a powerful Saint to have as a protector.

The makers of ballads erred a few times in naming Saints. One poet, for instance, mistook the much-vaunted chastity of Alfonso II for saintliness and called him Sant Alfonso. Bartolomé de Torres Naharro jealously put forth the claim that Ferdinand V should have been canonized:

Por la menor cosa suya,  
Fuera otro canonizado,

he exclaims in discouragement.

The two other errors made were made in jest. One is the St. Plum-tree (San Ciruelo) already mentioned. A poem describing the festivities on Carnival day says it has a new,
modern name: the day of St. Glutton (San Tragantón). The name gives a pretty good idea of the favorite activity of the day.

The remaining references to Saints do not fall into any classification and will be considered according to whether they are sincere or satirical.

San Pedro de Cardeña, the church which plays such a large part in the ballads about the Cid, has been celebrated in a ballad dedicated to its praises alone. The poet says that two hundred monks, resembling God in deed and life, were martyred at one time. Other orders give Saints to the Church one at a time, but only San Pedro de Cardeña gives two hundred at once.

The unfortunate Rodrigo Calderón, one-time favorite of Philip III, as he stood on the scaffold waiting for death, prayed God to carry his soul to be with the Saints in Heaven.

Arguments on the relative virtues of various abstract concepts were very popular during the latter Middle Ages. These arguments found their way into the ballads, as demonstrated by those on the virtues of day and night. The virtues of wealth and poverty received treatment also in the Romancero. Poverty cited the lives of several Saints in proof that she was more virtuous. Those cited are: Juan de Dios, whose life was devoted to relief of the poor; St. Paul "de la Breña," the Saint whom St. Anthony visited in
St. Francis of Assisi, well-known for his humility and poverty, now in Heaven and enjoying the highest of riches, says the poet; St. Francis de Paula, an Italian Saint who was kept at the courts of the French kings Charles VIII and Louis XII, and who lived such an austere life that the courtiers derisively dubbed him "le bon-homme;" and St. Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the order of Jesuits, which takes vows of poverty.

A tribute to the French national hero, Roland, is paid by one ballad which says that when he died such a heroic death at Roncesvalles, Angels joyously carried his soul off to Heaven.

A sensible point of view about man is taken by a poet advising a child on growing up. Men, he says, are a little lower than the Angels, but a little higher than the inhabitants of the nether regions.

A malignant angel is the name applied by Gabriel Lobo Laso de la Vega to an idol overthrown by Cortés in an Aztec temple. The same poet tells of the carving by a Spaniard of the Ave María on the door to a Moorish mosque. After finishing, the trusting Christian says he fears the infidels will commit some offense against his work of love, but no, he says, the angel Gabriel will return the prayer to his mouth before letting it be defiled. It was this most famous of Angels who gave this prayer to mankind.
A satirical poet pokes fun at the Durandarte and Belerma legend. He has Durandarte send a message to Belerma telling her to mourn him three days only because he doesn't want to carry jealousies to the other world--the Saints already have too many there.50

When St. Peter appeared to the Cid to tell him he was not much longer for this world, he testified to the fact that Sainthood is enjoyable, for he said Rodrigo was going to Heaven:

\begin{quote}
Y a la vida que no ha fin
Do están los santos holgando.
\end{quote}

A satirical poet making fun of the renowned adventures of the Cid mockingly remarks, "As if anything were impossible for the one whom the Saints were guarding!52

St. Blaise is the patron of throat diseases because he once cured a little boy with a bone stuck in his throat. Thus, the under-world characters appropriated St. Blaise as their own, being often in the need of someone to protect their throats and necks. Góngora describes a pícaro who had such shoulders that, if he were St. Blaise, there would be a sufficiency for a thousand relics.53

Some rather left-handed compliments are paid to a pícaro who's suffering for her sins. She has lost her eyes and the poet says she should take them to St. Lucy, who might help her. Legend says that when a young man fell in love
with St. Lucy's eyes, she plucked them out and sent them to him. Later they were miraculously restored to her. She became the patron saint of the eyes. The poet concludes by saying he will teach the pícara the prayers of St. Crispin, a miraculous shoe-maker for the poor, and of the Saint of the plague, St. Roch, so that, although blind, she may go to church and pray.\(^5\)

