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**DEVIANT WOMEN IN
COURTLY AND POPULAR
MEDIEVAL CASTILIAN
POETRY**

PhD

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University of Durham**

2011

ABSTRACT

DEVIANT WOMEN IN COURTLY AND POPULAR MEDIEVAL CASTILIAN POETRY

NAOMI MAY JENSEN HOOGESTEGER

This thesis is a study of the figure of the deviant woman in the poetry of medieval Spain; it outlines and establishes paradigms of acceptable and unacceptable attitudes and behaviours.

The ideal comportment of woman in the Middle Ages is decreed by the Church and the aristocracy. However, woman is wont to rebel against the strict norms of patriarchy laid down for her. Through close poetic analysis, this thesis aims to expose and analyse women who deviate from the ideal, an axis which is based upon the ideal woman of Fray Martín Alonso de Córdoba's *Jardín de nobles donzellas* (1469) and supported by historical contextualisation. Due to the expanse of the medieval poetic corpus, I focus specifically on women in the forms of medieval poetry that were sung: *villancicos*, *canciones*, and also *serranillas*, a strand of the erudite *canción*. The poems originate in Iberian songbooks (*cancioneros*), and loose leafs (*pliegos sueltos*). The modern editions that I use are Brian Dutton & Jineen Krogstad's *El cancionero del siglo XV: c. 1360-1520* (1990-91) and Margit Frenk's *Nuevo corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica (siglos XV a XVII)* (2003).

Initially, I establish the paradigm of the ideal late-medieval woman, whose subservience, chastity, and beauty are at the fore of her representation. Throughout the thesis, deviant women are seen to subvert these expectations in a variety of ways; principally through their promiscuity and dominant manner. Although for the most part, deviant women are portrayed in lyrics, the *canciones* also provide portrayals of deviant women that are less perceptible, yet still fascinating. An overall typology of deviant women has been established through the thesis, but equally significantly, close readings of many of the poems will augment the comprehension of the wider corpus.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	i
PREFACE	iii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION TO MEDIEVAL CASTILIAN POETRY AND ITS FORMS	1
CHAPTER II: INTRODUCTION TO WOMAN IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD	23
CHAPTER III: WOMAN AND LOVE (THE MALE-VOICE REPRESENTATION)	52
CHAPTER IV: WOMAN AND LOVE (THE FEMALE-VOICE REPRESENTATION)	87
CHAPTER V: WOMAN AND GENDERED ORTHODOXY	140
CHAPTER VI: WOMAN AND THE PUBLIC ARENA	176
CHAPTER VII: WOMAN AND RELIGION	194
CHAPTER VIII: WOMAN AT THE MARGINS	228
CONCLUSION	267
APPENDIX: LIST OF POEMS ANALYSED AND THEIR SOURCES	271
BIBLIOGRAPHY	281

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PREFACE

The aim of this thesis is to analyse, compare, and contrast the comportment of deviant women in popular and cultured medieval Castilian poetry. Their representation is a compelling aspect and requires a comprehensive survey. Hence I will draw comparisons between their portrayals in three forms of sung poetry (as opposed to recited forms of poetry such as the *dezires*): the shorter traditional lyrics, and the erudite *canciones* and *serranillas*, within the milieu of medieval social expectations of women. I contextualise and look at the characteristics of each type of poem to help to understand why and how different paradigms arise, and use conclusions drawn from close textual analyses to draw comparisons. In the analyses, there are a series of questions that I will attempt to answer. To what degree are attitudes and behaviours considered to be acceptable and unacceptable compared to the paradigmatic woman? What attitudes towards women who display such behaviour can be gleaned, in the light of register and narrative voice? Can women be pigeonholed into categories in the late medieval period?

The first introductory chapter looks at the characteristics and models of late medieval poetry and then broadly at its constituent parts, which are collated in the *cancioneros*. The modern sources of *cancioneros* are then briefly considered, followed by discussions of each of the poetic forms that are used for the basis of analysis of women during the thesis: namely the *villancico*, *canción*, and *serranilla*. Chapter II is also introductory and establishes the axial paradigm to which deviant women compare; it looks at woman and her role in medieval society, and the predominant influence of the Marian ideal that permeates medieval literature. The subsequent chapters trace these women in different ambits, analysing the various depictions that arise in the corpus; the most frequently encountered women are those who subvert social expectations through licentiousness. In Chapter III I consider how the male

voice, which is principally an erudite projection, represents woman and love, in comparison with the predominantly traditional female-voice representation of woman and love of Chapter IV, which sees how in the game of love, women exploit their physical characteristics in an overtly sexual manner and where more often than not, the natural setting, or *locus amoenus*, is a catalyst for human fecundity. Two poems by Florencia Pinar, the only named female poet of this study, are contrasted with the traditional *villancicos*. Chapter V looks at women who renounce the orthodox environment. This looks chiefly at daughters, *malmaridadas*, and adulterers who jeopardise and reject their role in the central societal pillar of marriage and the family. In Chapter VI, woman and her portrayal in the public arena is considered, especially looking at the freedom that is conferred by the working environment and during *fiestas*. The following chapter, Chapter VII, addresses the interrelation of deviant woman and religion, namely during her pilgrimages and her function within the religious order. Penultimately, Chapter VIII considers women at the margins of medieval Castilian society, looking at women marginalised on account of their religion, the *serrana*, whose relationship with the natural environment underpins her sexuality, and prostitutes. These representations are often humorous and satirical, where the sexual provocativeness of woman undermines norms. Finally, a conclusion brings together the deductions made from each chapter. All the poems analysed are accompanied by regularised transcriptions and a full list of poems analysed and their sources can be found in the Appendix.¹

¹ The value of modern scholars' transcriptions is immeasurable. However, for the sake of clarity I have regularised the transcriptions with some basic aspects of edition. Respectively, *i* and *u* are used for vocalic, and *j* and *v* for consonantal values. In addition, *ff-*, *rr-*, and *ss-* are reduced to single consonants, as is *ll-* only if it corresponds with modern usage, and *nn* will be transcribed as *ñ*. Also, *ç* is retained before *a*, *o*, and *u*, but is otherwise transcribed as *c*. As with modern Castilian, *c* is used where *k* may have been transcribed. Accents conform to modern usage except for *fuése* (se fue), *y* (allí), and *á* (ha), pronoun-verb compounds, and the archaic imperfect verb endings *-ié*. The modern method of word division is followed except in the cases of the pronoun-verb compounds and forms that have been elided. Punctuation and capitalisation conform to modern practice.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION TO MEDIEVAL POETRY AND ITS FORMS

The amplitude and scope of the fifteenth-century *cancioneros* is commented upon by Brian Dutton and Victoriano Roncero López:

La época comprendida entre los últimos años del siglo XIV y los primeros del siglo XVI constituye, sin lugar a dudas, el momento de mayor florecimiento de la poesía, al menos en cantidad, en España y Europa en la época medieval; se conservan más de 7.000 poemas de más de 700 poetas. (2004: 5)

Such breadth renders it a hard task to come to an all-inclusive analysis of women in late-medieval poetry, hence a specific focus on the sung forms of poetry: *villancicos*, *canciones* and *serranillas*, which facilitates an approximate representative survey. According to Álvaro Alonso, ‘dos son los géneros más importantes en la poesía amorosa del siglo XV: la canción y el decir’ (1999: 26). He bases his conclusion on the work of Pierre le Gentil, who, although perhaps biased in his views of the extent of Provençal influence on the later medieval Peninsula poetry, has conducted detailed research of medieval Peninsula poetry. As the lyrics referred to throughout are believed to have been sung at some point before their transcription, the simple tabled précis of the two main genres provided by Alonso illustrates what the popular lyric, *canción*, and *serranilla* have in common:

	<i>P. narrativa</i>	<i>P. lírica</i>	
<i>P. cantada</i>	Serranilla o canción	Canción	
<i>P. recitada</i>	Decir	Decir	(1999: 28)

Furthermore, Antonio Sánchez Romeralo says that ‘el villancico *es* una breve canción’, which, alongside the remarks of Alonso, concretises the rationale for confining my research to *villancicos*, *canciones* and *serranillas* (1969: 174).

The fundamental didacticism associated with the *decir* is also incongruous with the primary objective of sung entertainment shared by popular lyric poetry and the *serranillas* and *canciones*, therefore making the comparison of women over the forms more equivalent.

However, it is worth pointing out that Julian Weiss says ‘the privileged layman sought three things from reading: enjoyment, ethics and the emulation of a social ideal’ (1990: 14). Therefore, not only does Weiss indicate that the dissemination of poetry in songbooks means that some of it will have been read rather than sung, but also his observations indicate that all medieval texts may contain an element of didacticism.

Despite the clear parameters for this study, modern scholarship reveals numerous debates on the categorisation of poems within the *cancioneros* ranging from the early divisions of Pierre Champion into ‘ballades’, ‘complaintes’, ‘chansons’, ‘caroles’, and ‘rondeaux’ (1907), to the near-exhaustive categorisations suggested by Dutton and Roncero López of ‘canción’, ‘cantar’, ‘decir’, ‘trova’, ‘cantiga’, ‘recuesta’, ‘glosa’, ‘mote’, ‘justas de invenciones’, ‘cimeras’, ‘serranillas’, ‘esparza’, ‘desfecha’, ‘rondel’, ‘lay’, ‘cossante’, ‘perqué’, and ‘discor’ (2004: 77-85). Other *cancionero* categories that are also considered by scholarship include examples such as the ‘pregunta’, ‘respuesta’, ‘cántica’, and ‘copla’. For the most part, the compositions are erudite, and some incorporate in the body of the text *liricas* that also are believed to have been disseminated orally. From around the early fifteenth century, individual popular oral compositions, such as *villancicos* also began to be transcribed in their own right.

Poetry from the late medieval period is found in *cancioneros* (songbooks) and *pliegos sueltos* (loose-leaf chapbooks). In spite of this, Dorothy S. Severin questions the generic labelling of the *cancionero*:

Para concluir, estas misceláneas de poesías y prosa no son verdaderos cancioneros. En primer lugar solo una mínima parte de esta poesía fue escrita para la música. En segundo lugar los grandes que encargaban estas copias a las librerías o *scriptoria* estaban quizás más interesados por compilaciones de poesía y prosa que reflejasen sus propias preocupaciones políticas y devocionales. La selección de materias se basaba en ejemplares o cuadernos y existentes de poesía, e incluía también una selección de materias personales. Misceláneas pueden ser, pero cancioneros no lo son. (1994: 98-99)

Whether music is an integral part of the poetic forms in the *cancioneros* or not, the decision of the late medieval *cancionero* compilers to include such a variety of forms in their collections

determines the ultimate definition of a *cancionero*. Hence it must be borne in mind by modern researchers that medieval terminology is unlikely to be as systematic, coherent, or uniform as that of modern poetry. However, it must be conceded that the classification of the types of poetry within the all-embracing *cancioneros* is further complicated not only because of the ambiguity of poetic vocabulary in the Middle Ages, but also due to its evolution over the intervening period. For example, the word ‘cantiga’ (revealing the Galician-Portuguese influence), was in use in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, yet was replaced in the main part by ‘canción’ in the fifteenth century.

Weiss states that ‘The belief that poetry gave pleasure, refreshed the spirit and offered relief from daily care was amongst the most common tenets of medieval literary thought’ (1990: 46). However, this would not have been considered true of all genres of poetry, as late medieval literary theory indicates a distinction between erudite *cancionero* poetry and popular types; a key poet and theorist of the period, Íñigo López de Mendoza, the Marqués de Santillana, reveals this in his writings. In his *Prohemio e Carta*, a letter-introduction to the Constable of Portugal, he writes that poetry can be divided into ‘tres grados, es a saber: sublime, mediocre, infimo’ (Garci-Gómez, 1984: 88). The influences of this tripartite division are most likely Virgil, Cicero, and Dante, who, according to the conclusions of Florence Street, have similar bases for categorising literature (1957: 231). It is Santillana’s definitions of these categories that imply that in the Middle Ages erudite *cancionero* poetry had a discrete audience, structure, and purpose:

Sublime se podría dezir por aquellos que las sus obras escrivieron en lengua griega o latina, digo metrificando. Mediocre usaron aquellos que en vulgar escrivieron, asy como Guido Janunçello, boloñes, e Arnaldo Daniel, proençal. E como quier que destos yo non he visto obra alguna; pero quieren algunos aver ellos sido los primeros que escrivieron terçio rimo e aun sonetos en romançe. E asy como dize el philosopho, de los primeros, primera es la especulacion. Infimos son aquellos que sin ningun orden, regla, nin cuento fazen estos romançes e cantares de que las gentes de baxa e servil condiçion se alegran. (Garci-Gómez, 1984: 88)

These implications are supported also by the contemporaneous view of Juan Alfonso de Baena in his *Prologus Baenensis*, where he reveals his concept of poetry as a form of science,

or *gaya sçiençia* (Dutton & González Cuenca 1993: 7-8). The implications are that the elements of poetry are measured and formal, and created by and for the appreciation of the socially and educationally privileged. Similar to the theories proposed by Santillana, this indicates that the influences on the themes of erudite poetry are distinct from those of traditional poetry. Hence the content, and therefore also the depictions of women are diverse. More specific ideas on the components of *cancioneros*, or those ‘mediocre’ texts are evident in the earlier prologue of Baena (Blecuá 1974: 242). Antonio Chas Aguión notes that in the *Prologus Baenensis* in particular ‘Baena pretendía organizar la producción de los autores antologados de acuerdo con una clasificación en cantigas, preguntas y respuestas, decires, procesos y recuestas’ (2002: 17).

In contrast to the relatively strict parameters of *culto* texts, the organic aspect of the traditional Hispanic lyric is both intrinsic and thematic, which is immediately indicated by the Castilian term *villancico*, about which Sánchez Romeralo remarks:

Los villancicos del *Cancionero Musical del Palacio* de tema, lengua y estilo populares reciben su nombre precisamente por su carácter popular. Resulta lógico suponer que el nombre *villancico* debió acuñarse originariamente para aludir a composiciones de este tipo. *Villancico* equivaldría entonces a canción popular, designaría a las canciones de la tradición popular, cantadas por *villanos*. (1969: 42)

As well as the hypothesis that *villancicos* are close to nature due to their thematic sense, I use ‘organic’ in the sense that Nancy Glazener attributes to Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin: ‘as an alternative to the abstraction and repression promoted by officialdom’ (1989: 116). Therefore the lyrics represent a limitless actuality comprised of snippets of reality; those who sung and perpetuated it saw the stories as an inherent part of their lives, in contrast with *cancionero* poetry which can only be considered to be an erudite form. The inherent belonging of the lyrics to daily life is substantiated by thematic references, and Sánchez Romeralo notes that the integral weather symbolism of Galician rain and wind or Castilian sun are intrinsically represented in the rhythm and register of lyrics from these regions (1969: 175). Because the composers and disseminators are generally country-folk whose daily

chores take place in the natural environment, their bucolic foci can also be attributed to the milieu; nature being the principal theme with which they convey amorous discourses. Sánchez Romeralo notes that even now current scholarship perpetuates the idea of the lyric associated with natural phenomena: ‘Para la sensibilidad de sus colectores, la poesía de tradición popular ha solido ir unida a la idea de flor: flor, rosa, ramillete, vergel, floresta, primavera y flor de canciones’ (1969: 9). Mariana Masera does point out that the poetry is ‘created and sung (not exclusively) by the rural lower strata, which includes peasants, shepherds and servants who emigrated to the cities’ (1995: 10). Overall, the instinctive peasant connection with the natural world, which is a cyclical display of fecundity and reproduction, is the most relevant symbolic catalyst for presenting human sexual behaviour.

It is important to consider the form, and in particular, length, of the *villancico*, because it so often relies upon allusion and implication for the listeners to extrapolate an assessment of the behaviour of women. The principal difference from the erudite examples of *canciones* and *serranillas* is length, where the pithy style is vital for memorisation and oral dissemination. Amongst the many efforts to define the lyric, the endeavour of Stephen Reckert: ‘cancioncillas en miniatura’ is probably the most succinct (2001: 49). This description, although belying the traditional origins associated with the *villancicos*, in connoting the erudite *canciones*, demonstrates the interconnection of traditional and *culto* poetry on the Peninsula at that time. Paradoxically, sometimes the allusion and symbolism employed creates situations removed from reality because such literary tools are imbued with a sense of fantasy. In recognising, however, that the fundamental brevity of the lyric could be a reason for the disregard of their literary significance, it would be profitable to consider Reckert’s engagement with a series of questions to evaluate their worth:

- a) si unos poemas tan diminutos en realidad pueden funcionar como poemas; b) si en efecto funcionan, cómo lo consiguen; y c) finalmente, qué métodos se han desarrollado para hacerlos ‘funcionales’ cuando se consideraba que no lo eran. La primera cuestión es, en sentido lato,

crítica: es decir, valorativa; la segunda pertenece al dominio más restringido de la estilística, y la tercera, al de la historia de la literatura. (2001: 49)

Taking into account the findings in the wide-ranging study of Reckert, my methodology also in particular considers the collectiveness of the lyric and its simultaneous value because of their repeated and intertwined themes. Their individual meanings are strengthened by comprising part of an extended network.

There is still discussion amongst critics about what constitutes a traditional or a popular text. Even so, the roots of the *lirica* cannot be denied to be ‘organic’ compared to the *canciones* and *serranillas*, not only because of their thematic content, but with respect to the fact that they were closer to the hearts of the populace because trained minstrels, troubadours, and literate culture had minimum input into their creation and revision. Sánchez Romeralo in particular observes the difficulty of distinguishing popular status of texts: ‘me pareció que los datos que se obtuvieran había que contrastarlos con otros, tomados de diferentes muestras de poesía ‘popularizante’, o sea de canciones de tono popularista pero no pertenecientes a la tradición popular’ (1969: 10). On the other hand, his contemporary Aurelio Roncaglia simply dismisses the concept of traditional poetry – in his works he does not distinguish between popular *canciones* and those of Villasandino, Encina, and Lope; Margit Frenk summarises his premise that popular poetry ‘ha sido filtrada a través de un proceso de asimilación cultural cuyos límites se nos escapan’ (1971a: 1). However, nowadays it is accepted that it is difficult to confirm this aspect of the text, especially as it is recognised that also in existence are semi-popular texts as a transitional form between traditionalism and erudition. José María Alín prefers to refer to traditional poetry as ‘poesía de *tipo* tradicional’ (1991: 341), and Masera notes that ‘Definir a la lírica como popular o tradicional es complejo por la diversidad de rasgos que hay que tomar en cuenta – como son el estilo, la autoría, la transmisión’ (1997: 387). For the purpose of this thesis, I will refer interchangeably to popular and traditional texts.

Because of the emphasis on the traditional aspect in the thesis, first and foremost I will use Frenk's *Nuevo corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica (siglos XV a XVIII)* for primary sources (2003).¹ The two-volume anthology is an all-embracing collection from which to work, and is a revision of her original single-volume *Corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica (siglos XV a XII)* (1987). Frenk set parameters for the exclusion of texts from the first edition of the *Corpus*, including if texts were contaminated by cultured poetry, if well-renowned anthologists had not included them in their corpuses, or if the texts appeared to have been composed by minstrels. However, in the *Nuevo corpus* she specifically says:

he procurado, en el nuevo libro, abrir un poco más la puerta a esa cultura poética híbrida que había ido surgiendo en la península y que, de hecho, ya hace su aparición en no pocos textos del primer *Corpus*. Este segundo *Corpus* se propuso hacer aún más justicia a elementos semipopulares que llevan la marca de la cultura aristocrática o de la cultura urbana que va surgiendo en el siglo XVI. (2003: 16-17)

Hence, although Frenk now recognises that avoiding erudite influence on the texts is an impossibility, all of the traditional texts on which I focus are also in the first edition of the *Corpus*.

Further tangible evidence that clouds the original, popular state of lyrics is the volume of glossing and courtly copying (*villancico cortés*) of the style that begins to take place in the second half of the fifteenth century. Bruce W. Wardropper notes that it was at this point that the aristocracy began taking an interest in all kinds of folk art, such as the *villancico*, so there is evidence that folk and courtly songs exist side by side in song books such as the *Cancionero musical de Palacio* (1960: 178).² However, although Sánchez Romeralo is adamant that 'el villancico popular tradicional – el legítimo o el imitado –, sin embargo, mantiene su estilo', the question mark over the popular aspect of the lyrics on which I focus is not unreasonable (1969: 85). Jane Whetnall points out that: 'our first glimpse of Castilian

¹ Henceforth referred to as *Nuevo corpus*, and to be distinguished from the first edition, referred to as *Corpus*.

² He also notes that this appropriation of the popular form had begun to take place with the ballad (1960: 178).

popular lyric is contemporaneous with the first manifestation of cultured lyric in Castile, Aragon and Navarre' (1984: 139). Nevertheless, for the sake of drawing conclusions, I assume that the *villancico* is a popular art form.

Unlike the popular *lirica*, *canciones* and *serranillas* can be attributed to individual composers. There are some unconfirmed discrepancies, but due to the developing interests of the late medieval Peninsula where value was put on erudite literary production, for the main part, authorship is substantiated. Various critics have attempted to define and characterise the generations of late medieval Peninsula poets, from Julius Peterson in *Filosofía de la ciencia literaria* (1945: 75-93), to Rafael Lapesa *La obra literaria del Marqués de Santillana* (1957: 32). However, Vicente Beltrán provides a more comprehensive list of late medieval poets, and he divides them up into eight generations in order to make a thorough investigation of their works (1988: 14-26). By taking into account the dominant characteristics of the period, comparisons and contrasts are used to highlight anomalous situations compared with the norms of the period. Much information about the poets can also be gleaned from the rubrics accompanying poems, and although a number of studies have been carried out by present-day critics, it is still an area that could be further investigated. In particular, the research of Cleofé Tato uncovers the enormous value of some rubrics that, 'con frecuencia, relegamos casi al olvido para concentrar toda nuestra atención en el texto que sigue' (2001: 368). In particular, le Gentil also suggests that 'le *conceptisme castillan* ne s'est plus poétiquement exprimé que dans la *canción* et dans la *glose*' and (1981: 317).

Whereas the main source for *villancicos* is the *Nuevo corpus* of Frenk, I rely on the seven comprehensive volumes of *El cancionero del siglo XV c.1360-1520* of Dutton and Jineen Krogstad for erudite poetic sources. A limitation of using the *cancionero* corpus compiled by Dutton is that the analysed texts are limited to composition between 1360 and 1520. Therefore, although a proportion of the poems may have been written before the lyrics

were transcribed, it must be noted that, as Alan Deyermond says, they will have probably ‘circulated orally as a song, perhaps for centuries, before court poets of the late fifteenth century became interested in it and committed it to writing (no doubt changing it in the process)’ (1989b: 129). Therefore, popular sources from the anthology of Frenk, although believed to have originated from around this period, often are found first transcribed at later dates. All in all, one and a half centuries may appear excessive for the temporal parameters of an analysis of deviant women in late medieval poetry, but the investigations of Beltrán indicate that the development and variation of literary modes and fashions in the late Middle Ages is relatively contained to three major phases:

El estudio de los textos demostró la existencia de tres períodos netamente diferenciados: el primero fue de supervivencia y tanteos (generaciones A, B y C o poetas nacidos antes de 1400), el segundo consolidó la lengua y su estrofismo característico (generaciones D y E, nacidos entre 1401 y 1430) y el tercero articuló los recursos estilísticos que conforman la canción tal y como aparece en el *Cancionero General* de 1511 (generaciones F, G y H, nacidos entre 1431 y 1475). Estos son los capítulos en que aparece dividido el presente estudio. (1998: 8)

Taking into account the present-day debates on forms within the *cancioneros*, the methodology of Dutton to assign individual forms in his ‘*Índice de géneros*’ is disappointingly cursory: ‘Aquí llegamos a un índice imposible de perfeccionar. Ofrezco los casos en que la fuente menciona específicamente un género, aun en los casos donde parece ambiguo, es decir, o género o título’ (1990-91: VII, v). The contemporary study by Beltrán indicates the parameters that should be considered in the definition of genres, and specifically the classification of a *canción*:

- a) Todo texto cuya rúbrica lo indique inequívocamente, excepto unos pocos del Marqués de Santillana que se razonarán en su lugar.
- b) Aquellos textos de rúbrica ambigua (‘otra’ en muchos casos) o sin rúbrica, cuya forma y temática sean comunes a autores coetáneos inequívocamente adscribibles al género por el criterio anterior. (1988: 8)

However, in considering the changes in definition of different types of poetry not only between now and the Middle Ages, but also during the medieval period itself, I also investigate poems under the definitions of *cantiga*, *cántica*, and *cantar*.

A principal theme of both erudite poetry and of the traditional lyric is that of love. Deyrmond declares ‘todo el mundo sabe que la lírica tradicional, poesía femenina, trata del amor’ (1988: 767). Also, according to le Gentil, the *canCIÓN* is ‘presque exclusivement réservé aux *thèmes amoureux*’, although being distinct as ‘un genre essentiellement *courtois* et savant’ (1981: 264). In each form, love manifests itself in a different way, but more often than not it is the basis for women to display behaviour that deviates from the expected norms. Also, love, although being a universal subject, is an emotion invariably linked with women in the traditional lyric, and stands in opposition to the *canCIÓN*, where much of the content is from the emotional viewpoint of the male. Moreover, the *villancico* is more obvious in its dealings with the physical element of love, often employing blatant symbolism, whereas in *cancionero* poetry, allusions to sex are ensconced in less graphic, socially acceptable terms because of the component courtly love values.

Even though there are thematic similarities between the *canciones*, *serranillas*, and traditional Hispanic poetry, there are more differing poetic influences on the Castilian *villancico* than on that the strictly structured erudite poetry. This must be taken into account when analysing the diverse range of situations depicting deviant women in the lyric, and perhaps is a reason for there being fewer women in erudite *cancionero* poetry that deviate from the accepted social ideal. Influences on the Castilian *villancico* are not only thematic, but also, symbols, characters, tropes, and topoi illuminate and reinforce meanings between one another.³ Paula Olinger notes this to be a structural difficulty when analysing traditional poetry: ‘Because of the logic-defying structure of the traditional lyric, its knotted mass of interconnections, there is no one starting place. Every poem will eventually lead to every

³ Examples of such symbols are the stag that plays a part in the *locus amoenus* of both Galician-Portuguese *cantigas de amigo* and also Castilian *villancicos*. Also, the character of the *mamá* is present in both the Mozarabic *jarchas* and the *villancico*, and as well as playing the role of an advice-giver or go-between, her presence is often an indicator of a confession from a younger girl. The *alba*, a meeting time for lovers, is found by Arthur T. Hatto to be a world tradition that is found in the poetry of cultures as distinct as China, Japan, Egypt, Polynesia, and Peru (1965).

other' (1985: xiii). Furthermore, the more widespread the symbol, the more likely it is to connote an immediate meaning, although due to the diverse origins of symbols, often they can be multivalent in the same lyric. However, in spite of this, paradoxically a degree of homogeneity must be present in the influences and repertoire of the lyric composers for the lyric corpus to have collaborative significance. Carmen Mejía Ruiz agrees that 'su homogeneidad estilística no es el resultado de un conservadurismo social, sino que se enmarca en los códigos de la oralidad' (1992: 462). Therefore, paradoxically, although there are many other influences on the development of the lyric, the basic functionality of the corpus depends on the relatively mundane lifestyle of rural peasant communities from where the composers and disseminators originate.

The plethora of symbols present in the Castilian lyric can be explained in particular by the direct influence of several different lyric (or similar verse-type) strains. Two branches of lyric coincided on the Iberian Peninsula, which are the basis for the Castilian *villancico* corpus that surfaces in the fourteenth century. It is commonly assumed that one branch originated in Europe (comprising the Galician-Portuguese *cantigas* of the tenth century, the French lyric of the eleventh century, and the Occitan lyric of the tenth century), and the other in Africa (the Mozarabic *jarchas* of the eleventh century), which Anne L. Klinck states are literally 'exits', or 'lyric codas to longer and more elaborate poems' (2002: 5). Even though in the short term these two separate strains have geographically diverse origins, they are both Indo-European. Therefore, their fundamental characteristics bear many resemblances, and share, for example, Biblical symbols such as those found in the Song of Songs. However, Deyrmond observes that the structure of the old Hispanic traditional lyric is closest to the *jarcha* of the Arabic *muwashshaha* verse form (1980: 48). Even structurally, both the *jarcha* and the *villancico* express unique, emotive narratives, characteristically functioning through implication and allusion.

A major significance of these micro-poems is their predominance in the female voice. In medieval Iberian society, expression by women was limited as Lucy A. Sponsler alerts us: 'women themselves remained all but inarticulate. We hardly ever hear of women's views of themselves' (1975: 12). Women who did have the resources to give themselves a public voice were few, of a distinctly higher social status, and they had to possess both intellect, ability, and a channel to facilitate their expression on paper. Leonor López de Córdoba, Florencia Pinar, and Teresa de Cartagena are three women writers that did enjoy modest recognition in late medieval Spain in the fifteenth century. However, according to Deyermund there were only 'half a dozen named and two anonymous women poets, and all but one of these are represented by only a few lines' (1983: 44). In the light of his supposition that 'It seems far more probable that the popular oral poets with whom the tradition began were women', Deyermund points out that: 'It is disconcerting to find, after what seems to be such an early beginning of women's literature in the Iberian Peninsula, that works actually attributed to women writers are few and late' (1983: 28). Vicenta Blay Manzanera also calls attention to the fact that these women still would be unlikely to deviate from the norm in their expression:

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

Frenk says that the presence of woman's voice is a surprising difference between traditional and erudite poetry, but points out that the female voice in the traditional lyric is also present in many other cultures (1994: 42). The existence of the female voice in medieval Hispanic poetry is believed to have its beginnings in oral poetry (in both the ballad and the lyric), because peasant women would spend time in small, close communities carrying out

daily duties such as washing and spinning in groups, and their natural entertainment would be to sing to one another. Wardropper clarifies that Spanish folk songs are more likely to encompass a woman's perspective because of the circumstances from which they arise whereas 'a man's work on the farm is often done alone' (1960: 177). Of course, the woman's standpoint is not exclusive because men do work in groups at times, illustrated for instance, by lyrics celebrating the *fiesta* of St John's Day.⁴ Furthermore, the compositions would also have been sung at communal festivities of both religious and pagan orientation. Bakhtin discusses that such events embrace the carnivalesque atmosphere where:

carnival celebrated temporary liberation from the prevailing truth and from the established order; it marked the suspension of all hierarchical rank, privileges, norms, and prohibitions. Carnival was the true feast of time, the feast of becoming, change, and renewal. It was hostile to all that was immortalized and completed. (1994: 199)

Hence the destabilisation of the norms established through hegemony generates representations of women who deviate from the paradigm.

Nevertheless, because of the nature of the lyric, and for the main part, because they were more likely to have been composed and perpetuated by women, they can be taken as representative of the primary concerns and desires in their lives, although this still has to be accompanied by a caveat which Frenk recognises: 'Sé también de sobra que han pasado por varios filtros: el de la escritura, el de la cultura aristocrática y urbana que los acogió, el de los poetas y dramaturgos que los usaron a su arbitrio' (1994: 41).

The traditional lyric fundamentally expresses the views of a social class that was not part of the dominant political force. For the main part it can be regarded as woman's voice, depicting her candid thoughts on a theme that dominates the pithy verse form, in contrast to *canciones* that look at women mainly from a male perspective and that for the most part have an agenda. Although predominantly the *villancico* is considered solely as a form of

⁴ See Manuel Pedrosa (2003) and Sánchez Romeralo (1969).

entertainment, R. Howard Bloch highlights that some lyrics can be considered to be more than simple diversion:

If one were to pose the question made famous by Freud at the end of the last century, 'What does a woman want?' within the context of medieval anti-feminism, the answer would be clear: 'A woman wants to speak.' (1991: 54)

I agree with his implication that female-voice texts may have a political agenda, but it is difficult to reconcile anti-feminism with medieval society because feminism is an anachronistic term that does not exist in the Middle Ages.

Here it would be remiss to overlook mention of the modern tradition of popular poems. Many variants of lyrics and ballads have been collected from the twentieth century to the present day by, amongst others, scholars such as Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Samuel G. Armistead, and Diego Catalán Menéndez-Pidal. Having altered minimally over the intervening centuries, a small proportion of modern popular poems are attributable to medieval extant counterparts, which indicates not only the durability of the oral tradition, but also the timelessness of characterisations and representations.

Although I discuss above categorisation by Frenk of the texts as popular, with regard to gender, we still must consider the originality of the *villancico* texts with which we are presented. In the prologue of the *Nuevo corpus*, Frenk mentions her sources as: 'fuentes poéticas' and 'fuentes poético-musicales'; 'cancioneros', 'pliegos sueltos', 'obras de teatro', and 'refraneros' (2003: 12-15). Nevertheless, after the conception of the lyric and its development through performance, it is unknown how much the recorder will have changed the text he heard when putting it onto paper, which is significant if, as I state above, we are to presume that the lyrics are predominantly from a woman's perspective. None of the *cancioneros* or *pliegos sueltos* are known to have been compiled by women, and bearing in mind the remark of Eileen Power that 'it is certain that the overwhelming majority of peasant women or general domestic servants received no education', the likelihood that a woman would have been employed for transcribing the poetry is very small (1975: 86). Hence, it

must be taken into account that the dominant androcentric and patriarchal societal viewpoint may have mutated from its original oral form, and as Frenk said in her lecture: ‘we do not really know for sure if this or that song was once sung in rural Spain by peasants and shepherds’ (1993: 2). In particular, heavily glossed lyrics may intimate a different viewpoint from that originally intended.

Like the *villancicos*, the *canciones* are also poems destined to be sung. They have fixed octosyllabic and decasyllabic metres and are usually divided into stanzas. Each stanza comprises four or more lines; the initial stanza usually introduces the crux of the poem, and is developed by the gloss. Sometimes an intermediary stanza will vary in rhyme scheme from the initial stanza, and the ultimate stanzas often repeat either the rhyme scheme or entire syntagmas. Shifting rhyming patterns of the *canción* indicates evolution during the Middle Ages, and Alonso points out that in particular: ‘En la primera mitad, aun ateniéndose a esa forma básica, la canción presenta una mayor flexibilidad’ (1999: 26). Keith Whinnom indicates that the structural rigours of the *canción* are perhaps poetic snobbery:

It was clear that the poets of the period of the Reyes Católicos not only willingly accepted the restrictions of the *canción*-form, but also ignored certain freedoms traditionally allowed. They evince a clear preference for the shorter, twelve-line form, with restriction of the number of rhymes. And metrical restrictiveness goes hand in hand with the cult of the conceit. (1994a: 116)

Weiss agrees with Whinnom that ‘The existence of such large numbers of these *cancioneros* is a mark not just of the literary, but also of the social status that was attached to the composition of this kind of verse’ (1990: 1). However, he also considers there to be a ‘self-consciousness’ approach ‘that is very pronounced in the first and second generation of poets’ (1990: 2). The fact that social status may have been attached to erudite poetry gives good reason for relying on the *Nuevo corpus* as a modern anthology of traditional poetry because Frenk is clear in her aim of avoiding sources that are restricted by narrow social conventions (2003: 9-31).

Until the 1980s, the levels of figurative meaning deployed in erudite compositions such as *canciones* had not been as widely investigated as those in popular poetry; most erudite *cancionero* verse subscribes to the arena of courtly love, and involves protagonists who adhere to strict codes of dignified and ennobling conduct which are based upon the philosophies of the lord-vassal relationship. Whereas modern scholarship had begun to embrace fully the double entendres that reveal such promiscuous behaviour in folklore, the sexual aspect of *cancionero* poetry was held to belong exclusively to the remit of popular poetry and the lower social echelons for a while longer. However, in due course, Ian Macpherson and Angus MacKay followed the example of Whinnom and are amongst the pioneers who worked diligently in the 1980s to reveal that it is not only popular compositions that necessitate readings on different levels (1985: 51-63). However, even in the mid-1990s, two leading *cancionero* critics were still wary of admitting completely that there is linguistic ambiguity in the *cancioneros*. Dennis P. Seniff does agree that:

En efecto, entendemos muy poco del 'lenguaje secreto' de los cancioneros, la mayor parte del cual es eufemística (e.g., *vitoria* 'conquista sexual') y, por lo tanto, indicativa de una tensión sico-erótica mucho más profunda y vital que el protocolo cortesano, que la tiene ligeramente velada. (1992: 40)

However, in spite of his own research, Whinnom is reluctant to confirm the unconditional presence of euphemism:

it would also be odd if Spanish fifteenth-century verse were unique in its period and tradition in celebrating 'pure' love. But the nature of euphemism is such that one can only rarely be completely certain that the second meaning is present: it would not be impossible to insist that even 'estando en la cama' could be entirely innocent and not in conflict with Denomy's view of 'courtly love'. (1994a: 127)

Specifically in the *canciones*, euphemism is seen to be one of the most frequent literary tools used by erudite poets to convey the deviance of women from the courtly ideal of unattainability and perfection that is specifically associated with them. Satire also plays a significant role, although unexpected double entendres of commonplace vocabulary such as 'gloria' and 'morir' are the principal types of deployment. Here, both the acumen of Reckert

and the lexical investigations of Patrizia Botta can be combined. Botta mentions, with respect to the fixed form *cancionero* poetry, that:

en su estructura métrica obligan a la repetición del refrán, o sea los poemas que llevan 'vuelta', que no solo es 'vuelta' métrica sino también, muchas veces, 'vuelta' léxica y conceptual, lo cual importa un alto índice de repetición del vocabulario. (1999: 215)

In comparison with the shorter *villancicos* and traditional lyrics, vocabulary is more limited in the *canciones*. Therefore, the 'repetition' of words, which Reckert (1998) shows to be obsolete because of its perpetual *mutatis mutandis*, is heightened.

A treatment of *cancionero* poetry necessitates not only mention of its origins, but also an examination of the society in which it flourished. Like popular Peninsula poetry, it shares characteristics with contemporary poetry from the Provençal tradition, and is believed to have grown out of the Galician-Portuguese tradition. It differs from the popular compositions in that it is not influenced by the Mozarabic lyrics. Also, the Occitan literature that originated in the South of France in the eleventh and twelfth centuries contributes to its courtly tradition. Specifically, le Gentil points towards an overriding Provençal influence on the *canción*: 'En réalité, sur ce point encore, c'est très probablement la *dansa* provençale qui leur a servi de modèle' (1981: 265). Though valuable, the Provençal bias of much of the work of le Gentil does render some of his viewpoints outmoded, as there are other influences that he fails to consider thoroughly such as that of the Italian poets and in particular the 'petrarquismo cortesano' that Alonso examines (2001: 36). Jane Whetnall recently extended this area of investigation and affirms: 'resulta evidente que la presencia del *Canzoniere* de Petrarca en la poesía cortesana hispana tardocuatrocentista es más extensa de lo que se había venido suponiendo' (2006: 81). In comparison with love that is evident in popular poetry, in *cancionero* poetry it is often stylised and formulaic: courtly love plays a significant part in the prescriptive equation. Dutton and Roncero López observe that this is from the Galician influence, even though it must be noted that the Galician-Portuguese tradition also has bearing on popular poetry:

Pero ya hemos visto que la influencia no se limitó sólo a la lengua, sino que se halla presente en temas y conceptos, y en la técnica. Así hallamos entre estos poetas una serie de invectivas dirigidas contra el Amor. (2004: 24)

The style of the Peninsula composers is also impacted by biblical authorities, which is revealed by the frequent borrowing of ecclesiastical expression, and hence arises the term *religio amoris*, or ‘the religion of love’ which is used for secular works couched in religious language. As probably the most well-known contributor of the *cancioneros*, whose poetic influence reached far beyond the fifteenth century, it is accepted that the literary style of the Marqués de Santillana in turn influenced his contemporaries. Fortunately, the detailed literary philosophies of Santillana are preserved, and give modern scholarship an insight into the influences on his work. In his *Prohemio e carta*, he shows great admiration for scriptural writers: ‘Quanta mas sea la exçellencia e prerrogativa de los rimos e metros que de la soluta prosa, syno solamente a aquellos que de las porfias injustas se cuydan adquirir soberbios honores, manifiesta cosa es’ (1984: 85). Weiss notes also that ‘the concept of poetic grace is one of the most important themes of the *Cancionero*’, so classical poets and philosophers are seen to influence the poetry of late medieval Spanish composers (1990: 25). Amongst others, Santillana demonstrates admiration for the works of Orpheus, Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Petrarch (1984: 85-89).

As well as the *canción* style being influenced by other forms of European vernacular literature, scriptural, and classical works, according to E. Michael Gerli, the fifteenth century was a revolutionary period of the late Middle Ages, and overall, *cancionero* poetry served as a fusion of social influences: ‘En pleno siglo XV, crisis de transición entre la Edad Media y el Renacimiento, la enorme cosecha de poemas sacroprofanos de los cancioneros es testigo elocuente de una metamorfosis ética y espiritual que se llevaba a cabo en esos momentos’ (1981: 69). In spite of the changes of the greater ambit in which *cancionero* poetry was borne, it was developed and perpetuated ultimately in the courts of medieval Spain during an epoch that was also characterised by a lack of social mobility. The style of courtly love (or

amor cortés) poetry reflects this inflexible social hierarchy and supposed strict expectation of adherence to behavioural norms. However, the social factors influencing Spanish courtly love poetry contain paradoxes. The literate classes were mainly comprised of the aristocracy, the *letrados*, and the Church. Karl Kohut notes that: ‘Podemos observar en las teorías de la poesía cortesana la dignidad de la erudición filosófica, o, para decirlo de modo inverso, de dar a una actitud socialmente aceptada un sentido nuevo’ (1982: 645). However, although there is an omnipresence of erudition in *cancionero* poetry, on the surface, many of its themes such as courtly love are associated with pastimes rather than erudition and intellectual pursuit, and the lyrics are rarely other than purely playful.

Again, in contrast to the popular lyric and the *serranilla*, *canciones* are rarely delivered from the woman’s point of view, and therefore provide a different representation of women. Coming from an erudite literary genre rather than an oral genre, it could also be argued that poetic models limit the artistic creation of individuals who, *de rigueur*, conform to the contemporary poetic norms, and the evidence of anomalous women who are not greatly revered, and the objects of great affection, is limited. Alternatively, in comparison with popular poetry, where representations of women in the oral genre can mutate due to reworking through dissemination, it is worthy to note that the representation of women in these poems, whether as protagonists or speakers, is untempered by the effects of time because their representation is to an extent immediately concretised by the hand of the original composer.

Therefore, I suggest that a combination of causes contribute to the lack of deviant women represented in this area, even though such a vast body of material was produced in this period: the literary parameters that influenced erudite *cancionero* poems, the etiquette requirements of environments such as the royal or aristocratic courts where erudite *cancionero* poems would have been sung, and also their instant concretisation. It is not only

because the literary precincts of *cancionero* poets are more limiting than those of popular composers, but also the poetry was not primed to entertain the masses, and often lacks the salacious details that indicate deviant women. Nevertheless, there are poets whose compositions transcend literary borderlands. Florencia Pinar and Santillana are amongst them; Pinar has an aggressive, graphic yet euphemistic style, and Santillana is a pioneer of the well-liked *serranilla* poems that contain a fusion of popular and courtly themes.

Whereas the traditional lyric is influenced by quotidian surroundings and themes such as nature and the love interests of young girls of the lower social echelons, *canciones*, destined for a narrower audience, generally contrast with these characteristics. However, the *serranillas* are an erudite strand of the *canción* that share some of the ignoble and rustic aspects of popular verse. They challenge the idealistic and dignified ambience of *cancionero* poetry and comprise a series of paradoxes that appear to be outside the remit of courtly erudite poetry. However, the origins of the *serranillas* are far earlier than the first *cancioneros*. They are held to have come from the French *pastourelle*, a form that in turn originated amongst twelfth-century troubadours. Nancy F. Marino describes the *pastourelles* as forms that ‘recuentan lo que sucede cuando un caballero (chevalier) que, viajando por el campo en primavera y a veces quejándose del amor de una dama, ve una muchacha de clase baja’ (1987: 4). Thematically, the *serranilla* is more varied than the *pastourelle*, and this perhaps lends itself to the less restrictive modes of the earlier Spanish *cancionero* years. However, Pilar García Carcedo maintains that two traditions influence the advent of the *serranilla*: ‘la pastorela cortés francés y la procedente del folklore (en la que las serranas son terribles), el segundo tipo podría considerarse relacionado con el mito del ‘hombre o mujer salvaje’’, which has its origins in classic mythology (1995: 346).

Evidence of the *serrana* character in poetry is rather earlier than the nominal poetic form itself, for poems containing *serranas* as protagonists are not necessarily to be classed as

serranillas. There are four ‘*canticas de serrana*’ in the fourteenth-century *Libro del buen amor* by Juan Ruiz, Arcipreste de Hita.⁵ This is the earliest example of such figures in Hispanic literature, and they set the convention of the *serrana* being a character that embodies comic and parodic elements, a theory that Alan Deyermond explores (1970: 27-41). Paul Freedman in particular notes that Deyermond shows that the *serranilla* ‘began as a parody of the pastourelle, reversing its rules, roles, and logic’ (1993: 21). I suggest that the folkloric aspect, having more liberal principles plays the key role in this overt subversion of the norms that apply to much courtly literature. The contrast of popular lore facilitates open corruption of stereotypes, which is usually covertly deployed in poetic forms such as courtly *canciones*.

Although erudite *serranillas* developed into a discrete genre of poetry, one of their distinctions is their dissimilarity to the ephemeral nature of courtly *canción* themes. A common aspect of the *serranillas* is the rural setting, which as Swan et al. explain, is in contrast with the traditional courtly genre of the *canción*: it ‘is built up on abstractions; it is rarely set within the concretion of any type of landscape. It is therefore an anti-country model; for the courtier, the country girl is inferior and consequently unworthy of his love’ (1979: 532). The positioning of incongruous courtly elements in a bucolic setting can lead to contradictions surrounding the portrayal of the social status of the female protagonist. As is evident in the ballad *Gentil dama* (distinct from the *canción Gentil dama singular*), which is the earliest example of a *serranilla*, the conflation of two binary opposite environments produces an atmosphere of *mundus inversus*.

In conclusion, notwithstanding the existence of an extensive corpus of texts in the late-medieval period upon which to draw, there are clear parameters for the inclusion of the

⁵ Using the 1989 edition of the *Libro del Arcipreste* edited by Anthony N. Zahareas with Thomas McCallum: first *cantiga* (959-71), second *cantiga* (987-92), third *cantiga* (997-1005), and the fourth *cantiga* (1022-42).

three specific textual forms in this thesis.⁶ Due to the plethora of texts, such limitations are necessarily imposed, especially within the restrictions of a doctoral thesis word-count. Attention has been drawn to the salient elements of the erudite *canción*, the traditional lyric, and the *serranilla* in order to demonstrate the range of sociological values associated with each form, which in turn affect the portrayal of women in both courtly and popular Medieval Castilian poetry.

