MAGIC, SUPERSTITION, AND MIRACLES

IN THE SPANISH BALLADS

by

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INTRODUCTION

THE SPANISH BALLADS

With the possible exception of the drama, the ballad has been for six hundred years the most consistently popular of all forms of Spanish literature. In Spain, in Portugal, in the Near East, in America, in all parts of the world where the Spanish language has penetrated, the people have sung, and still sing, songs handed down with little change since the days of Pedro el Cruel, and Ferdinand and Isabella. Scholars have used them for teaching. Poets, good and bad, have copied old ballads and written new ones. Historians and dramatists have incorporated them into their works. Historians have used them as sources of information. And, most of all, the common people have sung them.

To reach this great popularity, the ballads have had to appeal to the interests of the people who sang them. They tell of the great happenings, whether folk-lore or history, that attracted the Spanish imagination. They give a picture of the life, customs, and beliefs of their time. In ballads concerned with other than Spanish people, they express the characteristics attributed to them by the Spaniards.
The oldest ballads, the romances viejos, were probably fragments extracted from the national epics and modified in oral transmission.

These were followed by the romances caballerescos, ballads of chivalry taken for the most part from the material of the French epics. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the people became more independent of epic sources. The clashes between Moors and Christians that kept the borders in constant turmoil gave rise to the romances fronterizos. Other ballads were concerned with the careers of famous royal and aristocratic personages, especially Pedro el Cruel. No truly popular ballads were composed after this period. By the sixteenth century the great vogue of the popular ballads inspired artistic works using the same meter. Some of these romances artisticos are revisions and amplifications of the old themes, and frequently capture the spirit of the epic works. Others have nothing in common with the romances viejos except the verse form. Contemporary with these were the romances moriscos, generally insipid love poems in ballad meter in which Moorish names were substituted for the names of the Spanish characters represented. The romances pastoriles are similar, with shepherds and shepherdesses substituted for gallants and their ladies. Following the publication of the Crónica general and the Cancionero sin año, the
first known collection of ballads, in the first half of the sixteenth century, scholars hit upon the scheme of correcting the faulty history of the ballads by putting the material of the Crónica into ballad form. These romances eruditos are generally dull works, no more accurate historically than the popular ballads. Didactic ballads were also composed on religious themes, either biblical stories or other stories designed to illustrate a moral or religious teaching. Those which are merely Bible stories in ballad form are not expressions of popular belief, except in the sense that the people believed all the stories of the Bible. They will not be considered in this thesis. From the sixteenth century until the present, romances vulgares have been composed by poets of little or no talent, to be sold in pliegos sueltos or sung by beggars on the streets. These have used all the themes of the other ballads and added new ones of momentary interest, the lives of famous contemporary outlaws, and the like.

The purpose of this study has been to learn what magical and superstitious beliefs are reflected in the ballads. For my explanations of the beliefs, I have relied almost entirely on Sir James G. Frazer's exhaustive work, The Golden Bough. My plan has been to examine the ballads for indications of magic and superstition and to interpret them, correlating them when-
ever possible with similar beliefs as explained by Frazer.

I have Agustín Durán's Romancero general, (volumes ten and sixteen of the Biblioteca de Autores Españoles,) as the principal source of ballads, and S. G. Morley's small collection, Spanish Ballads, as a secondary source. For discussions of the origins and background of the ballads, I have relied mainly on Ramón Menéndez Pidal's El Romancero Español, with Northup's An Introduction to Spanish Literature and Morley's book as supplementary references.
"If we analyse the principles of thought on which magic is based, they will probably be found to resolve themselves into two: first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and, second, that things which have once been in contact with each other continue to act on each other at a distance after the physical contact has been severed. The former principle may be called the Law of Similarity, the latter the Law of contact or Contagion."¹ Thus Frazer explains the origins of magical beliefs. But early man only applied his principles; it has been left for modern man to formulate them. Origins of customs were forgotten, and in time practices originally intended for one end were applied for others, leaving no apparent relationship between cause and desired result.²

IMAGES

A striking instance of imitative magic occurs in the story of Fernán González. As the followers of this hero were planning an attack on an enemy castle to rescue their leader, one of his lieutenants, Nuño Lainez,
suggested:

Que hagamos de una piedra
De nuestro Conde un retrato:
Hagámosle juramento
Solemnemente tomado,
Que hasta que por si huya
La piedra, puesta en un carro,
Que no huirá ninguno
Por las villas ni el campo,
Ni en manteles comeremos
Ni estaremos en poblado,
Ni vestiremos camisas.

Muchos se han juramentado.
Hacen la imagen del Conde;
Entre todos lo han tomado;
Todos la acatan y honran
Como al Conde han respetado.

(Durán, BAE, X, p. 463, no. 702.)

When the Count met his followers and asked the purpose
of the image, Lainez explained:

Y para tomar favor
Esta imagen fue ordenada
Semejante a tu persona
Qué viva representaba.—

(Durán, BAE, X, p. 262, no. 392.)
The reasoning behind this was probably that since the leadership of the count in battle was accompanied by success, an image of him could not fail to have the same effect; also that there was a sympathetic attraction between the count and his image that would have some kind of good effect on the success of the expedition. It is common among superstitious groups to use stones as charms to promote firmness. The people used easily seen objects as rallying points in battle. But building a stone statue and carrying it along to battle would not have been an easy task in those times, and not one to be undertaken for no other reasons than these. There is, of course, no good evidence that the incident occurred. Traditions of the sort seldom grow up without a background of truth; and there is no good reason for doubting that this is substantially true, whether or not Fernán González was a participant.

One of the most common practices of black magic the world over has been that of injuring an enemy by injuring his effigy. An example of this is reflected in one of the ballads of Hernando de Pulgar, in which the hero witnessed a Moorish festival in Granada:

Bajóse a la plaza nueva,  
Y de allí a la Vivarambla.  
Los moros habían puesto  
Un rey Fernando de paja.
Y un moro hecho de bulto, 
Que un azagaya le pasa: 

(Durán, BAR, XVI, p. 124, no. 1115.)

In America today we burn senators in effigy and stick nails into images of Adolf Hitler, with no other thought than to show the world and the person involved our opinion of him. Whether or not the Moors constructed such effigies with the intention of doing real harm to the victim, this is an obvious reflection of a previous or contemporary belief in the effectiveness of the procedure.

POTIONS

There was other and more effective magic for killing, as in El convite:

Se sentara don Alonso,--presto se quedó dormido; Mariana, como discreta,--se fué a su jardín florido.
Tres onzas de solimán,--cuatro de acero molido, la sangre de tres culebras,--la piel de un lagarto vive, y la espinilla del sapo,--todo se lo echó en el vino. (Morley, p. 79, no. XLIX.)

The tres onzas de solimán, of course, would have been enough to kill a dozen men; the magic was for good measure. The fear of the magical qualities of iron
or steel probably goes back to its first use, at the end of the Stone Age, when the mysterious substance aroused the suspicions of the people. At any rate, the fear has been widespread throughout the world among believers in magic. Probably the deadliness of steel in the form of a knife was thought to be kept in any form. The bite of a snake is deadly, so snake blood must be also. As with anything else ugly and poorly understood, magicians have regularly ascribed to toads and lizards the power to do evil.

Superstitious people commonly ate animals and plants with the qualities that they wished to possess and used lotions made from them. The magical healing balms, common in tales of chivalry, were probably derived from this practice. The account of the battle between Oliveros and Fierabrás tells of such a potion. After a long fight, in which both were wounded, the two warriors paused to rest:

Y se fue (Fierabrás) luego al momento
Donde estaban los barriles,
Y tomando un sorbo de ellos,
Al instante se halló sano...

(Durán, BAR., XVI, p. 231, no. 1254.)

Oliveros succeeded in overcoming the giant, but only after gaining possession of the casks of magical fluid.
WEAPONS

Weapons sometimes possessed magical powers. If a sword killed a man on one occasion, it was natural to suppose that it would be equally effective on another similar occasion. The Cid apparently had this in mind when preparing to avenge his father:

Descolgó una espada vieja
De Mudarra el castellano,
Que estaba vieja y mohosa
Por la muerte de su amo:
Y pensando que ella sola
Bastaba para el descargo,
Antes que se la cinese,
Así le dice turbado:
—Faz cuenta, valiente espada,
Que es de Mudarra mi brazo,
Y que con su brazo riñes,
Porque suyo es el agravio.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 480, no. 727.)

The sword had been used by Mudarra for avenging his own father and could naturally be expected to give a good account of itself in avenging the Cid's. The Cid, anxious that the sword recognize the similarity in the two situations, tried to make it believe that he actually was Mudarra.
However, the situations did not have to be so similar. Later in life the Cid's own swords gained the same sort of power from his use of them. In his quarrel with his sons-in-law, the Condes de Carrión, he made a paramount point of recovery of the swords Tizona and Colada. He made his demand at the trial of the Condes:

En dote vos di con ellas (mis hijas)
Los haberes que tenía.
Y las mis ricas espadas,
Que menos falla mi cinta:
Mas fambrientas las tenedes,
Non yantan como solían,
Que siempre fechos cobardes
Dan escasas las feridas.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 554, no. 877.)

His request granted, the Cid addressed the swords:

—De cierto, las mis espadas,
Las mejores sois que había:
A vos, Tizona, gané
De Búcar, en aquel día
Que lo venci yo en Valencia
Con las gentes que traía;
A vos, Colada, yo hobe
Cuando en el campo venci
Al rey Pedro de Aragón
Con muy gran caballería.
El conde de Barcelona
A su lado vos traía,
Y por mis hijas honrar,
En guarda dado os había
A los condes de Carrión;
Pero mal vos conocían.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 554, no. 878.)

His sons-in-law gave up the swords but asked the king to prevent their being used in the forthcoming trial by combat because of their great prowess. The request was denied, and the swords were given to two of the representatives of the Cid:

A Pedro Bermudo luego
Fernán González hería:
Pasóle todo el escudo,
En la carne no le hería;
El firió a Fernán González
De una muy grande ferida;

Y ya desmayado, en tierra
Fernán González caía
Por las ancas del caballo.
Asido a la misma silla;
La lanza echara de sí,
Mano a Tizona ponía:
Dijole a Fernán González:
ITraidor, perderás la vida!--
Y él conociendo la espada
Que el buen Bermúdez tráía,
Temiera de la muerte,
Y antes que le diera herida,
Dijo:—Yo vencido soy,
Y por tal me conocía.—
Martín Antolín de Burgos
Con el otro está en gran prisa:
Quebrado habían las lanzas,
Con las espadas reñían.
Antolín le diera un golpe
Con Colada, espada fina.

Grande vocea da el Infante
Por golpes que recibía;
Sacóle el caballo fuera
Del cerco que el Rey ponía:
Vencido es como su hermano,
Y por tal él se tenía.

(Durán, BAR... X, p. 559, no. 886.)