A ballad with a barb directed at the poor but proud hidalgos, represented by Lazarillo de Tormes' hidalgo, tells how one of them had only one shirt. On holy days, he turned it wrong side out. It was probably far from clean and spotless, so he would recite:

\[—\text{¡Bendita sea la limpieza De la Virgen sin mancilla!}—\] 55

Another ballad mentioning St. Mary shows that the Moors seemed to regard conversion to Christianity as not much more than a nice convenience on some occasions. Here we see how a Moorish woman whose chastity had been challenged was forced to resort to a Christian for defense. In her letter asking him to defend her, she promises to turn Christian if her religion repels him. This "conversion of convenience" was evidently acceptable to the poet, for he let her innocence be proved by having the Christian win the ensuing battle.\(^5\)

A "Satire on Various Things" subtly calls an old woman a Celestina type, for it says she should be the rug at
St. Michael's feet.\(^{57}\) St. Michael, as mentioned before,\(^{58}\) is often represented with one foot on the Devil, whom he conquered.

Pride over the lineage of one's family receives a poke in a ballad which recalls Lazarillo's relation of his family tree. A girl tells a young man just how noble her family isn't; among other things, she says that the "santo de la cogulla" (St. Emilian) did not put her family's name on its shield. In other words, St. Emilian was of the Vth century, so her family did not ridiculously try to trace its lineage back that far.\(^{59}\)

The Santelmo, the electrical phenomenon seen around high places after a storm, is alluded to in two poems of love. One\(^{60}\) tells how a girl has been at sea and in a terrible storm—she was in love—but at long last, the lazy Santelmo, lazy because it took so long to appear, changed the storm into calmness, i.e. she recovered from the love affair. But no sooner had the good Santelmo done its job than the girl fell into the storm of love again. The poem already mentioned in connection with St. Martin,\(^{61}\) which tells how a courtier is not going to let any more women make a fool of him, says that he has at last seen his Santelmo, that his stormy life with women has come to an end.

The main object of this chapter has been to gather together the loose ends remaining after the discussion of
miracles, evocations, Saints' days, and Saints as Biblical characters. There were some references to the actual lives of Saints, with Spain's own St. Ferdinand taking the lead. The ballads about him are concerned, for the most part, with his part of the Reconquest of Spain. Those about his son Alfonso frequently call Alfonso the son of St. Ferdinand. The popular ballads about the Enchanted Princess are placed by the author during the time of St. Ferdinand.

The legend of St. Christopher is told in one of the ballads arguing the virtues of day and night, as is one of the visions which St. Augustine had. The legend that the English St. Helena recovered the cross is retold in another ballad. Two references to St. Anthony, the hermit, are made in burlesque ballads.

Comparisons to Saints or Angels occurred several times in the ballads. Most of these comparisons were to no particular Saint or Angel, and most of them were satirical. Some sincere compliments were paid, however, in comparing someone to a Saint or Angel, as in the case of a comparison of Guzmán el Bueno to St. George and to St. Jerome. One man attempted to imitate St. James as he appeared on the battlefield, and did himself honor in the process. After Hernán Cortés had overthrown some idols in a Mexican temple, he compared himself to St. Paul. On the occasion of the defeat of a famous Moor by the youthful Garcilaso de la Vega, Queen Isabella compared him to the angel Gabriel.
Ironical comparisons are more frequent. Lazarus appears in comparisons in two ballads by Quevedo. St. Martin of Tours, famed for sharing his cloak with a beggar, also appears twice in comparisons in the Romancero. The Archangel Michael appears once as the conqueror of Satan in a burlesque poem.

There are many comparisons, some satirical, some sincere, of young girls to angels, made by the men in love with these girls. None of the ballads in which these comparisons occur date from a time before the XVIth century. In two poems, Cupid was said to resemble an angel, and one poem adds that in deeds he resembles Satan.

Images and relics of the Saints made a few appearances in the ballads. Three times the Moors were reproved for destroying images, and one poet laments the sacking of Rome by Charles V's troops, which scattered relics and images both all over the sand. The other references to images told of small images of Saints worn on chains around the neck. A girl about to be married had a chain with images of Mary Magdalene and St. Sebastian because she and her finance bore the same names as the two saints. A Moor was executed when it was found that he wore an image of the Virgin Mary. Ximena wore, on various occasions, statuettes of St. Michael, Lazarus, and St. Peter.

Three errors in naming Saints were made. Alfonso II was called Sant Alfonso once in the ballads. Jestingly, one
poet makes up a St. Plum-tree, and another makes up a St. Glutton. In addition, Bartolomé de Torres Naharro puts forth the claim that Ferdinand V should have been made a Saint.