⁶ A full list of lyrics, *canciones*, and *serranillas* that are closely analysed in the thesis and their contemporary sources, in order of appearance in the thesis, can be found at Annex A.

CHAPTER II: INTRODUCTION TO WOMAN IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

INTRODUCTION

In order to establish the ideal model of woman, I follow the approach used by Robert R. Edwards and Vickie Ziegler outlined in their introduction of *Matrons and Marginal Women in Medieval Society*. They state:

The literary studies in this collection approach our topic through the twin optic of history and poetry. The authors are concerned with how texts reflect historical conditions, but they believe that literary works are grounded as well in poetic tradition. Moreover, they suggest that works, as forms of cultural production, also help to constitute historical conditions. (1995: ix).

In the light of their comprehensive *modus operandi*, in this chapter I also use a combinative methodology. The axis of paradigmatic woman, to whom women are compared in the rest of the thesis, is established through three avenues. A combination of modern socio-historical observations and contemporary texts introduces the characteristics expected of women, which are then illustrated through the close textual analyses of *cancionero* poems.¹

Heath Dillard was one of the first modern scholars to collate evidence in order to evaluate the role of women in medieval Castile (in particular in urban society), noting the lacuna in their appearance in literary documentation: 'Extremely little was written for or about them before the fourteenth century' (1984: 2). Some ten years earlier, Lucy A. Sponsler had broken new ground with a comprehensive treatment of women in the epic and lyric, which was supported by socio-historical evidence, and which followed a posthumous publication of a collection of essays by Eileen Power that specifically focussed on medieval women. Since these efforts, numerous scholars have taken on the mantle of investigating women in Spain in the Middle Ages, whose findings I will refer to throughout this thesis.

¹ During the establishment of the ideal woman, I look specifically at *canciones* and *villancicos* as the *serrana* always displays characteristics converse to those of paradigmatic woman. As the overall focus of this study is on deviant woman and not ideal woman, and also the length of *canciones*, analyses are not detailed explorations of the entire text as in the case of the central chapters of the thesis.

On the other hand, discussions surrounding the characterisation of medieval Iberian women raged fiercely in the late Middle Ages. Jacob Ornstein is the first modern scholar to put forward the notion of the Iberian profeminist and misogynist debate in order to pull together the fifteenth-century works that consider women (1941: 219-21).² However, I agree with Robert Archer in his denial that the works constitute a debate because:

it tends to imply that the attitude of women to be found in each work can be defined by its positioning in this 'debate' and thereby to allow for little variation of attitude other than those to be found at these polarities. (2005: 6)

There is little association between the works, and Archer goes on to conclude that 'The fifteenth-century defences are written almost entirely for reasons of literary ambition, particularly manifest in the efforts made by their authors to outdo their predecessors' (2005: 203). Nevertheless, the distinct misogynist considerations of woman agree that she is inherently lustful, greedy, inconstant, disobedient, vain, and perfidious, whichever of the various categories she falls into as described in Jaume Roig's 1460 *Llibre de les dones*: 'jóvens e velles, llegendes e belles, malaltes, sanes, les cristianes, juïes, mores, negres e llores, roges e blanques' (1928: 28). Although antifeminist works such as Alfonso Martínez de Toledo, the Arcipreste de Talavera's 1438 *Corbacho*, Roig's *Llibre de les dones*, and Pedro Torrellas' infamous mid-fifteenth-century *Maldezir de mugeres* are countered by profeminist works such as Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara's 1445 *Triunfo de las donas*, Álvaro de Luna's 1446 *Libro de las virtuosos y claras mugeres*, and Torrellas' 1465 *Razonamiento de Pedro Torrellas en defensión de las donas contra maldezientes*, none are so clear in being didactic treatises as Fray Martín Alonso de Córdoba's *Jardín de nobles donzellas*, which was written in 1468 but was only published posthumously in 1500, with one other printing in 1542 (edited by Harriet Goldberg 1974).³

² Goldberg notes that amongst others, the *Disciplina clericalis* is an oeuvre that is overlooked by Ornstein for its important contribution to the discussion; he discounts it because it was written before the fifteenth century (1983: 74).

³ Hereinafter, Torrellas' defence of women is referred to as *Razonamiento*.

Although taking into account the other various prose and poetic works of the period, I rely principally on the *Jardín de nobles donzellas* as a guide for the construction of the ideal woman. Goldberg speculates that:

assuming that we are correct in conjecturing that the *Jardín* (although addressed to a princess) was really a didactic work directed to the general reader, then a study of its sources should also provide a fairly good picture of contemporary fifteenth-century thought. (1995: 70)

An aside to be noted, Barbara F. Weissberger points out that the literary construction of Queen Isabel of Castile is not necessarily a representation of her persona, but ‘the shaping of the Queen’s power through literary representation’, which is also what *Jardín de nobles donzellas* is does, but in a more prescriptive than reflective manner (2004: xiv). Both Dillard and Power note the narrow conduit of paradigmatic social conformities, namely says Power coming from ‘two sources – the Church and the aristocracy’ (1975: 9). This is exemplified by the *Jardín de nobles donzellas*, where together with classical influences and ‘allusions to folk wisdom’, the treatise of Fray Martín principally contains elements of ecclesiastical and aristocratic authority; Goldberg states that ‘One might characterise the Bible as Fray Martín’s primary source’ (1995: 74).

Furthermore, in a similar way that the studies of Weissberger show ‘the way in which Isabel’s male writing subjects constructed the public image of the Queen’, the *Jardín de nobles donzellas* is written by a man who was part of a male-dominated arena (2004: xiv). Therefore, one must be aware that late-medieval expectations of comportment of the idealised woman are communicated to the modern reader from a male viewpoint. Then again, because of the control that the Church exercised, this was an attitude that would have dominated the Peninsula. Over and beyond the other distinguished works of the period, a significant proportion of the *Jardín de nobles donzellas* consists of discursive matter as opposed to an outward invective against, or a defence of women. It draws upon a broad range of sources, as Goldberg points out: ‘making use of biblical, classical, and legendary sources to reinforce

these opinions' (1974: 88). Also, having been written slightly later than the other discussions surrounding the characterisation of medieval Iberian women, it may be considered also to have a reflective element that draws from these other sources. The clarity of Fray Martín's work and the explicit nature of its composition for a woman of power and influence who was to display virtuous behaviour at all times renders the *Jardín de nobles donzellas* an ideal text from which to outline the facets of the exemplary woman. Goldberg also says:

The conclusion is inescapable: the *Jardín* could not have had any measurable partisan political influence, nor was it running in any way counter to the views of the moment. Any allusions that seem to have the ring of timely references must have been well within the aforementioned fund of ideas and attitudes shared by the author and reader. It can be repeated, therefore, that Fray Martín prepared the *Jardín de nobles donzellas* with the intention of reflecting current opinions and awareness. (1974: 88)

This method of contextualisation and formulation of the paradigmatic woman therefore enables an analysis of deviant woman in the late medieval period in the rest of the thesis.

James F. Burke points out that 'Although the Middle Ages and Renaissance appreciated the importance of the heterodox in society, the dominant view was that deviations had to be controlled and ultimately subordinated to those functions regarded as beneficial for human civilization' (1998: 54). Therefore, in all parts of Europe the Roman Church had intensified its hold over the populace between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in particular it instructed a gendered behavioural orthodoxy.

Throughout the ages, gendered behavioural orthodoxy has been a framework of constraint around women used to control their actions and freedom. Archer sums up the admission of Torrellas in his *Razonamiento* that:

When women fail, it is because men have condemned them to ignorance: 'o por no conocer los hombres ellas tener mayor disposición en la más noble parte, que es l'entendimiento, movidos a invidia, o por el señorear a suberbia, les havemos quitado práctica e sciencia. Las quales dos nodriças del entender es sin aquellas quasi ninguno, de lo qual se sigue que, las obras de las mugeres acompañando ignorancia e aquellas de los hombres sabiduría, en cargo de nosotros son diferentes las culpas (2001: 558).

Whereas the leading authorities of the Church and the aristocracy publicly dominated this formulation of social conformities, specifically the patriarch, the dominant figure within the

primary social group of the family, reinforced and facilitated masculine authority and control over the comportment of woman. Therefore, on a micro-level, the role of the woman was regulated by the central masculine persona of the household, and to this end, her primary function is often perceived to be limited to the domestic arena. Archer in particular comments that other than as health workers and healers, the vital role of women was ‘as administrators and supervisors in the home’, which underscores their contained position in society (2005: 4). More recently, David Pattison quotes Sponsler on the characterisation of Jimena, the female protagonist of the *Poema de mio Cid*: ‘he and the poet clearly view the ideal wife as lacking any role outside the marital and family structure’ (2007: 17-18). Although this is accompanied by a caveat concerning the ‘slightly naive and possibly anachronistic view’ of Sponsler, Pattison also highlights the remarks of Sponsler on the lack of rights of daughters during the courting process, and concludes that ‘the fundamental premise of the subordinate, not to say submissive aspect of women’s role cannot be gainsaid’ (2007: 18).

On a greater social scale, the imposition from the higher social order was interwoven into religious fervour propagated amongst the lower echelons, and was based on Marian exempla. The two Marys, the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene, were seen as illustrations of dichotomous female behaviour, or as Marina Warner says: ‘Together, the Virgin and the Magdalene form a diptych of Christian patriarchy’s idea of woman. There is no place in the conceptual architecture of Christian society for a single woman who is neither a virgin nor a whore’ (1985: 235). Catholicism presented the populace with two orthodox views of womanhood into which women were more often than not pigeonholed. For the most part, Mary Magdalene (until after her repentance), and Magdalenism, represented the opposite pole to that of the many Virgins who were assimilated with Catholicism. Although on the Peninsula itself, the ‘cult’, or contemporary mind-set of *marianismo*, was not as prolific as in the Americas, it shaped an ideal with which the Hispanic woman must comply, containing all

the positive aspects of femininity. However, as Miri Rubin points out, throughout the Middle Ages, her depiction had undergone many different guises; from a majestic persona early in the millennium, Immaculate Mary was linked to redemption by the thirteenth-century Franciscan theologian Ramon Lull, and 'By the end of the sixteenth century the medieval European Mary – with her family background, her sometimes majestic poise, her promise of protection and nurture, her accessible familiarity – had reached all parts of the world then known to Europeans' (2009: 303 & 356). The stance towards woman is inexorably precipitated by the Church, and Power notes the way in which the medieval viewpoint of woman developed: she was at first depicted 'as instrument of the Devil, a thing at once inferior and evil' which 'took shape in the earliest period of Church history and was indeed originated by the Church', but became a figure of atonement to be celebrated (1975: 14). Therefore, albeit multifaceted, the Virgin Mary is a paragon of virtue against whom women in the late Middle Ages were evaluated.

In order to establish a framework and expand on the characteristics of the archetypal woman in medieval Iberian literature, I take into account the deduction of Dillard that 'Some women were of course in demand for their beauty, virginity and other personal charms, but local connections and wealth were certainly attractive for many men' (1984: 218). However, the overall investigation of women's formulation is based on facets suggested by Vicenta Blay Manzanera, whom I quote in the previous chapter (2000: 20). Therefore, this chapter looks at the four main elements of the comportment expected of late medieval woman. Firstly, she was expected to be virginal and chaste. Secondly, her feminine role in society must always be reticent and modest, and she should be submissive to the patriarch as daughter, wife, or mother. Thirdly, values of integrity including piety, devotion, and compassion were demanded. Lastly, her physical aspect was expected to be a matter for admiration.

VIRGINITY AND CHASTITY

The matter of virginity, chastity, and sexual loyalty is the most prominent aspect of this thesis because a lack of such is the most frequent affliction of deviant woman. In the light of the concept of family honour, the woman should remain chaste until marriage, and then remain faithful to her husband, as his reputation was reflected by her sexual comportment. This was a code employed in medieval Spain whereby women were used to represent the reputation of their menfolk. There were dire consequences if women did not behave accordingly, thereby making them a shield for the social standing of their male counterparts. Sponsler outlines the distinct medieval codes of law regarding adultery and honour to illustrate why it is of such importance women that were presented as sexually discrete at all times:

A wife who committed adultery or a daughter who had sexual relations out of wedlock brought total collapse of social esteem and personal pride to the man responsible for their protection until such time as he avenged the deed, usually by violent means. Even if a woman had been forced into such a situation through no fault of her own, or if she had been merely insulted verbally or maligned in some other way, society disdained the male protector and viewed him as emasculated until he achieved retribution and restored his *hombria*, his masculine image. (1975: 12)

Some fifteen years later, the closer analysis of *mujeres no-castas* by Oro Anahory-Librowicz infers that that society was less forgiving towards women than Sponsler implies. Anahory-Librowicz is insistent there was no escape for the woman who has extra-marital relations:

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

In some forms of secular poetry such as the *romance* and the traditional *villancico*, because of the scarcity of reference to religion and religious symbolism, to the modern eye this practice appears to be based less on religious values than the honour, in the medieval Spanish sense, of women simply being a reflection of men's 'hombria', the term used by Sponsler above. However, the presence of religion in medieval life cannot be underestimated, and as is demonstrated, many of the ideal patterns of behaviour and representations of paradigmatic women are suggestive of religious and noble associations.

As only a minority of women would ever live a chaste life, this characteristic of perfection that is synonymous with the Virgin Mary herself is a near-impossible emulation.

As Lesley K. Twomey points out:

Their [the Church's] appreciation of the gulf which separated Mary's flesh from that of the rest of womankind entailed creating some mechanism for differentiating her. Conception without original sin would set Mary's flesh definitively aside from corrupt flesh, making her the one pure human being from whom God's Son would take flesh. (2008: 23)

Hence there will always be a distinction between woman and the ultimately pure Virgin Mary.

Susan Haskins further points out the inability of women to attain similar states of sexual modesty to those of the Marys simply because they were seen as 'sexless' and therefore are not capable of engendering lust; the Virgin Mary is the defeminised 'Queen of Heaven', and Mary Magdalene: 'with the intensified emphasis on her role as repentant sinner in the Middle Ages, she represented the sexuate feminine redeemed, and therefore was rendered sexless' (1993: 89 and 141).⁴

As noted by Fray Martín in the *Jardín de nobles donzellas*, the chastity of a woman is essential to her character: 'La gloria & triunfo & fama eterna de la muger es castidad & pudicicia' (Goldberg 1974: 196). In fact, Fray Martín shows chastity, or sexual loyalty to the husband, to be above any of the congenial character traits that woman also should possess: 'Aunque sea devota & roya los altares & dé quanto tiene a pobres, si casta no es, todo es en ella perdido' (Goldberg 1974: 255). The implication is that chastity is the pinnacle of aspirational facets of ideal woman. Being the most vital aspect, this gives all the more reason for sexual misdemeanours to be the most frequently encountered trait of deviant woman because subversion of such a revered trait creates sensationalism. Based on the teachings of Augustine, woman is protected in the case of rape, as Fray Martín indicates: 'La virginidad más está en el ánima que en el cuerpo. Como dixo Santa Luzía, no se ensuzia el cuerpo si la

⁴ Such a representation of Mary Magdalene being assimilated to Christ through her penance is seen in the erudite religious ballad *Por las cortes de la gloria* of Fray Ambrosio Montesino in his 1508 *Cancionero*. See Dutton 1990-91: v, 10 (89*AM-12), and v, 106 (08AM-14).

voluntad no consiente. Donde si alguna virgen fuese por fuerça corronpida, sienpre queda virgen’ (Goldberg 1974: 184). Regarding Saint Lucy, Andrew M. Beresford highlights that the two manuscripts depicting her rape take different approaches: ‘While the Latin focuses on the physical body as a corporeal gate-way (as is the case in the body-and-soul tradition), the *Vida* affirms that the soul will remain inviolate if its will is not compromised’ (2010: 108). The Hispanic tradition surrounding inviolacy and rape not only antedates the *cancionero*, but it also extends far past it, as illustrated when Laurencia in the seventeenth-century *Fuente Ovejuna* urges the menfolk of the village to defend their women’s honour (McGrady 2001: 86-89). However, notably in the corpus, rape is not as common an occurrence as deliberate sexual transgressions initiated by women are. This indicates that misdemeanours committed by women are regarded as more sensationalistic than the loss of male *hombría*. Rape would still create ramifications for the male counterpart, and also in the case of seeking the ‘spoiled’ virgin a husband, it would be more difficult for her as women were meant to be virgins before marriage.

The aspiration to be portrayed as virginal is seen in both the *villancico* and *canción*, and is evident in both the female voice and male voice, although Torrellas indicates in his *Maldezir de mugeres* that women ‘fingen de mucho guardadas’ (line 40).⁵ Whiteness is a symbol of purity, and a small number of popular lyrics such as ‘¿Quién tendrá alegría?’ maintain the adage that whiteness is the crux of perfection to which women should aspire for a fulfilling life.⁶ The lyric is found in Lope de Vega’s 1622 *La madre de la mejor* (Frenk 2003: I, 395):

⁵ See Dutton 1990-91: VII, 4 for all seventeen manuscript locations of *Maldezir de mugeres*.

⁶ In the *romance artificioso Gritando va el caballero*, the purity of Casta, the female protagonist, is highlighted by associating her with the word ‘blanco’ no fewer than six times in fourteen lines. See Dutton 1990-91: V, 331 (11CG-455); VI, 130 (14CG-485); VI, 254 (16JE-170) and VI, 322 (20*MM-4). However, whiteness is not limited to the associations of purity of women, as Claudio da Soller, in his discussion of descriptions of the Cid and his family in the twelfth-century *Poema de mio Cid*, notes that whiteness is associated with purity and righteousness whether male or female (2005: 27).

¿Quién tendrá alegría
sin la blanca niña?

The rhetorical register of ‘¿Quién tendrá alegría?’ has the effect of appearing to present a universal maxim where the whiteness of the ‘niña’ is ascribed to by all, and can only be seen as a positive feature. As noted above, although popular poetry often does not appear to have anything in common with devout sources, the Bible has many symbolic links with popular oral and erudite written literature due to the longevity of the text and its prolific presence in many cultures. Colour symbolism is catholic in its operation, and survives in the oral and written, secular and religious traditions. Carlos Alvar in particular says that whiteness is ‘una tradición vinculada al Antiguo Testamento’ (2001: 68). However, the epithet of the ‘blanca niña’ is also reminiscent of the representation of the Virgin Mary in the New Testament, who is associated with the pure white lily, again indicating the manifest link between ideal woman and the Virgin Mary. However, the most renowned contemporary portrayal of the ‘blanca niña’ is found in the ballad *Blancaniña* (Blanca sois, señora mía, / más que el rayo del sol’) where the virtuous values associated with white are inverted. The name of the female protagonist embodies the literary ploy of misnomer because she is rendered superficial and debased through her infidelity.⁷

The concept of sexual purity as a social expectation of medieval Iberian society and denoted by whiteness in the traditional lyric is expanded upon in ‘Las blancas se casan’, a lyric found in Gonzalo Correas Íñigo’s 1627 *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales* (Frenk 2003: I, 135). The overt gratitude: ‘buen día me á venido / que blanca me soi’ indicates that not only is whiteness associated with purity, but also it is linked to emotional innocence because the speaker does not see her whiteness as within her control:

⁷ For a full transcription of the ballad see Smith 1996: 199.

Las blancas se casan,
las morenas, no;
buen día me á venido
que blanca me soi.

Here, on one level the female speaker makes a cultural statement; she indicates that social status is denoted by skin colour, where swarthy girls are of darker skin tones because of the hours they have spent toiling outside. They are therefore perceived to be less desirable, which is an idea that was first discussed by Bruce W. Wardropper (1960: 415-21). Or, she could be pointing to the naturally darker Moorish girls who were at times marginalised because of their social minority, again, being unsuitable marriage material for a large part of the population. However, the significance of symbolism in the *cancionero* is unavoidable, and being a traditional song, it is unlikely that the speaking voice is that of a girl who is simply juxtaposing herself to 'morenas' in a social context. Although John Gornall investigates expansively the intricacies of the *morena* and the euphemism arising from her darkened complexion (1986: 151-60), John G. Cummins was the first critic to establish a link between her dark complexion and sexual status:

There is also a link with the *aire de amores*: to be burned by the wind is to lose one's virginity and hence to be less desirable; the *morena*, therefore, is a woman, in contrast to the pure, virginal *blanca*. (1977: 99)

Therefore, more likely, the metaphorical aspect of her whiteness is to be considered (her purity), pointing towards the observation above that girls who are not virgins are more difficult to marry off because 'las blancas se casan' but 'las morenas, no'. Therefore, it is for young and unmarried women that subversion of sexual behavioural mores has the most disturbing corollary because it is linked to rebellion against patriarchal control, which is the crux of medieval society.

In the light of the Marian doctrine, virginity is the consummate state. However, paradoxically, although the family structure is a pillar of medieval Iberian society, Angela M. Lucas points out that Church-sanctioned marital intercourse was not necessarily venerable:

‘Marriage was a righteous state and permissible, but less meritorious than virginity. Widowhood stood somewhere in-between’ (1983: 108). As noted above, in late medieval society, control by the Church was of great importance. Lack of trust in women in this aspect is compounded, because as Jennifer Ward observes, churchmen believed that ‘women were lustful and had an insatiable sexual appetite’ (2002: 3). This appears have some foundation in consideration of the number of *villancicos* in the female voice that allude to promiscuous behaviour.

As we see above, the idealisation of chastity is borne out in lyrics where *doncellas* are ultimately linked to the Virgin Mary. However, an example of a popular *villancico* that does link to the exemplum of the Virgin Mary as a promoter of chastity is ‘¡Fuera, fuera, fuera, el pastorcico!’, a lyric found in a number of medieval sources (Frenk 2003: I, 483):⁸

¡Fuera, fuera, fuera,
el pastorcico!
Qu’en el campo dormirás,
y no comigo.

Unlike the previous two lyrics ‘Las blancas se casan’ and ‘¿Quién tendrá alegría?’, in voicing her comprehension of the intentions of the *pastorcico*, the female speaker is not necessarily presented as an innocent virgin: ‘Qu’en el campo dormirás, / y no comigo.’ However, her rejection of his advances shows her recognition of the importance of chastity, and in contrast to the observation of Ward, above, she indicates that actually, it is the male character who is ‘lustful’. The female speaker gives the impression that she is contextualising the rejection within social hierarchy, rustically referring to the male protagonist in the diminutive: ‘pastorcico’. Coupled with the repeated rejection ‘fuera’, the reference to his occupation becomes more denigrating. However, it is ambiguous whether the rejection of the advances of the *pastorcico* is a subjective reaction in order to protect her reputation and that of her

⁸ For a comprehensive list of textual sources, see Frenk 2003: I, 483.

family in this instance because she knows of his lewd ways, or whether the female speaker is an example in the *villancico* of a protagonist whose purity is in keeping with social decree.

On the surface, the virginal status and chastity of the female addressee of erudite *canciones* is central to her reverence because it reflects her purity. Warner goes so far as to say that ‘the cult of the Virgin is traditionally seen as both a cause and effect of courtly love’ (1985: 135). Hence, this would imply that the fundamental characteristic of the Virgin Mary – her virginity and chastity is also a virtue central to the female addressee of the *canciones*. Poets and editors of the fifteenth-century *cancioneros* such as Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, Pedro Manuel de Urrea, Juan del Encina, and Alfonso de Carvajal were often commissioned to write for the courts and palace. Therefore, needing to satisfy the wishes of their clients and commissioners, they were well accustomed to the prerogative of the medieval lady. The male speaker usually conveys hyperbolic emotion which medieval scholars and physicians classified as *amor hereos* and likened to a fatal sickness. As Michael Solomon explains, this ultimate form of agony, or lovesickness, is treated as an illness in the Middle Ages:

esta enfermedad, identificada como *amor hereos* por una mala lectura de *amor eros*, fue intensamente discutida durante toda la Edad Media. El mismo Villalobos incluye una sección en su *Sumario de la medicina* sobre la causa, los síntomas, y las posibles curas, y declara que esta enfermedad es una característica de los trovadores y poetas. (1994: 1034)

However, the main aspect of courtly love that enabled the lover to portray his beloved as chaste or virginal with respect to his wooing was *amor de lonh*. Love at a distance was both a formulaic product of the Occitan troubadour wooing process and a feature of *caballeresco* poetry. Roger Boase notes that ‘the courtly lover and the Christian mystic share the same yearning for a distant ideal: an *amor de lonh*’ (1977: 84). This is perhaps because for both parties, *amor de lonh* facilitated and maintained idealisation of the addressee. Whereas proximity brings with it reality, and although this is an impossibility in the case of Christian mystics, reality may mar idealisation.

Of nearly six hundred erudite *canciones* in the corpus, only some thirty or so contain women who are portrayed as displaying any facets divergent to those of the ideal woman, so there is a plethora which depict exemplary woman. Rubin points out that: ‘Mary’s association with court life led to a vast production of new devotional and musical compositions’ (2009: 290). Therefore, it is no surprise that so many of the *canciones* are dedicated to the Virgin Mary herself, of which *Entre todas escogida*, found in MP3-73 is an example that demonstrates the importance of her Immaculateness and virginity (Dutton 1990-91: II, 482):

Entre todas escogida,
fuste, bien aventurada;
en tal noche concebida,
antes quel mundo criada.

5 Tú fuste, desde ab eterno,
en la voluntad del Padre,
elegida para madre
del que libró del infierno
la umanidad perdida

10 por su sangre derramada,
reparando la cayda,
que por Eva nos fue dada.

Antes que la tierra fuese,
la providencia divina

15 te formó por melezina
del daño que recreciese
su potestad infinida,
eligiendo por morada
tu virginidad conplida

20 non en punto violada.

The *canción* was composed by Gómez Manrique and is found in his manuscript of 1475, *Obras de Gómez Manrique*. Although the courtly form of the *canción* is usually restrictive and comprises an amorous address to a beloved, this demonstrates that courtly love exaltation of the lady can also be transferred to religious personae, even though the presiding courtly love code of the *canción* prescribes that the lady should remain anonymous.

Entre todas escogida is headed 'Canción a la concepción de nuestra señora', whose conception in her mother Anne's womb was the Immaculate Conception. It is not to be confused with Mary's Virginal Conception of Christ, a distinction which is clarified by Twomey (2008: 79). However, Ana María Álvarez Pellitero states that even then 'en la época de los Reyes Católicos se hace especialmente viva la polémica teológica sobre la Concepción Inmaculada de María' (1976: 120). The timeless frame in which the poem is set: 'Tú fuste, desde ab eterno, / en la voluntad del Padre, / elegida para madre' (lines 5-7) indicates that the Virgin Mary is and always has been distinguished from mortal woman, and as is mentioned above, paradoxically, her idealised persona is therefore impossible to emulate. Her piety is augmented by her portrayal as the post-lapsarian antidote to Eve in lines 11-12: 'reparando la cayda, / que por Eva nos fue dada', although as Francisco Vidal González notes: 'La oposición entre la Virgen y Eva es un tópico de la literatura religiosa, aquí no llega a la oposición clara entre las palabras Eva / Ave' (2003: 281). In line with the common topos of *amor hereos*, the medicinal theme is developed where the Virgin Mary is portrayed as a panacea: 'la providencia divina / te formó por melezina' (lines 14-15).

However, most importantly, the virginity of the Virgin Mary is depicted as a sanctuary: 'eligiendo por morada / tu virginidad conplida' (lines 19-20). The representation of her chastity as a physical entity rather than a state invokes the dogma of the Assumption in The Book of Revelation where the Virgin Mary is assimilated to the New Jerusalem: 'And I John saw the holy city, New Jerusalem, coming down from God out of heaven, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband' (21.2). Furthermore, an angel says 'Come, I will show you the bride, the wife of the Lamb' (21.9). Not only do the foundations of the New Jerusalem comprise precious stones, revealing her importance, (21.11-21), but Warner reminds us also that the Virgin Mary is associated with the New Jerusalem because 'it is built on foundations

of impenetrable stone' (1985: 94). The use of virginity as a synecdoche for the Virgin Mary underlines her fundamental purity.

A secular replication of woman assimilated to a city is also seen in the anonymous *canción* of a 'caballero' in Hernando de Castillo's 1511 *Cancionero*, *Por una tal como vos*, found in 11CG-817 (Dutton 1990-91: v, 410):

Por una tal como vos,
de gracias y beldad;
a vezes ordena Dios
de guardar una cibdad.

5 Y pues virtudes se eredan,
en vuestra gentil figura,
vos podeys partir segura
y rogar por los que quedan.
Así que, dama, soys vos,
10 en tal valer y beldad,
que podeys ganar de Dios,
que guarde vuestra cibdad.

The male speaker invokes the religious imagery of the Book of Revelation by revealing that God is at times charged with the protection of a city: 'a vezes ordena Dios / de guardar una cibdad' (lines 3-4). On account of the wider contemporary literary corpus, the audience would already have been aware of the chiasmic existence of religious and secular imagery, and so therefore also that the 'cibdad' could be a metaphor for the female addressee, as demonstrated above where the Virgin Mary is assimilated to the New Jerusalem. However, it is only at the end of the poem that the repetition of the leitmotif confirms it is the 'dama' who is worthy of the appointment of God as her protectorate: 'en tal valer y beldad, / que podeys ganar de Dios, / que guarde vuestra cibdad' (lines 10-12). *Por una tal como vos*, like many of the erudite *canciones*, does not contain a plot that captures the attention of the audience in the same way that the pithy themes of the shorter, traditional poems do. Nevertheless, it does throw light upon the details of the ideal, and indeed, idealised woman in the *cancionero* from

the male-voice viewpoint. It also further demonstrates the unavoidable connotations of spiritual sources in the secular corpus.

SUBORDINATION TO THE PATRIARCH

The second element of ideal comportment is evident in the citation of Revelation, above: a woman should demonstrate reticence and modesty within a submissive role in relation to her patriarch. Historically, women are almost always represented relative to a masculine counterpart; even the Virgin Mary, who as Rubin points out is seldom mentioned in the gospels, is depicted most frequently in early writings as the mother of Christ or wife of Joseph (2009: xxii). Both the Virgin Mary and Mary Magdalene are perceived as exemplars for women in their submission to Christ, their male counterpart.⁹ Consequently, it seems that it is indisputable that subordination to the male has anything other than a religious basis, to which James A. Brundage draws attention:

In his authoritative exposition of the *Liber extra*, for instance, Bernard of Parma (d. 1266) expounded the law on female incapacity: 'A woman, on the other hand, should not have [jurisdictional] power [...] because she is not made in the image of God; rather man is the image and glory of God and woman ought to be subject to man and, as it were, like his servant, since man is the head of the woman and not the other way around.' (1990: 66)

Hence women in the Middle Ages were also treated as chattels, and as Ward notes, the concept of 'woman as property rather than as a person in her own right was dominant, and the family unit under the control of her father or husband was all-important' (2002: 9).

In the *Jardín de nobles donzellas*, Fray Martín grounds the doctrine of gendered subordination in Greek philosophy:

Donde Aristóteles en la *Política* dize: - que los hombres que son sabios son de los otros naturalmente regidores e por esto los viejos naturalmente han de regir a los moços & el varón a la mujer & los hombres a las bestias. (Goldberg 1974: 137)

⁹ Probably the most iconic yet erroneous identification of a Mary subordinating herself to Christ is that of Mary of Bethany, not Mary Magdalene, who washes and anoints the feet of Christ, (Luke 7: 37-9, John 11: 2, and John 12: 3).

From this Aristotelian observation, the implication therefore arises that also women are considered intellectually inferior, and even taking into account the discrepancy of literacy rates between sexes, this perhaps points towards why the corpus acknowledges and or contains so few texts composed by women. Fray Martín further supports his thesis with contemporary science stating that:

E la muger es muelle & tierna, donde por eso en latín se llama *mulier*, que quiere decir muelle. Esto le viene a ella de su conplesión que es flemática & aquosa & por quanto el ánima sigue las conplisiones del cuerpo, así como la muger en el cuerpo es flaca & muelle, así en el ánima es vertible en deseos & voluntades. (Goldberg 1974: 153-4)

The predominance of phlegm and water in women's bodies lead to the belief that they were not as capable as men, a belief that was perpetuated in literature also, as Sponsler infers from the ballads that medieval women view 'woman as weaker and more vulnerable than man' (1975: 40). Hence, it is natural for woman during that period to consider herself as inferior both physically and mentally, and therefore subordinate herself to man, adhering to the tenet 'de ser obsequiosas en su casa', or in particular the requirement that 'la muger ha de ser obsequiosa al marido amándole, honrándole & por sí & por otras serviéndole' (Goldberg 1974: 206). According to Ward, even:

the law emphasised women's subordination [...] all types of law regarded women as inferior to men and treated them as daughters, wives and widows rather than as individuals in their own right. They were widely regarded as irrational and incapable, and in the interests of social order needed to be kept under male control. (2002: 4)

Goldberg interprets that Fray Martín's affirmation that woman should love her husband more than her mother or father, based on Genesis 2.24 (1974: 266). Obviously the converse advice is not offered to a male, but the requisition for a woman to transfer her affections in the customary event of an arranged marriage again indicates her representation as an extension of the male patriarch, whoever he is at the given time.

Many traditional lyrics contradict the idea of a patriarchal society comprising women are content to play a submissive role; there are also examples depicting young women who

are happy to subordinate themselves, such as the female speaker of ‘¡Ay!, madre, al Amor’, a lyric found in the sixteenth-century *Cancionero de Évora* (Frenk 2003: I, 79):

¡Ay!, madre, al Amor
quíerole, ámole y téngole por señor.

The biblical allusion of the distich suggests self-elevation by assimilating her role to that of Mary as Bride of Christ, but all the while perpetuating the role of subordination to the male persona. Nevertheless, Frenk points out that the *Cancionero sevillano* has a corresponding lyric *a lo divino*: ‘Tal niño y pastor’ (Frenk 2003: I, 79):

Tal niño y pastor
quíerole y ámole
y ámole y quiérole por señor.

The obvious religious paradigmatic woman is the Virgin Mary, whose subordination to the male persona, whether he is a ‘niño’ or ‘señor’ is reminiscent of her versatile role of subordinate and subservient mother, and also Bride of Christ. Whereas ‘niño y pastor’ unequivocally refer to a holy figure, ‘Amor’ of the previous lyric could refer to either a concept or her lover. Although the anthropomorphism ambivalently employed here is a literary tool that evokes erudite poetry such as *Amor cruel e brioso* of Macías or *Dexadme por Dios estar* composed by Carvajales, as Antonio Sánchez Romeralo explains, symbolism usually dominates the lyric:¹⁰

La huella persistente de esta tradición se descubre en un repertorio de formas y maneras a que el cantar se ajusta cuando crea o recrea poéticamente, y también en un legado tradicional de *temas y motivos* líricos sobre los cuales el cantor levanta su poesía. (1969: 55)

The intersection of religious subject matter in a principally profane poem implies that there may have been a measured approach towards its integration into the popular tradition. It also clarifies the origins of the paradigm for not just for secular female personalities to subordinate themselves, but also the inherent superiority of men is confirmed in late medieval society.

¹⁰ For variants of *Amor cruel e brioso*, see Dutton 1990-91: I, 336 (LB2-143); I, 417 (ME1-75); II, 71 (MN15-14); II, 376 (MN65-9); III, 215 (PN1-308) and IV, 384 (SCP-7), and for variants of *Dexadme por Dios estar*, see Dutton 1990-91: I, 5 (BA1-13); II, 353 (MN54-122) and IV, 361 (VM1-38).

On the other hand, the *canciones* governed by courtly love are plentiful in the demonstration of reticence and modesty by women in the eyes of the male speakers, but subordination to him is not conventional. Karl Kohut observes that Castilian fifteenth-century society is ‘impregnada de una ideología feudal’. Whereas the philosophy encompasses a system of legal, social, and military customs based on reciprocity between the lord, vassal and fief, courtly love portrays an inverted aspect of the feudal vassal-master which is projected onto most forms of erudite *cancionero* poetry (1982: 644). In turn, this points towards a distinct perspective of the depiction of women in *canciones* contrasted with those of popular poetry, and also the *serrana*. Although amorous themes dominate *cancionero* poetry, the inversion of hierarchical societal norms occurs particularly in many of the *canciones*; the male speaker becomes the vassal, and the lady assumes the role of the lord. It cannot be applied to the *serranilla*, but Álvaro Alonso encapsulates the image of the lady of the *canción* with the generalisation:

La mujer aparece como un ser superior, inalcanzable en su indiferencia o su crueldad. Está dotada de todas las perfecciones físicas y morales, que el poeta encarece mediante una serie de recursos más o menos tópicos: el elogio imposible [...], la dama como obra maestra de Dios [...], la hipérbole sacroprofana. (1999: 21)

Most importantly, the male speaker is ennobled by his suffering, or *amor hereos*, which then allows him to regain his social status and superiority. Paradoxically, although the female addressee is not actively submissive during the wooing process, her customary tacitness is confirmation of her reticence and modesty in the face of the male speaker. Furthermore, in *Por una tal como vos*, her worthiness to be defended by God as a perfect woman is corroborated by her characteristics: ‘virtudes se eredan / en vuestra gentil figura’ (lines 5-6), ‘gracias’, ‘beldad’, and ‘tal valer’.

VALUES OF INTEGRITY

Whereas compliance and submission are one aspect of the ideal woman, there are further characteristics that comprise her integrity. Because moral virtues are disparate and take countless forms, and many women in the corpus display them, there is no need to analyse multiple texts in the attempt to verify them all in the same way that I do with the other principal characteristics. Nevertheless, it can be recognised that there is a gamut of virtuous values that can be gleaned from the *Jardín de las nobles donzellas*. Undoubtedly, the Virgin Mary is a model of piety, and is depicted so in both popular and erudite poetry. Fray Martín cites St Jerome to explain that the flowers, or the ‘vergel de Dios’ associated with her persona and frequently adopted into traditional poetry, are symbols for three aspects of her character: ‘Lo segundo por la hermosura de las flores & en la Virgen fueron flores espirituales; rosas de caridad, violas de humildad, lirios de virginidad; donde en los Cánticos: - Flores aparecieron en nuestras tierras’ (Goldberg 1974: 162). Correspondingly, Fray Martín also states the three significant admirable qualities of mortal women: ‘Las condiciones buenas de las mugeres son tres, ca son las mugeres vergonçosas, son piadosas, son obsequiosas’ (Goldberg 1974: 193).

However, attempts to adhere to virtuousness by women are often undermined by the misogynist literature of the period. It is not coincidental that in this chapter virginity and chastity have so much focus; Goldberg states that: ‘In misogynistic literature woman is constantly referred to as sexually insatiable, greedy, and gluttonous’, and in Torrellas’ *Maldezir de mugeres* Archer points out that he variously refers women as ‘malignas’, ‘sospechosas’, ‘mal secretas’, ‘mentirosas’, and ‘movibles’ (2005: 175). Fray Martín advises woman against these sins, and praises her natural modesty (1974: 108). Notably, the didactic work of Fray Martín was destined primarily for the literate and upper echelons, and more specifically designated for a young and unmarried princess. Therefore, remarks are often directed toward her, but still comprise advice for all women: ‘No basta a la princesa, para ser

en sí bien ordenada, tener limpio coraçon & honestas palabras' (1974: 231). Simple, unadorned advice such as this is infrequent in the *Jardín de las nobles donzellas* because of the custom of Fray Martín to expound each point. The common belief is that the eyes are the real revelation of a character, hence the importance for women to keep their gaze lowered in order to promote a modest manner, which also evokes the saintly topos of downcast eyes, hence highlighting the importance of a pious stance. Fray Martín advises on this aspect as well: 'Si ha de mirar, alce los ojos, que este es su oficio & abasta le alçar los párpados, no toda la cabeça como hacen las mulas quando les dan sofrendas' (Goldberg 1974: 231). This is an act of modesty, as Frenk states that 'Los ojos constituyen el centro de la belleza', on a symbolic level, she contextualises eyes as part of 'otro espacio simbólico, el del *cuerpo* de la mujer, [donde] nos encontramos con un elemento que equivale simbólicamente a la puerta' (1994: 47). From this, it is understood that ultimately in all cases he is pointing towards piety and modesty being the embodiment of ideal femininity.

BEAUTY

The final aspect of the paradigmatic woman to be considered is her beauty. Sources are conflicting regarding the expectations of women in this aspect because there are many texts that praise beauty, but as Gareth Alban Davies explains, the *descriptio pulchritudinis*, or *descriptio puellae* has its origins in a classical model:

With the thirteenth century the conventional *descriptio* was given a theoretical framework. Matthew of Vendôme proposed the following definition for feminine beauty: 'Est forma elegans et idonea membrorum congruentia cum suavitate coloris.' The portrait should not be realistic, but a compendium of attributes making for an ideal vision of human beauty. And since Art imitates Nature the poet must imitate God the artist: description therefore, like Creation, must begin with the head, proceed via hair, brow and eyebrows, to nose, eyes, and cheeks, and thence to lips and chin. Matthew exemplified his theory in a description of Helen of Troy, verses whose popularity in turn increased observance of the rules. (1975: 293)

The conventional description is adhered to in many literary depictions of women, and Carlos Alvar notes also that in the Hispanic lyric tradition in particular, there are particular features that should be present:

a pesar de todo, no resulta difícil apreciar numerosos tópicos presentes en autores plenamente medievales: el oro de los cabellos o las rosas de sus mejillas, y el color blanco en general (dientes, cuello, manos...) que hacen a la dama de perlas, alabastro, marfil y nieve, remiten a un ideal de belleza de larga tradición. (2001: 60)

In the fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor* by Juan Ruiz, the Arcipreste de Hita, several stanzas are dedicated to the analysis of ‘a lovely woman’:

- 431 Cata muger fermosa, donosa e loçana, que non sea mucho luenga, nin otrosí enana; si podieres, non quieras amar muger villana, que de amor non sabe, es como bausana.
- 432 Busca muger de talla, de cabeça pequeña; cabellos amarillos, non sean de alheña; las cejas apartadas, luengas, altas, en peña; ancheta de caderas; ésta es talla de dueña.
- 433 Ojos grandes, someros, pintados, reluzientes, e de luengas pestañas, bien claras, parecientes; las orejas pequeñas, delgadas, páral mientes si á el cuello alto: atal quieren las gentes.
- 434 La nariz afilada, los dientes menudillos, iguales, e bien blancos, poquillo apartadillos; las enzías bermejas; los dientes agudillos; los labios de la boca bermejós, angostillos.
- 435 La su boca pequeña, así de buena guisa; la su faz sea blanca, sin pelos, clara e lisa; puna de aver muger que la vea sin camisa, que la talla del cuerpo te dirá: “Esto aguisa.” (2001: 81-2)

On the other hand, Fray Martín has little to say on the physical features of an ideal woman, but Goldberg summarises that woman was commonly held to be ‘a sexually insatiable creature, incapable of restraint, and a snare of the devil’s creation designed to entrap otherwise chaste men’ (1974: 115). Although the attractiveness of woman is extolled with frequency in erudite *canciones*, beauty is often seen as synonymous with beguiling sexuality; it is the sexually appealing aspect of women that frequently arises in traditional poetry and the *serranillas*. In the light of the temptation it can cause, both Torrellas and Fray Martín warn of women’s falsification of their beauty through the use of cosmetics: Torrellas refers to it in lines 76-81 of his invective against women in *Maldezir de mugeres* (Archer 2005: 173):

tienen engañosas sectas;
entienden en afeitar
y en gestos por atraer;
saben mentir sin pensar,

80 reír sin causa et llorar
e aun enbaidoras ser.

The wearing of makeup is therefore seen to be an integral manifestation of deceit. Fray Martín, less vituperatively, also spurns women who wear too much make-up:

Lo segundo, aya en el ábito honestad, para lo qual se requieren seys condiciones: la primera, no ayan en sí nigund afeyte sofisticado, ca esto es ylicito & siempre es pecado quando la muger procura parescer más hermosa de lo que es, poniendo aluayalde & arrebol, açafrán & alcohol & otras posturas desonestas. (Goldberg 1974: 232)

He cites the importance of inner beauty, which is described by Alan Deyermond as ‘the familiar rhetorical topos known in Spanish as *corteza y meollo*, the contrast between outer appearance and inner reality (perhaps is most familiar in Jesus’s description of the Pharisees as whited sepulchres, Matthew 23.27)’ (1996: 58).

However, physical beauty is commonplace in erudite *canciones*, and is exemplified in the *canción Por una tal como vos*, above. During the extolling of the ‘dama’ there are several references to her beauty. Like many descriptions of women in late medieval literature, they are coupled with virtues: ‘de gracias y de beldad’ (line 2), ‘Y pues virtudes se eredan / en vuestra gentil figura’ (lines 5-6), and ‘en tal valer y beldad’ (line 10). This illustrates the expectation that the ideal woman must satisfy a multifaceted perfection, whose characteristics complement one another. The beauty described in *Por una tal como vos* does not in any way allude to sexuality even though in some instances in erudite *canciones*, it may do so. The ideal of feminine beauty as opposed to sexuality is less frequently found in traditional Hispanic poetry than in erudite poetry, although with regard to depiction of the Virgin Mary, ‘Tú, Virgen María’, of Francisco de Yepes, (who was born in 1530 and who died in 1607) is a fascinating example comprising an encounter of religious, erudite, and popular influence in the *villancico*, and that illustrates the regular conflicts that arise in the study of *villancicos* (Frenk 2003: I, 910):

Tú, Virgen María,
eres más hermosa
que la luz del día,
y mucho más linda.

5 Tú, Virgen sagrada,
eres más hermosa
que la luz del alva,
y mucho más galana.

The beauty of the Virgin Mary is extolled from a mortal, rather than celestial, perspective. The simple repeated comparative phrase ‘eres más hermosa’ that shows her beauty is the focus of the *villancico* because it is central to each verse, introduces the diurnal and nocturnal elements, which are organic features frequently found in the traditional lyric. The connotations of ‘hermosa’, being erudite and classical, contrast with those of ‘día’ and ‘alva’, which, in the light of the *alba* tradition discussed in the previous chapter, are incongruous with the religious protagonist being discussed. Notably, the *villancico* usually integrates the dawn motif symbolically rather than comparatively, and associates femininity with sexuality as opposed to associating it with beauty. Even so, the essence of procreation is present because both Mary and the dawn ‘dar a luz’: Mary gives birth to Christ and dawn gives light to the world. Because of the multiple influences on the lyric corpus, albeit conflicting, the implied gender associations of the dawn in secular literature and the dawn in religious literature may differ.