The swords had gained power by having been used by the Cid. In addition, since they had failed their former masters when these were confronted by the Cid, they were presumably friendly to him and, conversely, unfriendly to his enemies. Their sympathetic attraction to the
Cid made them appropriate defenders of his daughters. The counts had good reason to fear the swords. Besides giving affront to their owner, the Cid's sons-in-law had insulted the swords themselves by showing cowardice while armed by them, which was more than swords such as these could be expected to bear.

Others besides the Cid had weapons of unusual power. When Gayferos left to rescue his wife from the Moors, his uncle, Roldán, lent him his gear:

---Espera un poco, sobrino;  
Pues solo queréis andar;  
Dejédemo vuestra espada;  
La mía queréis tomar;  
Y aunque vengan dos mil moros  
Nunca les volváis la haza;  
Al caballo dadle rienda  
Y haga a su voluntad;  
Que si él ve la suya  
Bien os sabrá ayudar;  
Y si ve demasiá  
D'ella os sabrá sacar.---

He succeeded in rescuing his wife from the Moors but was pursued by them. On Roldán's horse he easily leaped the wall of Sansueña, and with Roldán's sword he defeated the army sent after him. The Moorish king was, naturally enough, taken aback by this:
Gayferos returned to his wife, who asked whether he had been wounded:

---Calle dés, dijo Gayferos,

Infanta, no digáis tale.

Por más que fueran los moros

No me podían hacer male.

Qu'estas armas y caballo

Son de mi tío Don Roldán;

Caballero que las trujere

No podía peligrare.

(Durán, BAE., X. pp. 249-51, no. 377.)

The exaggeration in this is typical of the romance caballeresco, but the rest is in accord with the best principles of contagious magic. Roldán, with the same horse and sword, had had great success in war, especially against the Moors; and anyone else using them could expect the same. Roldán's armor had protected him against all attacks; Gayferos could expect the same protection.

Magical beliefs were frequently so altered in transmission as to leave no positive clue to the sympathetic
magic on which they were founded. The gear used by Gayferos had more powers than could be accounted for by merely having been used by a great warrior. Rugero, in \textit{Angélica y Rugero}, had a shield that gave off a dazzling light and a ring that protected the wearer and made him invisible. In \textit{La Infantina de Francia}, the prince of Hungary, to win the love of the princess, obtained from a fairy a ring with practically unlimited powers. It advised him on the conduct of his suit, provided knightly garb and an escort when needed, and instructed him in the weaving of a cloth which in turn had magical powers. Floripée, sweetheart of Gui de Borgoña, had a magical belt, reminiscent of that of Hippolyta, that kept her from ever being without food.

The beliefs underlying these enchanted objects are not certain. Imitative magic gave great power to stones. Wine-colored amethyst was a cure for drunkenness, milkstone a charm for increasing milk production, and so on. Rings in themselves possessed great protective powers, and in addition had the virtues of the stones in them. Stones were worn in garments and armor for the same purpose. Probably the rings, weapons, and belt mentioned in the ballade had stones attached that gave them their powers.

The ceremony observed by Amadis and his sweetheart, Oriana, has another example of an enchanted weapon.
To prove their love, they submitted themselves to "...la prueba de la espada y el tocado encantado, que sólo podían acabarse por los más bellos y fieles amantes." Amadis first drew the enchanted sword from its sheath and gave the headpiece of flowers to Oriana. Then the two set out together to the Castle of Miraflores. The details here are too vague for drawing any definite conclusions as to the origin of the ceremony. But love charms and tests are common, and this ceremony is probably an elaboration on the simpler magic of an earlier day.

**TABOO**

Superstitious men subjected themselves to a great number of restrictions to protect themselves against harmful magic. As Frazer has shown, warriors and man-slayers were especially fearful of such harm, whether from living magicians or the ghosts of the slain.

In the ballads, the vows of abstinence made before fights reflect this.

Beside the body of his murdered nephew, Urgel made such a vow:

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Puso la mano en un ara
Que estaba sobre el altar
Y en los pies de un crucifijo
Jurando, empezó de hablare:
--Juro por Dios poderoso
Por Santa María su Madre.
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Y al santo Sacramento
Que aquí suelen celebrar,
De nunca peinar mis canas,
Ni las mis barbas cortar;
De no vestir otras ropas,
Ni renovar mi calzado;
De no entrar en poblado,
Ni las armas me quitar,
Sino fuere una hora
Para mi cuerpo limpiar;
De no comer en manteles,
Ni a mesa me asentar,
Hasta matar a Carloto

.....................
Y por este juramento
Prometo de no enterrar
El cuerpo de Valdovinos
Hasta su muerte vengar.--

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 212, no. 355.)

After having been insulted by Oliveros, Montesinos took oath:

De nunca vestir loriga,
Ni cabalgar en caballo,
Ni comer pan en manteles,
Ni nunca entrar en poblado
Y de no rapar sus barbas
Hi oir misas en sagrado.
Ni llamarse Montesinos
Hijo del conde Grimaltos.
Hasta que vengue la mengua
Que Oliveros le ha dado.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 238, no. 370.)

Antonio Moreno, in one of the romances vulgares, took a similar oath when planning vengeance on his adulterous wife and her lover, as did Al Conde Dirlos, when offering to take the part of Reinaldos in a fight, and also the followers of Fernán González before their attempted rescue.

One of the most common methods of obtaining a magical effect on a person was to procure his personal refuse and work that effect on it. The head was especially vulnerable, but all parts of the body could be injured by magic. Thus, if one wished to crush his enemy's skull by magic, the obvious thing to do was to obtain some of the refuse from his head, usually hair, and beat on it with a war club. It was found helpful, also, to make an image of the man using this refuse and injure him by both contagious and imitative magic. To guard against this, of course, one should be careful not to comb or cut one's hair, in order to keep dirt and loose hair thus removed from falling into the hands of unfriendly magicians.

Among the ancient Germans, warriors who had taken vows of vengeance left a particular lock of hair uncut, until
their vows were fulfilled. In modern Germany it is still believed that a person whose hair has been used in a bird's nest will be afflicted with headaches. French kings never used to cut their hair under any circumstances.

To guard against being poisoned, one should take care never to let the remnants of a meal or the used dishes fall into the hands of a magician who might use them to injure, by contagion, the food in the eater's stomach. An obvious precaution against this was to avoid eating at a table, where dishes were used and remains of food easily obtained. To avoid being made lame, it was prudent not to discard worn shoes. Also, since the whole body was vulnerable through one's clothes, it was the height of recklessness to change clothing or armor when on a dangerous mission.

The primitive thinker drew no fine distinction between a name and the thing it represented. An enemy could be injured as effectively by doing harm to his name as to his body. Consequently, one had to take care not to speak his name in the presence of anyone who might be an enemy, lest it be used to work magical harm against him. Since it was impossible always to foresee all dangers and take proper precautions, it was wise to avoid cities, where one might most easily be approached by enemies.
It is unlikely that the culture represented in the ballads was so low as to have retained its taboos in full force. The one against mentioning one’s name is characteristic of only the lowest savage groups, although the ancient Egyptians and the Brahmins are exceptions. Superstitious man forgets the origins of his practices and applies them without understanding why they contribute to the success of his aims. In doing this, he is apt to include elements that originally would have been meaningless. As the meaning of taboo is lost it comes to be thought that abstinence in general, instead of abstinence from acts leading to specific magic dangers, is the essential practice to be observed. The connection between the abstinences explained above and the dangers to be avoided suggests that the men who observed them, if not aware of the specific reasons involved, at least were close enough to their origin to have preserved them without much change. The vow of Montesino, quoted above, not to hear Mass until his vengeance was complete indicates that he could not have understood the original nature of the vow; for, of all places on earth, none could be safer from black magic than a church during Mass. All of the vows mentioned above were taken in connection with vengeance. In view of the custom of Germans who had taken vows of vengeance to leave their hair uncut, a possible explanation is that the custom was
brought to Spain by the Goths, although avengers commonly made similar vows in other parts of the world. 25.

To judge by two ballads on the lives of Saints Julián and Albano, taboos were applied to all affected by crimes as well as those who committed them. Albano was born of the incestuous violation of his mother by her father and abandoned in the wilds to die. A prince found him and reared him as his son. When he was grown, he married his mother, neither knowing of their true relationship. He soon discovered the truth and insisted that he and his parents go to Rome for absolution. The penance was severe:

Que anduviesen siete años
Por entre montes y breñas,
Sin que vistiesen camisa
Ni se sentasen a mesa,
Ni se quitasen las barbas,
Y que hagan abstinencias,
Se pongan fuertes cilicios,
Que coman silvestres yerbas,
Y que lloren su pecado,
O que publicado sea;
Que no durmiesen en cama,
Sino fuese sobre piedras.

(Durán, BAE., XVI, p. 321, no. 1303.)

This was applied equally to the guilty father, the violated mother, and the completely innocent son. It may be significant that the restrictions placed on the group
were practically the same as those discussed above which avengers imposed on themselves, although church penances in general were similar. In ancient Rome, incest was believed to cause a dearth, and expiatory sacrifices had to be made by offenders. 26. It is not obvious what harm was thought to come from it in this case, but the underlying idea was probably similar. Taboos were imposed in all parts of the world on those who had become especially subject to harmful magic, for the protection of both offenders and those associated with them. 27. The belief in this case was perhaps that the evil that accompanied incest had infected all who took part, whether intentionally or innocently.

The expiations demanded of slayers had their origin in a fear by the slayer and those who had to associate with him, of the ghosts of the dead. 28. The story of Albano provides an example of this sort of taboo. On their way home after the period of penance, Albano's parents were overcome by temptation and repeated their crime. Albano killed them. As a penance in this case, he was required to spend the rest of his life in the cave where he had buried them, observing all the while grandes penitencias. The original idea of fleeing the ghosts seems to have been forgotten here, for Albano had to spend his life in the company of the bodies.
Among savage groups, taboo applied equally to slayers and anyone else who had had contact with the dead. The story of San Julián indicates that it may have been applied at one time to those who took an innocent and indirect part in killing. When warned by an omen that he was to kill his parents, Julián left home. His parents searched for him many years and finally found his castle one day when he was absent hunting. Returning home late that night, Julián found them in his own bed and, thinking them his wife and a lever, killed them. Julián and his innocent wife then went to Rome for absolution and spent the rest of their lives caring for the sick.

The idea of spiritual purification seems all that remained of the original taboo in this case. Repentance alone was enough to gain absolution; the penance that followed was voluntary. But, as Frazer shows, "...the idea of a moral or spiritual regeneration symbolised by the washing, the fasting, and so on, was merely a later interpretation put on the old custom by men who had out-grown the primitive modes of thought in which the custom originated."31.

TELEPATHIC RESPONSE

It was thought that an event taking place away from an interested person would produce in him a sympathetic reaction that would tell of the event, if interpreted...
properly. The reaction was frequently a dream. In the lowest stages of culture, dreams were regarded as literally real. Later groups, learning that this was not so, regarded them as expressions of sympathy between events and persons affected by them. Alda, in the Romance de doña Alda, was warned by a dream of the death of Roldán:

—Un sueño soñé, doncellas,—que me ha dado gran pesar;

.............................................................

de so los montes muy altos—un azor vide volar,
tras del viene una aguililla—que lo ahinca muy mal.
El azor con grande cuita—metióse so mi brial;
el aguililla con grande ira—de allí lo iba a sacar;
con las uñas lo despluma.—con el pico lo deshace.—

(Morley, p. 55, no. XXIX.)