The remaining references are varied. A eulogy to the church of San Pedro de Cardeña mentions that it gave two hundred saints to the Church when two hundred of its monks were martyred. Rodrigo Calderón expressed the wish that he might join the Saints in Heaven. Various Saints whose names are connected with poverty were referred to in a polemic on the virtues of wealth and poverty. Angels are supposed to have delightedly carried the soul of Roland off to Heaven when he died at Roncesvalles. Other references include one by Góngora to the patron saint of the pícaros, St. Blaise; one to St. Lucy, the patron saint of the eyes; and one to the Santelmo, the electrical discharge seen around high places after a storm.
CONCLUSIONS

Several interesting facts have come to light during this study. One is that the old ballads, apart from those written a lo divino, were realistic to the point of excluding entirely any allusions to miracles performed by Saints or Angels. On the contrary, the erudite ballads, whose authors professed to be correcting the old ballads and making them more true to historical fact, contain nearly all the miracles. Lorenzo de Sepúlveda stands out as the romancerista most interested in miracles performed by Saints or Angels. He is the author or collector of nearly half the ballads which relate miracles.

Saint Mary and Saint James are the favorite Saints in the ballads, as might be expected from a literature that is Spanish and Catholic. The Blessed Virgin played a particularly large part in evocations for help, while St. James was more prominent in performing miracles. Charged with aiding the Spaniards in their struggles against the Moors, St. James often made "personal appearances" on the battle fields. He was the Saint to evoke during battles, but both he and St. Mary were called on at the Battle of Lepanto and in a ballad by Sepúlveda about a frontier skirmish. However, in most cases, St. James was the one who gave the actual,
material help, while St. Mary was contented with encouraging and giving promises of help to the Christians.

Evocations of St. Mary occur in the ballads indiscriminate of time. They occur in the oldest ballads and continue to occur down through all the ballads to those of more recent date. Nor does the time of the occurrence of the events related by the ballads affect the frequency of evocations of St. Mary. After St. Mary and St. James, St. Peter occurs most frequently in evocations and oaths. However, these references to St. Peter, as well as all the other references to him, are found almost exclusively in the Cid Campeador ballads. This fact has led to the speculation that these ballads might originally have been the work of monks at San Pedro de Cardeña, where the hero is interred. But an inspection of the epic poem of the Cid shows that St. Peter is referred to frequently there. It is a more exact statement, in the opinion of the author, that the frequency of references to St. Peter in the Cid ballads is due to their corresponding frequency in the epic. Other Saints are evoked in the ballads, but no other one occurs with enough frequency to warrant consideration here.

Evocations of Saints and oaths in their names occur, apparently, in about the same frequency and circumstances in which they occur in every-day Spanish life. St. Mary is evoked most often because she is the most important to the Catholic Spaniards. St. James' position as patron saint of
Spain makes him occur next most frequently in the ballads as in every-day life.

A consideration of events dated according to the Saints' days on which they occurred shows that St. John's Day is the most important. Its importance was carried over even into the Moorish calendar. Nearly all the events dated in the ballads according to Saints' days occurred on St. John's Day. This is a result of the fact that the expression \textit{la mañana de San Juan} became scarcely more than a tag line. No other Saint's day was mentioned more than once or twice in the ballads.

The roles played by the early Saints in the Bible receive little consideration in the profane ballads. The majority of the few references made to their lives according to the Bible are in the controversial ballads. An interesting observation is that Judas Iscariot receives more attention as a Biblical character than any of his saintly brethren.

Comparisons to Saints and Angels are found often in the ballads. The larger part of these were satirical or ironical, but a few sincere compliments are paid in comparing someone to a Saint. The most outstanding example of a sincere comparison is the one comparing Guzmán el Bueno to St. George and to St. Jerome.

There are in Durán's collection approximately 1900 ballads all told. Excluding the sections on legends of Saints,
Old Testament History, and the mythological and heroic periods of Greek and Roman history,\textsuperscript{1} which contain about 120 ballads, I have found 269 with references to Saints or Angels. Many of these include more than one reference, while, in some instances, one ballad merely repeats a reference made by a preceding one. These figures would lead one to the conclusion that the part played by Saints in the \textit{romancero}, outside the sections mentioned above, was not after all very large, but perhaps very comparable to their rôle in every-day life.
CHAPTER NOTES

Introduction


2. Loc. cit.


Chapter I

1. Durán, Romancero general (Biblioteca de autores españoles), vol. X, p. 417, n. 618.

2. Loc. cit.


5. Ibid., p. 458, n. 696.


7. Ibid., p. 466, n. 707.

8. Loc. cit.

9. Ibid., p. 468, n. 711.

10. Ibid., p. 491, n. 749.


42. This XIIIth century Spanish Saint did write a book refuting the errors of Mahomet. He was also active in advancing arguments in proof of the immaculate conception. (Espasa, *op. cit.*, vol. 42, pp. 1311-1313) It is doubtful that this account of Mahomet came from St. Peter Pascual, but the argument proving the virginity of St. Mary might well have come from one of his works.