A conflict has arisen over time between biblical and secular literature, because before Marianism came to the fore of Catholicism, in biblical terms Christ was unequivocally linked to dawn, such as in Revelation 22.16 ‘Morning Star’. In medieval Hispanic literature, however, it is common to see Mary assimilated with and connected to dawn. Although the informal address of the Virgin Mary as ‘Tú’ is unusual because she is usually a person to be formally revered, ‘Tú, Virgen María’ is religious, not satirical, and regarding the ‘Morning Star’ symbolism, it cannot be interpreted as an elevation of Mary above Christ. One reason

for the change in the symbolic connections between dawn and the Christian figureheads may be simply that in medieval Catholicism, due to the cult of the Virgin Mary, she becomes more prominent and takes over the role of Christ as the intercessor between people and God, which is then also carried over into representations in art and literature, including symbolism. Theories behind the minimalisation of Christ in medieval and Renaissance paintings have been exposed, and although Warner is thorough in her research regarding the Virgin Mary, to my knowledge, the study of the usurpation of Mary of the role of Christ in medieval literature is a lacuna in scholarship. However, dawn does not always connote eroticism, and popular literature here sustains the theme in a religious way.

The intersection of symbolism and literary tradition is again encountered in ‘Cabellicos de oro’, a popular lyric depicting a classical representation of a secular woman in the male voice, which is found in the 1597 Valencian *Quarto quaderno de varios romances* (Frenk 2003: II, 1635):

Cabellicos de oro,
cuerpo delgado,
tus manos son nieve,
tu pecho, mármol.

This is one of a minority of popular lyrics that represents a protagonist with classically beautiful features, elevating her above the common *villancico* depiction. It has the effect of quelling the raw sexuality that is prevalent in the majority of the lyrics, which is a by-product of the frequently-employed natural symbolism.

‘Cabellicos de oro’ resonates or *descriptio puellae*, which Davies notes has its origins in the Greco-Latin tradition (1975: 293). However, it is notable that the chest, described out of sequence because usually a top-down description is followed, comes after the hands, evoking the idea that the woman is unusual. Otherwise, even though it is a traditional verse form, ‘Cabellicos de oro’ follows the classical model for *descriptio puellae*. The allure of the medieval lyric is that repetitions of well-worn formulae are not seen as devaluing clichés, but

as concrete representations. The ambiguous last line 'tu pecho, mármol' does not only, as Alvar states above, comprise part of the beautiful ideal, but also the connotations of the chest of the lady being marble imply hard-heartedness. Her coldness towards the speaker is also highlighted by the metaphor 'tus manos son nieve'. The cold, unmoving and unresponsive representation sterilises her simultaneously and elevates her to a station similar to that of the courtly lady, whose resistance Boase describes as epitomising 'the archetypal *belle dame sans merci*' (1992: 460). However, it could just be a formulaic reference because as Alvar points out, also in the Peninsula is the tradition that: 'los poetas arábigoandaluces alaban los pechos femeninos aluden más a la forma o al tamaño, que al color' (2001: 60).

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, there is a vast amount of evidence pointing towards the existence of a typology to which medieval women were expected to conform in late medieval society. Facets of the ideal woman exist across the *canción* corpus, but are less prevalent in the lyric unless in a religious *villancico*, and they lack in the *serranilla*. Even though there are some classical influences on the depiction of the idealised woman, more noticeable are the persuasions that all ideal feminine characteristics have Biblical origins, hence the Virgin Mary is a paragon of woman both in literature and in late-medieval society. Although the model woman was expected to be chaste and subservient, the contemporary view of woman was that she was already sullied before she was born, hence such legal and social measures were taken to ensure that she was as controlled as much as possible during her lifetime. The reminders of other decreed aspects of the paradigmatic personality are alluded to in didactic and religious verse that would have been impressed on women of all social echelons.

Therefore, deviant women do not adhere to the restrictive roles, nor does she embody the characteristics that clearly emanate from many treatments of the ideal women.

Indisputably, because it was a reflection on the family honour, the most essential element to her character is her chastity as an unmarried woman, or fidelity to her husband as a married woman. Deviance from this social expectation could expect dire consequences. Furthermore, where submission to the patriarchal ideal was integral to the control of women on the Iberian Peninsula, women who rebelled against it by showing subversion or simply independence in the face of the father, husband, or male figure, are rendered deviant. Piety, devotion, and compassion are also values of integrity that various deviant women in the lyric, *canciones*, and *serranillas* lack. Women were expected to be attractive and those who were not were often a source of derision and could therefore be rendered deviant.

In the light of the liberal attitudes of lyric protagonists, it is likely that deviations from orthodoxy are mocking the theoretical ideal that is filtered down through social hierarchy and monitored by the patriarch. However, it is not only composers, speakers, and characters in the lyrics, but also those of the *canciones* that appear to take pleasure in undermining social norms. Their subversion of social expectation is usually connected to promiscuity and the undermining of marital status, which is in theory but not necessarily in practice, behaviour alien to the designed principles of the Catholic institution. Furthermore, although some of the deviant natures encountered in the following *cancioneril* portrayals may be satirical, the possibility is that some may also be inspired by the changes in attitudes towards and about women during the late-medieval period, to which Archer draws attention:

Then, too, studies on late medieval Spain have begun to suggest that there is a gap between the subordinate and subsidiary place of women as defined by the law, largely drawn up in the thirteenth century, and their real place, often one of influence and responsibility, in the everyday society of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. (2005: 4)

For both listeners and performers, the lyrics and *canciones* in the following chapters provide an intimate escape from daily domestic existence into a world of freedom and titillating experience. Tangible references are a principal ingredient, and according to Henk Heijkoop and Otto Zwartjes, in particular ‘interior feelings, sensations, and emotions’ are a

driving factor in the lyric and its diffusion (2004: 47). Even in erudite poems, this raw sensitivity cannot be ignored; often because of the way in which deviant women are depicted within a medley of emotional intensity, composers have created unique scenarios that, in the case of the lyric, facilitate wide diffusion, and in the case of the *canciones*, preservation in *cancioneros*.

CHAPTER III: WOMAN AND LOVE (THE MALE-VOICE REPRESENTATION)

INTRODUCTION

A principal difference between the traditional lyric and the erudite *canciones* is the gender of the poetic voice. Whereas the male voice undisputedly dominates the *canciones*, Fernando Cabo Aseguinolaza reiterates the widely accepted premise of modern scholarship that: 'Uno de los rasgos que con más éxito conforma la imagen de la antigua lírica tradicional tiende a identificar esta poesía con una voz poética femenina' (1989: 225). It is not to say that male-voice representations of deviant woman arise solely in the *canciones*; in the context of deviant woman and love in the male voice, there are more examples in the lyric as a result of the number of *villancicos* that are present in the entire corpus. Cabo Aseguinolaza in fact argues that the Castilian lyric differentiates from other Peninsula lyric traditions due to the substantial number of *villancicos* that are in the male voice, but 'a pesar de su abundancia, hayan sido relegados a un segundo plano por la tradición crítica [que] es fácilmente explicable tras el panorama que hemos trazado' (1989: 228). Although I disagree that *villancicos* in the male voice are numerous relative to the total number of lyrics, they are most certainly a significant area that are overlooked in the corpus.

María Cruz Muriel Tapia points out that society in the Middle Ages had one basic frame of reference for women: their sexual identity (1991: 57). In the light of this, it is not surprising that, most frequently, male-voice representations of women deviating from the paradigm in amorous situations are related to their sexuality. However, even within this frame, representations of woman and love in the male voice are various. They range from representations of the protagonist flaunting her sexuality, to outright disregard for the societal norms of chaste comportment, or being depicted as a sexual chattel. In many instances the male voice engenders a voyeuristic register where the female addressee or protagonist

becomes the object of erotic fantasy; conversely the same voyeuristic register can satirise the female protagonist as an object of derision.

An important aspect of the parameter of male-voice representation is the filters through which the poems pass before being concretised in the *cancionero* or *pliego suelto*. These are different in the case of the *canciones* and traditional lyrics. However, for both, although a distinction must be drawn between the composer and the poetic voice, there is no doubt that the gender of the composer may affect the framing of the narrative voice. In the case of the two *canciones* in this chapter, the gender of both is undisputedly the same; although the content may not mirror the personal opinions or experiences of the composers, both are known to be composed by male poets and they are also in the male voice. It is unlikely therefore, that anything other than the male voice is conferred by the *canciones*.

However, in the case of the anonymous *villancicos*, although it is more likely than not to have been composed by a woman, it is impossible to confirm the gender of the original composer. Anne L. Klinck summarises the features of woman's song:

Woman's song is characterized by strophic structure, often with repeated lines or phrases creating parallelism or refrain; simplicity of vocabulary and syntax; lack of narrative and descriptive detail; emotional, often exclamatory language; focus on certain natural objects – water, trees, birds, animals – which assume a symbolic function; and a strong physical element in the speaker's account of herself and her feelings. The mode of woman's song is frequently signalled at the opening by grammatical markers of feminine gender, and by an apostrophe to the speaker's mother, lover, or confidante(s). The theme always relates to love, typically, but not universally, in terms of loss or longing. These features apply especially to monologue, but they also appear in dialogue, and in narrative-framed speech. (2002: 2)

Klinck's summary is a good general overview of elements pertaining to songs composed by women, but it is not exhaustive; characteristics such as use of refrains, exclamatory language, and love in terms of loss or longing can also be found in the predominantly male-voice *canciones*. Nevertheless, Klinck's comments support the deduction that although the lyrics below are framed by a male voice, their composition or dissemination is likely to have been by women. Therefore, although a masculine voyeuristic register may be employed in the lyric, this male voice is likely to have been formed through the filter of a female voice

parodying a man observing a woman, which is a measure of reflecting on, in the words of Juliet Flower MacCannell, seeing oneself being seen and seeing (1986: 136).

Although I do not wish to rely on it as an integral part of this thesis because contemporary scholarship sometimes considers it to be outmoded and problematic, the six-part model suggested by Seymour Chatman deserves a mention.¹ It draws upon the flourishing theorising on narrative discourse in the mid- to late- twentieth century. Chatman suggests:

To understand the concept of narrator's voice (including its 'absence') we need to consider three preliminary issues: the interrelation of several parties to the narrative transaction, the meaning of 'point of view', and its relation to voice, and the nature of acts of speech and thought as a subclass of the class of acts in general. These topics form a necessary prolegomena to the analysis of narrator's voice, upon which any discussion of narrative discourse rests.

Real author, Implied author, Narrator, Narratee, Implied reader, Real reader (1980: 147)

I take into account certain elements when analysing poems although not as a direct duplication of the model suggested by Chatman.

Following on from Chatman's division of narrative voice, it must be taken into account that in the first place, the characterisation of medieval woman is a masculine social construction. Juliet Mitchell urges that: 'psychoanalysis is not a recommendation *for* a patriarchal society, but an analysis *of* one. If we are interested in understanding and challenging the oppression of women, we cannot afford to neglect it' (1975: xiii). Being anachronistic, the modern psychoanalytical feminist debate can be considered tangential to and detracting from the focal point of deviant woman in medieval society. Furthermore, I do not wish to open this as a feminist debate. Nor does this thesis, with a focus on close textual analysis have enough room to support a political element. Therefore, it must be noted that the filter of the gaze, which is interwoven with Lacanian psychoanalytical theory will be considered at various points when analysing deviant women in male-voice portrayals, but it will not be the focus due to the emphasis on close textual analysis. As A. C. Spearing

¹ See Ian Reid 1992: 240 for some concerns surrounding the model.

observes, ‘The concept of the ‘male gaze’ and its accompanying body of thought provides a valuable stimulus for thinking about watching in medieval love narratives; but it cannot be transferred without modification from modern semiotics, psychoanalysis and film-theory’ (1993: 25). The observation of Spearing indicates the difficulty of applying modern psychoanalytical theory to the medieval arena, hence my desire to use it only as a supporting tool, and my reluctance to rely on it wholly due to its debatable applicability.

This chapter analyses eleven lyrics and two *canciones* that offer male-voice representations of deviant woman and love. As will become apparent, the representations are often disparate, and such a variety renders it difficult to give a categorical overview of the male-voice representation of deviant woman and love. However, the intention is to draw comparisons between the representations of deviant women between the two forms of poetry, and also to contrast them with the following chapter that looks at the female-voice representation of woman and love.

DEVIANCE

The satirical element of the male voice is stylistically evident in the first lyric that I analyse. ‘Madre, una moçuela’ is found in the *ensalada* ‘Rey don Sancho, Rey don Sancho’ (Frenk 2003: I, 208):

Madre, una moçuela
que en amores me habló,
¡piérdala su madre
y hallásemela yo!

It is notable that ‘Madre, una moçuela’ is a most unusual lyric because it is only one of a mere handful of instances in the lyric corpus where a male character invokes the *madre*.² This, as well as the way in which Frenk punctuates the lyric with exclamation marks to

² For other examples see Frenk 2003: I, 125 ‘D’amores son mis ojuelos, madre’; I, 413 ‘Las mis penas, madre’; and II, 1101 ‘Cuando vos fuéredes monja, madre’.

convey excitement surrounding the loss of the 'madre', is reminiscent of the style in female-voice lyrics; it usually portrays the naivety and innocence of the female speaker. Therefore, although this is a male-voice representation, it undoubtedly contains female characteristics.

Although the *madre* is most relevant to a female protagonist, her importance is worth noting here because of her prominence in folklore. According to Sánchez Romeralo, 'la madre es el gran confidente del villancico castellano' and she is the 'destinatario mudo de las confidencias' (1969: 265). She does, however, have a pan-European persona, so certain associations and repute may precede and supersede her characterisation in certain *villancicos*. Overall, the *madre* has a multivalent role in the lyric: she can be a mother superior, or her biological relationship with the younger girl dictates her responsibilities. But in the majority of cases, unless the *madre* is posited in a situation where there is clear indication of her blood-relationship with the *doncella*, it is accepted that she is an older female confidante, which John Gornall highlights as: 'the norm in lyrics of *confidencias a la madre*' (1988: 438). Girls in this period were married at a notoriously young age, hence when they became mothers themselves, their mothers were still relatively young, notwithstanding the relative modern-day scale of age. Hence they would look to women with greater life-experience than their mothers for advice, who were also termed *madre*. The relationship in the lyric, however, often has a dual purpose. The active role of a *madre* figure or just her invocation in a text implies a symbiotic function of their relationship; the *madre* is enabled either to experience vicariously that which she is no longer able, due to her age, or to relive her own past actions.

Being involved with a lover is incongruous with the chaste and reticent behaviour of paradigmatic woman, but the consequences of the interaction between the male speaker and the 'moçuela' are more pertinent. As will be revealed below, the majority of the male-voice representations of deviant women in the context of love show them to be independent and

feisty characters who maintain an element of control over the male addressee or voyeur. ‘Madre, una moçuela’ opens with the male speaker indicating that the female protagonist is bold to the extent that she made advances on him: ‘en amores me habló’ (line 2) rather than being wooed by him. The hope that the ‘moçuela’ loses her *madre*: ‘¡piérdala su madre!’ (line 3) has grave repercussions: in losing a *madre*, the young female would then no longer have a fount of wisdom and experience to guide her. Therefore, her loss is reminiscent of the topos of losing one’s way, which is indicative of moral faltering. The male-voice representation is then one of an emboldened ‘moçuela’ who replaces her female confidante with a lover, an indication that she rejects the conventional framework of support and independently chooses her own way.

Klinck points out above that woman’s song often revolves around natural and commonplace objects and her own physical features. Although physical depictions are proscribed by the courtly love influence of erudite *canciones* in order to protect the anonymity of the addressee, in traditional poetry, it is not unusual for these to be mentioned. A number of lyrics depicting women contain eyes as a motif, and representation of woman and love through the male voice shows that woman uses these as a sexual tool, as exemplified by ‘Alça la niña los oyos’, found in the *Cancionero de Upsala* (Frenk 2003: I, 282):

Alça la niña los oyos:
no para todos.

In the Middle Ages eyes are an essential component of the beauty of woman; Francisco A. Marcos-Marín’s analysis of ‘a lovely woman’ taken from Juan Ruiz’s fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor* mentions ‘women whose eyes are large, prominent, colourful, shining’ (1999: 30). However, rather than simply being a feature of woman to admire, Margit Frenk further alludes to the topos of *corteza y meollo* when she says: ‘Los ojos constituyen el centro de la belleza’ (1994: 47). In particular, contemporary scientific belief saw eyes as the window to the soul, and through which the vital spirits were reflected.

‘Alça la niña los oyos’ is almost certainly in the male voice, which is confirmed by the association of the lyric with others that are thematically similar; they have a voyeuristic tone in common. Therefore, a binary opposition is created between the female protagonist and the speaker. In particular, by defining her as a ‘niña’, she could be interpreted as an innocent character as this may refer to her age. However, in the light of the following *villancico* ‘Mirándome está mi niña’, ‘niña’ can also be an affectionate colloquial term for a beloved. Nevertheless, in the light of the use of the colon by Frenk between the two lines, a separation of the *villancico* into two parts creates a pause, and serves to highlight what is not said, which all the more attracts the attention and creative interpretations of the audience. In line 2, ‘no para todos’ indicates that the ‘niña’ is selective of the recipient, and therefore her deliberate gaze, as opposed to a glance, draws the attention of the lyric audience.

Eyes are the instrument of the gaze; a medieval example is typified by Sonnet VIII, *De aquella vista pura y excelente*, by Garcilaso de la Vega (Rivers 1996: 50). Nowadays, psychoanalytical theory holds the gaze to be sexualised in the Lacanian sense, and although the application of scopophilia may be anachronistic, it is evident in the lyric that eyes play a significant role in the sexualisation of characters and situations, as illustrated by ‘Alça la niña los oyos’. The self-awareness of the ‘niña’ is communicated through the male-voice portrayal, or, aptly summed up by Slavoj Žižek citing Jacques Lacan: ‘woman is a symptom of man’ (2006: 394). Elizabeth A. Grosz qualifies this notion with: ‘The primacy of one’s own perspective is replaced by the gaze of another, for whom the subject is merely a point in space and not the focal point organising space’ (1994: 47). Although the repercussions of her gaze can only be surmised due to the brevity of the lyric, the insinuation is that the ‘alça’ of her ‘oyos’ is well sought after. Hence she exerts control over men through the use of her eyes, which is at odds with the ideal woman, who should display deference at all times.

As seen in the previous chapter, Fray Martín sees the eyes as a catalyst that reveals and moderates the femininity of a woman (Goldberg 1974: 231). This also relates to the recognition that they can be a tool; the interplay between the innocence of female protagonists such as the ‘niña’ of ‘Alça la niña los oyos’, and the sensual potential that her eyes have, is developed further in ‘Mirándome está mi niña’ located in the *Jardín de amadores* of Francisco Sabad, and BNM, ms. 3700 (Frenk 2003: II, 1154):

Mirándome está mi niña
por las ver[j]as de un verde balcón;
con los ojos me haze del ojo,
con el dedo me dize de no.

The alliteration in each line plays a significant role in communicating this sensual force. In line 1 a wistful tone is suggested by the soft ‘m’ and ‘n’ sounds, although simultaneously ‘mi’ alludes to his exasperation that he cannot have her especially when they are separated by ‘las ver[j]as de un verde balcón’ (line 2). The tone here then changes to overt sexual turmoil which is not only indicated by the harsh fricative ‘v’ sounds, but also by the conflicting image of a barrier between them in the form of the grille, ‘ver[j]a’, of the balcony which is described as ‘verde’. This colour, unequivocally linked with fecundity, thereby confirms sexual undertones to the *villancico*. It is interesting to note that the female protagonist, as opposed to a customary representation behind an impenetrable wall or door, is depicted by the male voice as only being separated from him by a grille. This denotes an easily penetrable structure comprising holes and spaces, therefore if the ‘ver[j]a’ is a metaphor for the ‘niña’, it, or she, is easily penetrable and therefore does not demonstrate the chaste attributes that an ideal woman should.

The second half of the lyric is built on antitheses which serve to develop the undertones of sexual frustration that are built up in the first half. The implicit penetration that is suggested during the scene-setting in lines 1 and 2 is supported by an antithetical symbolic and private ‘yes’ indicated by the eyes of the girl in line 3: ‘me haze del ojo’, and the explicit

and public ‘no’ of line 4 that is indicated ‘con el dedo’. Therefore, the eyes of the protagonist cease to have an aesthetic function, and can only have a symbolic purpose in ‘Mirándome está mi niña’. In the light of the investigations of James F. Burke on vision and the gaze in *Celestina*, the ‘arrow of desire’ that the female protagonist shoots at the male speaker with her eyes: ‘con los ojos me haze del ojo’ (line 4), may also be interpreted as the ‘evil eye’ (2000: 63-78). Specifically, Burke explains its function:

Her presence vitiates the acoustical ambiance in much the same manner that it does the visual one; she produces an ‘ayre infectado’ with her presence that affects the *species* travelling both to the eyes and ears. Enrique de Villena in his treatise on the evil eye describes the manner in which such ‘ayre infectado’ develops in terms of the Aristotelian category or predicament of activity and passivity, ‘abçion y pasion’. The active individual exercises pernicious influence upon the passive person through the medium of the ‘ayre infectado’. (2000: 87)

Burke’s explanations exemplify the underlying turbulence of ‘Mirándome está mi niña’ where although the male speaker should be the active voyeur, the ‘niña’ becomes the ‘active individual’ whose power is contained in her ‘ojo’. This inversion of roles reflects the entire structure of the *villancico*, invoking a push-pull rhythm which is reminiscent of sex, and whether a catalyst for love or ‘pernicious influence’, the eyes symbolise the sexuality of the female protagonist. In particular, by presenting an antithesis, the speaker alludes to the moral aspect of her eyes as they are used as a tool of temptation, which, similar to ‘Alça la niña los oyos’, constructs a representation of a woman who deviates from the ideal not only because of her suggested coquettish personality, but also because she is dominant over her lover.

The domination of women over the emotions of the speaker are also seen in ‘Páreste a la ventana’, a lyric in the *Tragedia policiana* of Sebastián Fernández and the *ensalada* ‘Ce, señora, ce, decí’, *Cancionero toledano* (Frenk 2003: 1, 286):

Páreste a la ventana,
niña en cabello,
que otro paraíso
yo no le tengo.

The speaker initially suggests her innocence through her description as a ‘niña en cabello’ (line 2), which Antonio Sánchez Romeralo points out denotes a virgin (1969: 60). However, allusions to hair in the lyric usually illustrate sexual availability, and in particular, as Stephen Reckert and Helder Macedo indicate, it has ‘connotaciones sensuales y afrodisíacas’ (1976: 170). By describing her in front of the window, which, like a door, is an aperture of a house that facilitates the transition between the public masculine arena and private feminine spheres, the ‘nina en cabello’ also jeopardises her *honra*. However, it must be noted that throughout the lyric, the depiction of the female protagonist is confined to her home, conscious of being the object of the male gaze. The second half of the *villancico* serves to reinforce the sexual undertones suggested by the stance of the ‘niña’ and the mention of her hair. Although the mention of ‘otro paraíso’ (line 3) can be taken as an illustrative literal reference of the perfection of the female protagonist, it also can be interpreted as a figurative allusion not just to sexual fulfilment and pleasure, but to climactic euphoria: without her he will not experience it.

Mariana Masera explains that ‘la mayoría de las canciones con marca explícita de la voz masculina poseen la marca en el alocutorio (de quién se habla); esto es, el hombre construye su discurso fuera de sí mismo, alrededor de la mujer’ (1993: 108). This is particularly true in this case, and it highlights the male voyeurism that is employed throughout. Such a voyeuristic register is evident in the opening line, and conveys a sensationalism that is mirrored in the second half of the lyric. Consideration of the register in the light of the direct address by the male speaker in line 1 invokes an ambivalent tone: the speaker seems to reproach the female protagonist for flaunting her sexuality yet simultaneously he is intrigued by her. However, this emotional torment is undermined in the following couplet ‘que otro paraíso / yo no le tengo’, where his comparison of her to a supreme milieu of joy ‘paraíso’ (line 3) negates any uncertainty he may have had. The ‘le’

of line 4 also undermines the direct address that is previously used, and refocuses the narration on the emotions of the speaker by concluding with a rhetorical discussion, in contrast with the narration of the first half.

I point out above that a distinction must be made between narrative voice and composer, yet also suggest that in the case of the erudite *canciones* and popular lyrics, correlation is evident between the gender of the composer and the narrative voice. With the exception of Vicente Beltrán, who receives little support in his theory that ‘la canción tradicional es una poesía masculina’, few critics believe the traditional lyric corpus to have equal composition by men and women (1976: 54). It must be noted that irrefutably attributing the majority of the lyric corpus to women is impossible because of the very nature of oral poetry. However, as is seen in the next chapter, women in the lyric frequently display auto-eroticisation, and appear proud of it, but in ‘Páreste a la ventana’, the listeners receive mixed messages about how the narrative voice, whose gender may correspond with that of the original composer, depicts the ‘niña en cabello’.

In a different manner, the eroticisation of the woman suggested by the male-voice representation in ‘Páreste a la ventana’ is amplified in the lyric ‘Los cabellos de mi amiga’, found in a supplement of the 1514 *Cancionero general* and also in *Poesías inéditas* of Andrade Caminha (Frenk 2003: I, 108):

Los cabellos de mi amiga
d’oro son:
para mí lançadas son.

Masera says that the associations of hair with human sexuality are timeless, which is true considering that nowadays we still consider it to be a woman’s crowning glory (1998: 160). However, in this tercet, the representation of hair shifts between the literal and symbolic during the two pertinent descriptions of the ‘cabellos’ of the ‘amiga’. Firstly, sexuality is certainly absent when the male speaker elevates his ‘amiga’ to a noble status by describing

her hair as 'd'oro son' (line 2). Not only does 'amiga' invoke courtly language, but also the metaphor of a precious metal is incongruous with a peasant environment, whereas a lower register in keeping with the *villancico* form would conceivably describe her as 'rubia'. Also, as Masera points out: 'Sin duda la rubia cabellera evoca el ideal de belleza de la dama, puesto que uno de los requisitos en las descripciones físicas era lo rutilante de sus cabellos' (1998: 164). Secondly, the 'lançadas' (line 3) to which the hair of the 'amiga' is assimilated invoke imagery of courtly *canciones* where pain and suffering by the lover fulfils courtly codes of conduct.

However, the bivalence of the 'lançadas' becomes a clear metaphor of eroticisation of the 'amiga' because her hair wounds the male speaker, bringing him into a state close to death. In the light of *petite mort*, this can be interpreted as sexual climax. More significantly, similar to the imagery of '¡Castillo, dátame, date!' and '¡Torre de la niña, y date!', the 'cabellos', which become a synecdoche for the 'amiga', have adopted a phallic and penetrative role by wounding him: 'para mí lançadas son'. This action is reminiscent of the earliest version of a ballad, *Gentil dona*, where the female protagonist's 'titilles agudilles / qu'el brial queran fender' (line 6).³ This congruent male-voice representation of a woman possessing a phallic object, which is then used penetratively, supports the hypothesis that the 'amiga' is part of a subversion of the traditional gender role. Although Louise O. Vasvári supports Alan Deyermond's slightly different interpretation that with respect to *Gentil dona*, the robe-tearing nipples 'can symbolically stand for the tearing of the hymen', it is clear that the female protagonist is in possession of the penetrating object, which indicates her usurpation of the masculine role (1999a: 62). Whereas it may be surprising that the usurpation of the phallus is a theme that occurs in male-voice representations, it demonstrates not only that the appropriation of male characteristics by the female is acknowledged (and

³ The earliest version was found copied by Majorcan student Jaume de Olesa into a notebook in 1421, which is documented by Deyermond (1996: 49). A later variant is *Estáse la gentil dama* in Dutton 1990-91: VI, 294 (17*OM-11).

most probably feared) by the masculine arena, but also, due to the several examples where such usurpation occurs, that the women who deviate from the paradigmatic ideal are various and unpredictable.

A further representation of the female character as dominant, and also as an appropriator of masculine power is seen in the figurative representation of ‘¡Torre de la niña, y date!’, in the *Cancionero muscial de Palacio*:⁴

¡Torre de la niña, y date!,
si no, dart’ é yo conbate.

Here, the male-voiced portrayal focuses on the actions of the speaker. On a literal level he appears to refer to the unattainability of the ‘niña’ by associating her with the steadfast image of the ‘torre’ who does not appear to be likely to surrender hence the reason for the speaker suggesting he will wage war. However, on a metaphorical level, the ‘niña’ is sexualised through assimilation to the phallic symbol of the ‘torre’, which is reminiscent of ‘Alva de Tormes’, a lyric discussed below in Chapter VIII where the town associated with prostitutes is ‘alta de torres’, and as a consequence, I posit it to can be assimilated to Mary Magdalene, the prostitute saint. The tower imagery is also reminiscent of the *Legend of St Barbara* where her father, in the light of numerous requests for her hand in marriage, believes her chastity is threatened, so locks her in a tower.⁵ In both ‘¡Torre de la niña, y date!’ and the *Legend of St Barbara*, the ‘torre’ is a phallic masculine edifice that is constructed to contain the female, denoting masculine proprietorial display. As it is usually the father who places her in the tower, it could be suggested that the tower represents him in particular. However, it is noted that in many situations depicting the ‘torre’, the women become the controllers of it, and

⁴ For glossed variants see Dutton 1990-91: II, 596 (MP4h-518) and II, 597 (MP4i-524).

⁵ With thanks to Andrew M. Beresford and Sarah V. Buxton for allowing me to peruse and cite their unpublished transcription of the *Legend of St Barbara*, found in BNM 780, fols 141^{ra}-44^{ra}, with variants from Escorial h-III-22, fols 410^{va}-13^{vb}.

hence also the phallus, such as when the speaker has to give over to combat.⁶ As indicated in the previous chapter, although chastity is required of ideal medieval women, paradoxically, subordination to the male is also expected. However, the way in which the male voice represents woman in this situation: commandeering the symbolic phallus is anomalous in the corpus.

Although Frenk considers ‘¡Torre de la niña, y date!’ to be a popular lyric, certain features indicate erudition. Not only is the indicated unattainability of the woman courtly, but also the bellicose imagery dominating this *villancico* is unusual for the lyric corpus. It would fit in better with the erudite courtly-love theme of love being equated to a sexualised battle, which Ian Macpherson and Angus MacKay discuss extensively (1993). Further erudite connotations are found in the variant lyric ‘¡Castillo, dáteme, date!’ in *Flor de enamorados* (Frenk 2003: I, 300):

¡Castillo, dáteme, date!,
si no, yo dart’é combate.

The principal difference between the variants is that in the second, a ‘castillo’ rather than a ‘torre’ is the edifice depicted by the speaker. In the light of the metaphor of ‘¡Torre de la niña, y date!’, the ‘castillo’ may represent the addressee’s father. Heather Arden posits that castles are ‘one of the most widespread erotic images in medieval literature’, confirming the sexual overtones suggested by the repeated lexeme ‘da’ in both variants (1995: 192). Interestingly, although unlike ‘¡Torre de la niña, y date!’, this variant does not appear in the *cancioneros* transcribed by Brian Dutton, it contains the *cancionero* topos of the *castillo de amor*. It evokes Jorge Manrique’s *Castillo d’amor*, albeit a very different type of poem, in which love is represented as an assault on a fortress (Dutton 1990-91: V, 257 (11CG-198) and VI, 97 (14CG-219)). In both, the female protagonist is part of a courtly-love ritual,

⁶ Barbara manipulates the construction of a third window in the tower, appropriating control over it and thereby usurping the phallic power of her father: ‘E díxoles ella: ‘Si aquesta morada es para mí, fazed otra finiestra tercera, mayor que éstas en esta parte.’ E ellos fiziéronlo así’.

suggesting that this is an unusual representation of the woman in the lyric. Moreover, her deviance is evident because in order to guard her essential femininity in the battlefield setting, she adopts masculine characteristics, and in doing so, as a repercussion, usurps the power of the phallus.⁷

This domineering representation of woman is also seen in ‘Una dama me mandó’, a *villancico* found in Gonzalo Correas Íñigo, *Arte de la lengua española castellana*; Lope de Vega, *La villana de Getafe*; and BNM ms. 3985 (Frenk 2003: i, 106):

Una dama me mandó
que sirviese i no cansase,
que sirviendo alcanzaría
todo lo que desease.

‘Una dama me mandó’ is unusual because it does not contain the usual tangible symbols of popular lyrics, and therefore it lacks the subtlety that allusion and symbolism bring, as we see in ‘¡Torre de la niña, y date!’ and ‘¡Castillo, dáteme, date!’. Also, not only does the poem invoke a distinct courtly tone through the central character being the ‘dama’, but ‘serviese’ and ‘sirviendo’ is vocabulary of courtly constitution. Although, as Estela Pérez Bosch points out: ‘La *metáfora feudal* se encuentra tan lexicalizada en el cancionero amoroso castellano que pasa desapercibida a un lector familiarizado con la lectura de sus versos’, the ‘*metáfora feudal*’ is not a construction that is familiar in the popular lyric (2009: 107). Even though Pérez Bosch observes that ‘Una dama me mandó’ is part of Frenk’s popular lyric corpus, she also does not note that the role of the woman as the dominant character is unusual in traditional poetry, but simply that ‘Con el paso de tiempo, el término «servicio» irá perdiendo las connotaciones feudales pasa a designar, simplemente, la adopción de un papel activo en el cortejo amoroso’ (2009: 107).

⁷ This is also reminiscent of the lyric ‘Halcón que se atreve’ where the ‘*garça guerrera*’ is symbolic of the female who has to defend herself in combat against the ‘*halcón*’. See Frenk 2003: I, 369.

The atypical nature of this *villanico* is not only due to its lexical incongruity in the lyric corpus, but, more saliently, the female protagonist is not compliant and subservient as society suggests exemplary woman should be. Developing the theme of dominant woman from the lyrics above, the female protagonists employ their dominance in different ways. Whereas the ‘niña’ of ‘Mirándome está mi niña’ uses coquettish behaviour to entice and control her beau, the ‘dama’ is portrayed by the male speaker as aggressive, indicated by ‘mandó’, and in particular, the repetend of ‘servir’ alludes to a sexually aggressive nature. On a literal level, the ‘dama’ orders her lover to serve her and not to tire of so doing. However, on a metaphorical level, the suggestions of sexual undertones associated with ‘servir’ are confirmed by the physical carnal implications of ‘cansase’. The climactic euphemism suggested in lines 3-4: ‘que sirviendo alcanzaría / todo lo que desease’ invokes the modern-day dominatrix, and underlines the sexual sense in which the lyric can be taken. We must take into account that the character of the ‘dama’ is constructed through the male speaker, so whether this should be interpreted as male-voice fantasy or representation is open to interpretation.

Complementing the incongruous portrayal of a ‘dama’ in a *villanico*, is *Desde aquí quiero jurar*, a *canción* composed by Carvajal that denigrates a peasant woman:⁸

<p>Desde aquí quiero jurar, sy voluntad non me engaña, de jamás amar villana.</p> <p>5 De villana fermosura ya non entiendo más curar, gentil dona de natura amaré, que sabe amar, porque torno a refermar, sy voluntad non me engaña, 10 de jamás amar villana.</p>	<p>15 Porque amor et gentileza, todos van per una vía, e la villana et la vileza busca su ygal compañía; pues, de tal gente curar, non consyente ya mi gratia, de jamás amar villana.</p>
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⁸ See Dutton 1990-91: II, 359 (MN54-143); IV, 54 (RC1-114) and IV, 364 (VM1-48). There are only negligible orthographic differences between the texts.

Desde aquí quiero jurar bears out the theory that *canciones* less frequently contain salacious content equal to that of the *villancicos*. The poem is located in three *cancioneros*, the earliest being the *Cancionero de Stúñiga* of around 1462, and due to this, I use this variant as the base text. Although only a nominal amount is known about Carvajal, it is understood that he lived in the early- to mid-fifteenth century. Therefore, his works, that feature principally in the *Cancionero de Stúñiga*, were transcribed relatively soon after their composition. Carvajal was known for his pioneering style, and as will become apparent, *Desde aquí quiero jurar* is an unusual *canción*. According to Dutton and Victoriano Roncero López, he was one of the first poets to employ the *romance* form as a *culto* composition, and in particular he composed *Retraída estava la Reina* as ‘parte de una serie de obritas bastante hipocríticas sobre la castidad y solitud de la reina María de Aragón’ (2004: 422).⁹ Therefore, he was in the habit of establishing new parameters for the various forms of poetry in the late-medieval canon.

In contrast with the male-voice portrayals in this chapter, *Desde aquí quiero jurar* does not have a sexual element. However, it is at odds with the usual feudal deference of the male speaker to the female addressee because denigration of the woman is based on social inequality with the speaker: ‘villana’ is mentioned five times, which is in sharp contrast to the usual courtly representation of the woman as a *dama*, and as Nicasio Salvador Miguel points out regarding the *canción*: ‘La importancia del amor y de la dama obligan al poeta a buscar siempre una mujer digna de su pasión, huyendo, en consecuencia, de las de bajo linaje’ (1977: 59). However, such a negative aspect of woman usually remains disregarded because the *canción* is usually in honour of a revered woman. Therefore, contextualisation of the anomalous *Desde aquí quiero jurar* is necessary: whereas the usual formula of the erudite *canción* is to project the image of the anonymous *dama* with whom the speaker professes to be in love and holds in the highest regard, here the male speaker presents a characterisation of

⁹ See Dutton 1990-1: II, 351 (MN54-115) and IV, 48 (RC1-92).

a woman whom he does not wish to love. On the surface, the song can be taken ambivalently; the 'villana' could be a conjectured character or a woman based upon his past experience. However, it becomes apparent that it is the latter in the light of line 5: 'ya non entiendo más curar', and line 15: 'de tal gente curar', which indicate that he may have previously been engrossed by such a woman. In either case, her characterisation can be taken as a male-voice representation of a woman who deviates from the paradigm, in the context of love.

Destiny played a significant role in late-medieval society; deference to fate is evident in *Desde aquí quiero jurar* as the speaker states twice 'si voluntad non me engaña' (lines 3 and 9). This supports the theory that he has personal experience of the 'villana', but simultaneously renounces any responsibility for past allegiance to her. In modern times, this also may be interpreted as a sign of weakness because of the lack of control he exercises over his emotions, but in late-medieval courtly expression, yielding to destiny is also ennobling because fate was believed to hold similar command to that of religious authority. The madness expected of courtly lovers is conveyed when he states: 'pues, de tal gente curar / non consyente ya mi gratia' (lines 15-16). In both later variants, 'gratia' is replaced by 'gana', which is the version preferred by most modern Hispanists, but both imply that the speaker is not acting of his own free will in being engaged with the protagonist who repulses him.

The characterisation of the 'villana' is ambiguous: she is originally described as a paradoxical 'villana fermosura' (line 4), almost elevating her to the pleasing status of the idealised 'gentil dona de natura' (line 6). In particular, 'natura' is multifaceted. On the surface it applies to the status into which one is born, hence in the case of line 6, of noble birth, (nurture). On the other hand, replicating the paradox contained in line 4, it could be interpreted as nature; this ambiguity that further serves to maintain the binary opposition of the 'villana' and 'dama', as each feminine characterisation is associated with each

interpretation respectively. On another level, ‘natura’ could be synonymous with *cunnus*, an interpretation that Barry Taylor notes that Pierre Alzieu et al. document five times in their *Poesía erótica del Siglo de Oro* (2000) (2007: 241). Taylor also offers interpretations of ‘natura’ as being associated with Aristotelian materialism, citing Scaglione and Rico, and also can mean ‘body’ (2007: 241). It is this characterisation of the paradigmatic ‘gentil dona’ that leads the audience to understand why the ‘villana’ has become the object of his outrage. With reference to the ‘gentil dona’, he says: ‘amaré, que sabe amar’ (line 7), from which it is insinuated in their comparison that the ‘villana’ does not know how to love, and therefore probably rejected him. Courtly rejection is formulaic in erudite *canciones* because it allows for the suffering and ennoblement of the lover. However, it is rarely followed by a tirade against the object of his affections. As a consequence, the initial compliment, however backhanded, is withdrawn and there is no doubt of the antipathy with which the speaker enshrouds her when he assimilates her with vileness:

todos van por un vía,
e la villana et la vileza
busca su ygal compañía (lines 13-14)

The fricative alliteration in this excerpt also serves to highlight his dislike for her through the haughty tone created by the repeated ‘v’ sounds. At this point in the *canción*, the insistence of his hostility for her is seen as resentment; like most of the women portrayed by the male voice in this chapter, the ‘villana’ holds power over the male speaker. Although hostile undertones of Macías’ *Amor cruel e brioso* are reflected throughout *Desde aquí quiero jurar*, the aggressive register of these particular three lines evoke a congruent tercet:¹⁰

ensalças toda vileza,
e abaxas la nobleza
del que te ama sin dudança.

¹⁰ For all variants see Dutton 1990-91: I, 336 (LB2-143); I, 417 (ME1-75); II, 71 (MN14-15); II, 376 (MN65-9); III, 215 (PN1-308); and IV, 384 (SCP-7).

The implication of the tercet of *Amor cruel e brioso* is that the addressee who extols all associated with ‘vileza’ cannot understand love, a characteristic reflected by the unthinking ‘villana’ of *Desde aquí quiero jurar*. Therefore, all in all, subversion of the late-medieval androcentric discourse renders the ‘villana’ an anti-archetype.

REPERCUSSIONS OF DEVIANCE

Although there are few instances of young women sexualised or portrayed as jeopardising their reputations in the *canciones*, a rare example of a physical element to a relationship, which is developed through allusion to popular topoi, unfolds in Juan de Mena’s *Donde yago en esta cama*, which exists in only one recension in the manuscript *Trescientas con la glosa de Fernán Nuñez*, 1512 (Dutton 1990-91: V: 550 (12MO-5)):

	Donde yago en esta cama, la mayor pena de mí es pensar quando partí de entre braços de mi dama.		los que saben que partí de entre braços de mi dama.
5	Abuelas del mal que siento, de mi partida, par Dios, tantas vezes me arrepiento, quantas me miembro de vos: tanto que me hazen fama,	15	Aunque padezco y me callo, por eso mis tristes quexos no menos cerca los fallo, que vuestros bienes de lexos; si la fin es que me llama, ¡o que muerte que perdí en bivar quando partí
10	que de aquesto adolescí	20	de entre braços de mi dama!

It is the framework of the lover’s suffering that is instrumental in revealing the repute and the questionable state of the addressee’s chastity, which is the focus of the poem. However, during the analysis, one must consider that compared to the lyrics, the subtleties of courtly love *canciones* are always implicit, not explicit, and the scale on which misdemeanours are judged is far more sensitive than those of the popular lyric.

Juan de Mena (1411-56) is one of the most prolific poets of the late medieval period, and he is often cited as a one who bridges a gap between two epochs: María Rosa Lida de Malkiel says that ‘No es aventurado, sino necesario, postular una transición entre Juan Ruiz y

Garcilaso; y Mena es la más alta figura de esa poco indagada transición’ (1950: 9). The mode of expression pioneered by him was much imitated until the mid-nineteenth century, when the laborious style fell out of fashion. Also, his works, which usually consider the treatment of love, were viewed by his contemporaries as worthy of courtly archetype, as Otis H. Green points out: ‘Sebastian de Horozco had a similar regard for Mena (and for his commentator Hernán Núñez) as a sort of modern Ovid’ (1953: 139). Therefore with his style having such a following, it is unusual that *Donde yago en esta cama* is noted for its anomalous nature. In some instances, the high regard of Mena for courtly paradigm and the ideologies generated from courtly love are surprisingly at odds with the physical aspects of *Donde yago en esta cama*. On the other hand, Julian Weiss convincingly argues in the context of the works of Álvaro de Luna that ‘the rituals of courtly love are a medium for the acquisition and deployment of masculine power’ (1991: 245). This is also evident in *Donde yago en esta cama*, although it is a theory that arguably could be applied to any poem composed by a male.

The speaker opens the poem with a description of himself in the setting ‘en esta cama’ (line 1), which immediately invokes an intimate *locus*. Although it is a milieu scarcely alluded to in the *canciones*, the image is evocative of Calisto, the grieving lover in the *Celestina*, who also suffers in his bed. Similarly, in the Provençal tradition, personal quarters may have afforded mention, because according to Martin S. Gilderman, it was customary that ‘the three steps of servitude’ of the poet or speaker culminated in:

the ultimate test, the *asağ*, in which he had to prove his love and restraint (which were one and the same) by lying next to the lady, either fully clothed or nude, occasionally in the presence of witnesses, and not yield to the temptations of the flesh. (1977: 27)

However, although physical contact is alluded to in the later Castilian courtly love *canciones*, and frequently in the lyric, such a private locale is rarely mentioned in association with the grieving lover. The ambiguity whether the speaker is intimating an erotic atmosphere to be associated with the ‘dama’ is further clouded by his allusion in line 2: ‘la mayor pena de mí’; whereas the standard binary opposition of ‘amor’ and ‘pena’ is commonplace rhetoric in

courtly love poetry, Betsy Bowden draws attention to the euphemistic value of ‘penas’ in Andreas Capellanus’ *De amore*:

Andreas’ nobleman begins the fifth dialogue with one in a long series of plays on most of the inflected forms of *poena*, ‘punishment’, which sound and are sometimes spelled like penis. Leonard C. Hector says that ‘from about 1150 ... diphthong *ae* (*oe*) is merged indistinguishably with *e*. (1979: 72).

In conjunction with this, the image of the lonely lover, bemoaning the departure of his beloved: ‘es pensar quando partí / de entre braços de mi dama’ (lines 3-4), is reminiscent of the popular ‘alba’ topos, where lovers part at dawn for fear of discovery of their indecorous behaviour. The implication in such poetry, which is analysed in depth in Chapter IV, is that the lovers have engaged in coitus, and as the lamenting speaker in the *lirica tradicional* dawn tradition is almost always female, the insinuations seem less voyeuristic. On the other hand, here the audience is presented with a male speaker whose rhetoric is immediately preoccupied with the physical aspect of their relationship, which, in contrast to the openness of popular lyrics, is unusual in the courtly love arena; it is usually communicated in a more subtle way. In the following stanzas, the poem then reverts to a typical *cancioneril* emotional outpouring, but underpins it with the physical sensation of the refrain ‘de entre braços de mi dama’ (lines 12 and 20). Whether the ‘dama’ initiates, or is simply complicit, the implication of the male voice is that she has engaged in an activity that would jeopardise her reputation and family honour, and therefore male speaker renders the ‘dama’ deviant from the ideal.