One of her attendants interpreted the dream favorably, but news was soon brought showing its real meaning, the death of Roldán.

In the Romance de Gerineldo, while Gerineldo slept with the princess, the king dreamed:

Recordado había el Rey
De un sueño despavorido;
Tres veces lo había llamado,
Ninguna le ha respondido.
—Gerineldo, Gerineldo,
Mi camarero polido.
Si me andas en traición,
Trátame como a enemigo.
O dormías con la Infanta;
O me has vendido el castillo—

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 176, no. 321.)

While in Africa the Conde Dirlos, mentioned above,
dreamed of his wife in Spain:

Dormíase con pensamiento,
Y empezara de holgarse,
Cuando hace un triste sueño
Para él de gran pesare.

Vía estar la Condesa
En los brazos de un infante.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 200, no. 354.)

The count then returned home, to find his wife resisting
the prince's suit instead of yielding.

Dreams apparently could not be understood without
accurate interpretation of the omens expressed in them,
since none in the ballads expressed exactly the event
represented. The dream of Doña Alda and a similar one
of the Conde Grimaltes seem to have combined the
belief in dreams with that in omens to be read from the
flight of birds.

A similar sort of sympathy, although not in a dream,
was that of Belerma, sweetheart of Durandarte:

Cayó en tierra desmayada;
Mas volviendo en sí Belerma
D'esta manera hablaba:
--¿Qué es aquesto, amigas mías?
¡Algún mal se me acercaba;
Que nunca mi corazón
Aquestas muestras me daba,
Sin que luego ciertamente
Me acuda alguna desgracia!--

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 262, no. 392.)

A moment later Montesinos entered, bearing the heart of Durandarte. Apparently the heart of her dead lover and her own felt together the effects of his death.

The contact of parents, especially mothers, with their children must have provided an especially strong sympathy. Margarita, in Don Claudio y Doña Margarita, abandoned in the forest, had one of her infant twins taken from her and reared by a she bear. Years later, her husband, with whom she had become reconciled, went to hunt the wild man-beast reported to be in the vicinity. Because of a feeling that it was their son, she warned him not to harm the wild man. Don Claudio and his son immediately recognized each other, as did the son and mother upon their meeting later. The author of this romance vulgar seems not to have considered that the sympathy should exist at all times; for Don Claudio, immediately before the hunt, failed to recognize his wife and their other son.
SOULS

Life, or the soul, to primitive man, was a tangible, physical thing not necessarily located in the body of the owner. It was commonly conceived of as either a sort of manikin or a being exactly like its owner but without substance. Under the second concept it was frequently identified with shadows, reflections, and portraits. So possession of a man's image, in addition to providing a subject for imitative magic, was considered in a very real sense to be the same as possession of his soul. By harming a portrait, the most tangible form of image, one could do corresponding harm to his enemy; or conversely, by imprisoning a portrait or otherwise rendering it harmless, one could protect himself. The legend of Rodrigo el Godo bears interesting witness to this belief in Spain. Rodrigo, last of the Gothic kings, refused to add a lock to the casa de Hércules, as his ancestors had done, and instead forced his way into the building. Inside he found pictures of the Arabs and a prophecy of the Arabic invasion soon to follow. The Arabs, whose pictures had lain so securely locked up for twenty-four generations, immediately began their invasion and gave Rodrigo his just punishment, by putting an end to Gothic rule.

The idea of removable souls is probably not the full explanation for this legend. Primitive man had difficulty
in understanding the existence of abstractions and regarded such things as trouble, sickness, and fear as concrete entities that he could control as easily as souls. 

Probably the *casa de Hércules* was a sort of Pandora's Box in which the turmoil of invasion had been confined in some concrete form along with the souls of the Arabs. The legend, which must have grown up after the invasion, is especially interesting in indicating that Spaniards of the time still believed that control of portraits gave control of men. The identification of souls with portraits had doubtless been forgotten long before, leaving only the idea of a connection. A relic of the same belief is to be encountered today in Greece and Scotland, where rustics refuse to permit their pictures to be made for fear of having their health ruined.

Sometimes the souls of the dead were transferred from their original bodies into others, not necessarily human. In *Conde Olinos*, the Moorish queen sent her soldiers to kill the count. With the aid of his magical sword and horse, he killed all but one of them. Then he saw a dove flying toward him:

*Allí vino una paloma,—blanquita y de buen volar.*

*—¿ Que haces ahí, palomita;—qué vienes aquí a buscar?*

*—Soy la Infanta, Conde Olinos,—de aquí te vengo a sacar.*

*Por el campo los dos juntos—se pasean par y par.*
La Reina mora los vio, y ambos los mandó matar:
del uno nació una oliva, y del otro un olivar:
cuando hacía viento fuerte, les dos se iban a
juntar.
La Reina también los vio, también los mandó cortar:
del uno nació una fuente, del otro un río caudal.
Los que tienen mal de amores— allí se van a lavar.

(Morley, p. 76, no. XLVIII)

The souls of the lovers, unharmed by the successive deaths
of their bodies, apparently could not be discouraged.

If the layman was able to obtain desired results by
his everyday magic, it was to be expected that professional
magicians, who had made a more profound study of the black
arts, could succeed in more complicated procedures. For
example, they were skillful at extracting and controlling
souls. It is probable that stories of people held in
captivity by enchantment are based on this idea. In Frazer's
discussion of the external soul he mentions folk tales ori-
ginating among "Aryan peoples from India to Ireland," in
which magicians are immune to death because of ability
to remove the soul at will and hide it in a safe place.
The usual hiding place was "an egg, which is in a pigeon,
which is in the belly of a hare; this hare is in the belly
of a wolf, and this wolf is in the belly of my brother,
who dwells a thousand leagues from here." 