47. *Loc. cit.*


49. *Loc. cit.*


52. *Loc. cit.*


63. *Loc. cit.*
71. *Loc. cit.*
74. *Loc. cit.*
76. *Loc. cit.*
78. *Loc. cit.*

Chapter II

3. Ibid., p. 216, n. 357.
4. Ibid., pp. 246-57, nn. 374-75.
5. Ibid., p. 246, n. 374.
8. Ibid., p. 266, n. 402.
10. Ibid., p. 157, n. 289.
12. Ibid., p. 400, n. 582.
13. Ibid., p. 410, n. 606.
15. Ibid., p. 415, n. 615.
16. Ibid., p. 420, n. 626.
17. Ibid., p. 448, n. 677.
18. Ibid., p. 461, n. 700.
19. Ibid., p. 483, n. 733.
20. See p. 28 of this study.
22. Ibid., p. 487, n. 742.
23. Ibid., p. 496, n. 758.
24. Ibid., p. 521, n. 807.
25. Ibid., p. 523, n. 809.
26. Ibid., p. 529, n. 824.
27. Ibid., p. 576, n. 911.
28. See pp. 7-8 of this study.
30. Ibid., p. 11, n. 927.
31. Ibid., p. 21, n. 944.
32. Ibid., p. 25, n. 949.
33. Ibid., p. 26, n. 951.
34. Ibid., p. 33, n. 960.
35. Ibid., p. 52, n. 996. Tuyas refers to the beads of the rosary.
36. Ibid., p. 61, n. 1013.
37. Ibid., p. 83, n. 1043.
38. Ibid., p. 87, n. 1053.
40. Ibid., p. 95, n. 1074.
41. Ibid., p. 118, n. 1104.
42. Ibid., p. 119, n. 1105.
43. Ibid., p. 126, n. 1119.
44. Ibid., p. 149, n. 1148.
45. Ibid., p. 167, n. 1163.
46. Ibid., p. 182, n. 1188.
47. Ibid., p. 183, n. 1188.
48. Ibid., p. 188, n. 1196.
49. See p. 37 of this study.
51. Loc. cit.
52. Ibid., p. 191, n. 1198.
53. Ibid., p. 219, n. 1240.
54. Ibid., p. 225, n. 1251.
55. See pp. 1-2 of this study.
57. Ibid., p. 450, n. 680.
58. Ibid., p. 468, n. 709.
61. Ibid., p. 515, n. 798.
63. Ibid., p. 532, n. 829.
64. Ibid., p. 541, n. 849.
65. Ibid., p. 562, n. 890.
67. See pp. 7-8 of this study.
69. Ibid., p. 33, n. 960.
70. Ibid., p. 85, n. 1048.
71. Ibid., p. 115, n. 1099.
72. Ibid., p. 132, n. 1128.
73. Ibid., p. 133, n. 1130.
74. Ibid., p. 166, n. 1161.
75. Ibid., p. 168, n. 1166.
76. Ibid., p. 175, n. 1178.
77. Ibid., p. 200, n. 1211.
83. See p. 66 of this study.
85. See p. 49 of this study.
89. Durán, *op. cit.*, vol. XVI, p. 188, n. 1196.
90. *Ibid.*, p. 293, n. 1287. The other ballads with pro-
logues are:
   p. 260, n. 1269;
   p. 268, n. 1273;
   p. 289, n. 1285;
   p. 317, n. 1301;
   p. 359, n. 1327;
   p. 361, n. 1328.
91. See pp. 18-21 of this study.
100. Ibid., p. 316, n. 1300.
101. Ibid., p. 257, n. 1267.
102. See pp. 15-16 of this study.
104. Ibid., p. 243, n. 1260.
105. Ibid., p. 421, n. 1369.
106. Ibid., p. 428, n. 1386.
107. Ibid., p. 584, n. 1757.
108. Ibid., p. 423, n. 1371.
109. Ibid., p. 559, n. 1709.
110. Ibid., p. 565, n. 1719.
111. Ibid., p. 579, n. 1748.
112. Ibid., p. 590, n. 1761.
113. Ibid., p. 626, n. 1845.