Working in conjunction with the rhetoric of the poem is the title of *Donde yago en esta cama*: ‘Canción que hizo Juan de Mena estando mal’. Whether the title in particular accompanies the original version of the poem or not, it reflects the content, such as in line 5: ‘Abueltas del mal que siento’. The title initially invites sympathy from the audience for the male speaker, which in turn creates empathy for his character and increases the veracity of his representation of the ‘dama’, and it does this above all through the personalisation in stating that in particular it is Mena who suffers a malady. Furthermore, in his frequent invocation of

the 'dama', the title then also encompasses her in its address. Notably, the 'mal' refers to lovesickness, which was accepted as a bona fide illness in the Middle Ages. However, this petition for sympathy, like many of the courtly love *canciones*, can be seen as a ruse to gain masculine control through sympathy. The speaker exemplifies the delusive 'fingir' philosophy of Juan Alfonso de Baena, whom Weiss cites: 'siempre se precie y se finja de ser enamorado' (1991: 241). Building on the philosophy of Baena, and the 'play phenomenon' theory of Roger Boase, Weiss further develops the idea:

But since Baena's verb *fingir*, derived from the Latin *fingere* , can mean both 'to feign' and 'to create', there is an important ambivalence in his definition. The lover does not simply assume a fictitious role, he also acquires the power to transform his chosen fiction into reality. The notion that feigned love is a vehicle for self-creation – you can become what you pretend, hypocrisy becomes sincerity – stretches back to Ovid. (1991: 241-42)

In this light, reflecting on the words of the speaker in line 4: 'de entre braços de mi dama', a more ominous tone emerges from his passion-invoking words. Within the customary framework of the subversion of a vassal to his lady, the speaker conjures an intimate image of being in the arms of his beloved. However, as a corollary, this subtle inversion of traditional gender roles (a man would usually expect to hold a woman in his arms) is an example of the artificial courtly construction of power dynamics that Weiss points out are 'constructed from a position of strength, and populated by fictions of aristocratic masculine power' (1991: 243). Returning to the pertinent issue of the treachery of the 'dama' against her family honour, the male speaker takes a position of strength from his melancholy, and asserts his masculinity in controlling her reputation through his discourse. As Weiss reasons: 'courtly lovers were indeed playing a game, but it was a game that constructed and institutionalized a particular set of values based on class and, particularly, gender' (1991: 242).

Mena is well known for his use of literary devices to enhance poetic ambience, which is particularly evident in the second stanza. The anaphora of lines 7-9 serves to exacerbate the suffering of the speaker and reinforce the ploy to gain control: 'tantas vezes me arrepiento, / quantas me miembro de vos: / tanto que me hazen fama'. The typical

subordination akin to the relationship between vassal and lord is, in the light of the rhetorical ‘play phenomenon’, perhaps superfluous to a sceptical modern audience, but for contemporary listeners it enhances the plight of the speaker and allows greater empathy with him, and disregard for the maligned ‘dama’. His invocation of a wider audience in line 9: ‘tanto que me hazen fama’ also takes the attention away from the ‘dama’. As Carla de Nigris also notes, Juan de Valdés defines ‘*membrarse* como vocablo de uso exclusivamente poético’, which perhaps points towards the ephemeral nature of his words (1994: 4).

In contrast, the final stanza resolves the content of the poem, and appears to render much of the ephemeral register of the second stanza redundant. The speaker uses ruminative language, with indicators such as ‘Aunque’ (line 13), ‘por eso’ (line 14), and ‘si la fin es que’ (line 17). Contrary to the previous stanza, it embraces a lexicon more typical of courtly lyrics, and taking into consideration the data produced from the linguistic analyses of Vicente Beltrán, this applies especially to the words in rhyme position such as ‘callo’, ‘quexos’, ‘fallo’, ‘lexos’, and ‘llama’. The *canción* at this point comes full circle, reciting the three-time repeated refrain ‘partí / de entre braços de mi dama!’ (lines 19-20). However, as is customary, the modification of the line preceding the refrain ‘en bivir quando partí’ implies an everlasting state, not only satisfying the necessity of eternal suffering of the speaker, but more importantly, it concretises the wanton behaviour of the ‘dama’ who, it is construed, has been unchaste. It could be suggested that the poem is supposed to be interpreted as a fantasy, which would explain the portrayal of a woman who deviates from the usual courtly ‘dama’.

In both the *canciones* and *villancicos*, the actual act of sex is rarely explained, but as is exemplified in *Donde yago en esta cama*, conclusions can easily be drawn to undermine the reputation of a woman. Whereas *Donde yago en esta cama* presents a clear-cut one-dimensional portrayal of a deviant woman, the lyric often contains multivalent symbolism that leaves more layers for the imagination of the audience to assimilate. Therefore, the

deductions that are drawn from the male speaker's literal exposition of his physical proximity to his 'dama' are similar to those drawn from the symbolic questioning in the traditional lyric. Hence I move onto looking at lyrics where allusions to sex are indicated through symbolism.

Similar to the eroticisation of the female protagonist in many of the male-voice lyrics above, 'Vide a Juana estar labando' also depicts a voyeuristic eroticisation of the female protagonist, although the thematic frame in which she is represented is distinct:¹¹

Vide a Juana estar labando
en el río y sin çapatás:
di, Juana, por qué me matas.

Even on a literal level, the male-voice representation is imbued with sensuality; a plethora of symbols in this lyric and its variant contribute to the sexual representation of Juana. First, washing is often seen as a pre-coital ritual, and second, she is washing in cool, running water which is a symbol of life-giving sexuality. Furthermore, the voyeuristic aspect of the narration implies that the male speaker identifies with the 'río', the element that at this moment, physically, is closer to her than anything else. This empathy indicates why the agitation of the speaker becomes so great, and hence feels that the passion she evokes in him is murderous: 'di, Juana, por qué me matas' (line 3). Here, in the mixed death/climax metaphor, the transversal influence of erudite and popular literature is apparent because as Keith Whinnom notes, the same image of death denoting sexual climax is present in both Italian madrigals and early Medieval Latin (1994: 123).

Miguel Garci-Gómez notes that 'por desplazamiento, pie, pata y muslo, sustituían a las partes vergonzosas del cuerpo humano' (1989: 21). But embarrassment does not appear to enter the lyric either on the part of Juana or the speaker, which indicates acceptance of a sexually charged atmosphere. Garci-Gómez also applies the theory of the 'pie-falo' to a lady's bare feet in his analysis of *La abadesa embargada por el pie* (1989: 13). Therefore,

¹¹ See Frenk 2003: I, 104-5 for the numerous sources of the variants of 'Vide a Juana estar lavando'.

similar to ‘Los cabellos de mi amiga’, ‘¡Torre de la niña, y date!’, and ‘¡Castillo, dáteme, date!’, not only does illuminating the fact that she is ‘sin çapatás’ (line 2) serve to highlight her sexuality, but also the male voice is again propagating the fact that the female protagonist is a catalyst for *mundus inversus*; she usurps masculine power through phallic symbolism with which she is associated. In the light of the comments of Garci-Gómez that ‘Entre las muchas leyendas, no faltan las de mujeres que concibieron por el pie’, the indication that Juana may be pregnant, revealed by her bare feet, cannot be ignored (1989: 12).

The variant is also significant (Frenk 2003: I, 205):

Vide a Juana estar lavando
en el río y sin çapatás,
y díxele suspirando:
‘di, Juana, ¿por qué me matas?’

The majority of the differences are evidently minor and orthographical, but addition of ‘y díxele suspirando’ functions to sustain the suggestion of sexual climax. The soothing rhythm of the gerund ‘suspirando’ is almost onomatopoeic, and momentarily gives the narrator composure before his climax which is exhaled in the form of a rhetorical question. In conclusion, sexualisation of women appears to be the most common male-voice representation of those who deviate from the ideal. However, as is evident, there are multiple ways in which these women are portrayed.

In contrast, the courtly love ethic employed in the *canciones* does not lend itself to ample variations of characters because of its strict codification, as J. M. Aguirre discusses:

constituye una estructura poseedora en sí misma. Sus partes (los poemas) no forman un agregado de unidades independientes; las mismas están regidas por un conjunto de ‘leyes’ intrínsecas a todas ellas, las cuales determinan sus ‘significados’. Se trata, pues, de una genuina estructura, cuyos ‘hilos’ no poseen una existencia independiente; o, puesto de otra manera, la existencia de esos ‘hilos’, en cuanto elementos de la estructura que forman, es diferente de la que pueden poseer fuera de ella. (1981: 80)

This is not to say that there is less variation in the subject matter of *canciones*; Jane Whetnall dispels the common homogeneity of courtly poetry by pointing out that ‘Court poetry encompasses a variety of types, modes, and genres: religious, politico-historical, didactic,

elegiac, panegyric, and satirical' (2003: 286). However, as opposed to peasant listeners, the primary audience of the nobility, courtiers, *letrados*, and other court employees such as clerks and officials, who usually had experienced a formal education, indicates that there would be less encouragement for a text that did not adhere to the established structure. Hence speakers in erudite *canciones* are essentially formulaic in their construction of the woman. As is suggested from the lyrics above, and will become evident throughout this study, it is for young and unmarried women that subversion of behavioural mores is most sensationalistic, and also has the most disturbing corollary: such subversion is recurrently linked to the threat or actual loss of virginity, and consequently to the insurrection of patriarchal control and the sully of family honour.

Sexual experience in the lyric corpus is typified by 'Morenica, ¿qué has tenido?', found in the *Sarao de amor* of Juan Timoneda (Frenk 2003: I, 218):

Morenica, ¿qué has tenido,
qu'el color tienes perdido?

Although Bruce W. Wardropper, as the first to write comprehensively on the *morena*, is incomplete in his symbolic exploration of her, he makes constructive observations that can be applied to the swarthy girls of the lyric. With reference to the brunette, in comparison to the green-eyed Visigoth, he attributes her inferiority to 'a kind of national neurosis' where the girl of the darker complexion 'has felt herself to be at a pointless disadvantage from birth: she has been saddled with a sort of original sin' (1960: 415). Although Wardropper fails to distinguish between women of Moorish descent and those who become swarthy whilst toiling in the field, his connection of a dark complexion to 'original sin' is accurate on a symbolic level. Gornall further expands on the connection between the *morena* and the bride in the *Song of Songs* (1.4-5) who is 'nigra' / 'fusca' (1986: 153). Therefore, the *morena* is known for her promiscuity; her swarthy does not necessarily denote Moorish descent, or days toiling in the field, but the acquisition of a tanned complexion indicates a lascivious nature.

The *morena* is to be distinguished from the *mora*, although Vasvári extensively argues that the ‘sexual-psychological traits of dark girls, who, like *moras*, are imagined as inevitably more available sexually than their fairer sisters, with whom they are always implicitly or explicitly contrasted’ (1999a: 43).

However, with reference to ‘Morenica, ¿qué has tenido?’, immediately, the audience is presented with a common topos. Significantly, it is one of only several poems where the *morena* loses rather than acquires colour. Therefore, it is notable that the important feature is simply the external change of appearance; although conventionally in the lyric, turning brown indicates the commencement of sexual activity, the opposite obviously can still apply, as can be seen in the *corteza* and *meollo* distinction. Such similar imagery drawing opposing conclusions demonstrates the multivalence of symbolism in the Iberian lyric tradition. However, as a consequence, ‘Morenica, ¿qué has tenido?’ is an example of an errant woman who is no longer chaste, similar to the ‘dama’ of *Donde yago en esta cama*.

Although on the surface it is not obvious that this is a male-voice representation, in conjunction, several elements imply that it is. First, the questions surrounding her change in complexion or pallor are personal, and therefore in the light of the wanton *morena* topos of the lyric corpus, arise because the speaker is intrigued by her supposed sexual proclivity. Secondly, the repeated, direct questioning pressing for information is reminiscent of someone who wishes to be more intimately associated with the questioned person, especially in the realm of the question subject matter. As a result of the thematic focus, this is therefore unlikely to be a female voice. Hence, the *villancico* does not only contain a brief and simplistic portrayal of a woman who deviates from the paradigm because of her suggested lasciviousness; she is also presented as intriguing to the male-voice speaker, as with the portrayals of the female protagonists of ‘Mirándome está mi niña’ and ‘Páreste a la ventana’,

where she is the focal point of the voyeur and speaker draws him in either passively or actively.

The protagonist of 'La morena graciosa' captivates the male speaker in the same way that the *villancicos* mentioned above do. The lyric is found in the *Romancero de madrigal* and the *Cancionero musical de Turín* (Frenk II, 1613):

La morena graciosa
de ojuelos verdes
es quien mata de amores,
cautiva y prende.

Again, the distinction of the female protagonist as a 'morena' immediately connotes sexual proclivity compared to the ideal of chastity associated with the fair, pure maiden. The 'ojuelos verdes' (line 2) of the female protagonist are also an unusual feature for a *morena*, which calls attention to her portrayal. As J. E. Cirlot suggests, green is associated with 'natural or terrestrial factors' (2002: 171). Therefore, her green eyes amplify the fecundity that is associated with earthy skin-tones and sexually liberal nature of the *morena*.

However, like a number of the male-voice representations in the lyrics analysed above, paradoxically there are also courtly associations within the *villancico*. For instance, describing the 'morena' as 'graciosa' is unusual because this is a word infrequently related to supposedly peasant women. Furthermore, the male speaker also assumes the role of the vassal by subordinating himself to her in lines 3-4. This representation is developed in the final distich where the courtly motif of sexual climax and death is introduced: 'es quien mata de amores' (line 3). And finally, as has already been seen in examples such as '¡Castillo, dáteme, date!' and '¡Torre de la niña, y date!', the male voice will also depict the female protagonist as a warrior, who in this case takes men prisoners: 'cautiva y prende', both literally and metaphorically.

Even though the portrayals of the female protagonists of 'La morena graciosa' and 'Morenica, ¿qué has tenido?' connote sexual proclivity, neither depict them in a disparaging

way. However, remaining on the subject of coitus, I now move to two poems that are explicit in their disparagement of the female protagonist in the context of love. The first is ‘Mozuela de la saya de grana’, an overtly erotic *villancico* pointing towards a girl’s sexual experience before marriage.¹²

Mozuela de la saya de grana,
sácame el caracol de la manga.

As with ‘Madre, una moçuela’, in ‘Mozuela de la saya de grana’, the audience is also immediately presented with a diminutive suffix in ‘mozuela’ to suggest a tenderness in the speaker’s tone. However, it is unlikely that the lyric exists to function on an innocent literal level bearing in mind Frenk’s earlier categorisation of it as ‘poesía erótica’, and also her mention of its inclusion in the *ensalada* ‘En una pequeña aldea’.¹³ Although one could take the literal interpretation of the ‘saya de grana’ simply to be a scarlet petticoat where red is an indicator of passion, blood-red colour on a girl’s clothes in popular poetry cannot avoid the connotations of a broken hymen, which is also seen in the lyric ‘Dezid, hija garrida’ where a young girl claims that ‘las moras del çarçal’ stained her ‘camisa’ (Frenk 2003: II, 1175).

Although on one level the male speaker’s references to ‘caracol’ could be interpreted as a snail, and ‘manga’ as a knapsack, the fact that the listeners will already have been alerted to the allusions of her blood-red ‘saya’ points towards the speaker’s use of euphemism. Whereas Vasvàri mentions the vagina’s frequent likening to fruit because of its form, the snail can be assimilated to male anatomy (1999a: 57). Although extensive research has been done by Macpherson and Mackay on erotic language and sexual euphemism in the *cancioneros*, it is surprising that they do not cite ‘caracol’ as a reference to male anatomy. However, José María Alín shows that ‘caracol’ has a ‘segundo significado de valor erótico’

¹² See Frenk 2003: II, 1225. ‘Mozuela de la saya de grana’ is found in the *Cancionero de Jhoan López, Cartapacio de Pedro de Penagos, Cancionero de Florencia, and Cancionero de Jacinto López*. It is also documented in the modern anthology *Poesía erótica del Siglo de Oro* (Alzieu et al. 2000: 164)

¹³ See Frenk 2003: II, 1225 for the *ensalada*: ‘Salió bestida de grana / la nina que al caracol / de la manga, con el sol, / le sacó el cuerno con gana’.

which is present in ‘Caracoles me pide la niña’ of Luís de Góngora, an anonymous *letrilla* ‘El diablo sois, que no zorra’, and a ‘Dormidito estás, caracol’ (1991b: 305-6). Although this representation is vivid and abrasive, a quality which is also conferred by his abrupt use of the imperative ‘sácame’, it contrasts with the initial tone of the speaker, where he describes her with tenderness: ‘mozuela’. Moreover, Elías L. Rivers says in particular that: ‘«Manga», efectivamente, designa el miembro viril en numerosos textos, entre ellos baste citar una *letrilla* en alguna ocasión atribuida a Góngora (‘Mozuela de la saya de grana, / sácame el caracol de la manga’) (2001: 296). Therefore, the interpretation of the *villancico* on a sexually euphemistic level is unavoidable, which comes from the literal level where the ultimate function of the ‘manga’ is as a covering sleeve. Hence the listeners may interpret the lyric as the narration of an event where the male speaker demands the girl to give in to him sexually. She does, as is suggested by the familiar topos of the lyric where her petticoat is red from her broken hymen: ‘saya de grana’.

Although euphemism in the lyric is seen to be used with frequency, ‘Mozuela de la saya de grana’ is the most graphic male-voice representation of the female protagonist analysed up until now. ‘¡Dale, si le das!’ is an unconventional *villancico* found in the *Cancionero musical de Palacio*, and it rivals ‘Mozuela de la saya de grana’ in its explicit portrayal of deviant woman (Frenk 2003: II, 1227-9):¹⁴

	¡Dale, si le das, moçuela de Carasa! ¡Dale, si le das, que me llaman en casa!		Otra moçuela de buen rejo mostrado me á su pende... con qu’ella se pendava.
5	Una moçuela de Logroño mostrava me avía su co... po de lana negra que hilava.	15	¡Dale, si le das, moçuela de Carasa! ¡Dale, si le das, que me llaman en casa!
10	¡Dale, si le das, moçuela de Carasa! ¡Dale, si le das, que me llaman en casa!	20	Otra moçuela, Teresica, mostrado me á su cri... atura que llevaba bien criada.

¹⁴ For a translation, see Knighton 1997: 672.

	Por virgen era tenida, mas cierto ella estava bien ho... yosa de viruelas la su cara.	40	¡Dale, si le das, moçuela de Carasa! ¡Dale, si le das, que me llaman en casa!
25	¡Dale, si le das, moçuela de Carasa! ¡Dale, si le das, que me llaman en casa!	45	Ella por subir muy quedo soltósele un gran pe... daço de pan que llevaba en su halda.
30	Pidiérame de comer: yo primero la quisiera ho... rrar un sayuelo que llevaba.		¡Dale, si le das, moçuela de Carasa! ¡Dale, si le das, que me llaman en casa!
35	¡Dale, si le das, moçuela de Carasa! ¡Dale, si le das, que me llaman en casa!	50	Y ella me mostró un rendajo; yo atestélle mi ca(ra)... peruça colorada para la baila.
	Yo subiérala en un mulo: mostrado me avía su ojo de cu... clillo que llevaba en su jaula.	55	¡Dale, si le das, moçuela de Carasa! ¡Dale, si le das, que me llaman en casa!

The presence of the song is important; Tess Knighton says that the lyric was one of several that were copied later into the song-book, filling in a page that had been left blank by the original copyist, which may be a reason for its incongruence with the rest of the corpus (1997: 672). Paloma Rojo y Alboreca points out that ‘Las numerosas disposiciones de la época demuestran que, a pesar de las prohibiciones ideológicas, sólo el sexo masculino tenía derecho a satisfacer los placeres sensuales’ (1987: 9). In the corpus, this sexual gratification is most obviously demonstrated by the voyeuristic and salacious ‘¡Dale, si le das!’. Barbara F. Weissberger, citing Carolyn Dinshaw, says that:

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

The application of Dinshaw’s findings to ‘¡Dale, si le das!’ are particularly poignant in the light of its late entry into the *Cancionero de Palacio*, and although it is believed to be a popular text, its deliberate transcription by someone other than the copyist (presumed to be

male because of the scarcity of women copyists in the late Middle Ages), underlines its significance as a text that, although representing three women, very much has an androcentric formulation.

The lyric is based on crude word-play where the word at the end of the second line of each verse is interrupted, but in their mind, the listeners add the final syllable of the first line to complete a vulgar rhyme. The suggestion of the graphic obscenities of ‘coño’, ‘pendejo’, ‘crica’, ‘jodida’, ‘joder’, ‘culo’, ‘pedo’, and ‘carajo’, interrupt the flow of the song, contributing to the improper register of the verse. However, more salient is the fact that these occur through a male-voice portrayal that objectifies the three women in ‘¡Dale, si le das!’ and integrates them into a licentious and sexualised formula; the obscene imagery and increasingly vulgar actions of the female protagonists invoke the male gaze. In particular, taking on the hypothesis of Guy Debord on the ‘spectacle’, the implicitly prescriptive endings lend themselves to a universality of complicity and comprehension, demonstrating that such vulgarity is of catholic entertainment:

The spectacle presents itself simultaneously as society itself, as a part of society, and as a *means of unification*. As a part of society, it is the focal point of all vision and all consciousness. But due to the very fact that this sector is *separate*, it is in reality the domain of delusion and false consciousness: the unification it achieves is nothing but an official language of universal separation. (1995: 7)

Public belittling of the woman is immediately obvious in the *estribillo*:

¡Dale, si le das,
moçuela de Carasa!
¡Dale, si le das,
que me llaman en casa!

The commands barked at the female addressees, who are collectively characterised as from ‘Carasa’, engender an atmosphere of contempt for the women. The *estribillo* that is repeated nine times during the song serves to build to a crescendo the sexual derogation of the female protagonists; the quintessence of repetition in the lyric is explained by Stephen Reckert:

The reason why the reiteration of such ‘single words’ is not superfluous as poetry or even as signification is that it is only the signifiers that are repeated: as for the signified,

every subsequent enunciation subtly alters the focus and time perspective of the one before, which can thus not properly be said to be repeated. (1998: 9)

In the end, coupled with the preceding verse: ‘Y ella me mostró un rendajo; / yo atestéle mi ca(ra)... / peruça colorada para la baila’ (lines 50-53), its repetition brings the song full circle to a confirmation that the act of intercourse has taken place between the speaker and Teresica. Although this act is seen or implied in many of the texts above, ‘Una moçuela de Logroño’ is obvious in its crude representation of sex, although through implicit means. In addition, by bringing it into the public arena, sex is divested of passion, which in turn reflects on the women of the *villancico*.

Initially, on the surface, other than the obscene implications, the characterisation of the women is innocuous: they are portrayed as carrying out typical womanly duties such as winding wool: ‘lana negra que hilava’ (line 7), or as a mother: ‘mostrado me á / ... que llevava bien criada’ (lines 20-21). Their preliminary portrayal demonstrates that the male speaker attaches social value to the conventional roles of women. However, this disintegrates as the overriding sordid theme can no longer be ignored by the fifth verse. Common sexual euphemism becomes intertwined with blatant carnal references such as in the fifth verse: ‘Pidiérame de comer: / yo primero la quisiera ho... / rrar un sayuelo que llevava’ (lines 33-5) and ‘Yo subiérala en un mulo: / mostrado me avía su ojo de cu... / clillo que llevava en su jaula’ (lines 40-2). Woman at this point is no longer the object of satire, but, as is cited often in reference to the family, she is a chattel that is to be used and enjoyed as the male speaker sees fit. Because she is a sexual object, she differs from the majority of the deviant women in this chapter: she is not in control of the speaker, nor is she admired for her sexuality, nor sensualised. Any sexual representation is vulgarised because of the graphic imagery conjured at the end of each line.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, as the poems of this chapter demonstrate, most of the male-voice representations of women and love that deviate from the paradigm share a common feature: women retain an element of captivation or control over the male speaker. This aspect is in part owing to the voyeuristic framework of her portrayal. Voyeurism is entangled with, in the light of the remarks above of Muriel Tapia, the principal categorisation of women: their sexual identity. Therefore, the intensity of the male gaze simultaneously imbues an erotic nature in their depictions, whether attractive or repulsive. As Laura Mulvey points out:

In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female. The determining male gaze projects its fantasy on to the female figure which is styled accordingly. In their traditional exhibitionist role, women are simultaneously looked at and displayed. (1985: 808-9)

This is found at the fore of most male-voice representations. The gaze is not just a masculine construction, but also a masculine tool that is employed in the poems with the effect of projecting the fantasies of the voyeur onto the female. However, it must be borne in mind that in the case of the lyrics, most probably, they are female compositions:

Male gaze ↔ Female composition ↔ Male construction of the female

Therefore women see themselves as the sexual object, but in the case of the lyrics, this construction is a parody of men's erotic objectification whereby such sexualisation can be used as a tool to captivate the male voyeur. In turn, this highlights the underlying obsessions of medieval Iberian society. Public acknowledgement of the sexuality of women encourages their flaunting of it, and perpetuates sexuality as a tool for women to gain control over men. However, the male voice endorsement of this also paradoxically leads to the undermining of their power and the inversion of conventional societal values.

CHAPTER IV: WOMAN AND LOVE (THE FEMALE-VOICE REPRESENTATION)

INTRODUCTION

Eminent lyric scholars such as Alan Deyermond and Margit Frenk (amongst others) agree that *cantigas* and *villancicos* are most frequently in the voice of a young girl who deals with love, and that they are also composed by women (1983: 28 and 1994: 42). Although Mariana Masera disagrees, with the claim that of the lyric corpus, some forty percent are in the female voice, forty percent in the male voice, and the remainder are indeterminate, she then concludes that such attribution is an unresolved issue, questioning whether ‘¿la autorreferencialidad del discurso de la voz femenina puede ser un elemento probatorio de una creación femenina o masculina?’ (1993: 112). On balance, though, the consensus, to which I subscribe, is that held by Deyermond and Frenk of popular poetry predominantly being in the female-voice.

On the other hand, in erudite poetry, there are far fewer examples of female-voice compositions considering love due to the courtly genre of love that pervades such literature: it is related traditionally from the male viewpoint. During her analysis of three *cancioneros* (*Cancionero de Baena*, *Cancionero de Palacio* and *Cancionero de Stúñiga*) Vicenta Blay Manzanera assesses that there are three types of female voice found in poems: ‘*composiciones monológicas*’, ‘*composiciones dialogadas*’, and ‘*composiciones con intervención femenina*’ (2000: 10). In complete contrast to the female-voice poems of the popular corpus, Blay Manzanera finds that in the three *cancioneros*, only between 3.6%, 4.6% and 8.6% respectively are in the female voice (2000: 23). Hence simply due to numbers, female-voice representations occur most frequently in popular poetry, and simply due to the abundance of texts, there are more portrayals of these deviant women in popular compositions than in courtly compositions.

As Deyermond affirms, female poetry is about love (1988: 767). In order to complement the previous chapter, this chapter discusses love in the female voice through the analysis of twenty-three popular lyrics and two *canciones* written by Florencia Pinar, one of the few known female poets of the epoch. The female voice has a lively role in the portrayal of the protagonist in all examples. First, the chapter looks at the coquettishness of young women and the methods they employ in the game of love, leading into portrayals of women's deviant behaviour, and the specific situations when it arises. Finally, a section focuses on poems that depict the repercussions of such deviance, which often can be perilous for women and their family.

DEVIANCE

In most poetry, the female voice is subtle; tools are used to promote their sexuality and reign in unsuspecting victims, rather than ostentatiously pursue men. As is recognised in the previous chapter and illustrated by Francisco A. Marcos-Marín's analysis of 'a lovely woman' taken from Juan Ruiz's fourteenth-century *Libro de buen amor*, it is accepted that eyes are a sexual tool for women (1999: 30). Alongside skin colour and hair they are the physical feature most frequently used to convey a woman's sexual characteristics. In 'Eché'l'el ojo', which is found in Francisco de Orellana's *ensalada* 'Delicta juventutis me', they only function on a literal level (Frenk 2003: I, 91):

Eché'l'el ojo,
el ojo l'eché,
eché'l'el ojo
y sospiré.

It is an ingenious example of female coquettishness at work complemented by the female speaker's use of anadiplosis in 'ojo' and 'eché'; it creates a sense of the speaker proffering, then withdrawing, as if playing with the male subject. The lexical repetition in lines 1-3 does

not simply serve to emphasise her action, but is an integral part of the build-up to the finale ‘y sospiré’ (line 4). As noted in Chapter III, Stephen Reckert argues that this is not really even repetition (1998: 9). The female speaker sets up a rhythmic falling and rising phrase which is a structure that makes the listener feel comfortable and confident in what he or she will hear next. Because the first three lines appear so playful, they are imbued with reassuring innocence. Hence when the second repetition of ‘echél’el ojo’ is not followed by another ‘el ojo l’eché’, ‘y sospiré’ (the actual line 4) comes as an anticlimactic shock, bringing with it a contrasting retrospective sensation of manipulation on the girl’s part. Sighing is seen as a self-indulgent yet simultaneously flirtatious action that rounds off her subtle eyeing up of the male in question.

Recognition of the potential power of their sexual tool by young women is an incremental part of their maturation, and in ‘Echél’el ojo’, although they are employed, their power is not fully appreciated. On the other hand, few poems equal the ecstasy of ‘Mis ojuelos, madre’, a lyric that is found in a *pliego suelto* dated around 1520 with *villancicos* by Carasa, reprinted by Frenk as the *Cancionero de galanes* (Frenk 2003: I, 126):

Mis ojuelos, madre,
valen una ciudade.

5 Mis ojuelos, madre,
tanto son de claros,
cada vez que los alço
merescen ducados.
Ducados, mi madre.
Valen una ciudade.

10 Mis ojuelos, madre,
tanto son de veros,
cada vez que los alço
merescen dineros.
Dineros, mi madre.
Valen una ciudade.

The sensational aspect of the *villancico* is the undermining of the female speaker’s initial representation as being at the conception of her self-awareness. On one level, raw excitement

and effusiveness communicate her refreshing naivety, and the use of anadiplosis in each of the *estribillos* further conveys her excitement. However, these techniques do not conceal the sinister insinuations associated with her repeated fiscal valuation of her young beauty; on another level, the Petrarchan influence can be seen where ‘claros’ is a recurring Petrarchan description of eyes, which in particular Donald McGrady notes connote ‘el motivo de los ojos desdeñosos de la amada en Petrarca’ (1997: 387).

The vocabulary used in ‘Mis ojuelos, madre’ is financially oriented: ‘valen’ (lines 2, 8 and 14), ‘merescen’ (lines 6 and 12), ‘ducados’ (lines 6 and 7), and ‘dineros’ (lines 13 and 14). Bearing in mind the sexually arousing associations with the eyes, there could be a sinister side to ‘Mis ojuelos, madre’. Other than the possible interpretation that the young girl could potentially secure a rich husband (who may be worth a ‘ciudade’) if she gazes seductively enough at the right man, one must consider the movement associated with her eyes: ‘cada vez que los alço’ in lines 5 and 11. Not only does she repeat the action regularly implied by ‘cada vez’, but it must be noted that the act of raising her eyes mirrors the arousal that she causes in men. Paula Olinger tentatively suggests that she is doing this on a regular basis for financial gain hence it could even be argued that she is prostituting herself (1985: 86). As mentioned in the first chapter, Frenk says that eyes are a part of the body equivalent to the symbolic door, and as she recurrently opens her eyes, a gynaecomorphous reference, symbolically, this corroborates the argument that she is a prostitute (1994: 47).

Attitudes toward prostitution changed throughout medieval Iberia: its toleration prior to the 1300s lead to legal regulation, but it was still very much part of late-medieval society. As Eukene Lacarra Lanz points out though, defining medieval prostitution in Spain is problematic:

Certainly, all four elements mentioned by the lawmakers – promiscuity, gain, notoriety and deception – are not required to declare a woman a prostitute. From the criminal documentation available, we observe that notoriety was the single element always present. Thus, a woman with a bad reputation risked being accused of prostitution. (2002: 277)

Both gain and notoriety can be associated with the protagonist of 'Mis ojuelos, madre', indicating that medieval consideration could lead to her categorisation as a prostitute. However, as this is arguable, 'Mis ojuelos, madre' is not included in Chapter VIII which includes a focus on prostitutes.

As seen in the previous chapter, the motif of hair can be as much an erotic symbol as eyes in the lyric. This is also demonstrated in the female-voice *villancico* 'Son tan lindos mis cabellos', found in the 1547 *Cancionero de Pedro de Pozo* and also the sixteenth-century *Cancionero de Sebastian de Horozco* (Frenk 2003: I, 125):

Son tan lindos mis cabellos,
que a cien mil mato con ellos.

Self-elevation such as this is not unusual in the lyric corpus, which demonstrates two things: the confidence of the young female-voice lyric, and also the durability of formulaic rhetoric. On a literal level, not only does the conspicuous display of the speaker's hair denote her availability, but there is also the suggestion that with the beauty of her hair she kills one hundred thousand men, possibly because they will be astounded by such beauty.

However, the metaphoric associations with 'matar' are ominous. They are reminiscent of 'Los cabellos de mi amiga', a male-voice lyric looked at in the previous chapter where the 'cabellos' are eroticised by their likening to 'lançadas', a metaphor that suggests penetration and coitus. Correspondingly, on a figurative level, due to the folkloric associations of 'matar' with the 'petite mort', the speaker of 'Son tan lindos mis cabellos' suggests sexual climax. In particular, her statement that she metaphorically kills 'cien mil' makes her lasciviousness akin to the female speaker of 'Mis ojuelos, madre', who repeatedly raises her eyes and seduces or prostitutes herself to numerous men. Although the protagonist there is portrayed as not being particularly selective, the speaker of 'Por un pagesito', a lyric in the *Cancionero de Jacinto López* of 1620, is more discerning (Frenk 2003: I, 218):

Por un pagesito
del corregidor
colgaré io, mi madre,
los cavellos al sol.

The girl's statement that her actions are for a 'pagesito' (line 1) plays down the significance of her sexualised actions. By using a diminutive, she points towards the innocence of the herald, and by association, also towards her own. The direct address 'mi madre' in line 3, which is emphasised by Frenk through the parenthetical commas, implies that she is seeking approval from her mother figure. Although on the surface this may sustain her innocent facade, there is a confessional tone associated with the mother topos which indicates that her behaviour may deviate from social expectations. However, it is in the last two lines where her sexuality is revealed. Although spreading her hair out under the sun may seem an innocent action, the erotic motifs negate this supposition. First must be considered the erotic symbolism of spreading out her hair, as Edith Randam Rogers notes:

Though combing and clothing may circumscribe some of the same taboos, the obvious tactile sensuality of combing, besides being less burdened with the associations with wealth that tended to dominate the motifs involving clothes, make it a more concentrated and more powerful symbol for themes related to the libido. (1980: 90)

On a literal level, it can be interpreted as a sexually ostentatious act because she must be outside, in an open space for the sun to reach her locks. Yet on a figurative level, when the symbol of the hair is juxtaposed to the most masculine of elements, the sun, the shedding of its rays on the hair can be interpreted a penetrative and a metaphor for sex. It is a subjective interpretation who will benefit more from this display, but whichever, the young girl is brave, or possibly foolish enough, to be public about her sexuality.

As the lyrics above demonstrate, for the most part, errant behaviour is concealed by figurative devices. However, albeit seldom, the female voice can be candid in its intentions, and the standards laid down by society can be rejected without pretence. 'Seguir al amor me plaze' is one such *villancico* that demonstrates such forthrightness, and is found in Pedro de

Moncayo's *Flor de varios romances nuevos y canciones* published in 1589 (Frenk 2003: I, 139):

Seguir al amor me plaze,
aunque rabie mi madre.

In direct opposition to medieval Iberian society's ideology, the female speaker follows her yearnings: 'al amor me plaze'. An air of sexual mischievousness surrounds the statement, even in the light of the ambiguity over whether the object of the speaker's infatuation is a specific lover or if 'amor' refers to love. Whichever, regarding her family's *honra*, she is entering dangerous territory, because even if a woman just spoke to a man she jeopardised her social reputation.

Although humour surrounds the speaker's blatant anarchy against the expectations surrounding women's behaviour, the real ironies of her actions are divulged in the second line. They are exaggerated by the brevity of the *villancico*, which encapsulates Antonio Sánchez Romeralo's views on the *villancico* being 'un zarandeo' (1966: 220). It is not only entertaining for the speaker herself to continue to behave in such a manner even if ('aunque') she makes her mother angry, but it is this anger that appears to be a fuel for her pleasure. This is in the face of the 'madre', whose mention evokes the importance of the family and family honour.

In direct contrast with the forthright manner of the speaker of 'Seguir al amor me plaze', 'A mi puerta nasce una fonte', found in the *Cancionero de galanes*, shows that the female voice can be both allusive and elusive in the lyric (Frenk 2003: I, 255):

A mi puerta nasce una fonte:
¿por dó saliré que no me moje?

5 A mi puerta la garrida
nasce una fonte frida,
donde lavo la mi camisa
y la de aquel que yo más quería.
¿Por dó saliré que no me moje?

Whereas above, there is a focus on corporeal features to sexualise women, the female voice also uses nature as a tool that clandestinely reveals and augments their eroticisation, an aspect that is examined in detail in Chapter VI. On the surface, the female speaker often claims that her actions are innocent, but equally frequently, her representation metamorphoses from innocent victim to sexual marauder when taking into account metaphorical interpretation, reflecting the dichotomous theory suggested by Beatrice Gottlieb that women in the fifteenth century ‘were depicted either as evil seductresses or as passive quarry for sexual predators’ (1985: 342). However, the corpus does show that the spectrum of women is far more varied and complex than a simple dichotomy, which is illustrated by ‘A mi puerta nasce una fonte’. As with many of the lyrics, on the surface it appears lacklustre. In fact, the *estribillo* does not make sense on a literal level because houses would not have had fountains immediately outside them, therefore symbolic meaning comes to the fore and underpins the *villancico*. The *estribillo* indicates that the female speaker is scared only of being splashed by water: ‘¿por dō saliré que no me moje?’ (line 2). Even though it is rhetorical, by using a question to position herself in the situation, she exaggerates her typical dependent femininity and implies that she wants to present herself, in Gottlieb’s words, as a ‘quarry for sexual predators’ (1985: 342). Yet the irrationality of the lyric is further communicated by her apprehension surrounding the washing of clothes in the cold fountain (lines 4-6), as by doing so she cannot avoid being splashed. It is this evident irrationality that points towards the deeper, metaphorical aspect of the lyric.

Although on one hand the speaker represents herself as the stereotypically vulnerable female, her expression is manipulated to absolve her from responsibility. In this sense, the symbolism has a dual function, and its cumulative effect is different from the original intentions that an entirely virtuous character would put forward. In the *estribillo* the girl introduces the binary oppositions of the private versus public, and feminine versus masculine

domains through the imagery of the 'puerta' and the 'fonte'. They indicate society's androcentric discourse and her position in these arenas, hence by transgressing these boundaries, as she does in lines 5 and 6, she will become the 'quarry for sexual predators' (Gottlieb 1985: 342). However, the immediate symbol to take into account is the gynaecomorphous 'A mi puerta' (line 1), which invokes the idea that a door is the sexual component of a woman, and it should be kept firmly shut. Therefore she is aware that, although addressing the inevitability of love, she is presenting herself to the listeners and any fictional character in a sexual light, and here the words of Maureen J. Giovannini must be taken into account: 'A man can knock on many doors, but the door opens from the inside not the outside' (1981: 420). Further consideration of the 'fonte' of line 2 enhances the binary opposition of femininity versus virility, especially when taking the *villancico* 'Bullicioso era el arroyuelo' into account:¹

Bullicioso era el arroyuelo
y salpicóme:
no ayas miedo, mi madre,
que por él torne.

Here the worry is that social stigma may be attached to the young girl who has been splashed by the babbling brook. In this instance I agree with Olinger's observation that 'Clearly, the 'arroyuelo' symbolises a young man' (1985: 4), comparable to the 'fonte' of 'A mi puerta nasce una fonte' which is outside the girl's door. In both of these lyrics, the qualifying adjectives 'buillicioso' (line 1) and 'frida' (line 4) indicate the virility of the male. In 'A mi puerta nasce una fonte', because the protagonist recognises that the spring is cold (indicating fulfilled passion, in contrast with the modern sentiments of coolness suppressing libido), she once again adds a sexual dimension to the poem. However, there is linguistic ambiguity in

¹ See Frenk 2003: II, 1645. 'Bullicioso era el arroyuelo' is found in the 'Septimo cuaderno de varios romances', *Romancero de Madrigal*, *Cancionero de Franco Palumbi*, and *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales*.

‘Bullicioso era el arroyuelo’ in line 4: whether it is taken to be ‘que por él torne’ or ‘que por él torné’ symbolises whether or not sexual relations have taken place.

In ‘A mi puerta nasce una fonte’, the girl plays out a typical female role by doing the seemingly innocuous task of washing not only her own ‘camisa’, but also ‘la de aquel que yo más quería’ (line 6). Not only does this render her vulnerable because she is outside, but the metaphorical associations with washing and the ‘camisa’ are twofold. Firstly, as I discuss above, washing is a pre-coital ritual. One may argue that she is only washing clothes, and not herself. However, as Louise O. Vasvári points out:

In Spanish, *camisa*, *alcándora*, *delgada*, *jubón*, *brial*, and other terms could all be used with the same connotations, as could *calças*, *faldas*, and *saya*, in a displacement of erotic value from the upper to the lower body, not surprising since women wore no knickers and hence the sight of a bare leg or even an ankle could suggest nudity higher up. (1999: 62)

Therefore, the girl is publicly choosing to wash something that refers to the most intimate part of herself, and also metaphorically that of her lover. In the light of Vasvári’s comment that ‘the *camisa* also stands for the proximity of the sexual act, since it is the last item of clothing a girl may hesitate to remove before the act, if she removes it at all’ (1999: 63), the speaker may be intimating subliminally not a pre-, but a post-coital situation. Her choice of being so public about it does not qualify her as quarry.

The composer creates a multi-layered text – the literal one and the metaphorical one of the girl positing herself as quarry, and yet simultaneously by delving deeper another version of her characterisation emanates during the feigning of anxiety of water splashing her. These distinctions mirror Reckert’s observation that ‘The symbol is man’s oldest and most effective instrument for interpreting the universe and manipulating his environment’ (1970: 46). Water, being an innocuous substance would not usually merit such stern counsel to avoid it, which indicates that a close consideration of the symbolic aspect of the lyric is necessary. The virile touch of water, as it is metaphorically anthropomorphised, threatens the chastity of women, and has similar symbolic effects to those of wind. However, water

becomes a trite metaphor of eroticisation when it is included in female-voiced lyrics, as if a tool commonly used to jeopardise strict patriarchal rules. This is seen in the lyric ‘Enbiárame mi madre’, found in the sixteenth-century *Cancionero de Évora*, the *Cancionero de Nuestra Señora*, and Francisco de Ocaña’s 1603 *Cancionero* (Frenk 2003: I, 253):

Enbiárame mi madre
por agua a la fonte fría:
vengo del amor ferida.

Because the delegator of the household chore to fetch water is the ‘madre’, (whether biological or as a more mature advice-giver), this initially diffuses the idea that inopportune circumstances may arise from the errand. However, the stimulating, erotic atmosphere invoked by the ‘fonte fría’ of line 2, or, as Deyermond describes, represents ‘life-giving sexuality’ (1979-80: 266), points towards a *locus amoenus*, and then is confirmed by the daughter’s admission that she comes from ‘amor ferida’ (line 3). Hence she has had contact with a lover which a diligent ‘madre’ figure would not have let occur. A host of questions subsequently arise in the consideration of the symbolic meaning of the tercet.

Although the ‘fonte fría’ is a common topos denoting a place of love, the speaker’s use of prolonged fricative alliteration creates an acrimonious ambience which is discordant when combined with ‘amor’, a term that should invoke bliss and contentment. Frenk’s edition which supplies subjective criteria punctuates the third line so that ‘amor’ is the subject of ‘ferida’. No inference, however, is too tame in medieval Iberian literature, as Ian Macpherson and Angus MacKay extensively demonstrate, and so ‘amor ferida’ is more than simply the thwarting of anthropomorphised love.² A more likely scenario is to read the line with a caesura: ‘vengo del amor, ferida’ where the speaker comes from a love-scene and she is the wounded subject, with the implication that the wound is physical rather than metaphorical. This could be the wound of love from Cupid’s arrow, or, in keeping with the

² See Macpherson 1985: 51-64 and Macpherson & MacKay 1993: 25-36.

polyvalent meanings that the lyrics usually embody, it represents sexual penetration. Wounds carry the same connotations as torn and blood-stained clothing, and so in particular it invokes the breaking of flesh, or the speaker's hymen through intercourse.

Collecting water should be a reality topos that relieves the girl from blame for a predetermined meeting with her lover, corroborated by the fact that the 'madre' is implicated in the ordeal. However, contemporary literature illuminates that a fountain was more often than not a meeting place for lovers.³ More tangible are the implications of disturbed water, occurring during its collection; in many of Pero Meogo's *cantigas* both fountains and stags symbolise a love scene. It is here that Nancy Marino's statement that water symbolises the feminine can be endorsed because the muddying of water by interference is analogous to a man sullyng the honour of a woman (1985: 37). Therefore, the audience can infer that the speaker is dishonoured during her visit to the fountain to collect water, although she tries to shift the blame for the consequences to her mother for sending her for water. I disagree with Olinger that the listeners can be so trusting of her narrative that the audience can clearly infer that 'her mother, having recognized the inevitability of her daughter's loss of innocence, arranged the girl's rendezvous with experience' (1985: 56), because all text is manipulated for a purpose. However, Olinger's comments do raise the issue of the reflection of reality in literature. In the Peninsula, the recurrent theme of the fountain in association with lovers, consummation, and pregnancy, must have had a strong element of truth in the same way that water-fetching was a quotidian occurrence that is incorporated into the implied narratives seemingly to legitimise the actions of the female speakers. However, in 'Enbiárame mi madre', the speaker implies that what happened at the fountain should not have, although

³ This is seen in the thirteenth-century poem *Razón de amor con los denuestos del agua y del vino*, where the male protagonist lies in wait for his beloved by a fountain. José María Alín notes that 'esta idea de fecundidad aparece también en el romancero: la moza que beba el agua de determinada fuente quedará preñada' (1991: 365). Also in the ballad *Fontefrida*, the female speaker laments in the environs of the cold fountain (Dutton 1990-91: II, 519 (MP4a-46), V, 327 (11CG-439) and VI, 129 (14CG-462)).

unlike some lyrics, and possibly the *canCIÓN* below, she does not turn it into a self-absorbed expression of grief, and hence she takes part responsibility for her deviance.