"three doves
which are in the belly of a wild boar, or some similarly inaccessible place. There is an echo of these stories in the ballad of *La princesa encantada*. A poor but noble youth, engaged in rescuing three enchanted princesses from a castle, was told by the youngest:

```plaintext
...para eso precisa
Que a tres hermosos caballos
Que en este castillo habitan,
A cada uno una erda
Lee quites, porque en las mismas
Está nuestro encantamiento.
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(Durán, *BAE*, XVI, p. 249, no. 1263.)

The *encantamiento*, in the oldest version of the story, was probably a captive soul.

Two other ballads are concerned with people held captive by enchantment. *Floriseo*, in *Floriseo, y la Reina de Bohemia*, was enchanted by the queen and made to forget his country and family. The *Romance de la Infantina*, tells of a knight’s finding a princess who is forced by enchantment to wander seven years in the wilderness.

The magician, or more specifically the necromancer, enjoyed the same control over the souls of the dead as of the living. These free spirits, capable of roaming without restriction about the world and learning what went on, were much sought after as sources of information.
and guidance. In *Roldán desterrado*, the hero sent the body of a Moor to Paris in his armor, where it was buried as that of Roldán himself, and returned at the head of a band of Moors, to lay siege to the city.

But Reinaldos learned the truth:

...un tío que tenía
Le dijera la verdad;
Por arte de nigromancia
Asi lo fuera a hallar,
Que Don Roldán era venido,
Y cómo estaba en el real,
Y qué el cuerpo que trajeron
Era un moro que fué a matar.

(Durán, *BAE*, X, p. 229, no. 367.)

With their limitless sources of information, necromancers were capable of giving advice on any matter.

In *Espinelo*, the queen of France gave birth to twin boys, after having passed a law making the bearing of twins equivalent to adultery and a capital offense. Not knowing what to do about it, she sought advice:

Fuérase a tomar consejo
Con tan loca fantasía
A una cautiva mora
Que sabía nigromancia.

(Durán, *BAE*, X, p. 178, no. 323.)

The Moor gave the inhuman, if practical, advice to cast
one of the boys into the sea.

In a ballad of Roldán and Reinaldos, the latter asked his cousin, Malgesí, *que bien sabe adivinar*, to learn for him who was the most beautiful girl in the world:

*Luego mandó (Malgesí) a un espíritu*

*Que dijese la verdad,*

*O se la trajese delante*

*Prestó sin más se tardar.*

(Durán, BAE., X., p. 235, no. 369.)

The spirit answered that the daughter of King Aliarde was most beautiful.

Superstitious minds probably confused the powers of spirits and those of their masters. The spirits could fly through the air at will; and so, by an association of powers, necromancers could also. This belief is shown in the ballad of *Albanio y Felisarda*. At his sweetheart's window, love-sick Albanio was too bashful to declare his love, but help came to him:

...alzando un poco los ojos

*Que tan honestos tenía,*

*Vido por el aire un bulto*

*Que velozmente venía,*

*Y conocíó ser un moro*

*Que sabe nigromancia,*

*A quien recontado el caso*
Sagazmente determina,
Que Felisarda le quiera
Sin saber cómo se hacía.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 184, no. 333.)

Likewise, in a vulgar ballad of the Twelve Peers, a Moorish King, Balán, wanted to get a magical belt from his daughter, who was besieged in a castle with the Peers. He sent a magician, Harpín, to fly to her window, en un diablo caballero, to steal the belt, and be thrown into the sea for his pains. In this case it seems that, instead of usurping the spirit's power, the magician only made unusual use of it.

Superstitious men commonly believe that animals and inanimate things are inhabited by souls and spirits, which may be controlled in the same way as human souls. The Romance del conde Arnaldos seems to refer to such a belief:

Con un falconc en la mano--la caza iba a cazar,
vio venir una galera--que a tierra quiere llegar.
Las velas traía de seda--la ejercía de un cendal,
marinero que la manda--diciendo viene un cantar que la mar facía en calma--los vientos hace amainar,
los peces que andan 'nel hondo--arraiba los hace andar,
las aves que andan volando--en el mástel los hace posar. (Morley, p. 43, no. XXX.)
The significance of the song is not obvious. Perhaps it was soothing to the wind and fish and birds. Perhaps it was imitation, a kindred spirit with soft breezes instead of strong winds. Or perhaps it was one of those magical melodies, like that of the Sirens, that charmed all who heard it.

Ghosts were not invariably malevolent, although this was usually the case. *La princesa cautiva* gives an example of a ghost acting as a tutelary spirit. The teller of the story, on a trading voyage, gave Christian burial to the body of a fellow Spaniard, a stranger, in Tunis. Later, he was thrown into the sea and his wife kidnapped by enemies. He reached shore on a plank which he found floating conveniently nearby, and was met at the shore and cared for by a hermit. The hermit sent him to deliver a letter to the king of Ireland, where he found his wife and learned that she was a princess. The letter explained that the hermit was the man he had buried in Tunis, also that he had been the plank that had saved him from drowning. The spirit, in the letter, bade him goodbye, saying that his work of protection was now over and he could go to his celestial home.

In *Lisardo el estudiante de Córdoba*, spirits served the hero by warning him to mend his morals. When he learned that his sweetheart’s brother planned to put her in a convent, Lisardo suggested marriage to her and was refused.
A ghost, in the form of a man, lured him to a dismal spot, told him that a man was to be killed there, and warned him to reform. But he persisted in his evil ways. After his sweetheart had been put in the convent, he arranged to elope with her. On the way to the rendezvous, he saw his own murder and funeral enacted. The presiding dignitary at the funeral ceremony informed him that all participants in the affair were souls from purgatory who had been aided by his prayers and charity and had chosen this method of warning him that his own soul was in danger. Lieardo, naturally, reformed.

Ghostly apparitions predicted the deaths of Pedro el Cruel and Alvaro de Luna. Pedro, while hunting, saw a bulto negro descend from the clouds:

*Dél salió un pastoreico,*
*Sale llorando y gimiendo,*
*La cabeza desgarrada,*
*Revuelto trae el cabello,*
*Con los pies llenos de abrojos*
*Y el cuerpo lleno de vello;*
*En su mano una culebra*
*Y en la otra un puñal sangriento;*
*En el hombro una mortaja,*
*Una calavera al cuello:*
*A su lado de tralía*
*Traía un perro negro:*
Los aullidos que daba
A todos ponían gran miedo.
(Durán, BAE., XVI, p. 38, no. 970.)

After predicting that he would die for his sins by the hand of his brother, the figure disappeared. The death of Don Alvaro de Luna was predicted by a similar apparition. These apparitions may have been other spirits than ghosts of the dead. Superstitious man probably considered a spirit a spirit, without troubling his mind overmuch about its classification.

EXORCISM

To the savage imagination, "...the world still teems with those motley beings whom a more sober philosophy has discarded. Fairies and goblins, ghosts and demons, still hover about him both waking and sleeping.... The mishaps that befall him, the losses he sustains, the pain he has to endure, he commonly sets down, if not to the magic of his enemies, to the spite or anger or caprice of the spirits. Their constant presence wearies him, their sleepless malignity exasperates him; he longs with an unspeakable longing to be rid of them altogether, and from time to time, driven to bay, his patience utterly exhausted, he turns fiercely on his persecutors and makes a desperate effort to chase the whole pack of them from the land, to clear the air of their swarming multitudes, that he may breathe more freely and go on his way unmolested.
at least for a time. Thus it comes about that the endea- 
avour of primitive people to make a clean sweep of all 
their troubles generally takes the form of a grand hunting 
out and expulsion of devils or ghosts.51. 

Exorcism, as such, occurs in three of the ballads. 
In El alarbe de Marsella, the mother of the Alarbe, about 
to be murdered by her son, prayed that he be put into a 
form that would serve as a warning to all mankind. He 
was transformed immediately into a monstrous figure with 
the hoofs of a horse, the claws of a lion, and the head 
of a dragon. All the neighborhood was horrified at the 
eight: 

Unos santos sacerdotes 
Conjuraron al momento 
El espectáculo, y dando 
Un estallido tan recio, 
Que pareció se caían 
Los astros del firmamento. 
Desapareció, dejando 
Un ínflor tan pestilente
De azufre, por la ciudad, 
Que duró por mucho tiempo. 

(Duran, BAE., XVI, p. 355, no. 1322.)

Two exorcisms are unsuccessful. The parents of la 
desgraciada Ginesa had a child at the same time as their 
grown daughter. Hers died; and, since her mother had
no milk, she was asked to suckle her younger brother. She refused, saying that she would first give her milk to the demons. Because of her blasphemy, two demons in the forms of serpents fastened themselves to her breasts and remained six days, drinking sangre y leche de sus venas. Her husband called a priest:

Y caminando a la iglesia,
Tomó caldera y hisopo,
Y con cruz y la estola puesta,
Corriendo se fue a la casa.
Y a conjurarla comienza.

(Durán, BAE., XVI, p. 351, no. 1321.)

This did not affect the demons, who left only when her father prayed for her release.

A suitor of la Linda deidad de Francia bargained to give up his soul for possession of the girl. As a means of being permitted to come near her, he pretended to be possessed of demons. The girl's uncle, a priest, applied the usual exorcisms, but without success, since the seizure was only pretended.

EL DÍA DE SAN JUAN

Frazer has shown that the midsummer festival of ancient Europe, taken over into Christianity as the festival of Saint John's Day, originated as an annual
mass expulsion of evil spirits. The essential element of the celebration was a generous application of fire, smoke, and ashes, and in some places water, for the purpose of driving out the witches that caused all ills. These attacks were intended especially for the witches that prevented fertility in plants, animals, and women. The concern with fertility in women brought an association with the pairing of sweethearts, that with fertility in plants an association with flowers. In common with other ceremonies for the promotion of fertility, it was frequently accompanied by general license.

The custom has been preserved with little change in many parts of modern Europe. In Spain, it was common until recently. It is mentioned frequently in the ballads, although little mention is made of the details of the celebration. May Day, Christmas, Easter, and Saint John's Day, which all originated with a common practice and were common to most Indo-European peoples, are mentioned as having been celebrated by Christians, Jews, and Moors alike. Another ballad suggests that the lower classes were the principal observers of the celebration:

El día del Santo espera,
A quien la gente villana
Celebra la noche y día
Con escaramuzas y zambra.

(Durán. RAE. X. p. 100. no. 191.)
It is mentioned most often as a Moorish festival. According to one ballad, royalty shed its dignity on that day and took part:

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

De fino cendal cubierta,
No con marletas bordadas;
Sus almanzales bordados,
Con muchas perlas sembradas.

Descalzos los albos pies,
Blancos, más que nieve blanca.

Llevan sueltos los cabellos,
No como suelen tocadas,
Y más al desdén la Reina,
Por celosa y desdénada.

(Durán, BAE, X, p. 57, no. 112.)

It as a day when knights performed to please their ladies:

La mañana de Sant Joan
Al punto que alboreaba
Gran fiesta hacen los moros
Por la Vega de Granada,

Revolviendo sus caballos.
Jugando iban las cañas,
Ricos pendones en ellas
Labrados por sus amadas,
Y sus aljubas vestidas
De sedas finas y grana;
El moro que tiene amores
Señales d'ello mostraba,
Y el que amiga no tiene
Allí no escaramuzaba.

(Durán, BAE., XVI, p. 83, no. 1045.)

Probably the outstanding aspect of the day as observed in recent years is the pairing of sweethearts. Young people expected to be directed in some way to their future spouses and were ready to fall in love upon the slightest provocation. A ballad by Cóngora tells of such a sudden love affair:

Apeñase el caballero,
Víspera era de San Juan,
Al pie de una pena fría,
Que es madre de perlas ya;

Vió venir de un colmenar
Muchos siglos de hermosura,
En pocos años de edad.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 184, no. 334.)

Both the knight and the girl fell in love on the spot, and
she rode away with him. A ballad fragment, *La lavandera*, seems to be a portion of a similar tale.

Apparently the Moors took advantage of the carelessness that accompanied the celebration to stage surprise attacks on the Spaniards. Two ballads of *Moriana y Calván* suggest this:

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

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 3, no. 7.)

The Romance de don García, in which the hero complained of the Moors' having laid siege to his castle on *la mañana de sant Juan*, indicates a similar situation.