Chapter III

2. Ibid., p. 21, n. 45.
3. Ibid., p. 121, n. 233.
6. Ibid., p. 68, n. 133.
8. Ibid., p. 34, n. 71.
10. See pp. 45-46 of this study.
12. Ibid., p. 82, n. 1043.
15. Ibid., p. 568, n. 1724.
16. Ibid., p. 540, n. 1674.
18. Ibid., p. 3, n. 7.
19. Ibid., p. 57, n. 112.
20. Ibid., p. 184, n. 334.
22. Ibid., p. 473, n. 1514.
23. Ibid., p. 497, n. 1577.
24. Ibid., p. 521, n. 1641. A saltaembarca is a kind of short jacket.
25. See pp. 43-44 of this study.
32. Ibid., p. 441, n. 1421.
35. Ibid., p. 499, n. 1582.
41. Ibid., p. 483, n. 733.
42. F. A. Icaza, Supercherías y errores cervantinos, p. 145.
44. Ibid., p. 90, n. 175.
45. Ibid., p. 550, n. 869.
46. Ibid., p. 457, n. 694.

Chapter IV

2. Ibid., pp. 404-407, nn. 1353-54.
3. Ibid., p. 395, n. 1348.
4. Ibid., p. 397, n. 1349.
6. See p. 14 of this study.
7. See p. 58 of this study.
9. Ibid., p. 58, n. 1008.
12. Ibid., p. 130, n. 246.
13. Ibid., p. 551, n. 871.
15. Ibid., p. 401, n. 1350.
16. Ibid., p. 527, n. 1651.
17. Ibid., p. 532, n. 1658.
18. Ibid., p. 537, n. 1667.
19. Ibid., p. 549, n. 1692.
20. Ibid., p. 644, n. 1886.

Chapter V

3. Ibid., p. 14, n. 932.
4. Ibid., p. 15, n. 933.
5. Ibid., pp. 15-16, nn. 934-35.
6. Ibid., p. 16, n. 936.
7. Ibid., p. 17, n. 937.
8. Ibid., p. 18, n. 939.
9. Ibid., p. 20, n. 942.
10. Ibid., p. 26, n. 952.
11. Ibid., p. 32, n. 959.
12. Ibid., p. 248, n. 1263.
13. Ibid., p. 402, n. 1351.
15. Ibid., p. 533, n. 1662.
16. Ibid., p. 162, n. 1155.
17. Ibid., p. 30, n. 954.
18. Ibid., p. 252, n. 1264.
19. Ibid., p. 147, n. 1146.
20. Ibid., p. 129, n. 1122 and n. 1123.
22. Ibid., p. 550, n. 1694.
23. Ibid., p. 529, n. 1654.
24. Ibid., p. 582, n. 1752.
25. Ibid., p. 639, n. 1873.
27. Ibid., p. 635, n. 1861.
28. Ibid., p. 538, n. 1672.
29. Ibid., p. 260, n. 1268;
   p. 276, n. 1278;
   p. 291, n. 1286;
   p. 380, n. 1338;
   p. 388, n. 1343;
   p. 489, n. 1554;
   p. 500, n. 1583;
   p. 534, n. 1663;
   p. 539, n. 1672;
   p. 567, n. 1722;
   p. 578, n. 1744;
   p. 612, n. 1800;
   p. 618, n. 1821;
   p. 624, n. 1836, and
   p. 624, n. 1838.
30. Ibid., p. 552, n. 1698, and p. 560, n. 1711.
31. Ibid., p. 420, n. 1366.
33. Ibid., p. 162, n. 1155.
34. Ibid., p. 504, n. 1597.
35. Ibid., p. 92, n. 1068.
37. Ibid., p. 496, n. 759.
38. Ibid., p. 416, n. 615.
40. See p. 90 of this study.
41. Durán, op. cit., vol. XVI, p. 56\textsuperscript{4}, n. 1718.
42. Durán, op. cit., vol. X, p. 57\textsuperscript{4}, n. 908.
44. See p. 108 of this study.
46. Ibid., p. 245, n. 1260.
47. Ibid., p. 420, n. 1366.
48. Ibid., p. 147, n. 1146.
49. Ibid., p. 125, n. 1116.
51. Ibid., p. 566, n. 892.
52. Ibid., p. 57\textsuperscript{4}, n. 909.
54. Ibid., p. 572, n. 1730.

55. Ibid., p. 562, n. 1713.

56. Ibid., p. 312, n. 1298.

57. Ibid., p. 537, n. 1668.

58. See p. 111 of this study.


60. Ibid., p. 455, n. 1473.

61. See p. 110 of this study.

Conclusions

1. See notes 4, 5, and 6 of the Introduction to this study.
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