The brevity of ‘Enbiárame mi madre’ shows that even chance meetings can bring disrepute. However, despite the potential seriousness of dishonour, its brevity does not allow for the painting of such a grim picture as the dishonour of *O desvelada, sandía*. The *canCIÓN* is composed by Juan Rodríguez del Padrón and its unique content appears to experiment with the usual formulaic *canCIÓN* boundaries. The modern adage that ‘hell hath no fury like a woman scorned’ is clearly reflected in the poem:⁴

5	O desvelada, sandía, loca mujer que atendí, dezíás: ‘Verné a ty’, y partiste; por tal vía, deseo sea tu guía.	20	los puentes por do pasares quiebren contigo al pasaje. Y por más lealtad mía, penes y no debes morir; si otra cuydas servir, y a la ora yo querría ver la tu postrimería.
10	Por pena, quando hablares jamás ninguno te crea; quantos caminos hallares te buelvan a Basilea. Vaya en tu compañía cueytas, dolor y cuydados; huyan de ty los poblados, y reposo y alegría, claridad y luz del día.	25	En tienpo de los calores huygante sonbras y ríos, ayres, aguas y frescores. Sol y fuego en grandes fríos, tristeza y malenconía sean todos tus manjares, hasta que aquí tornares gritando: ‘¡Merced! ¡Valía!, ¡Ayá de tu señoría!’
15	El trotón que cavalgares quede en el primer viaje;	30	

Rodríguez del Padrón, who is also known as Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara, was born c. 1395 and died c. 1445 (Dutton & Victoriano López 2004: 311). Although there are lacunae in the scholarship surrounding the corpus of Rodríguez del Padrón, the merit of *O desvelada, sandía* can be judged within this comprehensive treatment of late-medieval poetry depicting deviant women. The uniqueness of the poem is its female speaker, although it is only more recently that scholars hypothesise that it is a female speaker. Previously, the tradition of the

⁴ See Dutton 1990-91: I, 163 (LB1-79); I, 330 (LB2-122); I, 379 (ME1-54); II, 321 (MN54-31); III, 382 (PN8-17); III, 438 (PN12-12); and IV, 25 (RC1-31).

erudite *canción* being in the male voice was unquestionably accepted and perpetuated, as exemplified by Carlos Martínez-Barbeito. In spite of this fact, he still points out the relationship between *O desvelada, sandía* and its alleged *respuesta*, in the male voice: *Bive leda, si podrás*, which for both reasons of space and wishing to focus on the female voice, I do not analyse here (1951: 98-99). The originality of the female voice may be explicable by the notable fact that Rodríguez del Padrón was consciously proactive in creating his own legacy within the courtly love poetry genre; Gregory Peter Andrachuk remarks on him being a ‘careful, if not inventive, poet’ (1980: 308).

The existence of *O desvelada, sandía* in seven late-medieval manuscripts is indicative of its contemporaneous popularity; taking into consideration this significant number of appearances, it is surprising that there are relatively few variations between them.⁵ Even though it is the latest of all the variants, I use the LB1 version from the *Cancionero de Rennert*, c. 1510, as a base text because the last line is absent in the other variants, and also because of its distinct rubric ‘Comiençan las obras de Juan Rodríguez del Padrón en nonbre de su amiga quando huyó de ella’, which is an indicator that *O desvelada, sandía* is in the female voice. On the part of the copyist, the rubric implies that an autobiographical motive is entrenched in the speaking voice: the relative ‘quando’ indicates a connection between the composition of the text and his action of leaving the ‘amiga’. Furthermore, in contrast to the personal ‘a’ denoting that songs and poems are addressed to a specific person, ‘en nonbre de’ asserts the unique situation that the song is in the female voice. Throughout the poem, there are also further indications that the speaker is female, which I point out in due course.

Whereas in the *cancioneros* 1360-1520, some two hundred and eighty poems from of around eight thousand (3.5%) begin with the exclamatory ‘O’, such a recurrence in poetry written in the present day would signify a trite superfluousness. However, its presence

⁵ For a full inventory of textual discrepancies, see Beresford (2005: 22).

indicates that the speaker intends to point towards a preconceived and formulaic emotion with which a contemporary audience would be familiar. This hyperbolic prescription is supported by the ensuing ‘desvelada, sandía’ (line 1), which is in keeping with the self-pitying and self-deprecating style of courtly love poetry, and immediately invites the audience to sympathise with the speaker before they are presented with the facts. However, while the register of this language is familiar within the late-medieval Spanish courtly love corpus, the lexicon itself is unusual, and indeed, this is the only appearance of both ‘desvelada/o’ and ‘sandía’ in the *canciones*. The aspiration of Rodríguez del Padrón to compete with the legacy of Macías explains why *O desvelada, sandía* is unique in both style and content, and, most pertinently regarding the portrayal of the female speaker: in order to create a new legacy.

Nevertheless, this digression from the norm contrasts with indicators of an orthodox framework, such as the ensuing binary antithesis ‘venir’ and ‘partir’. Frequently paired in the courtly *canciones*, the binary opposition imitates a typical aspect of the emotional and spiritual journey of courtly love poetry, which is usually held to be a masculine ritual, but the adoption of such imagery in the female voice suggests emasculation of the addressee. The imagery of lines 4-5: ‘y partiste; por tal vía, / deseo sea tu guía’ maintains the itinerant theme which is repeatedly visited in both popular and erudite literature. Here, the moral disorientation that is frequently alluded to in medieval texts is indicated by ‘vía’ and ‘guía’. However, the sexual connotations of ‘deseo’ are more conducive to being not just the words of a spurned female speaker, but also one who believes herself to be the victim of infidelity. They then become the origin of justification of the sardonic register that pervades the rest of the song. In the light of the revelations of Betsy Bowden in the previous chapter, ‘pena’ of line 6 confirms the sexual undertones of the poem, which, as is recurrently seen in the lyric, invokes carnal rather than emotional connotations of ‘deseo’.

Although a self-sacrificing nature of the speaker is typical of the erudite *canciones*, in *O desvelada, sandía*, it is unusual that the speaker, having been spurned, does not appear to seek ennoblement through her own suffering. This distinction is due to the inversion of gender roles. In contrast, she transposes her emotional anguish into curses on the addressee that he may endure torment. However, the levels of poetic voice of the poem must be taken into account at this point; even though the speaker is female, the courtly duty of male suffering is still fulfilled. Confusing the boundaries between composer and speaker and or addressee is a contentious issue, but the evidence that Rodríguez del Padrón is proactive in creating his own courtly love legacy is satisfied in *O desvelada, sandía*. As the addressee (which, implied by ‘en nonbre de’ of the rubric, is Rodríguez del Padrón himself), he receives the fruits of emotional torment through the admonitions and curses that are thrown at him by the speaker, therefore suffers one form of torment, yet is ennobled by it. Moreover, he becomes twice the sufferer as he is also the creator of the snubbed female speaker whose mental anguish he fashions; the distress of the lady is also his misery. Hence, in *O desvelada, sandía*, the male suffering that fulfils the courtly love duty is satisfied, and ennoblement is achieved.

The itinerant leitmotif established at the beginning of the *canción* serves as a thematic framework for *O desvelada, sandía*; the speaker maps out a journey for the addressee, which Andrew M. Beresford describes as a ‘comic deconstruction of the addressee’s journey’ (2005: 42). Such comic effect is similar to the way in which hyperbole renders many of the lyrics amusing. I would argue that it is not necessarily each of the seemingly incongruous portentous threats within the courtly love framework that render it comic, but in particular, the subversion of the established courtly love tradition. As the female speaker damns his journey, she assumes a position of power and becomes the voyeur and perpetrator, rather than the usual objectified woman. She hopes that he is stripped of his authority, a natural

masculine trait, by cursing: ‘por pena quando hablares, / jamás ninguno te crea’ (lines 6-7). The sexual connotations of ‘pena’ (mentioned above), are sustained by further allusions to promiscuity in lines 8-9: ‘quantos caminos hallares / te buelvan a Basilea’. In keeping with the ambulatory theme, the allusion to the many routes he may take indicates philandering, where straying from a given way is commonly associated with female characters’ moral depravity. Courtly love must be clandestine in order for the woman not to be discovered, so rarely are concrete clues given, but again in line 9, the speaker again subverts this norm with a toponym ‘Basilea’. To a modern audience, this has little real significance, and Beresford points out that the earlier interpretation of critics is speculation: they believe that Basel is a biographical reference (2005: 43).⁶ However, his comprehensive research identifies its significance as:

the home of the disastrous Seventeenth Ecumenical Council, a meeting that sought to heal the wounds of the Great Schism, but which did more to aggravate existing tensions than to resolve them. Amongst its greatest achievements was the deposition of Eugene IV amidst accusations of heresy, and the election in 1439 of the anti-Pope, Felix V. These measures alienated Basel (and all Switzerland) and the Holy See from the rest of Europe since the advent of the Great Schism. In this respect, the lines should be read as a comic interjection: as a desire to return the addressee to the Bedlam from whence he sprang. (2005: 43)

In the light of the bungled operations of the Council of Basel, the petition of the speaker that all roads return the addressee to such a place of catastrophic significance serves again as a comic interjection that is atypical of the *canción*, rendering the female speaker as a figure who deviates from the behavioural norm. Nonetheless, it must be noted that the unique rendering of the female speaker is due to Rodríguez del Padrón’s construction that is incommensurate with the ideals of courtly love.

There is a restoration of typical lamenting courtly love language in the second stanza, but again, the tweaking of the milieu means it no longer is the chosen repertoire of the suffering male vassal. Instead, the hard-hearted female speaker destabilises the norm and

⁶ César Hernández Alonso ‘supone que [Rodríguez del Padrón] había estado allí, por lo que se puede deducir que fue escrita la composición después de la primera mitad de 1438’ (1982: 336). Furthermore, Carlos Martínez-Barbeito notes that Padrón ‘parece haber estado en Basilea durante el concilio de 1438’ (1951: 73).

becomes the architect of his suffering: ‘Vaya en tu compañía / cueytras, dolor y cuydados’ (lines 10-11). A further state of affliction couched in a familiar lexicon, yet usually self-inflicted is the implication of an ascetic existence, devoid of human warmth and environmental nurturing in lines 12-14:

huyan de ty los poblados,
y reposo y alegría,
claridad y luz del día.

César Hernández Alonso discusses at length the conflation of erudite and popular culture, but highlights that ‘la glosa de tipo popular se diferencia de la cortesana por su vocabulario’ (1999: 43).

Although the lexicon is for the most part erudite and in keeping with the courtly love register, there is also much folkloric imagery in *O desvelada, sandía*. The recurrent itinerant leitmotifs are often associated with the *romances* (which are considered popular in origin, but also later on ‘popularizantes’), and are also reminiscent of some of the *serranillas* of Chapter VIII. It is interesting that most critics take imagery such as this to have existed previously in the popular genre, yet Hernández Alonso argues the opposite: ‘Se trata de una de las pruebas más seguras, pero tampoco concluyentes, ya que bien pudiera ocurrir que lo que hoy es folklórico hay sido canción culta en su origen, incorporada luego a la tradición oral’ (1999: 42). However, it is predominantly these popular images that evoke sexual undertones throughout the *canción*, such as ‘El trotón que cavalgares / quede en el primer viaje’ (lines 15-16). On one level, as Rogers points out, in the hunt: ‘More than mere complements, hawk and hound appear to be integral parts of a knight’ (1980: 7). In accordance, the steed functions synecdochically in relation to his rider and becomes a manifestation of his potency. The imagery also evokes a parody of the world encountered in the fashionable contemporary adventure prose romances such as Amadís de Gaula’s knights-errant, which has the effect of sustaining the subversion of masculine chivalry and courtly love. More specifically, the

exposure of double-entendre by Macpherson points out that: ‘cabalgar’ is one of ‘some thirty verbs amply documented as euphemisms for the sexual act in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries’ (1985: 54). Therefore, on another level, there is also the indication that the female speaker is cursing the possibility of the addressee having any future sexual conquests, thereby crushing his virility. This calculated emasculation is reminiscent of the *serranilla* genre, where women often take charge of men in an authoritative, masculine manner, thereby inverting typical gender roles. The speaker maintains the thread of the euphemism in lines 19-21:

20 Y por más lealtad mía,
 penes y no debes morir;
 si otra cuydas servir

Macpherson also documents ‘servir’ as a euphemism for coitus and ‘morir’ as a commonly known double-entendre for sexual climax (1985: 54). The possessive register of the speaker again here connotes masculinity, in a period when women most often existed as a daughter or wife relative to a masculine persona.

O desvelada, sandía differs from many *canciones* because of its repeated invocation of the popular genre; the final stanza contains more invective curses conjuring an anti-*locus amoenus* (lines 24-27). This contrasts with the ensuing familiar emotive *cancioneril* aspect: ‘tristeza y malenconía / sean todos tus manjares’ (lines 28-29). Although such figurative nourishment is not atypical in the *canciones*, it is unusual for the speaker to transpose these onto an addressee rather than it being a self-inflicted penance, which is why the final assertion is such a potent denouement. Having initially elicited empathy from the audience by sending herself up as a weak, exploited female, during the course of the poem, she assumes a strong position, usurping the usual male authoritative position. The speaker then brings the poem full circle back to focus on herself. The events of the *canCIÓN* empower her

to deliver an ultimatum to the addressee – either he accepts a perpetual state in limbo, or he can petition for her mercy:

30 hasta que aquí tornares
gritando: ‘¡Merced! ¡Valía!,
¡Ayá de tu señoría!’

Due to syntactical variation, the LB1 base text has a slightly emended version of the final lines. The majority of versions conclude similarly to LB2:

30 hasta que así tornares
delante mi señoría
cridando: ‘¡Merced! ¡Valía!’

Although transcription can be subjective, the LB-1 recension proves interesting; the possessive pronoun ‘tu’ (line 32) indicates that female speaker includes the final line as part of the petition for mercy of the addressee. Beresford points out that ‘señoría’ ‘could well be construed as an ironic reference to the cerebral and self-involved nature of male-voice poetry’, the insincerity of which is underlined by the familiar form ‘tu’ (2005: 44). However, the corollary is that she wishes him to acknowledge verbally her perceived position of suzerainty. This ironically invokes the ‘play phenomenon’ coined by Roger Boase where the ‘dama’ is notionally put on a pedestal.

Confirmation by the addressee that he accepts her superiority would supplement the contempt that pervades the rest of the poem, and is the feature that sets the female speaker of *O desvelada, sandía* aside from the characters encountered in most *canciones*. From the analysis of the treatise of Fray Martín, Harriet Goldberg concludes that women should be naturally subservient to men, and age also is an indicator of authority:

que los hombres que son sabios son de los otros naturalmente regidores e por esto los viejos naturalmente han de regir a los moços & el varón a la mujer & los hombres a las bestias & en el cuerpo humano, la cabeça, do es la silla del seso, rige los otros miembros. (1974: 137-8)

In contrast with the pithier *villancicos*, the extensiveness of *O desvelada, sandía* allows for a complete exploration of her contempt, in stark opposition to brief references to dishonour,

such as in 'Enbiárame mi madre'. Furthermore, the unique use of folkloric features in *O desvelada*, *sandía*, and especially being in the female voice, which is more in keeping with the lyric poems, sets aside *O desvelada*, *sandía* and the female speaker as anomalies in the genre.

Whereas folkloric references and the anti *locus amoenus* in *O desvelada*, *sandía* serve to emphasise discord, usually the natural references that are prevalent in folklore link fecundity in nature with human love; as seen above, water sources such as a brook or fountain relate to the masculine sexual force. However, more abundant are the links between flora and fecundity in nature, which specifically relate to feminine sexuality. 'En el campo nacen flores' appears in the 1553 *Coloquios satíricos* of Antonio de Torquemada (Frenk 2003: I, 69):

En el campo nacen flores,
y en el alma, los amores.

The serenity of the distich is enhanced by a feminine rhyme scheme which induces the idea that 'los amores' are logically harmonious with nature. The content mirrors this where the simultaneous blooming of flowers and 'amores' demonstrates love's organic nature; it is part of a pattern that is congruent to the seasonal cycle. Humans and the natural environment are further intertwined by the symbolism of the 'flores' that evokes the *doncella*. It would be feasible for the nouns in rhyme position to be singular, but because the narrator chooses to use the plural version, the interpretation of 'amores' as 'love affairs' as opposed to the singular 'love' implies the transience of such circumstances. Although there is no particular female protagonist, because of the indication that there are many budding 'flores', there is the suggestion that some young girls are as uninhibited as nature itself. Furthermore, even though it is not explicitly in the female voice, the carefree register and the empathy expressed for the 'flores' suggests an empathetic parallel between the speaking voice and the subject matter, hence the conclusion can be drawn that the lyric is in the female voice.

As demonstrated by ‘En el campo nacen flores’, this impatience of young girls who are excited to explore their sexuality is also reflected in ‘Ya florecen los árboles, Juan’, a *villancico* found in the 1560 *Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos a cuatro y a cinco voces* of Juan Vásquez (Frenk 2003: I, 332):

Ya florecen los árboles, Juan:
mala seré de guardar.

Ya florecen los almendros
y los amores con ellos,
5 Juan, mala seré de guardar.

Ya florecen los árboles, Juan:
mala seré de guardar.

The literal reading of the lyric relies heavily on repetition to convey its meaning. However, the limited lexicon reveals a plethora of metaphors which contribute to the multifaceted characteristic of the text. The initial *estribillo* seems to be merely an observation by the female speaker to Juan, her male counterpart or confidante. However, its slightly mutated version repeated in the gloss reveals the amorous (and symbolically sexual) direction of her heightened emotion. The final distich becomes the climax to crescendo that is built up to during the *glosa*, which although can be seen on a purely literal level, confirms the metaphorical sense of ‘mala seré de guardar’ and represents sexual climax.

The lyric conveys an excitable atmosphere that accompanies blossoming foliage in springtime. The exact nature of the frivolities that concern the speaker is confirmed in the *glosa* by line 4: ‘y los amores con ellos’. Considering the face-value representation of ‘En el campo nacen flores’, she is at one with nature, and so her development is parallel to that of the ‘árboles’ and ‘almendros’. More specifically, taking into account the research of José Manuel Pedrosa on the representation of woman as trees in literature (1999), the interpretation goes one step further than simply likening the cycle of the speaker to trees – this is also a metaphorical representation. When taking the blossoming trees to represent

women we must consider not only their attractiveness at this point in their cycle, but also the impossibility of exercising authority over the shedding of their blossom, a loss which is analogous to the symbolism of picking flowers. Therefore, by implication her desire (to be reproductive) is something she cannot control any more than the seasons can be controlled, and she is making the audience aware that repercussions are not her fault.

The speaker alludes to this lack of control and again she blurs the literal and symbolic with ‘mala seré de guardar’. The repetition of this phrase throughout the *villancico* implies an impish desire not to have her *fama* guarded, which is a similar feature to that of ‘Niña y viña, peral y habar’, below. Olinger translates the refrain as ‘I will be hard to keep!’ which places responsibility on someone else to contain the protagonist (1985: 133). However, because of the egocentric tone that comes across through the repetition, it could be more effectively rendered as ‘It will be difficult for me to hold back’. Whichever is accepted, this differing of interpretations points not only towards the ambivalence of the one who is doing the keeping, but also that the female protagonist is an active rather than passive party, and therefore the inverter of the patriarchal equilibrium she is expected to sustain. This independence of thought means that she should have been socially unacceptable because, as Marjorie Ratcliffe points out, women who chose to act without male guidance were ‘perceived as a threat to social stability’ (1984: 349).

It is important to note here that two things can be tied together: the tree is a common symbol in the lyric corpus and frequently is representative of women. The lyric corpus is held to be composed generally by women, and therefore they are the main perpetrators of self-representation as trees. Therefore, one must also take into account the observations of J.

E. Cirlot on the image of the tree:

Psychology has interpreted this symbolic duality in sexual terms, Jung affirming that the tree has a symbolic, bisexual nature, as can also be seen in the fact that, in Latin, the endings of the names of trees are masculine even though their gender is feminine. (2002: 349)

On a narrative level, and also arguably on a compositional level, traditional poetry suggests a strong desire on the part of women to break out of the stereotypical sexually submissive roles expected of them. As ‘Ya florecen los árboles, Juan’ demonstrates, there is a link between the inversion of expectations of women’s sexual comportment and the sexual duality associated with the tree. Hence trees can be a metaphorical catalyst to facilitate women’s acquisition of sexual liberty and dominance, which are issues usually considered as a masculine prerogative.

The final image worthy of consideration on a symbolic level to assess the depiction of the female speaker in ‘Ya florecen los árboles, Juan’ is that of the almond tree. I propose that the intimacy with which the woman addresses her male counterpart (Juan) may suggest that he is her lover, but Olinger refers to the female protagonist as his ‘young wife’ without explaining why (1985: 133). I disagree with her reading, but, although tenuous, it is likely that Olinger made the assumption on account of the observation of seventeenth-century lexicographer Sebastián de Covarrubias whom Bruce W. Wardropper cites as having mentioned that ‘green almonds were a delicacy much prized by pregnant women’, indicating that she is pregnant and therefore his wife (1960: 182). However, pregnancy and marriage are not mutually inclusive. Nevertheless, because lyric texts are so diminutive, often their combination helps make sense out of them, and Reckert cites Francisco Rico: ‘la literatura se concibió como un lenguaje [read *sign system*] tradicional, aplicado a dar vueltas y más vueltas a un puñado de nociones [read *signifieds*] y procedimientos [read *signifiers*]’ (1998: 16). However, if the almond trees do indicate her pregnancy, ‘Ya florecen los árboles, Juan’ takes on again, a different significance.

Throughout these lyrics that abound with flora, a pattern emerges for the female protagonists; fulfilment of sexual urges is facilitated by the natural and organic contextualisation. However, culpability for their promiscuity is lessened by the ambience,

which naturally precipitates fecundity. This is seen in the lyric ‘Niña y viña, peral y habar’, found in the mid- to late-fifteenth century *Cancionero musical de la Columbina* (Frenk 2003: I, 251).

	Niña y viña, peral y habar, malo es de guardar.		Levantéme, ¡o, madre!, mañanica clara,
		15	fui cortar la rosa, la rosa granada. Malo es de guardar.
5	Levantéme, ¡o, madre! mañanica frida, fuy cortar la rosa, la rosa florida. Malo es de guardar.		
		20	Viñadero malo, prenda me demanda, yo dile una [cinta], my [cordón le daba]. Malo es de guardar.
10	Viñadero malo prenda me pedía, dile yo un cordone, dile mi camisa. Malo es de guardar.		

On opening the lyric, the rhyming of ‘niña’ and ‘viña’ adds emphasis to the assimilation between the girl and plants in general. The binding rhyme implies that natural impulses (such as those which produce the uncontrollable fruitfulness of vines, pears and beans when left to their own devices), affect them equally. The girl is therefore sexualised, and even more so when considering Reckert’s citation of Manuel Pedrosa’s affirmation that the pear is a ‘símbolo erótico y fecundatorio’ (2001: 111). The assimilation of the ‘niña’ to a pear also brings ominous inferences in the light of Deyermond’s observation that ‘en algunos textos medievales, el fruto prohibido es una pera: una Danza de la Muerte castellana se refiere a Eva comiendo ‘la devedada pera’ (1995: 209). So for a medieval audience, the common assumption revealed by her association with the pear is that she embodies temptation to sin, the consequences of which are ominous.

The setting that the female speaker describes is a fertile place, a *locus amoenus* because of the presence of the ‘viñadero’, and the maturity of ‘la rosa florida’ (line 6). There are further implications of sensuality due to the ‘mañanica frida’ (line 4). Also, the parallels between the lyric and ‘Ya florecen los árboles, Juan’ underline the predetermination of the

characters' desires, and her inability to stop any consequences. However, the girl is not innocently lost in this setting – she is overt in her use of symbolism standing for the active loss of her virginity: 'fuy a cortar la rosa, / la rosa florida' (lines 5-6) and 'fui a cortar la rosa, / la rosa granada' (lines 15-16). Olinger notes:

If the women come to pick the fruit, then they will be under the fruit trees where the young men can pick *their* fruit. So when girls pick fruit, they themselves are asking to be picked. And the same symbolism is associated with the cutting of the rose. (1985: 122)

The vivid imagery change denoted by the 'rosa florida' into a 'rosa granada' is representative of the blood shed during the rupturing of the hymen during first intercourse.

The female speaker also rose early purposefully, the mention of which connotes the *alba* tradition. Dionisia Empaytaz de Croome argues that the dawn motif is not culturally intertextual, although its connotations are universally transferable because of 'the human character of this topic: similar situations relating to both lovers and to dawn have obviously suggested similar thoughts, feelings and images to poets in different parts of the world' (1980: 1). Because of the universal understanding amongst both poets and listeners, composers have something tangible and concrete on which to base their narratives. Even though it was completed some forty years ago, Arthur T. Hatto has executed the most comprehensive global survey of dawn poetry in which he explains the potency of the dawn leitmotif in verse:

If lovers are discovered together at dawn the presumption is that they have not been idle, or will not long remain so. For reasons best known to psychologists, people like to hear about successful lovers, and will humbly accept prose, by presenting their public with a pair of lovers at dawn, poets seem to achieve much at one stroke, saving by suggestion a deal of description. It is by what they omit, as much as by what they add of events before and after dawn, or by how they follow up and elaborate this striking opening, that poets reveal their attitude, and often that of their tradition, towards some of the eternal issues of poetics (1965: 48)

Akin to the seasons that produce cycles of fecundity, the dawn is also a naturally occurring cyclical motif, and so by repeatedly implicating women in such a cycle, their actions are portrayed as organic, and therefore also justified. However, such productivity, which inevitably arises when lovers meet, is at odds with the expectations of chastity before

marriage in the Iberian society. Therefore, as is increasingly evident throughout this thesis, in contrast to the courtly *canciones*, women in the Hispanic lyric (and also *serranilla* poems) can be considered naturally-inspired figures of semi-erotic fantasy narratives.

The sharp preterite tense and exclamation of ‘Levantéme, ¡o, madre!’ (lines 3 and 13), brings a simultaneous surprised, yet, considering the existence of the dawn motif, also an ironic confessional register. In addressing the confidante, the female speaker implies that the event was not her fault, with the refrain ‘Malo es de guardar’. José María Alín says that he does not think that it is the girl uttering this phrase because ‘lo hace de modo genérico, impersonal’ (1991: 351). Taking into account Reckert’s staunch argument for the evolution of repents in poetry, the repetitions become less attributable to her speech, and evolve into an anonymous observation that parodies her predicament, despite retaining the same semantic formulation. The conclusion of the poem is reminiscent of Nuno Fernández Torneol’s thirteenth-century *Levad’, amigo, que dormides as manhâas frias* where the abandonment of the beloved renders the original sentiment of the *estribillo* ‘Leda m’and’eu’ ironic. Whereas the female protagonist in ‘Niña y viña, peral y habar’ initially plays up her innocence in order to put the blame on the *viñadero*, the satirical tone that ‘Malo es de guardar’ acquires during the poem is exaggerated through its staccato nature and isolation, and so eventually also renders the refrain an ironic riposte to the original interpretation as an evasion of responsibilities to her chastity.

The mention of clothing in the lyric is seldom, possibly due to the overbearing importance of natural imagery and lack of cultural value attributed to possessions. However, Masera indicates that ‘la cinta [es] ofrecida entre los amantes como prenda de amor’ (1997: 391), which indicates a corresponded love. Nevertheless, the varied use of vocabulary by the speaker for ribbons or cords, which are synecdoches for the female protagonist’s virginity: ‘cordone’ (line 10), ‘cinta’ (line 20) and ‘cordón’ (line 21), and the ‘camisa’ (line 11), gives

the impression that the speaker wants the listeners to believe that there was reluctance on her part to relinquish the items; she parted with them one by one as if under sufferance. Additionally, an innocence topos is indicated by ‘demanda’ (line 19), showing that she did not surrender the articles willingly. Furthermore, corresponding agendas are not indicated by the epithet characterising the ‘Viñadero malo’ (lines 8 and 18), who is lexically linked to the sexual metaphor ‘Malo es de guardar’. Deyermond offers two further interpretations: ‘did the girl expect to surrender her virginity to a desired lover, only to be raped by another man, or did her lover prove as selfish and brutal as the one in the French poem [*Roman de la Rose*]’ (1989b: 143).

Similar to ‘Ya florecen los árboles, Juan’, ‘Niña y viña, peral y habar’ is initially notionally romantic, with the girl indicating her availability when she goes into the garden to gather roses. As it develops, however, she communicates a reluctance to follow through her initial sexual signals, unlike the speaker of ‘Ya florecen los árboles, Juan’, whose opinion is unrestrainedly: ‘mala seré de guardar’. Therefore, by the conclusion of her inferred abandonment after surrendering her virginity, which exposes the harsh reality of the stereotyped male agenda in the lyric with regards to women, her original intentions are forgotten and listeners feel sympathy for her.

Although ‘Ya florecen los árboles, Juan’ and ‘Malo es de guardar’ show the onus of sexual restraint to be on the girls themselves, patriarchal rule usually presided over the preservation of the family honour. A playful and mischievous approach is found to be flaunted in ‘Si mi padre no me casa’, a lyric found in the 1571 *Compendio de nuevos chistes*, Juan de Timoneda’s *Truhanesco* of 1573, and the early seventeenth-century *Cancionero sevillano* of the Marqués de Jerez (Frenk 2003: i, 175):

Si mi padre no me casa,
yo seré escándalo de su casa.

It appears to be sung with the collective self-confidence of all the girls in the Hispanic lyric, who as we see by now can be shameless. However, the 'padre' is likely to have more authority than with which his daughter wishes to credit him. Initially, the protagonist posits the situation hypothetically, opening the lyric with a 'si', which underlines that having her father arrange the marriage is her preferred approach. Her subordination to him is embodied in the traditional expectation that it is he who should organise it. This is in contrast with the outspoken and unequivocal approach that many girls take with the 'madre' on the subject of marriage. Ultimately, 'Si mi padre no me casa' communicates the daughter's acknowledgement and respect of the power dynamics and roles of the androcentric society in which she lives, and which the 'padre' represents.

Women of the traditional lyric represent themselves as having strong-willed views, but also as frequently acting before considering consequences that cause dishonour. Even though the 'padre' is invoked in 'Si mi padre no me casa', the words are certainly not intended for his hearing, yet he still has enough of a presence to restrain her from creating a scandal without forethought. Albeit that the lyric is of extreme brevity, it is evident that the two characters are unlikely to discuss the topic, indicating the estrangement of fathers and their daughters. However, the speaker's implied degree of intent on becoming a scandal of her father's household is diminished by her resignation to patriarchal values, rendering her words an empty threat rather than a promise likely to be carried out.

The reflection on her own characterisation cannot be ignored. Being such a brief song, the few words that the lyric contains point towards one conjectured situation. It was in the interest of a father to marry off his daughter rather than her becoming a drain on family income. But most importantly, because honour was such a fundamental element of a family's reputation, the prevention of relationships unregulated by parents was essential, as Lucy A. Sponsler observes that 'a daughter who had sexual relations out of wedlock brought

total collapse of social esteem' (1975: 12). Therefore, her mere proposition of the defamation that she could cause to her family name implies that her personal values do not extend to the paradigm of chasteness which she ought to follow. Furthermore, it is implied, through 'seré' that she may have already begun to acquire a scandalous reputation.

Sánchez Romeralo observes that the way of writing the lyric is of inconsequential importance, but the internal structure is the key of each, which is pertinent to the second line (1969: 172). Although syntax is obviously variable, it is notable that the speaker places 'escándalo' in a central position. As a result, the daughter's threat to assert her sexuality is exaggerated before reaching the end of the distich, highlighting her greatest power within the familial structure. However, the position of 'escándalo' is overshadowed by the unusual use of the homophonic rhyming of 'casa' (although their meaning is disparate). The resultant emphasis is therefore on 'casa', and especially the final 'su casa'. James F. Burke notes that although medieval people enjoyed salacious material, the simultaneous moral or doctrinal messages encoded within the outrageous were complementary (1998: 5). Hence although the speaker is explicit about the perils to which she could expose her family, we can apply both Burke's observation combined with Sánchez Romeralo's mention of the significance of structure. This renders her threat empty, and reflects the respect that the father commands from his daughter for upholding family values and traditionalism.

Hence the responsibility to prevent sexual relations taking place lies ultimately with the daughter, and primarily with the family. 'Aguardan a mí' is a *villancico* that demonstrates this. It is found in a number of manuscripts, which indicates its widespread diffusion and illustrates the sardonic humour derived from women who do not abide by the archetypal example.⁷

Aguardan a mí:
¡nunca tales guardas vi!

⁷ See Frenk 2003: I, 143 for the many sources of the variants of 'Aguardan a mí'.

As the lyric only gives a snapshot of a situation, inferences are frequently deployed in order to gauge the background of the situation, and in this case, by taking into account the *ensaladas* in which it appears and its accompanying *glosas*, it appears that the speaker has had to be restrained because she does not subscribe to the social and familial responsibilities that she should. This is a matter of promiscuity. Her chastity was of paramount importance to the family because it reflected the family honour, and once lost could not be recuperated; a non-virginal girl was difficult to marry off and simultaneously devalued the family's status. However, there is no expression of remorse or call of ill-treatment against those who confine her (presumably her parents), signifying that this is not her principal lamentation. In contrast, the specific description of the fetters: 'tales guardas' shows that these are her grievance. In quintessential allusive lyric style, the responsibility is on the audience to deduce why she needs them, although the literary contextualisation of the lyric points towards a previous compromising situation. Nevertheless, Frenk's punctuation shows that she treats her situation with hilarity. This register amounts to self-confessed promiscuity, and in particular undermines the seriousness of the daughter's errant behaviour outside the bonds of marriage.

The burden on the daughter was heavy, and there was an expectation that she would fit into the hierarchy of the household and be an integral part of its function, as Jennifer Ward discusses (2002: 20). But moreover, it was an obedient fulfilment of both domestic and social duties that ultimately made a good daughter. 'Cuanto me mandardes', a lyric found in Sebastián de Horozco's *Refranes glosados* and the 1620 *Cancionero de Jacinto López*, and superbly encompasses the dichotomy of a daughter's mundane and symbolic duties (Frenk 2003: II, 1477):

Cuanto me mandardes
todo lo aré:
mas casa de dos puertas
no la guardaré.

Firstly the listeners sympathise with the female speaker because they are presented with a monotonous everyday situation. She lulls the listeners into a false sense of servility and meekness by indicating that there are no bounds to her domestic acquiescence: ‘cuanto’ (line 1) and ‘todo’ (line 2). Although on the literal level, the ultimate couplet could simply be regarded as a negation of these duties, listeners would not be so naïve as to be unaware of the erotic connotations of the doors of a house, bearing in mind Masera’s statement that this sexual euphemism appears in the Song of Songs, and also is classical:

El motivo del hombre que clama la apertura de la puerta de la mujer, como eufemismo de la realización del acto sexual se remonta a la lírica clásica. El amado o la amada pidiendo a su amante que lo deje entrar, el *paraclausithyron*, era un género folklórico en la cultura Clásica. (1997: 393)

Doors, walls, and lattices are long-established in literature as metaphors for women. Because women comprise the private sphere of society, it is fitting that the edifice is associated with women because it represents the physical divide that should keep women chaste and separate from men. The structure itself equates to their chastity because doors and walls are seen as impenetrable objects that can only be opened by force or by the person inside allowing them to be opened. Taking into consideration J. E. Cirlot’s graphic definition of the door: ‘a feminine symbol which, notwithstanding, contains all the implications of the symbolic hole, since it is the door which gives access to the hole’, girls should be prudent to whom they open their doors (2002: 85). So on a metaphorical level, the young girl’s autoeroticisation is splendid. She not only denies social and familial expectations in proclaiming her sexual liberty ‘no la guardaré’ (line 4), but her description of her particular house’s construction that it is a ‘casa de dos puertas’ (line 3) points towards her extremely liberal sexual proclivity.

For the large part, until now, the female voice is seen to make light of the restrictions of the home and patriarchal rule in the context of love, especially as we see in ‘Cuanto me mandardes’ where the ‘casa’ is one great abstract liberation. However, in the courtly *canCIÓN* the female voice gives such precincts a more ominous sentiment. In particular, *Destas aves*

su nación, which unusually is construed to be from the female perspective, presents the restrictions of androcentric rule as a metaphorical prison:⁸

5 Destas aves su nación
es cantar con alegría,
y de vellas en prisión,
siento yo grave pasión,
sin sentir nadie la mía.

10 Ellas lloran, que se vieron,
sin temor de ser cativas,
y a quien eran más esquivas,
esos mismos las prendieron.
Sus nombres mi vida son,
que va perdiendo alegría,
y de vellas en prisión,
siento yo grave pasión,
sin sentir nadie la mía.

The *canCIÓN* is one of eight or so that are arguably attributed to Florencia Pinar, of which *Destas aves su nación* in particular is well scrutinized. Firstly, this is because of Florencia's originality as one of only a few known medieval female poets, and secondly, because a number of the texts stand out as innovative, daring representations of love that have not been transmitted previously, of which *Destas aves su nación* is an example. Minimal information is known about the Florencia; Dutton offers little information on her brother Gerónimo: 'Hermano de Florencia Pinar. Poeta de la corte de los Reyes Católicos', and on Florencia: 'hermana del poeta Pinar. Siglos XV – XVI', so at least an idea of their lifetime is given (1990-91: VII, 418-19). One poem of Gerónimo is known to have been composed in 1498: *Tome vuestra magestad*.⁹ Therefore, assuming that Florencia is of an approximately equal age to her brother, the date supports the belief that the poems of Florencia were penned sometime around 1498 and up until the first publication of the *Cancionero general* of Hernando de Castillo in 1511.

⁸ See Dutton 1990-91: V, 310 (11CG-343) and VI, 119 (14CG-360).

⁹ See Dutton 1990-91: V, 434-39 (11CG-875) and VI, 179 (14CG-948).

Not to mention the evident feminine aspect of a *canción* that is traditionally in the male voice, Jane Whetnall also comments that *Destas aves su nación* is ‘La más célebre y comentada del puñado de canciones que nos ha legado Florencia’, which in itself points towards the pioneering aspect of the *canción*, and warrants the voice as anomalous (2006: 102). However, the comments of both Deyermond and Keith Whinnom that modern sensibility is more drawn to tangible objects rather than abstract terms must be taken into account, fearing too much of an anachronistic approach in the analysis of *cancionero* poetry (1983: 45) and (1994a: 118) respectively. Nevertheless, few *canciones* spring to mind that so readily embrace the perspective of the medieval bestiary, other than the metamorphosis of the lover in Padrón’s *¡Ham, ham, ham, huyd que ravio!*¹⁰

It is debatable whether the rubric and poem are both written by Florencia. Deyermond in a footnote says: ‘the heading may have been supplied by a *cancionero* compiler, though I think it highly probable that it formed part of the original poem’ (1983: 47). Whether or not they were both composed by Florencia, as Whetnall points out, the preference of modern critics to forge a link between the ‘perdices’ of the rubric and the ‘aves’ of the song is by means of identifying a word play on ‘perdices’ in the rubric: ‘Otra canción de la misma señora a unas perdices que la embiaron bivas’ and the text: ‘Sus nombres mi vida son / que va perdiendo alegría’ (lines 10-11) (2006: 102). This renders the poem overtly erotic; such a display of sexuality deviates from the chaste norms that were expected of women at the time. From the outset, *Destas aves su nación* uniquely conveys a clear gendered message, which Louise Mirrer terms ‘aggressively feminine’. She far-fetchedly says that this due to the abundance of feminine pronouns, participles, and nouns, both abstract and concrete (1987: 152). Mirrer also points out the masculine connotations of ‘nación’ (line 1), which although can be interpreted on an individual level as ‘nature’, is

¹⁰ See Dutton 1990-91: V, 242 (11CG-166) and VI, 94 (14CG-187).

ironically ‘squarely located in the masculine domain of official power’, as is the suggestion of its interpretation as ‘lineage’ (1987: 152). The paradox of the feminine voice within a masculine genre is similar to *O desvelada, sandía*, yet it also contains imagery that is naturally found in the masculine domain, such as the twice-repeated refrain:

y de vellas en prisión,
siento yo grave pasión,
sin sentir nadie la mía. (lines 3-5 and 12-14)

Macpherson explains that ‘pasión’ ‘could mean in the Middle Ages either ‘suffering’ or ‘creative, ecstatic love’, and ‘what precisely ‘pasión’ might mean in any given context would depend on the circumstances of that appearance: its connotations might be religious, or courtly, or erotic, or any combination of the three’ (1985: 54). The polyvalent function of ‘pasión’ is applicable; by linking ‘pasión’ to ‘prisión’, it evokes courtly love suffering, as typically, speakers liken the confines of their suffering to a metaphorical prison. As with the restrictions depicted in the lyrics ‘Aguardan a mí’ and ‘Cuanto me mandardes’, even though sexual tension underpins them, the female speaker elicits empathy from the audience. Hence the juxtaposition of ‘prisión’ and ‘pasión’ intensifies the anguish conveyed because of the binary opposition of abstract imagery effecting concrete imagery, and the plosive alliteration of the refrain, which is enhanced in its repetition by ‘perdiendo’ and ‘prendieron’ (lines 9 and 11), also exacerbates the torment suffered by the speaker. Secondly, the strong Christological allusions of ‘pasión’ take the usual sentiment of the masculine suffering of courtly love to a higher level of self-sacrifice than that communicated by the lyrics, which are much narrower, egocentric compositions. The solitude expressed at the end of the refrain implies that it is in vain, because no one recognises it. On the other hand, masculine suffering, assimilated to that of either courtly lovers, or aggrandised to that of Christ, is recognised and receives full sympathy. However, the usurpation of masculine rhetoric and a decidedly masculine

framework, although eliciting sympathy from the audience, simultaneously undermines androcentric tradition, and thereby renders the speaking voice as deviant from the norm.

Also, the erotic aspect must be considered of the 'pasión' that is empathetically felt by the speaker when seeing the partridges in their prison: 'y de vellas en prisión / siento yo grave pasión' (lines 4-5 and 12-13). For a modern audience, the partridges are the nub of the poem, to whom, in the light of the medieval bestiary, a libidinous nature can be attributed, as T. H. White translates from the Latin:

Frequent intercourse tires them out. The males fight each other for their mate, and it is believed that the conquered male submits to venery like a female. Desire torments the females so much that even if a wind blows toward them from the males they become pregnant by the smell. (1954: 137)

Notwithstanding the well documented lecherous nature attributed to the perceived subject of the poem, 'unas perdices', the connotations of generic 'aves' also merit mention. Kate van Orden points out that 'in chansons birds were often featured as referents for male and female genitalia' (1995: 10). Therefore, such an analogy immediately connotes an erotic ambience. Although it may be pointed out that the chansons are slightly later than courtly love songs, she also points out in a footnote that 'Bird imagery in music has a venerable history predating the repertory' (1995: 3).

The assimilation of the lecherous nature of the partridges to the female voice is endorsed by Miguel Ángel Pérez Priego:

Esta imagen animalística que compara el cautiverio de la perdiz con la pasión de la dama encierra seguramente, como ha sido interpretado, una fuerte carga erótica y sexual, dado que en el bestiario medieval la perdiz es símbolo de la lascivia y el deseo carnal. (1989: 82)

If the intention of *Destas aves su nación* is to convey that 'perdices', as a metaphor for women, have an inherent and unconcealed lasciviousness, indeed there is a sharp deviance from the expected ideal of female behaviour. However, juxtapositions within the poem also point towards the futility of existence as a woman, which deny the active intention of the female to behave in such a way. The dilemma between 'perdices bivas' yet simultaneously

‘de vellas en prisión’ (lines 3 and 12) indicates a lose-lose situation, which is confirmed by their apathy: ‘sin temor de ser cativas’ (line 7). Although this could be interpreted as a libidinous facet, whereupon capture leads to welcome entrapment by sexual predators, their objectification by means of voyeurism throughout the poem in lines 3 and 12, and ‘Ellas lloran, que se vieron’ (line 6), must be taken into account. Mirrer puts this succinctly: ‘their sadness at finding themselves love objects rather than agents in the love situation’ (1987: 155). Although at the beginning of the poem they are perceived as the initiators of amour by conspicuously attracting attention: ‘es cantar con alegría’ (line 2), by the end, the realisation of their repressed situation, only to be sexually objectified, has dawned and ‘va perdiendo alegría’ (line 11). The use of the gerund prolongs the suffering of the ‘aves’, and elicits sympathy for their situation. On another level, according to Macpherson, ‘perdiendo’ can be a euphemism for sexual climax (1985: 54). Nevertheless, as they become passive and the objects of voyeurism in the duration of the poem, the implication is that although they may be satirised participants, they are not necessarily culpable of lascivious behaviour.

The beauty of *Destas aves su nación* is its innovation in subverting the prescribed gendered formula of courtly love melancholy in the typical *cancioneril* framework. In some ways the typical gendered roles are fulfilled, such as the objectification of the female, and the role of the woman to be disdainful of the advances of her lover: ‘a quien eran más esquivas’ (line 8), where ‘esquivas’ can mean ‘disdainful’, ‘aloof’, or ‘cruel’. Also, in the same way that the courtly lover is never emotionally fulfilled, nor is the ‘pasión’ of the female speaker on the courtly and religious levels that ‘pasión’ is understood to function: ‘siento yo grave pasión, / sin sentir nadie la mía’ (lines 4-5 and 13-14). On the other hand, the exception to fulfilment is the erotic aspect of ‘siento yo grave pasión’ (lines 4 and 5), where the libidinous and lewd manner as an allegory for the behaviour of women is far more sexual than in most *canciones*, but is on par with the eroticism of the *villancicos*. Its known composition by a

female poet increases its scandalous nature, and as we are persuaded in the lyric, not only does the empathy expressed in lines 4 and 5 persuade modern sensibility to converge the speaking voice with that of the poet, but also so does the concluding repetition of the refrain preceded by ‘que va perdiendo alegría’ (line 11). Deyermond upholds the idea by saying: ‘I have no wish to query the relevance of Pinar’s image of the trapped partridges, the success of her identification of her feelings with those of the unfortunate birds, or the high quality of her poem’ (1983: 47). The blurring of authorial and speaking voices is still contentious amongst scholars, and the part that female authorship plays in *Destas aves su nación* remains an unverified element. Nevertheless, I would suggest that in this case, the anomaly of a female poet composing such illusory yet graphically deviant content cannot be ignored. Moreover, the female voice undermines the courtly love tradition and therefore renders the characterisation of the ‘aves’ a parody.