In a ballad of Reinaldos and Roldán, the Moors were the ones surprised:

En forma de peregrinos,
Por los moros engañar,
Andando por sus jornadas
Muy cerca van a llegar.
Jueves era aquel día
La víspera de San Juan,
Que un torneo es aplazado
Por ser día principal.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 233, no. 368.)

The evidence of the ballads, then, shows only that Saint John's Day was an important celebration observed
by Moors, Jews, and Christians, and concerned with love and flowers. Spaniards and Moors alike did observe the festival in its usual form, but perhaps the composers of the ballads thought it pointless to describe a festival so well known to everyone.
CHAPTER IX

RELICS OF PAGANISM

Man’s first deifications consisted mainly of granting identity and personality to the powers of nature. Two incidents in the ballads refer to the sea as a deity of this sort. In Espinelo, mentioned above, the hero, when an infant, was thrown into the sea by his mother:

...en la gran mar me ponía,
La cual estando muy buena
Arrebatado me había
Y púsome en tierra firme.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 178, no. 323.)

In El cautivo, a Spanish prisoner in Africa addressed the sea before swimming across the Mediterranean:

--Oh sagrado mar! le dice,
Haz con mis suspiros treguas:

............................
Pásame en esotra playa;
Que si en ella me presentas,
Te ofreceré un blanco toro,
El mejor de mis dehesas.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 140, no. 265.)

In the first case the sea was seen as a being friendly to the infant Espinelo. Whether or not it was actually
regarded as a deity, the personal power attributed to it was of the same nature as was given by the ancients to their sea gods. The second is an amazing incident—a Christian offering sacrifice to a pagan god, the sea, in return for delivery from the heathen Moors! The opposition to Catholic doctrine is altogether too violent to permit the belief that the incident actually could have occurred. The explanation is probably that the poet took the account from a folk tale or classic myth, such as that of Europa and the bull, and had no better taste than to use it here.

GOD KINGS

Man granted limited powers to his early gods and was prone to deify men with superior powers. Magicians became wonder-working priests, and, as their power grew, gods. Frazer discusses at length the widespread practice of putting these divine kings to death, either at the end of fixed terms or whenever their strength failed, to insure the virility and consequent powers of the reigning monarch. Whenever a king's physical powers declined, his people killed him and transferred his divinity along with his rule to a successor. The custom led to various practices, two of which have left traces in the ballads.

It was important that the king chosen should be
a man of great physical ability, for it was obvious to those early thinkers that physical strength must be accompanied by corresponding divine powers. Fraser has shown that the tracing of descent through the maternal line was probably observed by the royal houses of early Europe and that kings were selected by athletic contests, often without regard to birth. This custom he gives as the origin of the many stories of contests with princesses and half or whole kingdoms as prizes. Three of the romances jugularesco contain events of this sort. In El caballero del Febo, the young prince of the Greek Empire, setting out to seek adventure as a knight errant, met the prince and princess of Cathay, who were attempting to determine the succession to their throne. The succession was normally matrilineal, but the favoring of the prince by his mother had compelled the royal family to agree on a compromise. The prince and his sister had to wander for a year together, the prince being compelled to meet all who offered themselves in combat during that time. If he remained undefeated for the year, the prince was to have the throne. If he was defeated, the princess had to give her hand to the victor, provided that he took her brother's place and held it for the remainder of the year. The Greek prince defeated the Cathayan, who then went to Macedonia and married the royal princess, securing with her the crown in that country.
The group of ballads on the adventures of Roldán and Reinaldós contains a similar incident. Upon hearing that a tournament was to be held in the Moorish kingdom of Aliarde, allende la mar, with the king's daughter, Aliarda, and the kingdom as the prize, Reinaldós and Roldán went there to take part. They killed many Moors, but instead of getting the kingdom they were forced to flee with Aliarda. In La Infantina de Francia, the prince of Hungary won the hand of the princess in a tournament but had to use magic to win her love.

It is to be noted that none of the above examples is concerned with Spain. Frazer calls this a Greek tradition, and presumably the stories came to Spain from Greece. The fact that they are all in ballads of chivalry suggests that they may have come by way of France.

Old kings were killed because the waning of their vigor, with which was bound up all the fortunes of the land, was supposed to be accompanied by a corresponding decrease in their beneficial powers. It may well have been, as was true in Ethiopia half a century ago, that they were put to death whenever their subjects were dissatisfied, on the grounds that their powers were failing.
A ballad of the Moorish invasion seems to refer to some such practice:

Después que el Conde traidor
A los moros vendió a España.

Reinaron diversos reyes
En ella, mas no duraban.
Porque en no siendo su gusto
Reino y vida les quitaban.
Y así reinar tan costoso
Ningún moro cobdiciaba.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 413, no. 611.)

In this connection, Frazer mentions other African kings who put an end to the practice by killing the ministers responsible for it, as was the case here. The Moors elected Acabat king. Realizing the risk he ran of meeting the fate of his predecessors, he called three hundred of his nobles into his chamber for conference, one at a time, and had them strangled as they entered. I have been able to find an exact parallel only among natives of Ethiopia. The fact that the tradition attributes the practice to the Moors may indicate some connection; however, it is not unlikely that many of the peoples who killed their god-kings found excuse to do so whenever they became dissatisfied instead of waiting for signs of physical decay.
The description of the turmoil that led to the election of Vamba may indicate a similar practice among the Goths:

En el tiempo de los godos,
Que en Castilla rey no había
Cada cual quiere ser rey,
Aunque le cueste la vida.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 397, no. 578.)

The rest of the ballad tells only of the miracle that pointed out Vamba as the proper choice; however, no further mention being made of the fatal consequences of kingship.

Among some peoples, anyone who could demonstrate his greater virility by killing the incumbent king was permitted to take his place. One of the main purposes of The Golden Bough is to explain why in ancient Italy the King of the Woods, at Nemi, was always deposed in this way. An attack on Fernando V may indicate that this was the custom in ancient Spain. The king, stabbed in the neck while leaving the palace, kept his guards from killing the would-be assassin, to learn the reason for the attack.

El hombre que hizo el caso,
De locura convencido,
Era Juan de Cañamares,
Hombre tonto y sin sentido.
The king considered the man not mentally responsible and desired to pardon him, but the demands of the populace compelled him to have him executed. According to Durán's implication, the account is historically correct. It is possible that the idea came entirely from the insane imaginings of Canamares. But kings regularly gained their thrones by assassination in Africa, Sumatra, Russia, ancient Italy. It is not unlikely that some peasant Catalanian folk tale of men who became kings by killing kings led the unfortunate Canamares to believe that he could follow in their footsteps.

DIVINE AID IN BATTLE

The establishment of justice by ordeal has been common all over the world and was widely applied in medieval Europe. Frazer mentions its use in ancient Italy. The belief behind it, obviously, was that divine power would be granted those who were in the right to enable them to survive.

There are six instances of the ordeal of battle in
the ballads. In *El Conde de Barcelona y la Emperatriz de Alemania*, the empress was falsely accused of adultery and imprisoned to await her trial by combat. At first it seemed that her case was hopeless:

Pues no había caballero
En tan gran caballería
Que por una tal señora
Quiera aventurar su vida,
Por ser los acusadores
De gran suerte y gran valía.

However, when the count offered his services, the empress was confident of his victory over her accusers:

Vuestra vida está segura,
Pues que Dios bien lo sabía
Que es falsa la acusación
Que contra mí se ponía.

(Duran, BAE, XVI, p. 210, no. 1228.)

The *conde Don Ramón*, of course, conquered his adversaries and cleared the name of the lady. A similar incident occurs in *La Reina Sultana*, in which the Moorish queen, also accused of adultery, was proved innocent by the killing of her four accusers by four Spanish knights.

The sons-in-law of the Cid were tried by combat for having mistreated the latter's daughters. Accused formally before the royal court, the *condes de Carrión* were required to submit to the outcome of a battle between
their representatives and the Cid's. The sons-in-law were proved guilty and, with their supporters, exiled.

In another ballad on the Cid, the combat of two champions was used to determine the ownership of Calahorra. The Cid, representing Fernando, king of Leon, killed Martín González, representing Ramiro, of Arragon. It may be that the deciding of battles by individual combat arose from the desire to avoid bloodshed; but at any rate, the Cid's prayer of thanks after the battle indicates a conviction that his victory was God given.

The ordeal of battle was not confined to individuals. The main theme of the ballads on the siege of Zamora concerned the trial of the city on a charge of treachery. After the assassination of King Sancho y Bellido D'Ollos, Diego Ordóñez challenged the city ceremoniously:

Yo vos repto, zamoranos,
Por traídor e fementidos;
Repto los chicos y grandes,
Y a los muertos, y a los vivos,
Repto las yerbas del campo,
También los peces del río,
Réptose el pan y la carne,
También el agua y el vino.

(Durán, RAE, X, p. 509, no. 787.)
Arias Gonzalo accepted the challenge and offered himself and his four sons to meet Ordoñez individually in the lists, for the challenger of a city had to overcome five opponents and either chase them or put their bodies outside the enclosure without leaving it himself, to make his accusation stand. But before thus risking his name and reputation, Gonzalo asked whether any in Zamora had taken part in the assassination:

Que más quiero irme en destierro
Y en Africa desterrado
Que no en campo ser vencido
Por alevoso y malvado.---

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 510, no. 788.)

Pedro Arias, youngest son of Arias Gonzalo, was chosen the first defender of his city and prepared in awful solemnity for the occasion:

El hijo de Arias Gonzalo,
El mancibito Pedro Arias,
Para responder a su reto
Velando estaba unas armas.
 Era su padre el padrino,
La madrlna Doña Urraca,
Y el obispo de Zamora
Es el que la misa canta:
El altar tiene compuesto,
Y el sacristán perfumaba
A San Jorge y San Román,
Y a Santiago el de España:
Estaban sobre la mesa
Las nuevas y frescas armas,
Dando espejos a los ojos,
Y esfuerzo a quien las miraba.
Salió el Obispo vestido,
Dijo la misa cantada,
Y el armas pieza por pieza
Bendice, y arma a Pedro Arias...

(Durán, RAE, X. p. 512, no. 793.)

His father then dubbed him knight and gave him a lecture on knightly conduct, and Doña Urraca put his sword on him. These precautions were of no avail. Diego Ordóñez killed Pedro, his older brother, Diego Arias, and the third brother, Rodrigo. The last of these, however, wounded the horse of Ordóñez so that it bolted from the lists in violation of the rules. The judges called the fight a draw, since Ordóñez had broken the rules but had not been defeated, and ruled that the city was cleared of guilt but that the victory belonged to Ordóñez. The latter who considered that he had failed in his task, was consoled by the Cid:

...la sentencia ya es dada,
Dando por libre a Zamora,
There were two opposing beliefs at work in all the cases mentioned above. The ordeals were applied on the assumption that divine aid would enable those who represented justice to win their battles. One warrior should be quite as capable as another of representing his cause, according to this, since he was fighting with divine power instead of his own. The champions of the just causes, in all but the last case, were selected men of great ability in their own right. The watching of his arms by Pedro Arias, their blessing by the bishop, the knighting ceremony, all were designed to add to the ability gained by representing a just cause. There was no conscious inconsistency in this. Superstitious man never hesitated to supplement his religion with magic or any other means available for gaining his end. So it is not surprising here that renowned warriors were sought by both parties, or that religious and magical rites were combined to add to the powers of a knight and his arms.

A slightly different aspect of the belief that fighting strength is divinely given occurs in the vulgar ballad of Oliveros and Fíerabrás, mentioned above. Oliveros, wounded
while fighting the Moorish giant, prayed to the Virgin for aid. Charlemagne seconded his prayer and was answered by a voice from heaven assuring him of victory for Oliveros. Fiébrás kept himself refreshed and sound by drinking a magical potion that cured all ills. After a long battle, Oliveros secured the casks of the marvelous liquid, cured his own wounds by drinking it, and dealt Fiébrás a mighty blow to the head. Fiébrás then yielded:

—Oh valeroso cristiano!
Pues sin segundo es tu esfuerzo.
No me acabes de matar.
Que desde ahora confieso
Que es tu Dios muy poderoso,
Piadoso, infinito y bueno.
Llévame presto, cristiano,
Donde están tus compañeros.
Y dame el santo Bautismo.
Que por instantes deseo—

(Durán, BAE., XVI, pp. 232-3, no. 1254.)

There was no question of justice here. Fiébrás considered Oliveros's victory a demonstration of the superiority of the Christian God over Allah. There is inconsistency, as in the other ballads; for, although Fiébrás as well as Oliveros made use of the magical drink, the latter should have been able to conquer by the grace of God alone, without resort to magic.
On the eve of the Batalla de las Navas, the followers of Alfonso VIII were cheered by the sight of a flaming cross in the heavens. The next day, fighting con el esfuerzo de Dios, they killed 235,000 Moors with the loss of only 115 Christians.

The Moors, according to three of the ballads, became quite indignant when divine aid was denied them. At the first battle of Roncevalles, the defeated Marsin complained to Mohammed:

--- Reniego de ti, Mahoma,
Y de cuanto hice por ti!
Hicete cuerpo de plata,
Pies y manos de un marfil;
Hicete casa de Meca
Donde adorasean en ti,
Y por mas te honrar, Mahoma.
Cabeza de oro te fiz.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 262, no. 394.)

The Spaniards never learned that the Moors were not idolators.

In a vulgar ballad of the Twelve Peers, the Almirante de Turquia complained because the French knights had seized his castle:

--- Malditos sean mis dioses,
Que creo que estan durmiendo,...

(Durán, BAE., XVI, p. 237, no. 1256.)
The Moors were also considered polytheists. In a similar case, the Moors felt abandoned when informed that Boabdil had been captured:

Queréllanse de Mahoma,
Que así ha desfavorecido
A su ejército y su rey,
Que fuese así destruido.

(Durán, BAE., XVI, p. 93, no. 1069.)

If an incident in the Poema de Fernán González is to be taken as accurate, the Spaniards also felt offended when permitted to suffer defeat. The Spanish hero complained bitterly after having been attacked and captured in a shrine:

595 "Señor Dios, si quisieres que yo fueses aventurado,
Que a mí los nauarros me fallasen armado,
Aquesto te ternía a merced y (a)gradó,
E por esto me tengo de ti desanparado."

596 "Si fueses es en la tierra, serías de mí redimido,
Nunca fíz por que fueses de ti desanparado,
Morre (yo) de mala guisa como omne de mal fado,
Si yo pesar te fizes bien deues ser vengado."

(Marden, Poema de Fernán González, p. 87.)

Since this was written by a monk, about a great hero, it is unlikely that his speech was considered sacrilegious.
Four of the ballads contain references to the ancient practice of bringing down divine wrath on an enemy by cursing him. In one of the three surviving ballads of the Breton cycle, a king became angry with his children:

Tres hijuelos había el Rey,
Tres hijuelos, que no más;
Por enojo que hubo de ellos
Todas malditos los ha.
El uno se tornó ciervo,
El otro se tornó can,
El otro que se hizo moro,
Pasó las aguas del mar.

(Durán, **BAE**, X, p. 197, no. 551.)

One of the vulgar ballads tells of an Irish princess who remarked to a poor woman that her many children must have had many fathers. The poor woman prayed that the princess might have so many children from one father that she could not know them all:

Fué este ruego tan acepto,
Que esta dama fué a engendrar
Trescientos setenta hijos,
¡Cosa de maravillar!
Todos parió en un día
Sin peligro y con pesar.
Chicos, como ratoncillos,
Vivos, sin uno faltar.
(Durán, BAR., XVI. p. 392, no. 1346.)

According to tradition from which the ballad is taken, the curse of the princess was that she bear as many children in a day as there are days in the year, instead of the three hundred and seventy mentioned here. 26.

The ballad on the death of the Duke of Gandia shows the influence of the Pope on God in the matter of curses. Pope Alexander VI, upon hearing of the assassination of his oldest son, Giovanni Borgia, cursed his murderers. But when an archbishop reproved him, saying that the Pope's next son, Cesar, would suffer, the Pope immediately changed his mind:

Benditos sean de Dios,
También de Santa María,
Los que a mi hijo mataron
Con tan grande alevosía;
Absuelvéllos desde aquí,
Pues Dios así lo quería.
(Durán, BAR., X. pp. 224-5, no. 1251.)

It is to be noted that none of these incidents occurred in Spain. The two Celtic legends, in which curses were fulfilled, go well with the stories of marvelous happenings that are common among Celtic peoples. The last demonstrates
the belief, held by at least some people, of the Pope's control of divine action.

The ballad of La desgraciada Ginesa, referred to above, contains what may be called a self-imposed curse. When her father asked Ginesa to suckle her younger brother, she refused:

—No daré leche a mi hermano,
Mas que viva o mas que muera,
Que primero yo mi leche
A los demonios le diere.—

(Durán, BAE., XVI, p. 351, no. 1321.)

Taking her at her word, the demon punished her by taking her milk.

CEREMONY AT DEATH

The combination of religion and magic led to ceremonies designed to aid the souls of the dead, either by the performance of magical rites before death or by the care of bodies afterwards. The scene of the death of Fernando I indicates such a practice in Spain:

Doliente se siente el Rey,
Este buen rey Don Fernando;
Los pies tiene hacia el oriente
Y la candela en la mano.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 498, no. 762.)
There is no obvious explanation of the ceremony, but it is unlikely that any other concern than the safety of his soul could have caused the dying monarch to observe any ceremony whatever.

OMENS

It is difficult to know whether omens are essentially magical or religious. It would be easy for a believer in magic who saw the form of a weapon in the lines of a burned shoulder blade or saw a hawk pursuing a dove, to imagine that, in accordance with the Law of Similarity, he was soon to have dealings with weapons or pursuits. The common explanation of omens as warnings from the gods was probably a supplementary belief, added when deities became established as controllers of the universe. Such incidents as the dreams and apparitions of ghosts mentioned in the preceding chapter were probably thought of as warnings of spirits, acting either on their own initiative or as messengers of deity.

Commenting on the Cid's trust in omens, Menéndez Pidal says, "...si el Cid en el Cantar consulta frecuentemente los águilares...sabemos que el Cid histórico era muy dado a esta superstición, tan arraigada entonces entre gentes de guerra, pues el conde barcelonés se lo echa en cara en la carta de desafío que le dirigió, diciéndole que más confiaba en los águilares..."
A number of omens in which no ghostly being takes part appear in the ballads. In a ballad on the raping of *la Cava* by Rodrigo, the author let his imagination run wild:

Con rigurosas señales
Está el cielo amenazando
Al descuidado Rodrigo.
Futuro mal denunciando,
Cometas, con largas colas,
Ven con sanguinoso rastro,
Y bajar rayos al suelo
En día sereno y claro.
Oyen aullidos de perros
En los campos y poblados,
Y en las hondas sepulturas
Triste gemir de finados,
Y en sus cuevas las serpientes
Dar silbos roncos y extraños: etc.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 404, no. 593.)

The warnings went unheeded, and the Goths lost their last kingdom.

The *siete infantes de Lara* were similarly warned. On the way to the ambush which was to cost them their lives, their *ayo*, Nuño Salido, warned them:
Díjoles:—Tornaos, Infantes,
A Salas la vuestra villa,
No pasemos adelante,
Malos agüeros había.
Un buho da grandes gritos,
Un águila se carpía,
Cuervos muy mal la aquejaban,
Yo de aquí no pasaría.—

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 446, no. 674.)

But the rash young men did not listen and were killed. The unfortunate Don Fadrique had a premonition of his fate as he went to court at Pedro’s command:

A la pasada de un río,—pasándole por el vado,
cayó mi mula conmigo,—perdí mi puñal dorado,
ahogáraseme un paje--de los míos más privado,
criado era en mi sala,—y de mí muy regalado.

(Morley, p. 22, no. XIV.)

His duty to his king was greater than his almost certain fear that he would be killed upon reaching the palace. In the ballad, Carlos y Lucinda,28. the son of this couple, later San Julián, was addressed by a deer as matador de tus padres, which omen he interpreted: correctly as meaning that he would kill his parents.

Not all omens, however, were unfavorable. In the ballad, La batalla de las Navas, mentioned above, the
Spaniards received the sight of a flaming cross in the heavens as a sure omen of victory. In Abenámar, King Juan II cautioned the Moor to be truthful:

¡Abenámar, Abenámar,—moro de la morería,
el día que tú naciste—grandes señales había!

Estaba la mar en calma,—la luna estaba crecida;
moro que en tal signo nace,—no debe decir mentira.

(Morley, p. 25, no. XV.)

When Espineló was asked to give the story of his life, the same astrological sign was said to have prevailed at his birth. The signs seem to have been considered as either causing truthfulness or merely as predicting it; in either case, they indicated what was to be.

An ambiguous omen, taken from the Poema de Fernán González occurs in three ballads. While the Moorish and Spanish forces were drawn up for battle, a Spanish knight riding between the two armies was swallowed up by a sudden opening of the earth. The Spanish soldiers took this as a bad omen and prepared to flee. Fernán González induced them to stay, however; and they defeated the Moors. A sixteenth century ballad by Gabriel Lobo Lazo de la Vega mentions the analogous Roman story of Mettius Curtius, from which this was probably taken.

A puzzling omen is described in one of the romances vulgares. Five children were born at once to a Valencian couple. The first held a stalk of wheat in his hand, the second a stalk of barley. The third had two swords, forming a cross, en su vientre amenazando. The fourth held a bunch
of grapes in his hand. The fifth had a wand, a modo de una escopeta, on his thigh. All the scholars of the kingdom were called upon to interpret the omen, but they were unable to find such a case in all their books, ancient or modern. The children and their mother died, leaving the mystery still unsolved.
CHAPTER III

MIRACLES

As has been seen, the Spanish people were sure that the Lord was on their side in their battles against the Moors. None of the popular ballads contains an account of actual divine intervention in battle, although a number of the others do. These all follow pretty much the same pattern.

On the eve of the Battle of Clavijo, the Christian soldiers prayed for aid. Santiago appeared in a dream to Ramiro, explained that God had given him Spain to watch over as his special territory, and promised to lead the Spanish troops in the coming battle. Following his instructions, the Spaniards fought fiercely the following day and routed the Moors. The author, Sepúlveda, explains the custom of calling on Santiago in battle originated with this incident. ¹

In another ballad by Sepúlveda, the outnumbered troops of Fernán González were almost overcome by the Moors. González prayed for God to let him die, if necessary, but to keep his people free. Back at the fighting, he heard a voice from above announcing the arrival of aid and looked up to see Santiago with a multitude of knights bearing crosses and battle axes. The heartened Spaniards fought with renewed vigor
and won the battle. In another, the Christians found themselves faced with an army of Moors, two hundred times as big as their own. King Ramiro, of Leon, put his trust in God and Santiago; King García of Navarre and Fernán González chose San Millán for their support. The two saints appeared as knights on white horses and turned the tide of the ensuing battle. Durán's comment on this is interesting:

"El asunto de este romance no consta en crónica ni historia alguna; pero se ha sacado o inferido de un privilegio que se supone concedido a San Millán, para gozar los tributos que se le ofrecieron por los caudillos cristianos que ganaron esta batalla. En tales documentos como éste, y en otros muchos semejantes, está fundada gran parte de las enormes riquezas que el clero regular y secular poseyó en España; pero sin embargo, 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."

Similarly, Santiago aided the forces of Fernando III at Jérez, the Cid at the siege of Coimbra, and