Whereas *Destas aves su nación* presents a cynical view of woman and love in the female voice, due to the courtly framework, the abrasive and derisive tone parodies society in a way that seeks to destabilise androcentric rule from the top, in contrast with the inconsequential rebellions that bubble away at the foot of the food chain in terms of peasant lyric poetry. Consequently, the ambience of restriction engendered by *Destas aves su nación* is unparalleled in the lyric; women of traditional poetry find a way to meet such constraint with satirical and mischievous subversive behaviour, such as the female speaker of ‘Salga la luna, el cavallero’, a lyric found in the 1560 *Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos a cuatro y a cinco voces* of Juan Vásquez (Frenk 2003: I, 331-32):

Salga la luna, el cavallero,
salga la luna, y vámonos luego.

Salga la luna, el cavallero,
salga la luna, y vámonos luego.

5 Cavallero aventurero,
salga la luna por entero,
salga la luna, y vámonos luego.

Whereas the female speaker of *Destas aves su nación* is trapped by her class, the speaker of ‘Salga la luna, el cavallero’, although most probably socially inferior to him, is content enough with her unimposing social niche to find courage to persuade the ‘cavallero’ to elope with her: ‘y vámonos luego’ (lines 2, 5, and 7). He is a common enough character in the lyric because of his prevalence in medieval life.

The most salient feature of the poem is the repeated refrain ‘Salga la luna’. The repeated mention brings with it further connotations; whether secular or religious, sex and procreation are associated with night-time meetings and dawn, which Reckert confirms is similar to the Provençal tradition: ‘el género poético conocido por el mismo nombre, *alba*, está rigurosamente codificado: cuenta la despedida de dos amantes al amanecer después de una noche de amor’ (2002: 64). This accepted codification by composers and listeners means that there would have been an immediate comprehension and empathy with the protagonists of ‘Salga la luna, el cavallero’. Dawn and night in particular provide not only a cover, but also a readily constructed stage for lovers, facilitating and subsequently justifying their activities. In this lyric the moon is the guiding light and rationale for their activity. Its association with women has much to do with their corresponding four-weekly cycles, which is further demonstrated in ‘Salga la luna, el cavallero’ because the female speaker persistently cites it as a reason for elopement. The monologue form of the lyric, although not alien to popular poetry, underlines the fact that the scheming is only attributed to the female speaker, who wants to perform forbidden acts. Specifically, her congruence with the full moon points towards her fertility, hence identifying another reason why the time is so right to elope.

Repetition is the vanguard of ‘Salga la luna, el cavallero’. It exemplifies the frequently cited axiom of Roman Jakobson: ‘Á tous les niveaux de la langue, l’essence, en poésie, de la technique artistique résidé en des retours réitérés’ (1973: 234). The *villancico* follows a typical structure of *estribillo* and *glosa* where the central tercet, the gloss, develops

the initial couplet with a minimally increased lexicon. In the first couplet, because it is the first time that the refrain ‘Salga la luna’ is used, it brings with it an excitable air. However, in the gloss, because the refrain is preceded by ‘Cavallero aventurero’ (line 3), the repetition of ‘salga la luna’ brings with it a mood of persuasion. The final couplet, which although is identical to the opening *estribillo*, is affected by the previous renderings of the phrase, and so, because there still has been no input from the ‘cavallero’, it acquires a desperate tenor, as if the best she can hope for is sexual fulfilment, without lasting commitment. The reasons for the taciturn characterisation of the ‘cavallero’ may not be due to his lack of libido, which could be inferred from the characterisation of the female speaker’s urgent ardour, but may come under Donald McGrady’s observation that in primitive villages and towns, sexual relations were prohibited for soldiers and hunters (1989: 543). Hence the female speaker is not only putting herself in a socially unacceptable position, but she is subverting the androcentric system by encouraging a ‘cavallero’ to elope with her.

However, it is important to note that, like the ‘Día de San Juan’, the dark of night brings with it its own set of behavioural rules. These standards are not acceptable at other times, so in the light of day, the same speaker’s sentiments may have been different. For example, usually at dawn there is a sense of urgency surrounding lovers, such as in ‘Ya cantan los gallos’, a lyric found in Fray Ambrosio Montesino’s *Cancionero* of 1508, Hernando de Castillo’s 1514 *Cancionero general*, the late fifteenth-century *Cancionero musical de Palacio*, and the sixteenth-century *Cancionero musical de Elvas* (Frenk 2003: 1, 328):

Ya cantan los gallos,
buen amor, y vete,
cata que amanece.

The female speaker here refers to the dawn farewell, or *alba*, as opposed to dawn meeting, *alborada*, which is indicated by reality topos of the crowing cockerels. This may be a reason

for Empaytaz de Croome's subjective judgement of the *alboradas*: 'Iberian poems of meeting show greater originality than those pieces which deal with the parting of lovers at dawn' (1980: 39). Although the outcome of an *alba* may be obvious (that the lovers part), I disagree with Empaytaz de Croome because there is a huge variety of ways in which they do so that makes the pieces innovative. Features such as reality topoi help the listeners to identify with the fear of the lovers because it gives them a concrete aspect on which to base their empathies. The reality topos may not be able to appeal to the senses quite as readily as the way that the final line of the tercet does, because for the audience to imagine cockerels crowing, it is merely another sound in the already established oral framework.

However, 'cata', which translates as 'watch out' or 'behold', varies the senses to which the audience are introduced, thereby opening another creative channel in their minds, and further allowing another degree of empathy for the trepidation of the lovers as they imagine the image of dawn breaking, and especially the female speaker whose use of the imperative 'vete' and 'cata' shows the increase in her apprehension. Although the physical connotations of daybreak are life-giving, regeneration, and fecundity, these are overwhelmed by the negative emotions that dawn brings. Light allows the female protagonist not only to be seen, but also to see, and her sight cannot be dissociated from clarity of thought. With the cold light of day comes consideration of societal mores and therefore chastity, awareness, separation, and, having undermined social and patriarchal order under the cover of night, a superficial return to submission.

The libidinous associations of the *alba* and *alborada* tradition are enhanced further by a motif that plays a multivalent tradition in literature: the nightingale. 'Pasito, pasito, amor' is an *alba* lyric found in Cosme Gómez Tejada de los Reyes' 1661 *Autos al nacimiento del hijo de Dios*, and merits discussion due to the conclusions the audience draw from its erotic symbolism (Frenk 2003: I, 330):

Pasito, pasito, amor,
no espantéys al ruyseñor.

Unlike the cockerels of ‘Ya cantan los gallos’, which are allies of lovers, the nightingale here is a bird that has the capacity to betray, not simply warn the lovers. From the medieval bestiary, Willene B. Clark translates the contemporary conception of the nightingale:

Lucinia avis inde nomen sumpsit, quia cantu suo significare solet surgentis exortum diei, quasi lucerna. Est enim pervigil [The bird is a nightingale, whence it takes its name, because by its song it is wont to signify the rise of the dawning day, as if a lamp. For it is an ever watchful guardian] (2006: 182).

However, as Deyermond comprehensively discusses, in medieval European literature, the ‘ruiyseñor’ has many different associations, which for the most part are with sexual love (1996: 10-14). As far back as the beginning of the millennium, Beryl Rowland points out that ‘Pliny had said that the nightingale often died at the end of its song, and this dying was used in the traditional metaphorical sense to mean coition’ (1978: 108). Rowland also notes that in Boccaccio’s *Decameron*, Caterina wants to hear the nightingale sing *udir cantar l’usignuolo*, which is a ‘humorous euphemism for making love’ (1978: 106). Therefore, in terms of renaissance and regeneration, it is not a surprise that the nightingale is also associated with May festivities in both the early French lyric and popular Iberian verse. More generally, Eugenio Asensio claims that the nightingale literally signifies ‘alegría para casi toda la Edad Media’ (1970: 237). However, the most well-known reference to the nightingale in traditional verse is in the ballad *Fontefrida*, where, like this distich, the nightingale is a betrayer. Although these are not the only examples of the nightingale, I disagree with Asensio that this renders it principally a signifier of happiness because plainly, the emotions of parting lovers are not usually joyous. However, I do concede that its established association with May festivities (which are known to include frolics and promiscuity) means that the audience will immediately be able to draw conclusions about the actions of the protagonists. More specifically, although Clark indicates that the nightingale is

portrayed as a female bird in the medieval bestiary (2006: 182), Rowland points out that the nightingale itself is identified with male genitalia (1978: 106).

As is the case with ‘Ya cantan los gallos’, the distich ‘Pasito, pasito, amor’ conveys the female speaker’s fear that the lovers will be discovered. Her urgency is indicated in the first line simultaneously by the repetition and the caesurae: ‘Pasito, pasito, amor’, which suggest quick intakes of breath. However, due to the brevity of the lyric and lack of mention of the lovers’ activities, only the symbol of the nightingale (which in turn suggests dawn) can be relied upon for inference. Natural symbolism is integral to the understanding of the lyric corpus, and it is often is the crux of the lyric’s eroticisation, both of circumstances and of women. Therefore, the only assumption that can be drawn is that the lovers clearly have been sexually active, and the female speaker is most anxious that they are not discovered as it would be ruinous for her reputation and the honour of her family.

From the analyses of both of the lyrics above, it can be inferred that night and dawn provide literary stages on which the characters of the lyric are able to perform. The allusion to either time period usually is accompanied by concrete symbols which reveal that sexual activity has taken place, and women play a leading role in initiating and communicating this. However, bearing in mind the unambiguous statement of Hatto regarding the exploits of lovers at dawn and the potency of the dawn leitmotif, it must be noted that although the female speaker demonstrates anxiety, confirmation of her deviance from the paradigmatic female is that she does not exhibit regret for her actions in either the *albas* or *alboradas*.

REPERCUSSIONS OF DEVIANCE

Few lyrics are literal and exclusive in their mention of the physical rather than emotional side of love. ‘¡Ay, mezquina’ is one such exception, found in the *Cancionero toledano* of 1560-1570 (Frenk 2003: II, 1174):

¡Ay, mezquina,
que se me hincó un' espina!
¡Desdichada,
que temo quedar preñada!

The female speaker comically claims that nature itself has impregnated her: she utters the rhetorical epithets 'mezquina' and 'desdichada' to lament her injury by a thorn. This vocabulary is common in popular verse to indicate the misgivings of young girls about their inappropriate actions. More importantly, 'desdichada' indicates that misfortune is involved in her situation, thereby alleviating her from accountability. The natural framework of the *locus amoenus* also provides her with a way of diminishing the significance of her pregnant state because of the expectation of fertility in natural settings. The speaker further implies that she is not responsible for the situation she finds herself in because she uses a verb that implies forceful penetration and a motion of intent ('hincó') on the part of the subject ('espina'). Although symbolic inferences are apparent from the outset, the initial distich can only be understood symbolically when we return to read the final line again. A possible symbolic reading may see the 'espina' as a dart of love, but her fear that she may be pregnant renders the 'espina' a phallus that has penetrated her.¹¹

The speaker and reporter of '¡Ay, mezquina!' are the same person even though it comprises two parts of a monologue. The bipartite structure of the *villancico* allows the audience to reflect that the protagonist is responding to the penetration retroactively, so by having the time to mull over and construct a report, it would be construed to represent her in the best light. Hence it is unlikely that she is as naïve about the situation as she gives the impression. This observation is supported by the environment in which the lyric is set. On the one hand, secluded areas such as one where bushes or trees bearing such brambles or spines were abundant hold the imminent danger of rape. On the other, due to the presence of

¹¹ According to Rowland, it was not until the sixteenth century that English poets used the prick of the thorn as phallic symbol (1978: 107).

foliage, it is clear that she is in a *locus amoenus*, and so more likely she would have been a complicit party to any act with the party to whom the euphemistic ‘espina’ belonged. Because she clearly wishes to blame someone or something else for her possible pregnancy, the listeners would suspect that she is more responsible for the outcome than she wishes to appear.

Whereas unusually ‘¡Ay, mezquina’ is blatant in its content, errant behaviour in the lyric is communicated more commonly through symbolism, especially when the rural setting effortlessly facilitates such allusion, such as in ‘A coxer amapolas’, a lyric found in the 1627 *Arte de la lengua española castellana* and 1627 *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales* of Gonzalo Correas Íñigo (Frenk 2003: 1, 254):

A coxer amapolas,
madre, me perdí:
¡caras amapolas
fueron para mí!

On a literal level, the young woman gives an account of her excursion which has the intention of picking poppies. She becomes lost and consequently red-faced on account of her embarrassment.

Nonetheless, the indication that there is more to the lyric than the surface literal interpretation is indicated in the second line when she adopts a confessional tone in addressing her ‘madre’. The devolution of responsibilities to anyone but themselves is a frequently used ploy by female speakers in the lyric, and even though her lack of virtue is plain enough when considering the figurative interpretation, on the surface she wishes to maintain her innocence. This ingenuousness is at first supported through the poppy’s red colour, which Cirlot states in Christian symbolism is simply a colour associated with love (2002: 59). The leitmotif of the flower (most commonly the rose), is generally associated with maidens. As Marina Warner notes, the Virgin Mary is addressed as ‘rose of Sharon’ (1985: 99), which further exemplifies the virginal qualities that women associated with the

rose should possess. In secular medieval literature the association is drawn due to the corresponding beauty and blossoming of flowers and young women, which is equated to sexual inexperience but also simultaneously their coming of age, hence the familiar expression ‘collige rosas’. However, any naivety of the female protagonist is undermined by the use of an adroit pun in lines 3 and 4, which is unusual because puns are not generally used in the corpus. However, its succinct, pithy employment by the speaker renders her endearing to the listeners, yet conversely indicates that she is shrewder than she wishes to be perceived.

Similar to ‘Niña y viña, peral y habar’, the flower imagery ‘amapola’ (which is a metaphor for the female speaker), is repeated. Although Reckert’s citation of Jakobson that ‘the essence of poetic technique ‘résidé en des retours réitérés’’ (1998: 9), I would argue that what happens between each mention of the symbol is the essence because this indicates why and how the poppy is transformed, and does not make the repetition of the symbol superfluous. The literal indication that her face is the colour of the poppy indicates her loss of virginity, and like ‘Niña y viña, peral y habar’, the figurative interpretation also uses blood red colour to indicate the rupturing of the hymen. Losing oneself in medieval literature for women is an immediate indicator of a girl going morally astray, as we saw in ‘Madre, una moçuela’ in the previous chapter, and it is also a well-known euphemism in the ballad *El caballero burlado*.¹² Hence also the speaker changes in colour. It is here the repetition indicates that perhaps the speaker is not the flustered, innocent girl confessing to the ‘madre’ that she got lost whilst picking poppies as she wants the listeners to believe she is.

Whereas the speaker of ‘A coxer amapolas’ is intent on misrepresenting the true reason for her change in skin tone, in ‘Aunque soi morenita un poco’, variance is seen in the ploy of the female speaker. The lyric is located in the 1620 *Cancionero de Jacinto López*, and also Correas’ 1627 *Arte de la lengua española castellana* (Frenk 2003: I, 129):

¹² Dutton 1990-91: I, 166 (LB1-91).

Aunque soi morenita un poco,
no me doi nada:
con el agua del almendruco
me lavo la cara.

Here the actions of the ‘morenita’ in the second half of the lyric do not mirror her statement ‘no me doi nada’ (line 2) that she is unworried by her slight colouring. So, in the light of the *morena* topoi which imply the sexual activity of the darkened, and hence symbolically deflowered girl (discussed at length in Chapter VI and also seen in Chapters III and VIII), it appears that she is trying to do the impossible – undo what has caused her darkening of colour. But it is not just her sexual proclivity that comes to light during the course of the lyric: most pertinently, similar to ‘Ya florecen los árboles’ the ‘morenita’ attempts to use a plant associated with pregnant women to wash away her change in skin tone, which serves to concretise the figurative consequences of her dark colouring (pregnancy). Irony underpins all symbolic aspects of this lyric where ‘soi morenita un poco’ (line 1) does not quite make figurative sense: her darkened aspect points towards sexual experience or pregnancy, or not: she cannot have slightly lost her virginity, or be a little bit pregnant, and she most certainly cannot wash such a physical state away.

In applying what can be gleaned from the brief glimpse at ‘Aunque soi morenita un poco’, the audience could infer that the protagonist of ‘Ya florecen los árboles’ is attesting the physical productivity of her love in keeping with natural phenomena: ‘Ya florecen los almendros / y los amores con ellos’ (lines 3-4). She may be pregnant, but is not worried about holding back her promiscuous attitude, and uses the cyclical nature of the natural environment to justify her actions. Her lack of shame forms a contrast with the ‘morenita’ of ‘Aunque soi morenita un poco’ whose initial bravado crumbles with the imagery of her fruitlessly washing her face with almond milk, which is ironically associated with pregnant women.

Although the sun is the most obvious reason for the darkening of skin, an explicitly cited cause is also the wind; this symbol features more frequently than the sun because whereas the representation of the sun is fairly straightforward, composers can attribute an air of mischievousness to the wind. ‘Dale el viento en el chapirón’, a lyric found in Correas’ *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales*, 1627 (Frenk 2003: I, 667):

Dale el viento en el chapirón:
siquiera le dé, siquiera non.

There are several lyrics that have similar sentiments to ‘Dale el viento en el chapirón’, and indeed there is a Portuguese variant of ‘Dale el viento en el chapirón’ (Frenk 2003: I, 666). This figurative interpretation of this version, however, is a unique combination of both dainty analogy and nonchalant lasciviousness. On the surface, it contains a narrative in first person in which a young girl debates whether or not to let her hair loose in the wind.

The symbolic interpretation, however, is a far raunchier affair, and as Frenk states: ‘Everybody agrees: the wind is clearly an erotic symbol. But not everybody agrees on the meaning of this symbol in the various old Spanish songs which include it’ (1993: 9). Above, we see that hair is a sign of a woman’s sexuality, and so initially the female speaker appears virtuous because she covers her hair with a hood, indicating her chastity. However, the masculine element of the wind penetrates her hood, in particular mussing her hair. In the light of Frenk’s observations that: ‘the wind is the force that makes white girls – virgins – become dark, that is, experienced’, it is possible to draw a parallel between the effect of the wind in the speaker’s hood with one of the best-known topoi of the popular lyric: the *morena* (1993: 9). Also, Olinger points out that ‘a tickling, quaking, or trembling sensation in any part of the body indicates a build-up of libidinal energy’ (1985: 10). Hence the speaker presents an analogous scenario of coitus. There is the defence that the wind, or the male presence, is a penetrative element that cannot be stopped by the ineffective hood, and so the

wind is left to its own devices, although the second line subverts this theory on the power dynamics of their relationship.

The rapid change in register of the distich highlights the influence that the speaker has in the matter. She introduces the verse in symbolic terms, but follows it with an unelaborated statement of her role in the affair, revealing that she can in fact choose whether to let the wind roam freely in her hood or not, or, let a man have his way with her on sexual terms. The second line 'siquiera le dé, siquiera non' not only implies her lack of specificity of the recipient, but also her casualness surrounding sex. All in all, she renders a depiction of herself as a woman who has her own sexual mores, with no regard or responsibility for family honour, even though the lyric appears on a literal level to be an innocent interaction with the environment.

'Levantóse un viento', on the other hand, is more explicit about the role of the wind. It is a lyric located in both Blasco de Garay's 1553 *Cartas de refranes* and Correas' 1627 *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales* (Frenk 2003: 1, 664):

Levantóse un viento
que de la mar salía,
y alzóme las faldas
de la mi camisa.

The scene is similar to that of 'Dale el viento en el chapirón', but in particular the sea breeze enters under the clothing of a woman. Eroticism is immediately evident because the listeners are directed to imagine the intimate parts of a woman's body that are unveiled by the elevation of the folds of her 'camisa'. This shirt-like item is worn next to the skin and functions as a synecdoche for the girl, in much the same way that the 'champirón' of 'Dale el viento en el chapirón' does. The depiction of the wind in particular is a skilful feat that may not be evident until the last line when the conclusion of the lyric is manifest. The verb 'levantóse' that the speaker uses to quantify the movement of the wind has exact connotations of upward movement, in keeping with that of his male anatomy on arousal. However, there

has to be a reason for the wind to come from the sea, and on closer scrutiny the female speaker is not devoid of responsibility for its arrival.

Numerous lyrics depict the sea as a feminine entity, and Olinger points out their similarities: ‘Sea and women alike are deep and fickle’ (1985: 69). Whether we are to regard the sea as a feminine entity or not, an erudite gloss of the lyric ‘Después que la mar pasé / vida mía, ¡ay!, olvidastemé’, cannot be ignored.¹³ The gloss refers to ‘el mar de amor’, similar to the ‘baños de amor’. Therefore, before their sexual contact, a reciprocated emotion is evident between the speaker and the man whom the wind represents. So even though the man is the initial character to act upon his impulses, the female speaker does nothing to quash his desires. She is also explicit about his exploits, and has no shame in drawing attention to her bodily parts, once again revealing a shameless typology of woman that is specific to the lyric corpus.

Whereas many of the poems here in the female voice allude euphemistically to the masculinity and the masculine sexual organ using symbols (such as the wind and sun), there are very few lyrics that allude to female genitalia. However, the final lyric that I look at in this chapter is a satirical dialogue between two women that is overt in its indication. ‘Madre, la mi madre’ is located in the *Cancionero del bachiller Jhoan López*, compiled between 1582-1600 (Frenk 2003: II, 1176):

- Madre, la mi madre,
que me come el quiriquiriquí.
- Ráscatele, hija, y calla,
que también me come a mí.

There are two ways of interpreting the young girl’s state. Either she has already been promiscuous (albeit there is little proof in the alternative conclusion drawn below), or what she is feeling is an allusion to the beginnings of her sexual impulses. Whichever, her

¹³ See Frenk 2003: I, 406. ‘Después que a la mar pasé’ is found in the *Cancionero de Pedro del Pozo* (1547) and the mid sixteenth-century *Cancionero toledano*.

embarrassment is evident because she adopts a confessional tone by using 'madre', implying she is addressing someone who should be sager than her. Although each woman addresses the other in universal terms, these could just indicate terms of endearment, as Richard Hitchcock points out that 'mamá' is formulaic, and 'palabra imprescindible, al parecer, en una lírica femenina' (1977: 1). Whether biological or social, the scenario laid out is still between two women, one of whom should be an example for the other, which is why the last line 'que también me come a mí' renders the verse ironic because in fact they share the same predicament.

Frenk confirms the sexual tone with her statement that the relationship between eating and drinking and sex is one of festival humour in the popular lyric (1994: 55). Because the verb form 'come' is repeated twice in the lyric, the all-consuming force of sexual desire is emphasised. The young girl sustains the comedy by alluding to her innocence with the childish phrase 'quiriquiriquí' which is the phonetic transliteration reserved for the sound a cockerel makes, but which Macpherson confirms is part of the secret language of the *cancioneros* which refers to her vagina (1985: 54). Although it is a less likely interpretation, on a literal level, the itching the girl refers to could be an infection, which, in the light of Frenk's observation above, could also possibly imply that the daughter has a sexually transmitted disease, having acted against society's expectations of an unmarried girl. This would relate to the theme of the cockerel, that is an integral part of the *alba* tradition. Of course, the mother empathising with the young girl's exact situation means that her actions have already preceded the young girl's, and hence she, also, has broken the rules of chastity outside marriage.

However, the listeners could be influenced more by the young girl's innocent aspect. Although the speech is reported by an unidentified narrator, she is the initiator of the conversation rather being the subject of an accusatory situation. The itching she refers to is

reminiscent of ‘No sé qué me bulle’, a lyric depicting a young ‘vaquera’ who is conscious of something stirring in her foot, which, as detailed in the previous chapter, is also representative of the vagina.¹⁴ Olinger refers to this as a ‘restless inner activity’ regarding her primitive sexual impulse (1985: 11). If this is the case, the mother’s quick reply in line 3 ‘Ráscatele’ points towards self-gratification, that is unusually explicit for the lyric. However, women in the lyric are not to be regarded as prude or sexually unadventurous, as we see regarding the female protagonist of the ‘casa de dos puertas’ in the lyric discussed earlier in this chapter ‘Cuanto me mandardes’.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, as the lyric is primarily traditional and its original composition comes from the masses whose creativity is not from learned sources or other cultures, everyday occurrence is the main stimulus. Marino sums up this concept of the interrelationship between literature and reality, and further indicates that such literature is useful as history:

Es un proceso mutuo, sin embargo: la historia se puede utilizar para completar o comprender un texto literario tanto como la literatura puede servir la misma función para la historia, dándonos una mejor comprensión no sólo de los acontecimientos, sino de las actitudes hacia esos mismos sucesos. (2003: 224)

Therefore, the female-voice lyric can be seen as a mode that allows peasant women to play out their fantasies and obtain a degree of independence; I propose the lyric is also a way for women to enact their fantasies of sexual liberation and independence from patriarchy.

However, in the light of the two *canciones* of this chapter, they are both unusual in that they draw on symbolism usually associated with folklore. *Destas aves su nación* and *O desvelada, sandía* break the mould of the typical *canción*, primarily from being in the female voice, and secondly through the folkloric symbolism that underpins them, which contribute to the representation of anomalously deviant women in the courtly genre. Therefore, it can be

¹⁴ See Frenk 2003: II, 1170. ‘No sé qué me bulle’ is found in Juan Vasquez’s 1551 *Villancicos y canciones de Ivan Vasquez*.

concluded that usually the filter of the male speaker has much effect on the content. In the these poems, the typical reverence of the lady in courtly love poems is extinguished and the poems contain examples of young women who variously subvert stereotypes in the corpus, through jeopardising or revolting against the 'purity' or submission expected of them. Dutton points out that modern students of this form of poetry find it less compelling (implying salacious and juicy) than popular poetry, but the evidence in this chapter points towards their failure to observe the exceptions. However, although the homogeneity of the stereotype of erudite *canciones* also has been deprecated by recent scholarship, it is not to say that we cannot learn as much from the typical representations as from these deviant or anomalistic women, because they provide the axis against which atypical representations are contrasted.

All in all, broadly, the female-voice poems differ from the representations of women in the male-voice; they do not exhibit the same control over men, but rather, for all their sexual liberation and exploration, more often than not present themselves as the victim of circumstance.

CHAPTER V: WOMAN AND GENDERED ORTHODOXY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter concentrates on women who deviate from the orthodox domestic and familial role. Jennifer Ward points out that woman was controlled, like property, by either her father or husband (2002: 9). Anne J. Cruz indicates that because stress was on the importance of the male patriarchal role, the wife should follow in moral and economic subservience (1992: 160). Similar to the medieval concept of *honra*, this shows that the social accomplishments of women were integrally linked to the public reflection on their menfolk. Therefore, in medieval Spain, women were dependent on men for survival throughout their lives, and from the perspective of a daughter, marriage was the doorway to security. Her existence is not perceived only relatively to the masculine head of the household, but also she is seen as confined to domesticity. Ward maintains: ‘Although many girls of the elite were taught to read, the main emphasis was put on housekeeping and social accomplishments’ (2002: 14). María Eugenia Lacarra sums up women’s three basic roles:

La importancia de las mujeres se relaciona directamente con la política de los protagonistas, de ahí que su presencia se deba a las relaciones de parentesco que tienen con ellos y que su papel se ciña a su función de madres, hijas o esposas. (1995: 41)

Complementing Lacarra’s modern-day proposition that women played one of three roles – either as mothers, daughters or wives – is Fray Martín Alonso de Córdoba’s declaration in the *Jardín de nobles donzellas* of their biological function: ‘Nota muchas utilidades & provecho de su criación [mujer]. La primera es multiplicación del humanal linaje’ (Goldberg 1974: 172).

Therefore, taking into account the considerations of Fray Martín’s portrayal of the exemplary woman as the basis for this thesis, woman’s biological categorisation serves as natural division for this chapter; in the light of the evidence pointing towards the expectation that women played a compliant role either as daughter, wife, or mother, these are the three

categories on which this chapter is based. The orthodox categorisation of women as daughter, wife, or mother that has so carefully been constructed by patriarchal society, is blithely deconstructed by female protagonists in both the dozen or so *villancicos* and two *canciones* encountered below, demonstrating the eminent satirical and humorous treatments of women. First, I look at eligible daughters whose frustrations with marriage counteract orthodoxy, and then I move to a consideration of *malmaridadas* whose cuckolding is the most obvious deviation from the paradigmatic wife. I then consider women whose adultery undermines the family as one of the pillars of society, and who are juxtaposed by one particular wife who is the victim of infidelity. Finally, I look at a unique lyric that depicts a mother who has incestuous fantasies.

THE DAUGHTER

As Pattison illustrates in Chapter II, the epic demonstrates that young girls of the upper social strata had little to do with the selection of their husband, although they do not have outspoken reactions. In contrast, a number of lyrics from the point of view of unmarried girls volubly bemoan marriage, such as ‘Dizen que me case yo’, extracted from *Sibila Cassandra*, by Gil Vicente (Frenk 2003: I, 184):

Dizen que me case yo:
¡no quiero marido, no!

This is the most straightforward example of lyrics along this theme, and for its simplicity could be thought to hold little poetic appeal. However, its construction demonstrates the lack of control that young women had over their lives: the impersonal ‘Dizen’ leaves it open to interpretation as to who is the authority that is urging her to marry, and simultaneously such anonymous nature points towards the general and overwhelming pressure of society dictating that it is her duty to get married. The staunch rejection not of marriage, but of a ‘marido’ indicates that this is the aspect that the speaker in particular eschews, highlighted by the

emphatic ‘no’ parenthesisising the second line. The motive for such objection to a husband is left open to the sensibilities of the listeners, but more specific reasons are illuminated by other lyrics such as ‘Que no quiero, no, casarme’ which is found in a number of manuscripts and *cancioneros*: Gonzalo Correas Íñigo, *Vocabulario de refranes* (1627); *Cancionero de Johan López*; *Cancionero 1587*; BNM ms. 22028; and HSA ms B 2465 (Frenk 2003: I, 185):

Que no quiero, no, casarme
si el marido á de mandarme.

Again, specifically, a husband is the reason of the speaker for repudiating marriage, but she expands on the theme of the previous lyric and her reluctance to accept the role of wife based on the sole expectation of a husband: ‘á de mandarme’. By using the indefinite article ‘el’, the speaker generalises and impersonalises the ‘marido’ and renders her plight ominous whomsoever she marries. In the light of the evidence of Cruz, her suspicions are valid because ‘women’s roles in medieval and early modern cultures are dependent primarily upon a husband, with little regard for their personal happiness or desires’ (1992: 146). The enjambment of the two lines creates an antithetical effect to that of her adamant denunciation of marriage; the juxtaposition of ‘casarme’ and ‘mandarme’ therefore become more closely associated. Furthermore, unlike the lyric ‘No quiero ser casada’, below, there is no suggestion of an alternative to her situation, which highlights her satirically inextricable position. Furthermore, her perception that being unmarried is a relative freedom is supported by Power, who compares the independence of an unmarried woman with her loss of freedom upon marriage:

She could hold land, even by military tenure, and do homage for it; she could make a will or a contract, could sue or be sued. On the other hand when she married, her rights, for the duration of the marriage, slipped out of her hands.’ (1975: 38)

The alliteration in /k/ of the first line serves to convey a venomous vehemence that is reinforced by her negative language, whereas in the second line, the nasal alliteration of the /m/ introduces a slightly calmer, yet sullen register, as if the speaker is acknowledging that

whatever her feelings, ultimately she will have to admit defeat and endure the consequences of marriage.

On the other hand, the speakers of some *villancicos* recognise the power that they wield during the period that they are of a marriageable age, and if they are prudent, can get away with breaking societal norms by simultaneously feigning acquiescence on another level. This is evident in ‘Pues que me sacan a desposar’, found in Correas’ 1627 *Vocabulario de refranes* (Frenk 2003: I, 219):

Pues que me sacan a desposar,
quiérome peinar.

The brevity of this *villancico* emphasises the dichotomy of existence that the female speaker creates for herself. She is resigned to her arranged marriage ‘a desposar’ of line 1 and her treatment as a chattel to simply be plucked out of the bosom of the family is denoted by the use of ‘sacan’ (line 1). However, her approach to marriage is sager than that of the protagonists of the previous lyrics, and although on the surface she appears to accept convention, the second line undermines any pretence of submission by asserting her own choice of actions: brushing her hair. Loose, flowing locks are a sign of sexual availability that do not comply with marriage, and the girl is patently aware of this fact. Furthermore, taking into account the point of Antonio Sánchez Romeralo that ‘peinarse para alguien tenía, así, el carácter de una promesa amorosa’, there is the implication that she has in mind a particular person for whom she wishes to brush her hair (1969: 61).

There appears to be an ascending scale of audacity of girls with respect to marriage; following the subtle hair-combing of the previous protagonist, an even more reprehensible example of the alternative life with which unmarried life could provide the female protagonist is found in ‘No quiero ser casada’. The lyric is found in a number of sources: ‘Chistes de muchas maneras nueuemente compuestos’, Valencia c. 1550; ‘Coplas contra las

Rameras con otras muchas obras', *apud* Gallardo; *Cancionero toledano*; and Correas' 1627 *Vocabulario de refranes* (Frenk 2003: I, 183):

No quiero ser casada,
sino libre enamorada.

Akin to the first two examples, the speaker lacks the subtlety of the previous female protagonist, and as well as the foreboding control that marriage was thought to bring with it, the lyric highlights her aversion to restriction, an attitude that is so often the basis of the message of young women in the *villancicos*.

The free-flowing spirit of the lyric form is in keeping with the sentiments of the protagonist, yet it is ambiguous whether the speaker intends 'libre enamorada' to be interpreted as an intention to take multiple lovers, or whether she simply means a lover or husband should be of her own choosing and based on love. In the case of the latter interpretation, Ward points out that 'Romantic love was frowned on as the basis for marriage' (2002: 47). Therefore, the speaker is fracturing behavioural norms in stating such desires. The former interpretation also sends a caveat to the listeners with respect to her possible intimation of lasciviousness, as 'libre enamorada' brings with it the implication of physical satisfaction. A further dimension of 'libre enamorada' arises when considering an endnote of Eukene Lacarra Lanz:

Some generic denominations are very misleading. Thus, a good woman, or just a good one (buena mujer or buena), an honest woman (honrada), a courtly woman (cortesana), a free woman (mujer libre), or a woman-in-love (enamorada), all referred to clandestine prostitutes. (2002a: 285)

Although tenuous, this could add a more sinister aspect to the speaker, who on the surface seems young and inexperienced. All in all, these first four lyrics display of a lack of faith in an institutional binding on the part of those who should play key parts (albeit passive) in its implementation.

Although the previous lyrics reject marriage, the final example of a daughter who does not reject marriage, but in her acceptance of it undermines patriarchal duty, is found in

‘Pídeme, carillo’ which is located in the sixteenth-century *Cancionero* of Sebastián de Horozco (Frenk 2003: I, 337):

Pídeme, carillo,
que a ti darte me han,
que en casa del mi padre
mal aborrecido me han.

The daughter takes it upon herself to announce that she is at a marriageable point of her life, and in doing so she undermines the duty of the *padre* to organise an adequate marriage for her. Her intimate use of ‘carillo’ (line 1), for her lover indicates further that she may have already jeopardised the family honour because her contact with him has most likely been in excess of that which was socially accepted. However, contradictorily the speaker also displays a certain degree of fear for the *padre* as head of the household: ‘en casa del mi padre’ (line 3). Although implicitly it is not only her father who is also responsible for her well-being, as the plural subject of ‘me han’ in lines 2 and 4 indicates, she singles him out as the authoritative figure, and avoids mention of the *madre* or confirmation of who is collectively responsible for her. The degree of strictness deployed by the *padre* is corroborated by the epithetic protestation of abhorrence of her home in line 4: ‘mal aborrecido’. Although popular composition was one of the few ways in which women could break free from androcentric shackles and attain a degree of freedom, this lyric in particular illustrates that popular narratives do not avoid conveying conformation to the regulations of society. Even though it is implied that the speaker has broken socially accepted norms in her behaviour with her lover, mirroring the analysis of a number of lyrics, in this case in her depiction of the *padre* she does not avoid revealing the marital and domestic hierarchy that reflected quotidian Peninsula life.

Finally I consider the role of a daughter whose candid thoughts insinuate incest. ‘Padre mío, casarme quiero’ is found in Correas’ *Vocabulario de refranes* (Frenk 2003: I, 172):

Padre mío, casarme quiero,
que a la chimenea llego.

María Luzdivina Cuesta notes that ‘in the study of the family in the Middle Ages, father and daughter relationships are one of the most interesting subjects’, citing familial interactions in the *Poema de Mio Cid*, the *Libro de Apolonio*, *Cárcel de amor*, and *Celestina* (1996: 198). Indeed, for all its brevity, ‘Padre mío, casarme quiero’ proves to be a most interesting insight not only into the father and daughter relationship, but even more so into the characterisation of the daughter. On a literal level, the father is simply addressed by his daughter who expresses her desire to get married because her height where she is now tall enough to reach the chimney: ‘que a la chimenea llego’ points toward her being of the age to marry. On another level, the symbolic connotations of the chimney or fire are numerous.

The way in which the daughter uses the possessive ‘mío’ immediately adds compassion to the distich, making listeners believe that there is a closer bond between the characters than would usually be expected of the father-daughter relationship. On another level, ‘Padre mío’ can be taken as a sycophantic phrase, suggesting that he could at times be won over by his daughter and acquiesces with her demands. Her request here may be seen as controversial because as Luzdivina Cuesta points out: ‘The relationship between father and daughter is usually centred on the girl’s marriage’, and therefore it is the job of the father to find his daughter a husband, a process unlikely to be initiated by the daughter (1996: 217). Moreover, the candour with which she announces her wish to be married is unusual because, in the light of applying psychoanalytical theory to the second line, marriage is symbolically associated with physical desires that she would be unlikely to overtly communicate to her father.

Although scansion and rhyme would then be irregular, there could be discrepancy over whether the original intention of ‘llego’ was to refer to the daughter in first person, as Frenk transcribes it, or whether it was to be ‘llegó’, referring to a third person, and implicitly

whom the daughter wishes to marry. Whichever, there are several reasons for the ‘chimenea’ invoking erotic connotations: the physical structure of the chimney is reminiscent of the phallus, and it is also associated with fire and flames that indicate libidinal energy. Literally, the chimney is a central domestic pillar around which the family would gather, as the *padre* is also a pillar of the family, therefore parallels can be drawn between the *padre* and the ‘chimenea’. For the listeners, the multifaceted evidence presents several hypothetical themes to which the daughter could be alluding. Hence the daughter may be requesting to be married because, in approaching an edifice containing flames that symbolise passion, it is insinuated that she has had incestuous desires for her father. On the other hand, the phallus may represent that of her desired husband, whom she is approaching to replace her *padre* as the representative phallus in her life. Whichever, the second line insinuates an analogous scenario of coitus to the readers, not least because of the allusion to blazing, licking flames of the chimney that indicate passion.

A contrasting explanation of the lyric is based around the leitmotif of the chimney. It is reminiscent of a principal symbol in the folk tale *Cinderella*. The earliest written version in Europe of *Cinderella* is by Giambattista Basile in a Neapolitan dialect in 1634, but elements of the tale are known to be popular in the Indo-European tradition, confirming the entrenchment of themes such as domestic frustration and waste of youth and beauty in popular literature. These are manifested in different ways in each source, but in ‘Padre mío, casarme quiero’ the speaker conveys this through her impatient desire to be married. Although these can be seen as innocuous themes, the observation of Neil Phillip that one of the two main strands of the *Cinderella* tale type is where Cinderella’s ‘suffering is caused by the father’s incestuous desires’ (1989: 3), supports the suggestion of incest, although the indication is that the direction of desire is the opposite.

The ambiguity in this short yet pithy text is centred on the daughter's narrative, and it is clear that although she considers the relevance of her father in her matrimony, it is likely that libido instigates the theme, which according to James A. Brundage was one of the most serious sexual crimes (1994: 132). The 'padre' is ostensibly given a role in the domestic constitution, yet he is presented as weaker than his daughter because of his inability to control her lust, which she discusses with him through metaphor. This is similar to 'Por amores lo maldixo', where again, the female character is the driving force and dominates the direction of the narration. The allusion and symbolism employed is similar to many of those discussed throughout this chapter, and most importantly points towards the subversion of medieval Iberian mores. Elizabeth Archibald states that:

In a Christian world where sex was closely linked to original sin, carnality was a prime example of mankind's weakness, and divine grace was always available to the genuinely contrite, incest was clearly an appealing topic for cautionary tales and propaganda. (1996: 158)

In the light of Archibald's observations, it is surprising that the libidinous content of late-medieval lyrics seldom is not projected as cautionary and propagandistic; on the contrary the lyrics appear to embrace difference and subversion of the norm.

THE WIFE

In contrast to modern Western society where young women are often considered independent of the family bosom for many years before marriage, in late-medieval Iberia there was an ideal of a seamless transition from the social status of daughter to wife. However, as seen above, daughters were liable to rebel against matrimony. Marital dissatisfaction on the part of women was a pan-European topos, and Helen Hewitt erred when she dismissed the prevalence of the unhappily married wife, or 'mal mariée', in any European literature other than that of France (1950: 181). Her remarks, however, do indicate that the character of the unhappily married wife was entrenched in a popular literature other than solely that of the

Iberian Peninsula. In particular we can also garner a characteristic that the French ‘mal mariée’ has in common with the ‘malcasada’ - the female protagonists are presented as passive parties in marriage. However, although to some extent the attitude of the *malmaridada* could be considered subversive because marriage was considered a pillar of society, this designation became satirised and therefore perhaps lost its ominousness through its common presence in the European conscious: as well as dominating the Italian *novella*, the *malmaridada* plays a substantial role in medieval French oral literature as the *chanson de la mal mariée*. Cruz says that the theme of the unhappily married wife ‘has been cited and glossed with more frequency than any other poem, a fact that speaks eloquently to the situation of Hispanic married women’, indicating that she believes the widespread popularity of such literature imitates medieval Spanish reality (1992: 150).

Whether the *malmaridada* is in fact a common characterisation of Hispanic women or not, it cannot be ignored that the topos, as Cruz claims, inspired Lope de Vega’s drama *La bella malmaridada* written in 1596, which is conceivably a gloss of the original ballad text (1992: 146). The sensational aspect of the *malmaridada* was that more often than not, she was obliged to marry a man far older than herself, which was a disparity in itself that invited spectacle. The other aspect of the *malmaridada* in the pan-European tradition is that she was often portrayed as the victim of an adulterous marriage, which is fuel for the unhappiness of her marital status, as there were unequal implications for men and women who were unfaithful outside marriage, as Heath Dillard points out: ‘adultery was an offence of which a married man was capable, but he was not punished by his wife’, yet ‘a man could kill both his wife and her lover when he found them committing adultery (*in flagrante*), and he would not be punished for homicide’ (1984: 203).

The *malmaridada* persona arises in a number of different poems, but it is fitting that the first encounter with her here is in the eponymous poem ‘La bella malmaridada’. Colin C.

Smith surmises that ‘La bella malmaridada’ was probably composed in the late 15th century’, and in the light of its numerous textual offshoots it ‘achieved a great popularity in the following one with musicians and *glosadores*’ (1996: 201).¹ The majority of the versions and *glosas* are found in *cancioneros* compiled in the early half of the sixteenth century, and S. Griswold Morely notes, there is speculation over whether the original form of the poem was *romance* or *villancico* (1945: 282).² However, it is noteworthy that Cruz challenges Dutton’s comprehensive collection by claiming ‘the poem in ballad form is first collected in Juan de Molina’s *Cancionero* of 1527’ (1992: 151). The refrain and closing stanza of the glossed *villancico* version lament the metaphorical imprisonment of the life of an unhappily married woman, and although the claim of Cruz, above, is probably erroneous, her socio-cultural observations on the *malmaridada* topos are invaluable:

Yet, what should be considered in the cultured poems as well as in the popular lyric is not whether the woman’s depiction is realistic, but that the poetry establishes certain values for her – indeed the poems convey certain messages to women, as well as about them. (1992: 149)

Cruz highlights the ambivalence of the narrative voice in some erudite *malmaridada* poems, noting at the time the oral tradition was becoming affected by the influence of erudite scholars (1992: 150). Hence, it is expected that the popular versions present the audience with a distinct aspect from that of the erudite versions.

Because of the plethora of poems that are categorised as ‘textual offshoots’, I rely on the *estribillo* that Dutton classifies as a *canCIÓN* as the base text. According to Dutton, most versions of MP2-163 are located in earlier *cancioneros*, but the content of MP2-163 appears in all of them, hence I use it as a base text. However, it must be noted that even though Dutton categorises it as a *canCIÓN* and *estribillo*, it is an unusually short formula, and the style is far more reminiscent of a popular *villancico*:

¹ For textual offshoots see Dutton 1990-91: the primary *canCIÓN* is II, 437 (MP2-163) and the *estribillo* is also found at I, 240 (LB1-345); II, 89 (MN17-33); II, 437 (MP2-163); and II, 594 (MP4g-506). Versions of the base text, MP2-163, are found at V, 553 (13*BE) (truncated *coplas*), and a ballad version VI, 326 (20*RG-3).

² According to Dutton, the *romance*, 20*RG-3, is found in a *pliego suelto* printed by Jacobo de Cromberger from Seville dated circa 1520 and the glossed *villancico*, LB1-345, in the *Cancionero de Rennert* circa 1510.

La vella malmaridada
de las más lindas que vi,
acuérdesete quan amada,
señora fuiste de mi.

Because almost all women were expected to marry, on the surface, poems depicting *malmaridadas* present the audience with a character in the most ordinary of milieux, and therefore do not need to contrive a situation. This version in its unexpanded, unglossed form reveals limited information on the female protagonist, although there is an immediate allusion to her unhappily married situation in the first line by describing her as ‘malmaridada’. His description of her as ‘vella’ and ‘linda’ is accounted for in the second half of the poem where he points out their shared history: the familiar tone used in line 3 of ‘acuérdesete’ quantifies ‘quan amada’ she was to him, with the ‘fuiste’ (line 4) confirming that there is no longer love between them. However, the tone is proprietorial, and the speaker perpetuates the adage that the existence of women was perceived relatively to their men folk.