accompanied the dead hero's men against Búcar at Valencia. At the taking of Seville, the Virgin promised victory to Fernando III. After the Christian forces are almost beaten, the king reminded her of her promise, and she immediately sent Jacobo, *gran ministro de Dios*, to turn the tide of battle.

At Covadonga, God intervened directly instead of sending a saint:

*Quiso (Dios) mostrar su grandeza*
*Con un notorio milagro,*
*Y fue: que todos los tiros,*
*Que los moros indignados*
*A los cristianos tiraban,*
*Resultaban en su daño,*
*Y volviendo a los moros,*
*Más de treinta mil mataron.*

(Durán, EAE., X, p. 412, no. 608.)

The incident was taken directly from the *Poema de Fernán González*. In one instance an angel took part in battle as a favor to an individual. Fernán Antolínez, of the company of Garci Fernández, became so absorbed in his religious devotion that he remained at mass instead of going out to fight. To save his reputation, God sent an angel who resembled Antolínez exactly to slaughter the Moors, and
reproduced the battle scars of the angel's armor in the Spaniard's.

In addition to fighting their battles, God protected his faithful in time of danger. When Bermudo II became angry with the archbishop Ataulfo, he ordered his men to loose an angry bull in the courtyard to meet him as he came from Mass. The bull charged but stopped before reaching the holy man and gently placed his horns in his hands. Ataulfo took the horns, which came loose in his hands, and placed them on the altar as a testimonial of the divine protection received.

After Alfonso V, of Leon, gave his unwilling sister in marriage to the Moorish king of Toledo, she warned the latter:

Si pones manos en mí
Y de ti soy deshonrada,
El Ángel de Jesucristo,
A quien él me ha dado en guarda.
Herirá ese tu cuerpo,
Con su muy tajante espada.

The Moor, unimpressed, violated her and was punished:
Dende a muy poco rato
El Ángel de Dios lo llaga:
Dióle grande enfermedad,
Sobre el moro cae gran plaga.

(Durán, BAE., X, p. 476, no. 721.)

Discouraged by this, he returned her to her brother.
In two romances vulgaris innocent wives accused of adultery and abandoned in the wilderness were given divine protection. Doña Inés, in La peregrina doctora, was left stranded in the desert, but was assured of aid by the Virgin. A lion brought her food in a basket. At Easter the Virgin gave Inés a miraculous balm and told her to return to civilization and get back into the good graces of her husband by means of the reputation that the balm would earn for her. The case of Santa Genoveva, Princesa de Brabante, is similar. Abandoned in the same way, with her infant son, the princess was approached by an angel bearing a crucifix and promised the protection of Jesus. When she became too weak to suckle her son, an accommodating hind did so for her, twice daily. Finally her husband found her and begged forgiveness.

It was believed that profound faith overcame moral weakness. In the Milagro de San Isidro, the murderer, Don Pelayo, fled the king's officers and took refuge at the altar of the saint. At the end of a week he prayed for San Isidro not to permit him to die of hunger. Water immediately burst forth from the altar stones to save his life.

There is one account of the divine rescue of prisoners. The almirante de Cataluña, Don Galcerán de Pinós, prayed to his patron, Saint Estevan, for the
release of himself and his companion, Sanserín, from a Moorish prison. The saint offered to rescue him, but said that Sanserín must ask his own patron for help. This done, the Saints Estevan and Dionisio allowed them to escape. Durán comments on the incident:

"Era entonces y después muy común atribuir a milagro la fuga de los cautivos. En Guadalupe se enseñaban las cadenas de muchos libertados así por la Virgen, que después las depositaban en su santuario."

In one instance, God took part in a private dispute where there was no question of danger. San Raimundo, founder of el orden del rescate, angered King Jaime by suggesting that he mend his libertine ways. Denied passage from Mallorca to Barcelona, Raimundo prayed at the seashore for divine favor. Then:

Quité el dichoso ropaje,
Lleno de santos misterios
Y secretos celestiales,
Y tendiéndole en las ondas
En lugar de barca o nave,
Se puso de pies en él.

..........................

...sobre el manto puso
Su escapulario y su llave
Que con el báculo fueron
Arbol, vela y gobernalle.
D'esta suerte se engolfó...

(Durán, BAE., XVI, p. 209, no. 1225.)

The Lord quieted the waves, and Raimundo arrived safely in Barcelona.

One popular and three vulgar ballades, in addition to La peregrina doctora, mentioned above, contain accounts of miraculous cures. The first of these, a popular ballad of the crusades, tells of a Christian knight who, fatally wounded in a fight with the Moors, fell from his horse into the River Jordan and arose cured.16

The vulgar Vida y muerte de san Alexis, a clumsy enlarging of the French Vie de saint Alexis, describes the funeral procession of the saint:

Era el concurso tan grande
Que había de los enfermos,
Mancos, tullidos y cojos,
Paralíticos y ciegos,
Y quedando todos sanos,
Alegres y placenteros,
Impedían el pasar
Por las calles a San Pedro,
Que el Papa mandó sembrar
Gran cantidad de moneda,
Porque a codicia de ello
Se parasen, por poder
Entrarlo dentro del templo.

(Durán, BAE, XVI, p. 326, no. 1306.)

Two ballads show God's mercy extending to the point of reviving the dead. When Don Eusebio's mistress told him that she was pregnant and asked him to marry her, he killed her, took the child from her body and killed it, and flew to sea. The crew and all of the ship except the board on which Eusebio was standing were destroyed by lightning. He prayed for the aid of the Virgin, admitting his guilt. Mary descended, en un globo de gloria, to tell him that his mistress and child had been resuscitated. The winds carried him to shore, and his mistress forgave him. 17

In La princesa de Tinacria, devout Don Alberto stole away from his bed every night at midnight to pray before the altar of the Virgin. His wife, assuming that he was unfaithful, stabbed herself. Alberto was taken in a vision to a heavenly tribunal where he saw Jesus passing judgement on the souls of the dead. Demons appeared to demand the soul of his wife on the ground that she was a suicide. In answer to the pleas of the Virgin, Jesus granted that she be revived and given another chance. 18
Among the favors of a less material sort were two of miraculous constructions of images. At the building of a temple to San Salvador in Oviedo, Alfonso el Casto was unable to find silversmiths capable of making a crucifix of the quality desired. Two angels in pilgrim’s garb appeared and offered to do the job. When the king sent his servants a few minutes later to learn how they were progressing, they found the angels gone and the completed cross bathed in a dazzling light.¹⁹

A vulgar ballad tells a similar story of Fernando III. The Virgin appeared to assure him of success in his attack on Seville. After the victory, Fernando had a number of images made in an attempt to get one that resembled the Virgin as seen in his vision. Two angels disguised as extremely handsome youths undertook to make a satisfactory image, on condition that no one disturb them for three days. At the end of the time, Fernando entered to find the youths gone, their food untouched and unspoiled, and a completed image, an exact likeness of the Virgin.²⁰

Divine revelations of future success were given the Cid and Fernán González. The earlier hero, hunting, spared the life of a bear that had taken refuge in a hermitage. He spent the night there as the guest of Fray Pelayo. The next morning the monk, presumably inspired divinely, predicted the outstanding events of González’s career and
asked him to do some small favor for the three devout monks of the hermitage. González promised to found the Church of San Pedro de Arlanza. Since the Poema de Fernán González, from which the ballad was taken, was written by a monk of San Pedro de Arlanza, it may be supposed that this is one of the fraudes piadosos mentioned by Durán.

The Cid was twice honored by apparitions of saints who predicted his future. In Sepúlveda's well known Milagro del Gafé, the Cid, on a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, rescued a leper from a bog and shared his bed with him. That night he awakened to find the leper gone. A moment later the leper returned as San Lázaro and told the Cid that all his future enterprises would be successful, that he would be victorious even in death.

On another occasion, shortly before his death, San Pedro appeared at the Cid's bedside. He predicted his death and immediate entry into heaven in thirty days, adding that God had granted him the special favor of conquering Búcar, with the aid of Santiago, after his death. The Cid leaped from bed to kiss the saint's feet but was told that he could not do so.

DIVINE GUIDANCE

Instead of permitting his people always to rely on his direct aid, God sometimes let them know what they
should do to serve him or their own best interests. He instructed them in their campaigns against the Moors. He told them in specific instances what to do in his worship. He sent warnings to reform those who offended him.

There is one account of God's choosing a king for the Goths. As the nobles of Castile fought to fill the vacant Gothic throne, the Pope prayed for divine guidance in settling the matter. God revealed his choice:

Que el rey que ellos esperaban
Su nombre Vamba sería
Y lo habían de hallar arando
Cerca de la Andalucía,
Con un buey blance y cereño
Y un prieto en su compañía.

The overjoyed Goths immediately set out for Andalusia. After a long search they found and informed him of his election. Vamba, convinced that a mistake had been made, thrust his staff into the ground, stating that he would accept the post when the staff flowered. The staff immediately burst into bloom, and Vamba became king.24.

In Portugal, Alfonso Enriquez was astonished to have Lisbon surrendered to him without a fight. The Moorish king, Venalmazar, explained:

...aquesta noche estando
En mi casa a mi folgar,
Vi venir una doncella
Al parecer celestial,
La cual hoy me dijo
Ser su entera voluntad
Que sin guerra te entregase
Mi reino y esta ciudad,
Y que me torne cristiano
Para mi alma salvar.

(Durán, BAE., XVI, 216, 1234.)

Although the unenlightened Moor was not able to recognize the Virgin, her appearance seems to have convinced him of the fallacy of his beliefs.

Four of the ballads give accounts of divine instruction in the procedures of worship. One ballad tells of the founding of the Church of San Isidro. Fernando I of Leon and Castile, who wanted his people to know the benefits that accompany sacred relics, sent two bishops to Seville for the bodies of Saints Justa and Rufina. The bishops spent three days in fasting and prayer, begging for revelation of the bodies of the martyrs. San Isidro appeared to tell them that God did not want the bodies removed, since Seville was destined to fall eventually into Spanish hands. However, to repay them for their piety, he revealed his own body and gave them permission to take it back to Leon.25

Divine guidance in personal conduct has three examples in the vulgar ballads. In the trilogy, *Vida y muerte de San Alejo*, mentioned above, heaven was especially anxious to prevent anything from interrupting the saint’s pious
career. On his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the Devil attempted to make him believe that his wife was indulging in sensual pursuits in order to dishonor him. After the third appearance of the Devil, when Alejo was beginning to believe the false evidence given him, an angel appeared to assure him of his wife's faithfulness. After Alejo had done seven years' penance to make himself worthy to visit the Holy Sepulchre, a voice from heaven told him that he was now worthy. Fearful of another trick of the Devil, he waited to be told again. After visiting the Sepulchre, he took ship for Sicily, telling the captain that the Lord would provide food for him on the trip. When a storm threatened the ship, the captain got him to prevail on God to calm the sea. Back in Rome, he spent seventeen ascetic years under his father's back stairs, then died. A voice from heaven told the sucesor de San Pedro of his death and told him to pray to Alejo on behalf of the Roman people. To the miraculous ringing of all the church bells in the district, the emperor, senate, and all the church officials set out to find the body. Heaven told them to search at the house of Alejo's father, Eufemiano. They found his body under the stairs, bathed in a celestial light and fragrance. After all tried vainly to take from him the paper on which he had written the story of his life, he handed it to his wife. The miracle mentioned above, that of the curing of the cripples, occurred
as his body was being taken to the Church of San Pedro.26.

Miraculous direction was given more sparingly to Santa María Egipciaca. Repentant of her long career as a prostitute, María heard a divine voice: "El Jordán será tu morada sola..." She retired to the wilderness, where she lived seven years on three leaves of bread that could be eaten only when softened by tears. When an old priest, Socimas, ran across her, she surprised him by calling his name. She warned him of a schism about to take place in his monastery. Finally she died and was buried by Socimas, aided by two lions.27.

The story of Erigenia is practically the same.