Most importantly, the ambiguity of the second line reveals an observation worthy of note. On one hand, it can be interpreted that the speaker declares that the ‘malmaridada’ is the most beautiful of all *malmaridadas* that he has ever seen. On the other hand he could be declaring that she is the most beautiful of all the ‘vellas malmaridadas’, implying that having beauty and being unhappily married is not an infrequent combination. Reflecting on the socio-cultural comments of Cruz, above, and the fact that this is a topos disseminated widely amongst both male- and female-voiced literature, the implication is that beauty may be as much a tool (as we have seen in previous chapters), as a burden: beautiful daughters may have been used more as pawns than plain daughters.

The final two lyrics of this section move on to particular experiences in marriage; the expansion of the characterisation of the *malmaridadas* enables greater empathy from the audience. Contrary to the expectation that woman should tacitly accept her lot in life, in both, the female protagonists are vocal about their state of affairs, but with burlesque effect.

As opposed to the young girls of the earlier lyrics who reject the idea of marriage, the protagonists do not protest their fate until too late, which is evident in ‘Llamáysme villana’, which is found in the 1560 *Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos a cuatro y a cinco voces* of Juan Vásquez and the 1577 *De música libri septem* of Francisco de Salinas (Frenk 2003: I, 191):

Llamáysme villana:
¡yo no lo soy!

5 Casóme mi padre
con un cavallero;
a cada palabra:
‘¡hija d’un pechero!’
¡Yo no lo soy!

Llamáysme villana:
¡yo no lo soy!

Having been used as a social pawn by her father, the female protagonist now broadcasts her suffering. As a consequence of the marriage to a ‘cavallero’, implicitly a man of higher social rank than her ‘padre’, it is ensured that the family status will be socially elevated. The speaker suffers the consequences of better circumstances for the family. The alliteration in ‘c’ (lines 3-5) and the plosive alliteration (lines 3-6) create a continuous staccato rhythm that give rise to the indication that her ‘padre’ was decisive and calculating in marrying her to a personality of higher social standing than his own, and there was nothing that she could have done to interrupt the process. The satirical element is underpinned by her humiliating characterisation as a ‘villana’, which is a consequence of her father’s status, and so demonstrates her lack of control over her identification. However, she exacerbates the situation when she emphasises her lowly roots with the report of her husband’s insult: ‘hija d’un pechero’ (line 6), and simultaneously confirms the comical aspect of the lyric. This is further sustained by the repeated *estribillo* that reinforces the theme of social inequality through the speaker’s hyperbolic repudiation: ‘¡yo no lo soy!’. Her inescapable entrapment

in a dominant patriarchal society that begins with her father and ends with her husband become a tragicomic source of amusement.

‘Quando mi padre me casó’, is found in the 1561 compilation of *Madrigales* by Pere Alberch Vila (Frenk, 2003: I, 193). Like ‘Llamáysme villana’, it also narrates with hindsight the effects of an arranged marriage by the father, but in contrast to ‘Llamáysme villana’, it is not hyperbole that underpins her interminable suffering:

Quando mi padre me casó,
muriera yo,
pues que me dio
al mal villano,
5 que tarde ni temprano
no sabe, no,
ni puede, no,
ni acierta, no,
sino'n dormir.
10 ¡O, qué morir!
¡Ay, ay, ay,
que muerta só,
pues que me dio
al mal villano.

The speaker’s admission of being treated as a chattel: ‘pues que me dio’, not only by her father but also by the ‘mal villano’ reinforces the expectations of masculine roles in medieval Iberian society with which she contends on a daily basis. However, as opposed to the protagonist of ‘Llamáysme villana’, the expression of the narrator is less vociferous in bemoaning her position. She indicates discontent with her father’s choice of husband by using the deprecating term ‘mal villano’. The epithet and its repeated use indicate that it is not just his low social echelon that displeases her, but she associates his base nature with immorality by calling him ‘mal’. As opposed to the bad treatment of the wife implied in ‘Llamáysme villana’, here, the speaker’s main reason for dissent of the marriage is the failure of her ‘padre’ to provide a socially adequate marriage for her, which is communicated by ample evidence presented in a lamenting tone. Hyperbole is only deployed in lines 10 and

11, built up to by a crescendo of repetitive 'no' in lines 6 to 8, but the climax of her existence as a *malmaridada* only arises at the second reference to death: 'que muerta so' (line 12).

In the first two lines it is evident that the speaker sees death as the consequence of marriage: 'Quando mi padre me casó, / muriera yo'. However, the lack of punctuation means that although at times it could be considered to be poignant, the speaker does not appear as outwardly emotive as the protagonist of 'Llamáysme villana', and so it is only the cumulative references to death that have an effect. They are repeated three times, but in their collectiveness it is improbable (because of the nature of the lyric), that the medieval audience would ignore the symbolic associations of death and sexual climax. So on a metaphorical level it is significant that specifically, the speaker refers twice to her own death: the first coincidentally being at the point of marriage 'muriera yo' (line 2), and the second at having been given to her peasant husband 'que muerta so' (line 12). Vern L. Bullough states that 'husbands had a moral obligation to keep their wives sexually satisfied lest they be tempted to stray to other beds' (1994: 37). However, her husband appears not to be able to exercise his conjugal rights whether on account of age or slothfulness in lines 6 to 9: 'no sabe, no / ni puede, no, / ni acierta, no, sino'n dormir'. Ironically, through this lack of *petite mort*, on a non-symbolic level, her spirit is simultaneously dying, displaying the androcentric ethos that the female speaker perpetuates, which is the irony of her wretchedness as a *malmaridada*.

However, whereas 'Quando mi padre me casó' and 'Llamáysme villana' contain women whose protests against their state as *malmaridadas* are restricted to verbal complaints, in this section, women act upon their dissatisfaction. Most carry this out using the greatest tool they possess: their sexuality. As María Cruz Muriel Tapia confirms: 'Pasa la mujer por la bibliografía medieval convertida en símbolo del placer erótico' (1991: 29). Male philandering is a theme that is better covered in the ballad, where men are renowned to have casual sexual affairs as they please. This can be evoked by the allegory of the hunt, such as

in *Blancaniña* where the female protagonist is aware that her husband's absence hunting can be assimilated to philandering.³ In contrast the lyric rarely addresses male infidelity. On the other hand, female infidelity, or allusion to it, is prevalent. Interestingly, the majority of the lyrics in this section are anonymously or male-voice narrated, which indicates that men may be largely responsible for the highly charged sexual atmosphere surrounding the women, yet at the same time women's independent exploitation of their sexuality was frowned upon. Patriarchal society pigeonholed women to ensure that men had control over them at all stages, yet when women ruptured the moulds impressed upon them, it was socially unacceptable. Sponsler shows that adultery was the greatest effect that a woman could have on her husband:

A wife who committed adultery or a daughter who had sexual relations out of wedlock brought total collapse of social esteem and personal pride to the man responsible for their protection until such time as he avenged the deed, usually by violent means. (1975: 12)

There were strict medieval codes of law regarding adultery, which was punishable by death for women. For this reason, albeit a common theme, it is remarkable how lightly women take adultery in the lyric, although this indicates the underlying satirical element, and emphasises how the lyric often was an escape from reality. Muriel Tapia shows that chastity was central to the correct way of life for women, and there was a hierarchy of piety based on a combination of marital status and chastity: 'En el significado del término castidad los moralistas establecían una jerarquía de tres grados: la plena práctica de la virgen, la deficiente de la casada y la, en cierto modo, recuperable plenitud de la viuda' (1991: 59). I surmise that the relatively high incidence, and therefore popularity, of lyrics featuring adulterous married women is explained by the observation of Muriel Tapia above. Their representation is compounded by being below virgins in the hierarchy, and secondly, by they are showing subversion of Catholic values of spousal fidelity, which all in all presents a sensationalist theme.

³ For a full transcription of the ballad see Smith 1996: 199.

The eroticisation of the married woman is demonstrated by the first lyric, ‘Abaxa los ojos, casada’, which is found in *Villancicos y canciones a tres y a cuatro* (1551) of Vázquez (Frenk 2003: I, 284). Notably, it is one of the few lyrics that simply alludes to marital infidelity rather than being explicit:

Abaxa los ojos, casada,
no mates a quien te mirava.

5 Casada, pechos hermosos,
abaxa tus ojos gracious,
no mates a quien te mirava.

Abaxa los ojos, casada,
no mates a quien te mirava.

The audience could interpret the male speaker’s command as advisory, in which case he could be her husband, which would allow the surprisingly suggestive reference to her sexual ‘pechos hermosos’, juxtaposed by ‘Casada’ (line 3). However, taking into account the sensationalism which the lyric corpus so enjoys, one must consider the imperfect tense in the refrain ‘no mates a quien te mirava’ (lines 2, 5 and 7). Similarly to ‘La vella malmaridada’, it points towards earlier relations before she became ‘casada’. However, the fact that the woman’s gaze still has the effect of killing him demonstrates, in the words of Paula Olinger, that ‘a cruel and fickle game she plays’, hence making plain the sexual power of a woman’s eyes (1985: 86). The use of eyes figuring as a synecdoche is a common feature of the lyric, but more commonly, as seen in Chapter IV, is used in relation to young unmarried women.

The protagonist of ‘Abaxa los ojos, casada’, like many of the women in the lyrics, is provocative and also open about her sexuality, similar to the protagonist of ‘¿Dó benís, casada?’ found in BNM ms. 3985 (Frenk 2003: I, 241):

- ¿Dó benís, casada,
tan placentera?
-Bengo de ber el campo
i el alameda.

At first it is difficult to ascertain whether the tone of the opening speaker is critical or genial. The likelihood that the speaker is male and is addressing the woman accusatorily are mutually inclusive. He knows the woman well enough to use the familiar form of 'benís', and to know her marital status: 'casada' (line 1). However, it can be gleaned that the speaker is not the husband, for the reason that, as well as a consideration of the symbolic content of the poem, a husband would not address her as 'casada'. It is the second of these observations that implies the voice is masculine. The commas that Margit Frenk adds to parenthesise 'casada' in her comprehensive edition, emphasise it; as with all the *malcasada* lyrics, because the addresser highlights this as being at the forefront of her characterisation, he and the addressee are likely to have contrary characteristics, or be counterparts. The jumpy rhythm of the first line also suggests accusation.

On a literal level the enjambment of the second couplet suggests a glib response from the 'casada', giving nothing away in rhythm or tone. However, this is in deep-seated contrast with the symbolic content of her riposte; the 'campo' is an indication of a *locus amoenus*, and in particular she states that she has also been to see the 'alameda', an area populated by the 'álamo', which is a phallic-shaped tree known for its height rather than a bulbous silhouette, the implication being that this is the reason she is 'tan placentera' (line 2). In the lyric the *locus amoenus* provides an amorous framework which then introduces the ramifications of physical love, and here the 'casadica' uses the natural framework to her advantage to lessen her responsibility for her actions either because the symbolism is only allusive, or because the natural cycle takes the onus of its own and her fecundity. As '¿Dó benís, casada?' demonstrates, in the lyric corpus women may be public about their actions, unlike the *romancero*, where ballads such as *Blancaniña* show that women do not reveal such situations to their husbands or lovers openly.

The voyeuristic stance taken by the speaker of ‘¿Dó benís, casada?’ is mirrored in ‘Casadica, de vos dizen mal’, which is found in Correas’ 1627 *Vocabulario de refranes* (Frenk 2003: I, 145):

- Casadica, de vos dizen mal.
- Digan, digan, que ellos cansarán.

Gossip is not only a mode of dissemination, but frequently also the mode of narration of lyrics. ‘Casadica, de vos dizen mal’ comprises a warning of one character to another of gossip surrounding her behaviour. Although it is not obvious who the initial speaker is, the use of a diminutive in ‘Casadica’ points towards a tender register, from which it can be gleaned that the initial speaker is either an older female confidante or a male character who cares for her. If it is the latter he is likely to be her lover or male relative who is not the father, as relations between men and women would be unlikely to reach such levels of intimacy. Therefore, he would also specifically be the reason for ‘dizen mal’. If it is the former, a female confidante, she would usually be on her guard to protect the naive girl. Firstly, her youth is connoted by the diminutive ‘casadica’, and simultaneously, as a reaction to such gossip that could potentially have life-threatening consequences, she merely repeats ‘Digan’. However, her prediction that ‘ellos cansarán’ (even though the implication is that they never do), illustrates the ephemeral nature of gossip, and also ominously points towards her underlying experience of love affairs.

Louise Mirrer indicates that in the ballad, gossip could be used to prevent behavioural impropriety: ‘Gossip – above all a major locus of fear in that it entails the constant monitoring of individuals’ actions – might be a useful linguistic resource in cautioning women against engaging in such prohibited sexual behaviour’ (1995: 221). However, the lyric does not see gossip in such a way, most probably due to the nature of its existence and creation in the female domain. For this reason, women in the lyric are often brazen in their preparations for extra-marital affairs, such as the protagonist of ‘¿Para qué se afeitá?’ whose

makeup attracts malicious comment. The lyric is found in *La perfecta casada* (1583) of Fray Luis de León (Frenk 2003: II, 1258):

¿Para qué se afeita
la mujer casada?
¿Para qué se afeita?

Similar to ‘Casadica, de vos dizen mal’, being married is the integral and principal evident characteristic of the protagonist, and this is highlighted by the central positioning of ‘la mujer casada’ in the tercet. The limited assonance in ‘a’ and ‘e’ enhances the punctuation of each word, and enhances the suspicious register of the independent speaker. On one hand, the makeup could be considered a veneer that covers the personality she has become within the bounds of married life. On the other hand, there is strong evidence that the married protagonist puts on makeup for someone other than her husband, which is developed through the repetition of the question ‘¿Para qué se afeita?’, conjuring a cynical register that gathers momentum. Although the purpose of the makeup is to enhance her facial features, the makeup also symbolises a rebellion against the domestic pigeon-holing of woman: the implication of the question is that married women should have no reason to wear makeup, and therefore the act ‘se afeita’ implies that the ‘casada’ desires to transgress the bounds of marriage, thereby destabilising domestic conformity. The irony is that she draws attention to an activity that should be as clandestine as possible, and even though the speaker as a voyeur is given power through his or her knowledge of an individual’s circumstances, ‘¿Para qué se afeita?’ draws attention to a satirical aspect of marriage in medieval Iberian society because in this case she appears to be able to avoid the repercussions of an extra-marital affair.

‘¿Para qué se afeita?’ errs towards a narrative mode of gossip, which disperses the discretion that could veil a sexual encounter. Alongside allusion and symbolism, this is a common feature in the depiction of extra-marital relations, which are also aspects similar to

those of 'Cogióme a tu puerta el toro', a lyric found in *Peribáñez y el comendador de Ocaña* by Lope de Vega (Frenk 2003: 1, 446):

Cogióme a tu puerta el toro,
linda casada;
no dijiste: '¡Dios te valga!'.

The tercet is lent an air of authority through the first-person narration; on a literal level, the male speaker claims to be caught at her doorway by a 'toro', possibly during a bull-run. As J. E. Cirlot mentions, the bull 'may be linked with the active, masculine principle' (2002: 34). Therefore, figuratively, the male speaker becomes synonymous with the bull, which connotes strength and virility. It is implied by the speaker's description of the female protagonist's taciturn manner that she is present at the door. However, due to the norms of the medieval Peninsula, a married woman should not be alone with any man other than her husband, and although on a literal level, the first two lines lull the listeners into a false sense of security that the 'linda casada' is not culpable of adulterous behaviour, the undertones of the lyric are turgid with erotic symbolism that point towards a sexually charged affair arising on both the protagonists' parts. Nevertheless, an eroticised atmosphere is not created just through the image conjured up of the two characters in such close proximity. Even orally or on paper, this imagery is reinforced by the juxtaposition of such masculinity, the 'toro' (line 1) next to the 'linda casada' (line 2).

The male speaker seeks to alleviate himself from any responsibility by blaming his position at the door of the 'linda casada' on the bull, although by addressing her as a 'linda casada', he draws attention to her social status, and in using a familiar address 'dijiste', gives an impression of sexual interest. The erotically charged atmosphere develops and is underpinned by the euphemism of the 'puerta', a symbol for the woman's sexual organ, which complements the masculinity alluded to by the imagery of the bull. Moreover, the prominent feature of the bull is his horns, and in the light of the common topos 'poner los

cuernos', with 'cuernos' having phallic connotations, the association of a 'casada' with horns points towards circumstances of infidelity. At first, the final accusatory line specifically addressing the female protagonist insipidly injects a sense of bathos: 'no dijiste: "Dios te valga" ', and directs the blame onto her. However, what is *not* said must be relied on: the female protagonist does not dismiss the speaker and so it is left to the interpretations of the listeners to discern what happens further. This is the lyric working at its most allusive and subtle, underlining the ingenious humour that it frequently deploys.

Moving along the scale of adultery to 'Mientras que el morico duerme', an unfaithful wife initiates and follows through not just an affair but an elopement. The lyric is found in the 1568 *Cancionero sevillano* (Frenk 2003: I, 335):

Mientras que el morico duerme,
vida, y vámonos, amor.

Because 'amor' is a term usually reserved for a male lover, the female speaker indicates that she is eloping with the addressee. It is arguable that the 'morico' is her husband. The speaker's mention of him through an explicit reference to her husband's ethnicity suggests a disparaging tone and a lack of respect for him. The derogatory register is compounded by the harsh alliteration of the fricative 'v' in the second line, and the surety with which the speaker directs her male counterpart contravenes the submissive ideal of the medieval wife, and possibly even mistress. It is ironic that the speaker plans to leave during the night, a period when conjugal proximity should be at its closest: 'Mientras que el morico duerme'. However, throughout the *Nuevo Corpus* it is apparent that women want to retain control of their sexuality, and this irony facilitates the realisation of such a desire.

Similar to 'Mientras que el morico duerme', the lyric 'Covarde cavallero' conveys the reported speech of a woman. The lyric is found in two works by Juan Vásquez: the 1551 *Villancicos y cancioneros a tres y a cuatro* and 1560 *Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos a cuatro y a cinco voces*, and is also located in the 1554 *Libro de música de vihuela* of Miguel

de Fuenllana (Frenk 2003: II, 1184).⁴ Through the shamelessness and explicitness of her promiscuity, the male protagonist is rendered emasculated:

- Covarde cavallero,
¿de quién avedes miedo?

5 - ¿De quién avedes miedo
durmiendo conmigo?
- De vos, mi señora,
que tenéis otro amigo.
- ¿Y d'eso avéis miedo,
covarde cavallero?

10 Covarde cavallero,
¿de quién avedes miedo?

'Covarde cavallero' relays a specific scenario of interaction with a male counterpart, and in contrast to the protagonists of 'Cogiôme a tu puerta el toro' and '¿Para qué se afeita?', the female protagonist has a dominant social presence. Her insult, 'Covarde cavallero', which comprises the *estribillo* and is repeated three times, is emphasised by the consonance. Immediately it reveals that she perceives herself as superior to the knight, creating a *mundus inversus*, which is confirmed when she expands on her initial address with '¿de quién avedes miedo?' The repetition of this particular line four times in the lyric exposes the delight she takes in her powerful position over the 'cavallero', an inequality that is reinforced also by their social disparity when he addresses her as 'señora' (line 5). The scene of *mundus inversus* comes to a climax when the 'cavallero' responds to the woman's questioning about the cause of his fear: 'De vos, mi señora, / que tenéis otro amigo' (lines 5-6). The admission of the 'cavallero' that it is unreservedly her whom he fears because she has another lover, and in fact not the threat that he could come to blows with her other lover, shows that the *mundus inversus* extends beyond the immediate situation of the protagonists. He recognises that the female protagonist is as contrary as possible to the idealised submissive woman.

⁴ There are two versions of this lyric: the second is a longer, glossed version of the *estribillo*, which appears in the 1560-70 *Cancionero toledano* (Frenk 2003: II, 1183).

Her dominance is particularly unusual in that it has a sexual foundation. It is implied by line 4, ‘durmiendo conmigo’, that they already have had relations, but for all her interrogation this time she will not fulfil her aim of enticing him to sleep with her. However, his mention of her other lover indicates a further inequality between them – possibly that she is more sexually experienced than him. Whether or not this is the case, their relationship appears to be only carnal, and her sexually dominant character is a far cry from the ideal of chastity. Furthermore, taking into account the experience of the female speaker who would be aware of the itinerant nature of the occupation of *caballeros*, there is the implication that by taking a ‘cavallero’ lover, it was only ever expected to be a transient relationship.

The humour in ‘Covarde cavallero’ is less subtle than that of the male-voice ‘¿Para qué se afeita?’ and ‘Cogióme a tu puerta el toro’. This is principally because of its length; it can afford to be explicit because it does not rely on allusion or symbolism. Also, in contrast to some of the earlier poems looked at in this chapter, the theme of women’s promiscuity here is not based on adolescent rebellion, but driven by primeval sexual urge. In this case the female protagonist is also undeniably the dominant character, inverting the usual social equilibrium and taking unequivocal amusement in the discomfort of the ‘cavallero’.

Finally, with regard to adulterers, I look at the *canción Bien puedo dezir, par Dios*, which is found in four *cancioneros* of c. 1462 and c. 1480.⁵ Surprisingly, *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios* has attracted scant attention in spite of its unusual representation of the female protagonist amongst the typically obsequious *canciones* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. In contrast to the usual acclamation of a faultless woman, the listeners are entertained by a humorous tirade of the speaker against an apparently disingenuous beloved, built around the popular refrain: ‘Como a tres con hun sapato’ (Dutton 1990-91: VII, 301):

⁵ See Dutton 1990-91: II, 310 (MN54-16); III, 409 (PN8-45); III, 460 (PN12-37); and IV, 14 (RC1-16). There are only negligible orthographic differences between the texts. Two variants (PN8-45 and PN12-37) are accompanied by the title ‘Otra respuesta’, and two ‘Canción de Iohann de Padilla’ (MN54 -16 and RC1-16). However, I base the close textual analysis on the later PN8 *Cancionero de París* (c. 1475) version because it is the most inclusive.

	Bien puedo dezir, par Dios, señora de muy mal tracto: que asý me va con vos como a tres con hun sapato.		que vi lo que non quisiera; pero, pues, pasan de dos los que comen deste plato. Digo que me va con vos como a tres con hun sapato.
5	Mi persona está quexosa, días ha de vos, amor, porque siempre le days dolor. E también por otra cosa; que, si pienso, en poco rato	20	De aquí me despido de vos mal repartida, pues, el tiempo es perdido que de mý fuestés servida.
10	fallo qu'es verdat, par Dios, que asý me va con vos como a tres con hun sapato.	25	Perdonat si fablo gros, pues, por vuestro mal barato; Nunca más me irá con vos, como a tres con hun sapato. Qui del todo fida con muger de muy gran mal va escoger.
15	Bien pensava yo, señora, que yo solo vuestro era, fasta el punto de agora,	30	

The composer, Juan de Padilla (1405-68) played a significant role in the court of Infante Enrique.⁶ Louise Haywood notes that his poetic output 'comprises nine compositions', although this appears to be an insignificant figure considering his noteworthy courtly presence (2009: 51). However, the innovative and cunning content of *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios* is reflected in another of his compositions: Nicasio Salvador Miguel notes that it is a *respuesta* to Juan de Torres who had asked him the reasons why he had not entrapped Love in his house, and 'El poema, escrito en coplas castellanas, es un verdadero denuesto contra el amor, con detalles de la fina burla observada en al anterior composición y con inserción de expresiones populares y refranes' (1977: 177).

In the case of *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios*, two of the variants indicate that it is a *respuesta* (PN8-45 and PN12-37) while the other two do not (MN54-16 and RC1-16). The characteristics of the *respuesta* may indicate an original aspect; whereas a number of *canciones* have responses, *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios* is uniquely the only *respuesta* in the form of a *canción*. Nevertheless, it becomes apparent not only that the style of Padilla is

⁶ He is not to be confused with the slightly later, more prominent, Juan de Padilla, born in 1468 and known as 'el Cartujano'.

distinct, but also the circumstances in which the *canCIÓN* is composed are unusual, all perhaps contributing to its atypical content.

Throughout *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios*, the speaker delineates a clear sense of time, which develops a story-telling repertoire more typical of the *villancico* than of the courtly *canCIÓN*. He starts in the present and punctuates the composition with temporal references such as ‘fasta el punto de agora’ (line 15), and concludes ‘Nunca más me irá con vos’ (line 19). Overall, such temporal awareness has the effect of allowing more empathy and engagement with the protagonists than is often instituted in *canciones*. This is just one of the instances in *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios* where the contrast of a courtly framework incorporates unconventional elements into the *canCIÓN*; such an unconventional style aids the dissemination of an unusual content.

In spite of this, *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios* begins in a standard manner; initially the speaker invokes God in order to signify his piety and indicate that his words are truthful. Although the virtuous ambience is broken by the ensuing allegation that the lady is ‘de muy mal tracto’ (line 2), this is not unremarkable, because in courtly love poems it is expected that the lady should be disdainful and reject the vassal who approaches her. However, the following couplet ‘que así me va con vos / como a tres con hun sapato’ (lines 3-4) is immediately striking: its popular register, and the unexpectedness of such a refrain brings a satirical element to the song that is rare in the courtly *canciones*. The reputation of the typical noble female addressee is also further deprecated by her incongruent association with a popular refrain. Neither is reference to a third party part of the formula of the erudite *canCIÓN*, and especially not by means of such a tangible simile, which again indicates that the addressee of the poem is an unusual persona.

In line 3, the speaker implies that his affections are in the present, and notwithstanding the formal use of ‘vos’, the binary opposition of ‘me’ and ‘vos’ is an

indication of reciprocity between the speaker and 'señora'. However, throughout the poem, the modifications of the line 'que así me va con vos', which precede 'como a tres con hun sapato', indicate the crescendoing ire in the tone of the speaker towards the female protagonist. Stephen Reckert's exhaustive analysis of the literary tool of repetition would be well deployed here; the initial incredulous observation of the speaker in line 3 changes to painful recognition of his situation in line 11, and then negative emotions are compounded by an indignant 'Digo que me va con vos' (line 19). The climax of the poem is indicated alongside the final 'como a tres con hun sapato' of line 28: 'Nunca más me irá con vos' (line 27). Rebuff by the lady is a frequently occurring topos in *canciones*, as is the self-sacrifice of the poet as an alternative denouement. This rejection by the lover of his beloved on reflection of the trajectory of their relationship on the surface is extraordinary, until the disguised obscenities of the refrain are taken into account.

Taking into account that the refrain 'como a tres con hun sapato', is repeated four times in the *canción*, which is an unusual feature of the courtly *canciones*, there can be no implication but that Padilla intends the phrase to herald weighty impact for the reputation of the lady. However, this is not just due to the cuckolding, which is a feature that *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios* shares with 'Covarde cavallero' and 'Mientras que el morico duerme'. The most brazen aspect of the poem is reminiscent of symbolism in two popular ballads: firstly, of the seductive protagonist of the ballad *Gentil dona*, where food evokes erotic imagery, and seemingly innocuous body parts connote genitalia.⁷ Secondly, and more specifically, analyses of the ballad *Gerineldos* reveal the symbolism of the foot: in lines 15 to 16, *Gerineldos* the page is described: 'calza sandalias de seda / para andar sin ser sentido' (Smith 1996: 183). His feet that traipse through the princess's bedroom are phallic symbols that invoke coitus with the princess. The initial supposition of Miguel Garci-Gómez's is that 'en

⁷ The earliest version was found copied by Majorcan student Jaume de Olesa into a notebook in 1421, which is documented by Deyermond (1996: 49). A later variant is *Estáse la gentil dama* in Dutton 1990-91: VI, 294 (17*OM-11).

multitud de fantásticos relatos el falo fue representado por el pie' (1989: 9). However, later in the same article he suggests that salaciousness is an enduring aspect of literature, and links the shoe to the female genitalia:

En la literatura y el folclore multiculturales el fetichismo del pie – y el zapato –, su empleo eufemístico y fálico, quizá por ser de más difícil reconocimiento, es de una tradición más arcaica y esotérica que la espina. Tal fetichismo procede de las más diversas culturas y en nuestros días ha sido revitalizado por los grandes maestros del psicoanálisis. Freud aseguró sin ambages ni remilgos que 'el zapato o la zapatilla son, correlativamente, símbolos de los genitales femeninos', y 'el pie sustituye al pene, que el niño echa extrañamente de menos en la mujer.' (1989: 14)

The assimilation of the shoe to the vagina, therefore, invokes libidinous undertones, and the poem is further rendered obscene by the imagery suggested by the speaker that he is just one of 'three' who shares 'one shoe'. As Alan Deyermond points out the commonality: 'una palabra con una innocua acepción común indica, a causa a de su contexto o de otros factores, una segunda connotación erótica o hasta obscena' (1982: 369). Further afield than the ambit of ballads, lyrics, and courtly *canciones*, shoes also play a prominent part in the fourth *tratado* of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, and B. Bussell Thompson and J. K. Walsh confirm that 'zapatos' 'provide a broad euphemistic reference to intercourse' (1988: 445). Finally, in a similar manner to 'Covarde cavallero' and 'Mientras que el morico duerme', a *mundus inversus* is presented with regard to typical bedroom roles, so accounting for the discrepancy over whether the foot and shoes symbolise male or female genitalia.

In stark contrast with the repeated sexual innuendo of 'como a tres con hun sapato', in lines 5 to 7, the speaker couches his experience in language familiar to the audience of *amor cortés*:

5 Mi persona está quexosa,
 días ha de vos, amor,
 porque siempre le days dolor.

Vocabulary such as 'quexosa' (line 5), and 'amor' (line 6), which predictably rhymes with 'dolor' of line 7 invoke the *religio amoris*. Indeed, it is indicated that his love for the 'señora' is as ordinary as the presence of God when he utters 'fallo qu'es verdat, par Dios'

(line 10). At this point in the poem, even though the speaker is aware of the duplicitous nature of his beloved, her persona still commands his loyalty and subservience, and he is still vulnerable to her power. Henri-Irénée Marrou, who looks extensively at the ‘religion of love’ in troubadour poetry, explains the blind ignorance of the self-appointed vassal as the:

culte de la dame, élevée si haut qu’elle en devient, momentanément inaccessible, revêt facilement un aspect quasi religieux. On comprend que certains en soient venus à se demander si cet amour s’adresse à une femme réelle, s’il s’agit encore d’un amour humain. (1971: 162)

As the bitterness of the speaker gathers pace in the third stanza, so disintegrates the cult of the lady, and consequently ambiguities surrounding her characterisation arise. Deyermond opens his paper with the statement that in the twentieth century ‘Vivimos bajo el signo de la ambigüedad’ (1982: 363). He goes on to say that although the majority of medieval and Renaissance texts should not be read as ambiguous:

queda un número bastante elevado de casos en los cuales tenemos que reconocer la ambigüedad. Hay más: sospecho que en algunos casos una explicación satisfactoria se encuentra solo en la ambigüedad inconsciente, o freudiana. (1982: 363)

The hypothesis of Deyermond is exemplified in this stanza of *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios*. Not only does the repeated refrain ‘como a tres con hun sapato’ illustrate the treachery of the female protagonist, but also ‘pero, pues, pasan de dos / los que comen deste plato’ (lines 17-18), confirms the nature of her infidelity: the speaker is alluding to the abstract nourishment that both he and another have been enjoying as the vassals of the ‘señora’. The erotic ambience created by allusions to food and eating is discussed in detail in relation to particular lyrics, but this is the only similar allusion in any of the erudite *canciones*. The implication that both the speaker and another admirer have been enjoying the ‘señora’ sexually cannot be ignored, and the ensuing repetition of the refrain serves to reiterate this interpretation. The combination of conventional courtly address in ‘señora’ (line 13) and ‘que yo solo vuestro era’ (line 14) is in stark contrast with the imagery that the speaker suggests in the latter half of the stanza, which again confirms the premise that Deyermond sets out that: ‘La ambigüedad sexual combina a veces el virtuosismo con la comicidad’ (1982: 368).

Only such an interpretation would lead to the breakdown of the conventional formula of the *canción*, which is mirrored in the lexicon of the final stanza. The speaker is unceremonious in his abandonment of the lady: ‘De aquí me despido’ (line 21), although simultaneously he alleviates blame from her by customarily portraying her as passive: ‘de vos mal repartida’ (line 22). However, this conventional style is in contrast to his outright deprecation of her, couched in language that is rarely associated with women of the courtly *canciones*: ‘Perdonat si fablo gros, / pues, por vuestro mal barato’ (lines 25-6). Then, the sentiment is confirmed by the final couplet ‘Qui del todo fida con muger, / de muy gran mal va escoger’ (lines 29-30). Although there are relatively few differences between the four variants, PN8-45 is the only one that appends this couplet, which appears to serve as a warning against the courtly love ideal of worshipping the lady. However, it is superfluous to the sentiment of *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios*, and I would argue that as the other (earlier) variants do not include it, it is probably the insignificant addendum of a copyist.

The originality of both the style and content of the poem cannot be ignored: both contribute to the construction of a lady who deviates from the norm. The satirical style reveals her duplicitous nature, which is made evident from the early introduction of the refrain. All in all, the development of her character and the circumstances render her one of the most deviant women of the erudite *canciones*. The obvious distinct register and incorporation of a popular refrain lead to the conclusion that the intentions of Padilla must be to create such an anomalous representation of woman, or as Salvador Miguel points out: ‘El poema, que pertenece a un tipo de sátira personal y que censura a individuos concretos, aunque no personalizados, parece buscar, en primera instancia, el desdén, desprecio y desvalorización de la dama atacada’ (1977: 178). The eroticism implicit in *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios* is dissimilar to many *cancionero* poems concerning love, courting, and relationships. However, as has been pointed out above, it is thematically similar to many of the popular

compositions in that it contains a highly charged erotic atmosphere and obvious carnal aspect. It is these lyric themes, and in particular, themes such as adultery that *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios* shares with ‘Covarde cavallero’ and ‘Mientras que el morico duerme’, that renders the female protagonist of *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios* alluring and memorable.

Although female adultery is depicted in this handful of lyrics and one *canción*, as expanded on above, for women, the consequences of adultery were dire. However, even though the law should protect them, in reality women had no recourse to philandering husbands. Philandering is even a pastime in the *romance*; hunting is a leitmotif signifying that the male protagonist is on the hunt for women, regardless of whether or not he is married. Moreover, although the *malmaridada* is a topos of the lyric corpus, there is only one instance of a lyric that depicts a married woman who threatens revenge on her husband’s cuckolding by sexual regulation. ‘Mi marido anda cuytado’ is located in the *Cancionero de Nuestra Señora*, and Esteban de Zafra’s 1595 *Villancicos para cantar en la Natividad* (Frenk 2003: II, 1244):

Mi marido anda cuytado:
yo juraré que está castrado.

On the surface, the initial line does not confirm the reason for the wretchedness of the husband, but the speaker brings a sexual element to the lyric when she says ‘está castrado’. Although ‘cuytado’ is often used in male-voice poetry to describe the wretchedness of the speaker, it must be taken into account that ‘cuytada’ is frequently used by women to describe themselves in circumstances such as when they have committed sexual misdemeanours or been violated, which points toward the immoral associations of ‘cuytado’.

The wife’s justification in swearing that he is castrated is supported by her control of the situation. Firstly she uses a first person narrative and the pronoun ‘mi’, but also the simplicity of the structure makes the delivery of her message most effective. Not only is the most common of rhyme schemes used in ‘-ado’, but also the definite bipartite structure

marked by the colon that Frenk adds to the edition makes the situation appear direct and rationalised. The inversion of control in the conjugal relationship strikes a discord with reality, and given the empowering nature of the lyric, it could come as a surprise that the theme is not more common. However, the rarity of such a theme points towards the unreality of deviant women; their deviance is more easily conjured in the imagination than enacted in real life.

THE MOTHER

Lastly in this chapter, a most deviant woman is depicted in two variants of ‘Por amores lo maldixo’. The *villancico* appears in Vásquez’s 1551 *Villancicos y canciones a tres y a cuatro*, and also the 1560 *Recopilación de sonetos y villancicos a cuatro y a cinco voces* (Frenk 2003: I, 361):

Por amores lo maldixo
la mala madre al buen hijo:

5 ‘¡Si pluguiese a Dios del cielo
y a su madre santa María
que no fueses tú mi hijo,
porque yo fuese tu amiga!’
Este dixo y lo maldixo
la mala madre al buen hijo.

10 Por amores lo maldixo
la mala madre al buen hijo.

As ‘Por amores lo maldixo’ is thematically reminiscent of ‘Padre mío, casarme quiero’, the last lyric figuring the daughter, it is fitting that it brings the chapter full-circle to the role of the mother. It must be pointed out, however, that whereas incest is only insinuated in the latter in the light of a psychoanalytical reading of the text, incest differs in being the evident main theme of ‘Por amores lo maldixo’.

Guiseppe di Stefano points out that the salacious theme of incest ‘no es tema censurado del todo en la poesía tradicional, aunque no se encuentre casi rastro en la lírica

antigua según el *Corpus*' (2004: 113). In a typically allusive way of the lyric corpus, incest is only insinuated in a mere handful of lyrics, but 'Por amores lo maldixo' is the most obvious in its portrayal. More importantly, the lyrics that allude to incest contrast with 'Por amores lo maldixo' in that the female protagonist is usually a daughter, not a mother. This contrasts with George D. Greenia's summary of the principal medieval Hispanic incest texts where mother-son incest texts appears to be the most prevalent, ranging from examples in the *Cantigas de Santa María* by Alfonso X el Sabio to *El conde Lucanor* by don Juan Manuel (2007: 21-2). On the other hand, given the patriarchal system of the late-medieval Peninsula and the frequent representation of women as victims of male hegemony in the lyric, it is not surprising that the instances of incest most frequently surround father-daughter relationships. Nevertheless, even though usually the more salacious the topic, the more mesmerising it is in the lyric, the infrequency of the occurrences of incest indicates that the theme cannot be treated with the level of insensitivity of, for example, a self-inflicted promiscuous reputation.

The 2007 special issue of *La Corónica* draws together and discusses some of the most prominent medieval Hispanic texts on incest. In the introductory article, Emily C. Francomano points out that: 'The threat, perpetration, or discovery of incest sets many a popular medieval tale in motion. Incest itself is something of a riddle' (2007: 7). Therefore, whereas incest may instigate popular texts or be an underlying theme, the need to shroud it in ambiguity points towards incest being a taboo subject. Magdalena Altamirano draws on the studies of Frenk and notes that 'Hay indicios suficientes para pensar que se censuraron temas como el del incesto' (2009: 135). Here a modern audience becomes acutely aware of the censorship employed by the contemporary collectors of the popular lyric. Frenk refers specifically to 'Por amores lo maldixo', pointing out:

Aquí y allá encontramos textos aislados que por su tema, su forma o su estilo difieren del conjunto de canciones de tipo popular recogidas y que apuntan a la existencia de tipos poéticos casi desconocidos. Es poco probable que en la Edad Media española existiera solo un cantar sobre el tema de la madre incestuosa (1971a: 15)

Therefore, possibly there would have been similarly themed texts in existence, but the scarce inclusion of such a topic by the compilers of songbooks reflects a social taboo. Regarding the individuals involved in incest, Archibald says that although nuclear-family incest was accepted as a wider literary subject in the later Middle Ages, ‘mother-son incest was the most heinous of the various possible forms of incest (for male protagonists, it is always mother-son incest that triggers the retreat from the world and the penance that leads to sanctity)’ (1996: 168). In the light of the declaration of Vern L. Bullough that ‘husbands had a moral obligation to keep their wives sexually satisfied lest they be tempted to stray to other beds’, incest driven by a mother reflects subversion in medieval society (1994: 37). Patriarchal control was critical, to the point that men became emasculated if it was compromised, which is evident in ‘Por amores lo maldixo’.

To begin with, the register of the omniscient speaker indicates that ‘Por amores lo maldixo’ should be treated as light-hearted satire, and incest is not suggested in any way until the *desarrollo*. However, the repetition of the *estribillo* three times during the *villancico* serves to amplify the focus on the depraved ‘mala madre’, to whom special attention is drawn through the use of nasal alliteration: ‘maldixo / la mala madre’. Hence by the closing occurrence of the *estribillo*, it is manifest that the focus is on the speaker, a nefarious character whose identification is as the epithetical ‘mala madre’. Binary oppositions are the scaffold of ‘Por amores lo maldixo’, as seen from the outset: ‘madre’ / ‘hijo’, ‘mala’ / ‘buen’, ‘Dios’ / ‘santa María’, ‘tú’ / ‘yo’, and ‘dixo’ / ‘maldixo’. However, the invocation of ‘Dios del cielo / y a su madre santa María’ (lines 3-4) has the effect of suggesting that the female speaker perceives herself as congruent to ‘santa María’. In the light of the mother / son parallel, she represents herself as the dichotomous counterpart of the Virgin Mary. Such a mirroring of religious personae not only holds a blasphemous quality, but also for the audience renders the ‘mala madre’ insane, which allows the parody of her character to be

further augmented. Unlike most lyrics, 'Por amores lo maldixo' does not tell the implicit tale of an untoward incident that has taken place; it unfolds as a fantasy for the 'mala madre'. Although empathy for female protagonists often runs high, there is not the same sort of glee derived from 'Por amores lo maldixo' that is encountered in other poems depicting deviant women in the late Middle Ages.

CONCLUSION

The model laid out by Fray Martín for women in their various orthodox roles of daughter, wife, and mother is undisputedly undermined in the *villancicos* and *canción* of this chapter. Principally, the orthodox role of the daughter is challenged through her rebellion against marriage and open displays of sexuality. The discontent with the principles of marriage is further represented in *malmaridada* poems, and married women are seen to act upon their unhappiness either through infidelity or violence. It is paradoxical that although married women are a sector of society that would be expected to uphold the patriarchal ideal because the family unit was so dependent on the idea of honour, it is in fact these women that are most commonly satirised in their demonstrations of errant behaviour. Lastly, the chapter addresses the representation of a woman who exploits her position of authority as a mother in a most inappropriate manner. With specific regard to incest, although usually a young and vulnerable female character would be portrayed as the victim, both the lyrics in this chapter portray the female characters as propagating incest. This shows that in extreme cases, not only can women take on a sexually dominant role, and undermine gendered orthodoxy, but the role can be atrocious and heinous. However satirical and sardonic the representations of these deviant women are, the scarce presence of incest in the corpus demonstrates that it is rendered a taboo subject amongst compilers of songbooks.

In effect, both lyrics and *canciones* create new norms for women that contradict the religious and or social paradigm constructed by androcentric society. However, although gendered orthodoxy is based upon domestic and familial roles, and an androcentric aim is the repression of women's sexuality, literary historian Muriel Tapia declares that medieval women's categorisation is only sexual:

En la Edad que nos ocupa, ninguna otra función sino la sexual da identidad a la mujer. Colocada dentro o fuera del amor, siempre será el mismo punto de referencia para determinar quién es. Su definición no admite más apelativo que el de virgen, casada o viuda. Salvo excepciones como lo sobrenombres de la vida religiosa o el linaje, éstas constituyen sus únicas y personalísimas señas. (1991: 57)

In reality, the paradox sits uncomfortably, yet the capricious and multifaceted nature of poetry allows suspension from reality; women are represented in the orthodox categorisation but simultaneously a sexuality that challenges the archetypes decreed by society is created. Aside from the texts depicting women involved in incest, it is noted that generally the women who destabilise gendered orthodoxy due to their sexual misdemeanours are seen as pioneers, rather than such bad exempla being received by uproarious rebellion.

CHAPTER VI: WOMAN AND THE PUBLIC ARENA

INTRODUCTION

This chapter looks at women depicted in different realms of the public sphere, in contrast to roles in the private sphere of the previous chapter. Notably, only women in *villancicos* are represented; due to their restrictive courtly nature, the *canciones* do not entertain the themes encompassed by the ‘public arena’, which is considered to be a place where work and celebration take place. Although this is held to be a masculine domain, the events bring about social interaction between men and women. It is not, however, simply the presence of women that comprises the subversion of social order: on occasions of public celebration, interactions between men and women contribute to a heightened sense of emotion, high spirits, and frivolities, which give rise to diminished behavioural responsibilities which often encourage sexual activity, contrary to behavioural norms. Similarly, in rural parts of the Iberian Peninsula where gender-specific labour and solitary workers were common, impromptu encounters between men and women imbued all the more sexual anticipation. Whereas Jennifer Ward points out that the control of the father or husband was of utmost importance, in lyrics where the theme is work or public celebration, notably, it is the specific absence of the male authority figure that enables women to act freely (2002: 9). This chapter focuses on the depiction of women in a typically male environment and how the lyric either ignores, or satirises women’s presence and their actions. The abundance of thematically similar lyrics indicates that salacious subject matters were popular, and in the *villancico*, these environments perpetuate such clichéd behaviour.

The first section looks at lyrics featuring the *día de San Juan*, a prominent festival in the medieval Iberian calendar. Although the occasion is said to have religious origins, the event was appropriated as a secular celebration. This is followed by a consideration of lyrics

featuring men and women in rural working environments. In bucolic settings it is notable how in the lyric, characters exploit seemingly chance meetings, which is similar to the themes found in the *romances*. Following the rural setting, I look at just one lyric that depicts a woman in the urban work setting.

ST JOHN'S DAY

A number of festivities coincide around Saint John's day, a period well-known for its frivolity and celebration. Originally, the 24th of June was associated with the pagan rituals of the Summer Solstice, and although the earliest celebration of the saint's day is known to be 506 A.D., José Manuel Pedrosa points out that on the Iberian Peninsula the date was usurped by a celebration of practicalities: 'ya que, efectivamente, era en el día de San Juan (24 de junio) cuando se cerraban los contratos anuales que ligaban a criados, jornaleros y ganaderos con sus amos o patronos' (2001: 102). During this period, it is evident that quotidian rituals and etiquette were overshadowed by an unusual freedom. This freedom was fully exploited and hence it became a carnivalesque season that because of its associations is an apt basis for lyrics.

However, due to the prominence and infectiousness of the ambience of *el día de San Juan*, the season was punctuated by lovers and their meetings. Antonio Sánchez Romeralo confirms that Saint John's day rituals are frequently linked to courting and sex: 'tres costumbres destacaban en esta celebración; alude a ellas el maestro Correas: 'Bañarse, coger hierbas y enramar las puertas la mañana de San Juan' ' (1969: 78). Although the Summer Solstice is traditionally seen as the first day of summer, it brings with it an air of the climax of springtime, almost as if it is the final occasion on which people can take advantage of the natural cycle of fecundity. In particular James F. Burke describes 'spring as a time when

nature is physically renewed and sexual desire rises dramatically, as much in humans as in other creatures' (1998: 50).