After this headstrong girl had scandalized all Valladolid with her shameless conduct, a priest, to effect her salvation, made a bargain with Jesus:

De este sitio en que te habla
Aqueste tu indigno siervo,
Nunca moveré las plantas,
Hasta que me des señal
Que me concedes tal gracia.
Pór ello, Señor, te ofrezco
De ayunos siete semanas,
Y otras tantas disciplinas;
Y a tu Madre soberana
Todas las misas que pueda,
The crucifix before him answered that he was to preach to her and hear her confession. Repentant at last, she was guided to the wilderness by an angel and spent the rest of her life there, suffering terrible self-punishment and privation under the supervision of Jesus. After her death, Jesus revealed the location of her body to a monk in a nearby monastery.

Sinners received miraculous warnings, on three occasions, of the punishment that awaited them unless they mended their ways. One account tells of the affair of Alfonso VIII with the Jewess, Feraosa. After his angry Castilian nobles killed his mistress, the king was grief stricken:

En la su cama acostado,

Cuidando en la judía,

Un ángel le había hablado.

--Aún dudas, le dijo, Alfonso,

En el tu grave pecado.

Dios de ti gran deservicio

De tu maldad ha tomado:

.............................

Precura de a Dios servir

Porque te haya perdonado.

--Ángel, respondió el Rey.

Ante Dios sé mi abogado:
Ya yo conozco mi culpa
Y conozco haber errado.

(Durán, BAE, XVI, p. 11, no. 928.)

In a romance vulgar, the Moor, Celinda, secretly turned Christian and gave birth to the son of a Spanish slave. When her father learned of it, he lifted his dagger to kill her, but his three-day-old grandson interrupted him:

--Detente, querido abuelo.
No me mates a mi madre,
Que es quien me da el alimento:
Mira que te mira Dios.
Y el castigo tendrás cierto!

(Durán, BAE, XVI, p. 299, 1290.)

Convinced by such clear evidence of the truth of Christianity, the Moor forgave his daughter and took his family to Spain to live as Christians.

In one case, a Jew, instead of receiving punishment suitable to his villany, was warned in time to repent. After the death of the Cid, his embalmed body was placed on exhibition in San Pedro de Cardeña. Diego Gil, having heard that no one had ever touched the Cid's beard, sneaked into the church to dishonor the dead hero by doing so. As he reached out to pull the beard, the Cid drew his sword a few inches from its sheath. The terrified Jew fainted, and, on being revived, was converted.28.
DIVINE WRATH

Some offenses demanded miraculous punishment. A ballad of King Sancho of Navarre, which seems to be copied from one about Fernán González, tells of one such instance. The king pursued a boar into the shrine of Antolín, where it hid behind the altar. As he lifted his knife to strike, the king's arm withered. Fortunately, San Antolín interceded in his behalf and prevailed on God to restore the repentant Sancho's arm. To make sure that the reader does not miss the point, the author, Sepúlveda, explains:

Hizo Dios este milagro
Por darnos muestra muy clara,
Que quiere que a los sus templos
Gran reverencia se haga.

(Durán, BAR., XVI, p. 202, no. 1215.)

A vulgar ballad, El alarbe de Marsella, contains a more spectacular incident. To culminate a career of atrocities, the Arab of Marseilles returned home to kill his innocent old mother. In answer to her prayer, God transformed him into a hideous monstrosity with a horse's hoofs, a lion's claws, and a dragon's head. His mother asked God to forgive his many sins and return him to human form, but all in vain. The people of the neighborhood gathered to see the spectacle; all were horrified. Finally
some priests applied their exorcisms, and the Arab disappeared, leaving a terrible odor of sulphur throughout the city. 30.

The diabolical crimes of Jews were justly punished in two of the ballads. In Los siete judíos de Roma, seven brothers blinded the eyes of the public to their true natures by performing numberless acts of charity and kindness. In secret, however, they spent their time attempting to destroy pieces of the bread of communion, obtained by bribing a Christian servant. They attacked the Host with swords, fire, and boiling water; but it remained unharmed. Finally a God-fearing slave informed the police of their crime, and they were burned by the inquisition. 31.

Another bit of Jew baiting is equally naive. A Jew entered a temple dedicated to the Virgin, wounded a crucifix with a lance, and carried it home to burn. But he was thwarted. Blood gushed from the crucifix in a stream, soaking his garments and leaving a plain trail for the outraged Christians to follow. The Jew was caught and stoned, and the crucifix was returned to the church. 32.

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence of the ballads is that Spain shared with the rest of medieval Europe a general belief...
in the supernatural. This is hardly surprising. The ignorant classes of the world today have probably kept more of the old beliefs than they have abandoned. Black cats and broken mirrors are still sources of bad luck, rabbits' feet and horseshoes, sources of good luck. Witches still blight crops and stop cows from giving milk. So it would be unreasonable to ask the Spaniards to have been ahead of many moderns, as well as of their contemporaries, in this matter.

Most of the beliefs of the ballads were concerned with magic. Images of men of ability were used as sources of ability. The weapons of great warriors were effective in anyone else's hands. People maintained a telepathic contact with those in whom they had an interest and reacted sympathetically to whatever happened to them when absent. Magicians gained great power from their control of spirits and the souls of the dead. Ghosts helped those who had shown them favors and warned those who were about to die.

Some customs based on older superstitious beliefs were observed with no thought of their origins. Fighters observed abstinences in the belief that in themselves they aided or protected them, ignorant of the fear of harmful magic that caused their origin. Homicides and their associates observed the same abstinences for spiritual purification instead of fear of ghosts.
The ballads do not indicate to what extent the origin of the festival of Saint John's Day was still considered. Only the fact that the day was one of great festivity, especially among Moors and peasants, and one associated with love and flowers, seems to have impressed the writers of the ballads. Modern European peasants observe the ancient fire ceremonies for the express purpose of destroying witches, and similar ceremonies have been observed in Spain in recent years. The original purpose was probably kept among the Spanish peasants, about whom ballads were not written, and possibly had been forgotten among the upper classes.

Some of the magical beliefs seem preserved only as legends instead of any active belief of the people. The legend of Rodrigo and the *casa de Hércules* shows a likelihood of an active belief in the control of men through their portraits. The stories of enchantments, which were probably derived from a similar belief in the soul as something that could be extracted and held captive, were probably regarded as more interesting than true. Weapons were thought to acquire power from use by renowned fighters. Stones and other amulets were worn for their magical virtues. The enchanted rings and weapons of the *romances caballerescos* may have been considered things possible in other times and places, but at least they were considered extraordinary examples of the powers of magic. There is no indication
in the ballads themselves as to whether these enchantments were considered possible. But since none of the stories, except that of Rodrigo, is of Spanish origin, it appears likely that the Spaniards thought of them merely as interesting stories.

There are not so many examples of customs and beliefs of pagan origin. There is, of course, no question of any active belief in pagan gods. The single incident of a Spanish captive's offering sacrifice to the sea is so completely contrary to the profound Christian faith of the time that it may be discarded as invention, based on some ancient legend.

People of all religions everywhere believe in the personal interest of their gods in their welfare, and the Spaniards shared this belief. Trial by combat, as in the rest of medieval Europe, was used in the certain belief that God's judgement was shown in the results of the battles. Divine strength was also given those fighting against the Moors, for they were practically defending God himself. The Moors, who had the same faith in the aid of Allah, became indignant and abusive with him when he permitted them to be defeated by Christians.

Enemies were punished with curses. The only popular ballad in which a curse occurs is in one of the three surviving ballads of the Breton cycle; the others are in *romances vulgares*. This indicates, perhaps, that
there was little popular concern for cursing. The seriousness with which Pope Alexander regarded his own curse, however, shows that a curse was no mere expression of anger, but, at least in the case of a pope, a practical manner of harming an enemy.

Omens were seen in the flight of birds, in dreams, in astrological signs. It is questionable whether incidents such as the swallowing of the Spanish knight into the earth at the battle of las Navas or the birth of the five strange children bearing stalks of wheat and barley in their hands were considered actual occurrences. But others, the moon's phase at the birth of Espinelo, the minor misfortunes that accompanied Don Fadrique to warn him of approaching death, were considered as infallible indications of the future.

The ancient practice of choosing kings by their physical abilities left its traces in the stories of princesses and kingdoms awarded as the prizes of tournaments. These occur only in romances caballerescos and are probably not legends native to Spain.

There are indications that the practice of killing kings was not completely forgotten in Spain. The Moors were said to kill unsatisfactory kings, and one ballad suggests that the Goths may have done the same. The attack on Fernando V by a peasant who wanted to become king may indicate that this custom was observed in ancient Spain.
There was, of course, a universal belief in the reality of miracles. The Spaniards considered themselves under the direct supervision of God, who fought for them against the Moors, protected them from harm, guided their conduct, warned them of impending wrath when they offended him, and punished them for great offenses. Most of the miracles of the ballads were probably taken from pious legends or accounts of the lives of the saints.

Most of my examples were found in the romances vulgares written on foreign themes. The romances caballerescos contain almost as many. The ballads of purely Spanish origin have very few items in comparison with the rest. It is remarkable that, in an age when all Europe had a profound belief in the supernatural, so few indications of the belief found their way into a body of literature as great as the ballads.
NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, El romancero general, p. 80 ff.
2. Ibid, pp. 5-16.

CHAPTER I

2. Ibid, pp. 139, 216, 472, 609-41.
9. Ibid, pp. 163-175, nos. 303-316.
10. Durán, op. cit., BAE., XVI, p. 237, no. 1257
11. Frazer, op. cit., p. 34.
14. Frazer, op. cit., pp. 210-216
18. Ibid., p. 232.
19. Ibid., p. 234.
20. Ibid., p. 232.
22. Ibid., pp. 244-248.
23. Ibid., p. 254.
26. Ibid., p. 141.
27. Ibid., pp. 202-223.
28. Ibid., pp. 205-207.
29. Ibid., p. 205.
32. Ibid., pp. 182-183.
34. Durán, op. cit., BAE., XVI, p. 284, no. 1282.
37. Frazer, op. cit., p. 539.
38. Ibid., p. 194.
40. Ibid., pp. 187-188.
41. Ibid., p. 674.
42. Ibid., p. 674.
43. Ibid., p. 670.
45. Morley, S. Griswold, *Spanish Ballads*, p. 42, no. XXIX.
47. Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 82-3, 145, 518.
59. See also: Durán, BAE., X, p. 233, no. 368, p. 121, no. 233.
62. See also: Durán, *op. cit.* BAE., X, p. 3, no. 8.
64. Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 631.

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5. Ibid., p. 155.
8. Ibid., pp. 163-70, nos. 308-311.
10. Ibid., pp. 89, 267-268, 592.
11. Ibid., p. 273.
12. Ibid., pp. 266, 273.
13. Ibid., pp. 267, 268, 278.
15. Frazer, op. cit., BH. I, pp. 267, 278.
16. Ibid., p. 158.
17. Durán, op. cit. BAE., XVI, pp. 311-314, nos. 1298-1299.
19. Ibid., p. 489, no. 744.
22. Durán, op. cit., BAE., XVI, p. 9, no. 926.
23. Ibid., p. 234.
24. Marden, C. Carroll, El Poema de Fernán González; XXVIII.
27. Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, Poema de Núi Cid, p. 18.

Durán, op. cit., BAE., X, p. 467, no. 708; p. 468, no. 710.
CHAPTER III.

1. Durán, op. cit., BAR., X, p. 417, no. 618
2. Ibid., p. 466, no. 707
3. Ibid., p. 458, no. 696
4. Ibid., p. 459.
5. Durán, op. cit., BAR., XVI, p. 15, no. 933
7. Ibid., p. 569, no. 901.
11. Ibid., p. 474, no. 718
13. Ibid., pp. 239-240, nos. 1209-1210.
15. Durán, op. cit., BAR., XVI, p. 213.
16. Morley, op. cit., p. 39, no. XXV.
17. Durán, op. cit., BAR., XVI, p. 349, no. 1320.
18. Ibid., p. 336, no. 1313.
21. Marden, op. cit., p. XXVIII.
24. Ibid., p. 397, no. 578.
25. Ibid., p. 477, no. 723.
27. Ibid., pp. 326-329, nos. 1307-1308.
29. Ibid., p. 457, no. 695.
31. Ibid., p. 358, no. 1326
32. Durán, op. cit., BAE., X, p. 396, no. 577.
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