In this section I explore the way in which two *villancicos* convey the excitement of *el día de San Juan*. Temporarily the ideological authority of the church and state are inverted, creating a carnivalesque atmosphere. Women play a principal role in the lyrics, demonstrating their conspicuous presence at the festivities that took place in the public arena, although their unscrupulous behaviour is subliminally demonstrated. 'A coger el trévol, damas' is found in a number of compilations: Hieronimo Francisco Castaña's 1604 *Romances nuevos*, the 1600 *Romancero general*, the 1605 *Romancero de Madrigal*, Lorenzo de Ayala's 1588 *Jardín de amadores*, and the 1683 *Cancionero judío de Amsterdam* (Frenk 2003: I, 845):

A coger el trévol, damas,
la mañana de San Joan,
a coger el trévol, damas,
que después no avrá lugar.

As we have already seen, budding flowers, and especially roses, are symbolic of young, nubile women. This is not, however, solely because they are at the most beautiful and desirable points of their lives. The analogy invokes the congruent temporality of their attractiveness. Just as there is an optimum time-frame for the aesthetic and olfactory enjoyment of a rose, there is a similar window of opportunity for the arrangement of a daughter's marriage. Furthermore, both women and flowers' passive and chattel-like existence is underlined by this comparison. In 'A coger el trévol, damas', the 'damas' are encouraged to 'coger el trévol, where clover is a plant with masculine connotations. Picking the clover invokes the *carpe diem* sentiments associated with 'collige rosas'; if the 'damas' do not take heed of the advice, the short window of opportunity of their flowering only in the summer months will pass and 'no avrá lugar'. Although the repetition of lines 1 and 3 'a coger el trévol, damas' expresses a temporary pursuit, because it specifically occurs on 'la

mañana de San Joan’, an annual festival, there is the implication that the euphemism picking clover is a solidly entrenched tradition at that particular time. Although Aurelio González Pérez suggests that the morning of *San Juan* would simply be known by the receptors of the lyric as a ‘día favorable’ (2003: 376), the specific mention of ‘mañana’ evokes the *albor* tradition. As Dionisia Empaytaz de Croome notes, Saint John’s day is set aside as a time for lovers, and associated in particular ‘in lovers’ minds, with gaiety and a certain permissiveness’ (1980: 39).

The familiar imperatives of lines 1 and 3 are more encouragements than commands, which bring with them the suggestion that the speaker includes herself in the activity. Because of her direct implication in the text, not only are the words given veracity, but they have an all-encompassing effect that allows the audience to experience a greater rapport with the characters and the essence of the poem. However, incongruous to this is the use of ‘damas’, which is unusual because of its noble associations even though the lyric is commonly accepted to be a popular form of poetry. All in all, this adds to the disorder and carnivalesque atmosphere of Saint John’s day.

The motif of the clover itself must be considered in order to understand the figurative meaning of ‘A coger el trévol, damas’. Often in medieval poetry, in the context of love, women are represented by flowers. It is sometimes then ambiguous whether women are the proactive participants of an erotic scene when they refer to the ingredients of a *locus amoenus*, such as in the lyric ‘A coxer amapolas’ discussed in Chapter IV, where the speaker appears to have sought her loss of virginity. However, Stephen Reckert points out that the masculine connotations of the trefoil in Spanish folklore are well known (1970: 36). John G. Cummins further discusses its significance:

The clover, an ancient symbol of maleness, is associated particularly with the feast of St John, originally a fertility celebration at the summer solstice, and still popularly accepted as the time to seek a lover; gathering clover is an accompaniment to the erotic activity proper to the season. (1977: 68)

The trefoil has a pan-European presence in literature; Werner Danckert says that in German wedding songs ‘the green trefoil means youth and freedom of an unmarried girl’ (1976: III, 883). Furthermore, in particular, the religious associations of the trefoil with the holy trinity cannot be ignored; it represents the three separate yet conjoined holy entities of God, Christ and the Holy Spirit. The overarching association of the trefoil with masculinity fits in with the crux of the poem whereby in the frequent *mundus inversus* style of the lyric, by collecting clover, women become active seducers. Hence it is likely that the speaker intends the trefoil symbol to be interpreted in terms of masculinity over the representation of (sexual) liberty, as suggested by Danckert. As a result, women are actively seeking men as opposed to the tradition of men courting women, or the Iberian patriarchal system of fathers choosing husbands for their daughters. Therefore, although Frenk identifies that ‘el orden social englobaba únicamente al sexo masculino’, the common acceptance of medieval society is inverted by women’s usurpation of the role that men usually play, revealing the carnivalesque atmosphere of the festival of *San Juan* (1996: 270).

‘La noche de Sant Juan, moças’ confirms the expectation of amorous encounters during the festival of Saint John. The lyric is found in Antonio de las Caramanchales’ *La pastora de Manzanares*, c. 1660 (Frenk 2003: I, 845):

La noche de Sant Juan, moças,
bámonos a coger rosas,
mas la noche de Sant Pedro
bamos a coger eneldo.

The assonance in ‘o’ particularly in the first two lines brings an ambience of upward movement, excitement, and freshness surrounding ‘la noche de Sant Juan’. A literal reading maintains this atmosphere, but it is the symbolic reading of the text that reveals the underlying sensational aspect.

In cases of ambivalent symbolism, modern readers have to rely on the context to know whether flowers represent amorous passion or the women themselves. However, it is

clear here that the female speaker includes herself in the persuasion that the ‘moças’ should pick flowers, a figurative urging that they take advantage of the sexually charged atmosphere of the festival. However, in the lyric the female protagonists are not only more than willing to escape the shackles that usually prevent them from enjoying sexual freedom, they actively take advantage of this rare opportunity.

Having strongly urged her companions to take advantage of the ‘noche de Sant Juan’ in the first half of the song, in the second, introduced by the negative ‘mas’, the speaker indicates that less favourable consequences that will arise for herself and the ‘moças’. The ‘noche de Sant Pedro’ which is a less significant event in the medieval calendar occurring on the twenty-ninth of June, less than a week later. In popular poetry, the day does not connote the same anticipation and celebration; it was a sombre affair comprising a day of agricultural-based meetings and business transactions. Hence it does not bring with it the same *laissez-faire* atmosphere of that of Saint John’s day. Both Sánchez Romeralo (1969: 145) and Frenk remark upon the basic binary structure of the *villancico*, one of which Frenk sums up as ‘la fórmula Exhortación + Explicación’ (1980b: 282). This bipartite prescription is evident in ‘La noche de Sant Juan, moças’, and therefore puts as much emphasis on the significance of the formulaic *día de San Juan* as the *día de San Pedro* and ‘eneldo’ because the latter serves to confirm the first two lines. On a literal level, contemporary knowledge indicates that the second festival ‘la noche de Sant Pedro’ is an anticlimax to the earlier celebrations of the ‘noche de Sant Juan’. However, the ‘explicación’ is also indicated by the subtler morphological change of ‘bámonos’ to ‘bamos’ (lines 2 and 4). Whereas the former has an intonation of expectation and excitement surrounding the call to action, ‘bamos’ brings with it an air of mundaneness, and even resignation.

The binary opposition of the floras brings with it the most significant symbolic meaning of ‘La noche de Sant Juan, moças’. The speaker has just created an anticlimax in

the second half of the binary structure with the reference 'la noche de Sant Pedro', and the connotations of 'eneldo' at the end of the song exaggerate this anticlimactic effect. On a practical note, dill was a wild annual herb that usually grew amongst corn in medieval Iberia, so not only does it lack the romantic connotations of the rose, but it is also a reminder of the harsh year of labour that would have commenced after *el día de San Juan*, that in part celebrated the end of annual agricultural contracts. On a daily basis, other than its use in medieval fish recipes, Jerry Stannard shows that dill is known to have been used medicinally for a number of ailments such as 'indigestion, nausea and to relieve flatulence, as a diuretic, a vulnerary, and as a discutient, especially for non-specific swellings and tumors' (1999: 416). Although a heightened sensitivity may occur around the *fiesta* period, and therefore the exotic use of dill such as in love potions and in witchcraft may be arguably more commonplace, due to the rare references in popular Spanish literature to witchcraft and suchlike, I doubt that this is the essence of the reference to dill. More relevantly due to the promiscuous associations of *el día de San Juan*, dill has been used as a drug from early times, and John M. Riddle discusses its use as an anti-fertility plant in the Middle Ages (1991: 27). Stannard even suggests that 'it is possible that dill was used, not for amenorrhea, but rather as a means of terminating an unwanted pregnancy' (1999: 421). Following the implications of passion and sexual activity from the 'rosas' reference, this is the most likely inference for the use of dill. Taking into account Sánchez Romeralo's 'estructura básica binaria' of A + B, (1969: 145), lines 3 and 4 reflect the consequences of lines 1 and 2. Therefore, it is likely that the speaker is referring to using dill as a rudimentary form of oral contraceptive or an early-term abortifacient. Additionally, although the associations of 'rosas' have already been established, it is worth pointing out they have a characteristically sweet scent in contrast to the bitter flavour of dill. This bitter taste is also a likely allusion in the speaker's comparison

of the situations depicting the two floras, where the ‘eneldo’ reflects the unpleasant ambience in the aftermath of unbridled promiscuity.

All things considered, contemporary society regarded *el día de San Juan* as a dangerous night for women because of the temptation to behave inappropriately. Similar to a great number of the lyrics depicting deviant women, until there is an adverse conclusion to a lustful incident, women appear to relish ignoring societal norms. In the lyric, this comportment is an innate part of the festival, and appears to be a reaction to the lack of liberation in real life that Reckert says is depicted during *el día de San Juan*:

La liminalidad de la noche de San Juan, con sus prácticas alusivas al *rite de passage* de la autoridad paterna a la del marido, le proporciona [...] la oportunidad de hacer un comentario implícito sobre la eterna condición de la mujer en las sociedades tradicionales. (2001: 266)

However, the suspension of morality is not confined to festivities, but is also found in lyrics whose principal theme is work in the countryside.

RURAL LABOUR

There are two principal factors that make rural labour a popular lyric theme. Firstly, because the majority of the medieval Iberian population lived in rural areas, this is the scenario and ingredients with which the composers and disseminators were most familiar. Secondly, for women, working in the fields or hills outside the constraints of the home brought with it a liberty that was congruent to the freedom of artistic expression involved in the composition or dissemination of a lyric. Frenk argues, however, that this liberty was only relative, and women were still under a watchful male guise:

La mujer campesina, entonces, salía a trabajar; y al mismo tiempo estaría bajo la vigilancia y el control férreo del padre, de los hermanos, del marido. La libertad de la mujer campesina no sería, en realidad, más que una relativa *libertad de movimiento*, justo la necesaria para que pudiera contribuir al mantenimiento de la familia. Posiblemente esta relativa libertad haría más aguda la vivencia del sometimiento, y quizá la conciencia de su injusticia. (1994: 49)

The lyrics in this section demonstrate that women are as predisposed to displaying a lack of inhibition as their urban counterparts, although it is communicated in a more euphemistic manner.

However, naivety can be a disguised intent, which is the purpose of ‘Garridica soy en el yermo’, a lyric found in the *Cancionero musical de Palacio*, compiled at the end of the fifteenth century (Frenk 2003: I, 191):

Garridica soy en el yermo,
¿i para qué?
pues que tan mal me empleé.

Mariana Masera provides an interpretation of ‘Garridica soy en el yermo’ that the protagonist is a ‘malcasada’ who ‘lamenta su suerte y alaba su belleza’ (1993: 111). The setting is the countryside, from which the audience can infer that the female protagonist situates herself in a *locus amoenus*. Frenk notes that the source of the *villancico* is an *ensalada* ‘Serrana del bel mirar’ (2003: I, 191).¹ Although I expand on *serranas* in the penultimate chapter, broadly, by situating the lyric in a wider context, this would indicate that the female protagonist has considerable savoir-faire of existence in the wilderness and hence should know how best to look after herself. This is confirmed by the speaker preceding her indication of the *locus amoenus* with a proud flaunting of herself: ‘Garridica soy’ (line 1). The adjective is emphasised by its position at the opening of the *villancico*, but her pathos is emphasised by the diminutive ending, which immediately invites the sympathy of the audience. Furthermore, the uninterrupted syntax implies that the characteristic ‘Garridica’ and the location ‘yermo’ are mutually inclusive.

The protagonist becomes unstuck when the characteristically measured employment of her assets has negative consequences and so she recognises ‘tan mal me empleé’ (line 3).

¹ Definition of *ensalada*: ‘Composición poética en la cual se incluyen esparcidos versos de otras poesías conocidas’ http://buscon.rae.es/draeI/SrvltConsulta?TIPO_BUS=3&LEMA=ensalada.

This is reminiscent of ‘Mis ojos, madre’, analysed in Chapter IV, where the young female speaker sees herself as an economic resource. In ‘Garridica soy en el yermo’, her beauty results in a grim outcome. The brevity of the second line, which is underlined by the punctuating parenthetical question marks: ‘¿i para qué?’ expresses an opinion that perhaps there is no virtue in such attractiveness, and carries with it the implication that she regrets using it in the first place.

‘Blanca me era yo’ and ‘Aunque soi morena’ are two *villancicos* where the protagonists express less remorse, and that exemplify the euphemism is frequently associated with bucolic livelihoods. Because of their similar premises, they are analysed concurrently. ‘Blanca me era yo’ portrays a female protagonist during the harvest period, and is found in Lope de Vega’s c. 1613 *El gran duque de Moscovia y emperador perseguido* (Frenk 2003: I, 132):

Blanca me era yo
cuando entré en la siega;
diome el sol, y ya soy morena.

‘Aunque soi morena’, depicts a herdsman and is found in the *Cancionero de Jacinto López* of 1620 and Gonzalo Correas Íñigo’s 1627 *Arte de la lengua española castellana* (Frenk 2003: I, 132):

Aunque soi morena,
blanca io nascí:
guardando el ganado
la color perdí.

Although both protagonists claim that they originally had fair colouring: ‘Blanca me era yo’ and ‘blanca io nascí’, their specific work in the fields or pasture causes them to undergo a transformation, which is indicated by ‘cuando’ and the gerund ‘guardando’ (‘Blanca me era yo’ and ‘Aunque soi morena’ respectively). The result is that the protagonists’ complexions change: ‘ya soy morena’ and ‘la color perdí’. On the surface, the implied reason for their

transformation is exposure to natural elements such as the sun and wind during the long working day.

However, the implications of the transformations that have taken place are more ominous than the speakers imply. Paula Olinger (1985) has provided much evidence on symbolic aspects of women's symbolic transformation in the lyric, and just as the whiteness of the female protagonists is analogous to their purity, it is commonly accepted now that in becoming 'morena' or losing their whiteness, they have gained sexual experience. David M. Gitlitz in particular suggests that 'su color blanco original era una prenda querida (¿análoga a su virtud / virginidad?) que desafortunadamente se ha perdido' (1975: 510). However, although both protagonists implicitly blame the masculine symbols for their skin-tone changes, which are brought about by their occupations, consternation over their loss does not seem to overshadow the lyrics. This means that rape can probably be ruled out.

It is not just the transformations and the natural elements of sun and wind that connote sexual experiences. The action of reaping or harvesting in 'Blanca me era yo': 'entré en la siega', is similar to that of picking flowers or clover discussed above, and connotes seeking amorous passion. This takes place in the most expansive version of the *locus amoenus* – the boundless outdoors – which is a pastoral setting that gives many opportunities for sex because of people's intermittent presence in it. Furthermore, the protagonists undoubtedly take advantage of their freedom from patriarchal shackles. Hence although the *morenas* of both the lyrics blame their respective livelihoods on their transformations, the truth is more that their livelihoods brought about the opportunities for sex, of which they take advantage.

By taking into account the interconnections of lyric symbolism, both these *villancicos* can perhaps be seen as paradigms for the incidents linked to work in the countryside. Although on the surface they blame their occupations for the colour change, which Bruce Wardropper describes as a 'neurosis of the *morena*' (1960: 418), it is not just the peasant

occupation that darkens women. On a symbolic level, sexual activity is also heavily linked to pastoral labour.

On the surface, 'A segar son idos' appears to be light-hearted, but figuratively it also reveals a deep-seated sexuality associated with rural labour:

A segar son idos,
tres con una hoz;
mientras uno siega,
holgavan los dos.

The poem invites the listeners to laugh at the situation of three reapers who go reaping with only one sickle between them. The sibilance throughout maintains a steady rhythm and allows the poem to run smoothly with no emphases or pauses so the audience are less likely to question the content until the end. Retrospectively, although reaping in itself is not an unusual occurrence, the situation is highlighted to the listeners because the harvesters only take one sickle between three, so from the outset there was never the intention that all of them would be working.

On a symbolic level, similar to 'Blanca me era yo', the suggestions of an erotic atmosphere begin with the rural setting. Reaping is parallel to picking flowers, which Pedrosa associates with sex: 'el acto de plantar o de arrancar una fruta de un árbol o una flor de una planta con el del acto amoroso o la pérdida de la virginidad' (1999: 298). Eroticism further permeates the atmosphere as one worker harvests and 'holgavan los dos'. Dorothy M. Atkinson says that 'holgar' is paralleled with 'dormir' (1955: 285), which has sexual connotations, and the choice of verb in the final line 'holgar', like 'gozar', is suggestive. As seen in the King Rodrigo ballad *Romance de doña Isabel de Liar*: 'Yo me estando en Giromena a mi placer y holgar' can also be interpreted as enjoying oneself (Appelbaum 2003: 38). This leads the audience to question the innocence surrounding their choice of activity.

Although the *villancico* is narrated anonymously, and it does not specifically mention a woman, due to the lexical associations of 'holgavan', the presumption is that the two who

do so are a man and a woman. Mercedes Borrero Fernández shows that women were usually heavily involved in the harvesting of olives in the Iberian Peninsula (1998: 15). However, Teófilo F. Ruiz points out that in rural northern Castile, where agriculture comprised a more equal mix of olive and cereal crops, only some 16% or so of the workforce were women (1998: 108). Hence although it is not unheard of, it is unusual for women to be harvesting cereals, and because ‘A segar son idos’ specifically uses the setting of harvesting arable crops to play out its narrative, it suggests that the working atmosphere brings with it liberty, and in this case, sexual liberty.

This liberty is reflected in the two variants of ‘Guárdame las vacas, carillo’:²

Guárdame las vacas, carillo,
y besart[e] é.
Bésame tú a mí,
que yo te las guardaré.

The second variant is found in Juan de Valverde Arrieta’s 1578 *Dialogos de la fertilidad y abundancia de España* (Frenk 2003: I, 1202):

Guárdame mis vacas,
carillejo, por tu fe,
guárdame mis vacas,
que yo te abraçaré;
5 si no, abraçame tú a mí,
que yo te las guardaré.

Both versions depict female speakers of forthright attitudes, but due to their similar content, I look only in detail at the latter ‘Guárdame mis vacas’, where the female speaker presents herself as an indiscreet personality who takes control of the situation and openly risks her reputation.

It is immediately evident that the protagonists are cowherds in the countryside, and, as Frenk says, even if aspects of natural life are not explicitly mentioned, it is highly unlikely

² Due to the appearance of this variant in numerous *cancioneros* and *pliegos sueltos*, I do not list them here. For a full inventory of the first variant, (labelled by Frenk as 1683A), see Frenk 2003: II, 1200-02.

that any aspect appears in its literal sense only, and all will be associated with human fecundity and erotic life (1993: 4). Therefore, even though the setting is only suggested by the context, an erotic atmosphere is connoted. Armando López Castro remarks that ‘en la poética del villancico núcleo, lo generador es siempre la relación del espacio con el propio decir’ (2000: 142). Therefore, it is the archetypal connotations of the countryside that serve to cultivate an ambience of sensuality in the first place. This sensuality is then developed by the parallelistic intertwining of promises of amatory acts: ‘yo te abraçaré’ (lines 4 and 6) in exchange for herding cows: ‘guárdame mis vacas’ (lines 1, 3, and 6). Eroticisation is funnelled into the working environment, and carnal associations are maintained because the monologue takes place in the medium of the countryside.

The overriding tone used by the speaker is one of negotiation albeit this is moderated somewhat by identifying the addressee as ‘carillejo’ in line 2. John Lihani mentions that Sebastián de Covarrubias y Orozco uses this same lyric to exemplify the meaning of ‘carillejo’ in his first dictionary, the *Tesoro de la lengua castellana* of 1611, and on account of his studies of early occurrences of the word Lihani says:

Although the foregoing examples of *carillo -a* may not exhaust the occurrences of the word in all of Spanish literature, they do show conclusively in their context that *carillo* has clearly been divorced from the idea of *caro* with an emotional, endearing sense of *amado*, *querido*, *queridito*, *amante*, or *novio* (which have been the traditionally accepted definitions) and that, on the other hand, the word has been closely related to *hermano* in both its literal sense as well in its figurative sense of *compañero* or *amigo*. (1956: 73)

However, the affectionate term only appears to be part of her persuasive rhetoric: ‘por tu fe’, because by demanding that he give proof of his fidelity, she becomes the dominant persona in their relationship. As relationships and marriages were arranged by the father or dominant male of the family, who would then give the bride to the husband, it is unusual that such dictation would come from the woman. Indeed, Anne J. Cruz says that ‘women’s roles in medieval and early modern cultures are dependent primarily upon a husband, with little regard for their personal happiness or desires’ (1992: 146). But in ‘Guárdame mis vacas’, the

female speaker demonstrates her control of their relationship through her methodical alternation of imperatives and the future tense, and she negotiates to realise her desires. By setting a price in return for intimacy, her discourse mirrors the idea that relationships and marriage were often commercial transactions. As a whole, it is the autonomy of her cowherd occupation that facilitates her unusually domineering manner because under the roof of her father she would not be granted such freedom.

URBAN LABOUR

In the light of Frenk's comments that 'entre la población humilde del campo rigen unas normas morales más rigurosas que las existentes en la ciudad', one would expect to encounter more deviant women in urban than rural lyrics (1994: 48). This is not necessarily the case, and except for those portraying prostitutes (looked at in the Chapter VIII), few lyrics depict deviant women in city occupations. This is not due to a scarcity of *villancicos* depicting urban women, as just as many exist, and according to Eileen Power's evidence, women were often of secondary importance in a profession: 'the wife of a craftsman almost always worked as her husband's assistant in his trade, or if not, she often eked out the family income by some such industry as brewing and spinning' (1975: 53). However, most likely, the absence of deviant women depicted in urban settings is due to the rural origins of the lyric. As has been repeatedly seen, there is a reliance on subtlety and euphemism drawn from parallels between natural fecundity and human existence to communicate taboo subjects in the lyric; such stimuli are not found in the city. Although inevitably some lyrics will have come from city dwellers, the majority set in urban environments will have been composed by rustics but simply feature their urban counterparts.

The observation of Frenk that metropolitan moral standards were lower suggests that in the urban lyrics, taboo subjects such as sex would not therefore need to rely on euphemism

in the same way. Furthermore, due to the denser populations of cities, human interaction would have been more prevalent, and entertainment during the working day would not have been necessary on the same level as, for example, that needed by a herdsman who saw no one but her livestock all day. On the other hand, to quote Frenk again, although norms may be stricter, there is ‘relative freedom’ in the countryside, which is also demonstrated by the unreserved artistic expression in pastoral lyrics (1994: 49). However, both due to the close proximity of controlling patriarchal figures, and also a lack of space, women in the city would have lacked this ‘relative freedom’ hence there was less sensationalism surrounding this aspect.

‘Galán, toma de mi pan’ is an example of a tradeswoman who makes herself a carnal focal point. There are two versions of the *villancico*, the first of which is found in the 1627 *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales* of Correas (Frenk 2003: I, 798). It is used as the base text because it is the earlier recorded version:

Galán,
toma de mi pan.

Tomalde en la mano,
veréis qué liviano;
5 bolvelde el envés
i veréis qué tal es;
si no os contentare,
bolvérmele eis.

Even on a literal level, there are sensual undertones in ‘Galán, toma de mi pan’. It is flirtatious from the outset, demonstrated by the *estribillo* beginning with the female speaker referring to the male addressee as ‘Galán’. This indicates that there is an amorous connection between them. Frenk’s grammatical edition of the poem isolates ‘Galán’ and emphasises the term even more. The speaker’s tone is dominant, which is illustrated by the imperative ‘tomá’ in line 2, and also implies the familiarity of the characters.

The *glosa* develops an extremely sensual discourse drawing on imagery relating to touch: ‘Tomalde en la mano’ (line 3) and ‘bolvelde’ (line 5), and also relating to sight: ‘veréis’ (lines 4 and 6). Rather than simply referring to emotions, by relating to the tangible and experimental, the speaker draws the audience into the poem, and hence attention is drawn to the incident. The speaker has an accomplished sales pitch, and markets her ‘pan’ as ‘liviano’ in line 4. It is this word that indicates the multivalence surrounding her ‘pan’. However, in conclusion, on a literal level, having been manipulated and inspected, the *panadera* is happy for it to be returned if it is not of a satisfactory standard: ‘si no os contentare, / bolvéramele eis’.

Although on the surface, the female protagonist could be posited to be a simple bread-seller, the erotic associations cannot be ignored in the light of the popular tradition of *panaderas* and their sexual availability. The *Libro de buen amor* is the work that most extensively eroticises ‘pan’, and in particular shows its connotations of the female sex organ. Louise O. Vasvári remarks on the all-embracing links as the ‘sexualization of the semantic field of bread making, eating, and ingestion’ (1999b: 139). Hence on a symbolic level, the female speaker not just invites, but orders the ‘Galán’ to engage in sexual activity with her. The imagery that the female speaker uses is graphic and charged with eroticism; she tells the ‘Galán’ to make a full inspection of her anatomy: ‘bolvelde el envés’ (line 5). The connotations of the demand that he take her in his hand ‘Tomalde en la mano’ is reminiscent of Pascuala’s utterance in *Fuente Ovejuna*: ‘Tendré yo por maravilla / que te escapes de su mano’ (lines 196-7), where Donald McGrady points out that:

Esta premonición y pronóstico de Pascuala sirve para crear tensión dramática, y acabará cumpliéndose en el acto III; *mano* ha tenido un sentido fálico desde el Cantar de los cantares (5, 4), y así se emplea en la poesía erótica del Siglo de Oro. (2001: 18).

The association of the hand with the phallus is reminiscent of the ballad *Gentil dama* where, due to the phallic symbolism associated with her ‘téticas agudicas’, the female protagonist assumes the masculine role. The usurpation of masculine power is reflected by the bread-

seller's confidence in her commodity: 'veréis qué liviano' (line 4). Yakov Malkiel's investigations into lexical polarisation in romance languages in particular trace the inception of 'liviano' on the Peninsular; 'liviano' replaces 'leve', and therefore although on a literal level 'liviano' can be applied to the 'lightness' of the 'pan', he shows that also in use was 'the figurative meaning 'fickle, frivolous' as early as the *Libro de buen amor*' (1951: 495). 'Liviano' also connotes the speaker's lasciviousness, although its application to 'pan' dissociates her from her sexual organs, as does her closing comment 'si no os contentare, / bolvérmele eis' (lines 7 - 8).

It is not only the female speaker's closing remarks that forthright, but so is the entire lyric. The attitude of the *panadera* is one of libertinism, and once her wares or assets have been experienced, she is unperturbed if they are returned. As a result, the female speaker assimilates herself to a marketable product and sees relationships as negotiable, similar to 'Mis ojuelos, madre' and 'Por un pagesito'. This is a repeated discourse of the lyric: women see themselves as much as chattels as men do.

CONCLUSION

Overall, this chapter suggests that there is a prevalence of sexual activity away from the bounds of the home. In the countryside, public appointments facilitate private engagements that for the most part go unchallenged, which demonstrates a formulaic inversion of morality. The difference between depictions of occupations in the town and country are also fascinating. Encounters in the countryside are made possible by the isolation brought about by many livelihoods, and more often than not sexual activity is alluded to during these encounters, promoted by the surrounding fecundity of the countryside. However, in the urban lyric, because meetings between men and women are directly in the public eye, promiscuity is not as rife.

CHAPTER VII: WOMAN AND RELIGION

INTRODUCTION

Eileen Power notes that the Church was a primary authority in determining paradigmatic social conformities on the medieval Peninsula, and it is evident that the pillar of religion permeated daily life and influenced values and behaviour, especially in the construction of the archetypal woman. For the large part of the Middle Ages the delineation of woman was as an embodiment of original sin. However, attitudes towards women changed in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as the cult of the Virgin Mary emerged and evolved. As a consequence, facets of the ideal woman revolve around her revered figure, of which chastity, piety, and religious observance were inherent and exemplary aspects of her persona. The extent to which religious affiliations played a part in medieval life for all strata of society is explained by Jennifer Ward:

Laywomen's religious practice displayed concerns for both this world and the next. Religious practice permeated their daily lives, and although degrees of piety undoubtedly varied, there was no way in which the religious aspects of life could be evaded. (2002: 236)

As well as daily dedication, spiritual devotion was also realised either through spiritual events such as pilgrimages, or through the life-commitment of entry into the religious order. Whichever path of devotion is taken, emulation of the devout nature of the Virgin Mary, encompassing humility, chastity, and piety, is central to the ethics of the bona fide spiritual woman, especially because, as Miri Rubin points out, Mary was supreme patron of the Church in the later Middle Ages (2009: 291).

Historical evidence points towards religious fervour: in particular Marian exemplum was introduced to the populace not only through sermons, but also through poetry such as Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* written around 1260, and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* written during the reign of Alfonso X el Sabio in the thirteenth century. Religious songs and poems had been used as one of many tools by the Roman Church to

intensify its hold over Europe between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, particularly instructing a gendered behavioural orthodoxy. Marina Warner believes that religious interception in this stream of literature began around the time of the thirteenth century where ecclesiastical and lay currents were reconciled 'by one of the Church's most successful intellectual operations, whereby the pagan joy of the troubadours and their heirs was transmuted into the typical Christian quest for the other world through denial of the pleasures in this' (1985: 134). Therefore, augmented by the accelerated production of Spanish literature in the fifteenth century, women and religion became a well-recognised topic in poetry of the period. However, in a select number of poems, rather than the representation of women and spirituality serving as an example, religion functions as an escape or a facade in the lay and devout environments. Other than the daily lay environment, there are two distinct arenas in which woman and spirituality fuse in an inappropriate manner: through pilgrimages, and also life-long through entry into the religious order.

Firstly, although pilgrimages were one of the ways in which laypersons could undertake a public manifestation of faith, and considering the evidence presented by Ward above, Sarah Hopper ironically reveals simultaneous controversies of medieval piety manifested in pilgrimages filled with debauchery, and pilgrims of poor repute:

The lascivious conduct of some female pilgrims was held up to scrutiny by those who spoke out against the abuses of pilgrimage. Both female tavern workers and pilgrims were targeted for their promiscuous behaviour, as it was unbecoming of the pious meaning of pilgrimage. Needless to say, misconduct and impropriety amongst pilgrims went across the board, while the behaviour of female pilgrims attracted more reproach. (2002: 109)

The topos of deviant women connected to pilgrimages is limited to compositions that appear to have popular origins, and arise in several *villancicos*. They are similar to the earlier *cantigas de romería*, a strand of the Galician-Portuguese genre of *cantigas d'amigo*. In respect of the *cantigas de romería*, Eugenio Asensio points out: 'Esta utilización de la ermita como escenario para entrevistas amorosas, exhibiciones de belleza y rebeldías de niña mal guardada nos hace dudar de que semejantes poemas hayan tenido ninguna función devota en

la fiesta' (1970: 32). However, as Hopper highlights, whereas the promiscuous activity of women is reprovved and the focus on their characterisation and comportment increases sensationalism, such behaviour by men is considered to have fewer social consequences.

Entering the religious order is also seen as an alternative to the mundane and unrewarding life that women may otherwise endure. With Catholicism being a mainstay of medieval Iberia, it was important that religious women maintained their vows of a chaste existence. Nonetheless, there were scandalous accounts of relations between male and female religious figures, exemplified in literary analogues such as the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* of Gonzalo de Berceo and documented by comprehensive studies such as that of Peter Linehan's on thirteenth-century convent life in Zamora. Linehan puts forward evidence on the depravity of the convent provided by nuns: instances ranging from the exchange of silk-embroidered girdles for handkerchiefs and *superzonas* between monks and nuns, to monks stripping in front of the nuns, a nun guarding the trousers of her lover beside her at night-time, and nuns and friars making love to one another (1997: 51).

Eukene Lacarra Lanz says that carnal relationships with nuns were treated with the same level of social repugnance and gravity as incest; they were a serious crime (2009: 8). This can principally be explained by the need of the Church to retain its tight control over the populace. Furthermore, José Luis Martín and Antonio Linaje Conde say that on account of it being a frequent crime, *el Obispo de Cuéllar* advised the priests of his diocese to introduce routine questioning into confessions (1987: 248). In the light of the analyses of both the *canción* and *villancicos* below, and evidence presented by historians such as Ward, it is difficult to believe that such incidences attracted severe penalties: in the Convent of Zamora correct religious observance was not even adhered to:

The Dominican nuns of Zamora can be taken as a case in point. The house was founded in 1259 and twenty years later, when it was subject to Episcopal visitation, there appears to have been a complete breakdown of monastic life and obedience. The Rule was not observed, nor was the *Opus Dei* celebrated at the proper times. Nuns and friars engaged in sexual activity, taking each other as lovers. (2002: 169)

In traditional poetry, entry into a religious order often provides a feeble facade for scandalous behaviour. Where a disregard for religious chastity is appealing as a popular theme because of its sensationalism, more often than not this is realised through a subtle and allusive level of humour, which could be in consideration of the potential sensitivity of the theme. In contrast to the several examples of deviance from the ideal intensity of religious devotion that we see in the *villancicos* below, there is only one example of a nun in the *canciones*. This is perhaps explained by the diverse thematic nature of poetry that is for a large part popular, compared to a relatively limited thematic diversity of this area of exclusively erudite poetry that usually is based on the courtly admiration of the lady.

This chapter looks firstly at female pilgrims, setting the scene for a potentially lascivious subject matter, and then at examples of deviant nuns who jeopardise their committed reputation, including one *canción* analysis. Women in their various spiritual roles are analysed as it is evident that their behaviour is alien to the axis of behavioural norms. For reason of space, the poems analysed are not an exhaustive list, and I refer in passing to some other poems that also contribute to the overall formula of the deviant woman.

THE PILGRIM

The first poem, ‘Lo que demanda el romero, madre’ is found only in the original *Cancionero musical de Palacio* manuscript dated around 1498-99 (Frenk 2003: I, 64). The anonymous composition, although truncated, is complete enough to depict a young girl recounting to her mother, or confidante, the result of a demand from a pilgrim:

Lo que demanda el romero, madre,
lo que demanda no ge lo dan.

A las puertas de su amiga...

On account of the ‘madre’ being invoked, who, with a handful of exceptions, in the lyric is the counterpart of a young woman, the immediate suggestion is that the speaker in the

opening couplet is a woman. However, her speaking voice is distinct from that of the third line. Whether the speaker herself is a pilgrim is arguable, but binary oppositions are frequently used in *villancicos* to illuminate the personae of other characters, and so she is the counterpart to the male ‘romero’. Although the first two lines may seem disparate and unrelated to the third, the common assumption is that they are linked. Therefore, the third line points towards the pilgrim’s demands of the initial couplet but does not initially point towards indecency. However, the rhetorical signpost of the speaker confiding in her ‘madre’, who is discussed in depth also in Chapters III, IV, and V, is a corpus-wide feature. Antonio Sánchez Romeralo says in particular: ‘la madre castellana es destinatario mudo de las confiancias’ (1969: 265). On one level the ‘confiancias a la madre’ indicates an honesty topos, giving credibility to the statement of the female speaker that she did not surrender what the pilgrim demanded. However, because she feels the need to draw attention to reliability of what she says, it points towards suspicion of her veracity, and an indication of her desperation to be absolved of blame. Furthermore, her statement is contrarily undermined by the lack of morality associated with the ‘confiancias’. The invocation of the ‘madre’ almost always is undeveloped, and she often remains passive. She is included usually to heighten the implied narrative as a virtual recipient of the relaying of the emotional or sexual liaisons of the female speaker. The tacit presence of the ‘madre’ also serves as a tool to condone the speaker’s actions, because as Colin C. Smith observes, ‘evocation by silence’ is a powerful literary tool (1972: 7). In this case, the audience are then invited to ruminate over and accept the sexual overtones suggested by the conversation. Although the speaker steadfastly denies that she acquiesced with the request of the ‘romero’, the dubiousness surrounding it is exaggerated by the repetition of ‘lo que’ and the associations of the resolute language used in line 1: ‘demanda’ is reminiscent of other lyrics where the implied conclusions are that he who demands extorts what he wants from her. For example, in ‘Niña y viña, peral e habar’, the male vineyard worker is persistent: at first he asks (‘pedía’), and then, to emphasise the

repetition, a synonym is used: ‘demanda’ with regard to a token of love from the young female protagonist (Frenk 2003: I, 249-51). This is also seen in ‘Gentil cavallero’ where, of a prioress, a horseman ‘prenda le pedía’ (Frenk 2003: II, 1199). However, Margit Frenk observes that in public, it is usual for the initiative to lie with men: ‘en el cancionero es ella la que las más veces pide a su amado que se la lleve, provocando, pues, un ‘rapto’’. She further adds ‘si es él quien lo pide, ella accede sin melindres’ (1994: 53).

The symbolic interpretation of the initial couplet, and in particular what the ‘romero’ demands, is concretised when coupled with the beginning of the *glosa*, and simultaneously reveals wantonness in the characterisation of the speaker. Mariana Masera states: ‘El agrupamiento de los símbolos en racimo ocasiona que un símbolo ilumine al otro’ (1997: 388). Therefore, in particular because of the truncation of the *villancico*, modern readers must rely upon similar sources to decipher the symbolic meaning of the ‘puertas’ (line 3). Perhaps the best known example in popular late medieval Iberian poetry of such a metaphor is the closing line of the *Romance de la mora Morayma*, where the female protagonist declares: ‘fuerame para la puerta / y abríla de par en par’.¹ The ‘puertas’ are penetrable orifices symbolic of a girl’s chastity, and their plural reference introduces the notion of sexual adventurousness, in particular evoking the liberal female protagonist of ‘Cuanto me mandardes’ in Chapter IV, who provocatively proclaims that she is a ‘casa de dos puertas’ (line 3). Hence the protagonist of ‘Lo que demanda el romero, madre’ is rendered as equally sexually liberal, and the audience can conclude that the ‘prenda’ demanded by the ‘romero’ was not simply a love-token, but, as exemplified by the lyric ‘Niña y viña, peral e habar’, ‘prenda’ stands for her virginity.

Notably, the characterisation of the protagonists substantiates the figurative interpretation of ‘Lo que demanda el romero, madre’. The ‘romero’ is essentially a secular

¹ For examples of the two variants, see Dutton 1990-91: I, 158 (LB1-61); V, 333 (11CG-459); VI, 131 (14CG-491); and VI, 320 (20*MM-1G).

figure who is on a pilgrimage to cleanse his soul of sin; specifically ‘romero’ connotes rootlessness, peregrination, and an existence beyond social control and social consequences. Therefore, it is predictable that the protagonists are portrayed as having transgressed the bounds of accepted social customs. The expectation of chaste behaviour by the female protagonist is also undermined by her characterisation as ‘amiga’ in line 3, because it points towards her integral association with the ‘romero’, implying that their relations were established before the female speaker confessed to the ‘madre’. Hence in the remainder of the lost folio, the audience may have seen the implied narrative depicting the ‘romero’ persuading the female speaker to surrender her chastity, or her glad relinquishment of it.

In contrast to the surface denials of the protagonist in ‘Lo que demanda el romero, madre’, and more in keeping with the admission of ‘So el enzina, enzina’, below, the protagonist of ‘Perdida traygo la color’ is more blunt about her extra-curricular activities during the pilgrimage, and attempts to construct an air of naivety surrounding her actions. ‘Perdida traygo la color’ is a lyric recorded by Juan Vásquez in his 1551 collection of profane poetry, *Villancicos y canciones a tres y a quatro*; notably it is most likely that Vásquez composed ‘Perdida traygo la color’ himself based on the popular refrain (Frenk 2003: I, 217):

Perdida traygo la color:
todos me dizen que lo é de amor.

Perdida traygo la color:
todos me dizen que lo é de amor.

5 Viniendo de la romería
encontré a mi buen amor;
pidiérame tres besicos,
luego perdí mi color.
Dizen a mí que lo é de amor.

Frenk records two versions of the lyric, the principal difference being that only the earlier one characterises the female speaker as a pilgrim, hence using this as the base text.

There is not a particular focus on the status of the protagonist as a pilgrim, and it is only the beginning of the gloss that confers on her a spiritual status: ‘Viniendo de la romería’ (line 3), which is similar to the exposition of the female protagonist of ‘So el enzina, enzina’,

below. However, the scarce mention of this aspect provokes the customary associations of pilgrims and pilgrimages that José María Alín summarises in the lyric: ‘romerías eran un simple pretexto para el encuentro de los amantes’ (1991: 359). Magdalena Altamirano also points out that ‘El villancico asocia la perdida de la virginidad femenina con la peregrinación religiosa (2009: 137). Due to some evidence of pious religious practices of laywomen, I disagree that in reality the religious motive was totally absent from pilgrimages. However, embellishing a sensationalistic subject means makes for a more interesting theme in traditional songs, and the beauty of the lyric is not just the intertextual and symbolic associations, but the way that each unfolds to reach the climax. Consequently, the contradictory repute associated with pilgrims and pilgrimages that Hopper discusses above is confirmed by the developing euphemism of the *estribillo*. Although the essence of the opening line is repeated three times in the poem (lines 1, 6, and 8), the intermediate narration means that each time the equivalent phrase arises, it is interpreted slightly differently.

Taking into consideration the observations of Stephen Reckert (referred to in most chapters of this thesis) on the development of repeated phrases, throughout poetry, initially the refrain points towards the literal interpretation and during the poem it acquires a symbolic meaning. Therefore, in the *estribillo*, ‘Perdida traygo la color’ refers to the colour topos. Although it could also be alluding to a love symptom, a number of factors lead to the assessment that, as we have already seen in a number of lyrics, the acquisition of a dark or rosy complexion denotes sexual experience. However, any change from the original skin-tone denotes the same, as confirmed by both David M. Gitlitz (1975: 510) and John Gornall (1986: 153).² Although the *glosas* usually have an explanatory function, the speaker does not want the audience to presume immediately that the change has occurred, and for this reason it takes four lines of the gloss for the speaker to reach the reason for her loss of colour,

² The research on swarthinness is substantial. See Chapters I, III, IV, VI, and VIII for analyses of lyrics depicting the *morena* and change in skin tone.

throughout which she displays a continuous denial of responsibility. By the final repetition of the *estribillo*, it becomes apparent that ‘la color’ is a synecdoche for the speaker, and ‘perdida’ refers to her errant ways, specifically evoking the notion of a moral fall. The indication that ‘perdida’ refers to her spatial positioning rather than to ‘la color’ is the mention of her pilgrimage. Being a journey, being lost has a moral significance that is reminiscent of the parable in Luke 8.12, where the metaphor for moral faltering can be derived from her admission of being lost. This is a similar predicament to that of the female protagonist of the ballad *El caballero burlado*, whose immorality is underscored by her admission to becoming lost; the female protagonist laments ‘errado avía el camino, / errado avía la vía’. This allusion is guided by the renown of moral deviance and sexual misbehaviour on pilgrimages (Dutton 1990-91: i, 166 (LB1-91)).

The female protagonist denies responsibility by reporting that her lover is the active party: ‘pidiérame tres besicos’ (line 5). This implies that he dictates the situation, although more blame must be apportioned to her when taking into account the affirmation of Frenk that women frequently acquiesce with men’s wishes in the lyric, thereby weakening the argument of the female protagonist that she is coerced into the action (1994: 53). By describing her lover as ‘buen’ (line 4), she underplays the significance of the kisses he extorts from her, although by linking lines 5 and 6 with ‘luego’, she also concedes that her loss of colour is a direct consequence of the kisses, and by mentioning them, the speaker openly puts her reputation at risk, because as Robert Archer mentions, even in the case of a lover there are inherent dangers in male company and ‘the danger of dishonour lies in any physical proximity to men and in any form of physical playfulness’ (2005: 51). The specific mention of the plural: ‘tres besicos’ in line 5 serves to concretise the action and lessen the innocence surrounding them.

The speaker further manipulates the situation to present herself as a passive party in the episode by repeatedly invoking the public voice’s deduction of her circumstances. This

argument first arises in line 2: ‘todos me dizen que lo é de amor’. It is ironic that she uses gossip, a commonly feared communication mode that is frequently linked to carnal desire, as a defence. Louise Mirrer highlights the lack of veracity of gossip as a source, and so listeners in this case both doubt the suggestion of innocence that the speaker intends to accompany the three kisses, and become suspicious of shared responsibility for the (mis)conduct of the speaker. However, the second utterance of ‘Dizen a mí que lo é de amor’ (line 7), acquires a defensive tone. Here again, this part of the *estribillo* can be read symbolically: taking Reckert’s studies into account, it can be inferred that the intervening enunciations have altered the focus and time perspective of the previous reiterations, which in turn affect the interpretation of the line.³ In particular, the pauses in the transcription of Frenk render the line isolated, causing a longer reflection on the consequences of the previous line: ‘luego perdí mi color’.

Whereas the protagonist of ‘Perdida traygo la color’ endeavours to disguise the true nature of her deviant actions and for the most part she alludes to them through symbolism, a far weaker attempt is illustrated in ‘So el enzina, enzina’, a lyric found in the late fifteenth-century *Cancionero musical de Palacio* (Frenk 2003: I, 247-49):

<p>So el enzina, enzina, so el enzina.</p> <p>Yo me iva, mi madre, a la romería, 5 por ir más devota, fuy sin compañía. So el enzina.</p>	<p>10 Por ir más devota, fuy sin compañía; tomé otro camino, dexé el que tenía. [So el enzina].</p> <p>[Tomé otro camino, dexé el que tenía], 15 halléme perdida en una montiña.</p>
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³ The same ‘gossip’ topos relating to pilgrimages is found in a lyric recorded by both Diego Pisador and Juan Vásquez: ‘Por una vez que mis ojos alcé / dizen que yo le mate. / Así vaya, madre, / virgo a la vigilla, / como al cavallero / no le di herida. / Dizen que yo le maté’ (Frenk 2003: I, 165).

20	<p>en una montaña], echéme a dormir al pie d’el enzina. [So el enzina].</p>	35	<p>[Halléme en los braços del que más quería]: pesóme, cuytada, desque amanecía. [So el enzina].</p>
25	<p>[Echéme a dormir al pie d’el enzina]; a la media noche recordé, mezquina. [So el enzina].</p>	40	<p>[Pesóme, cuytada, desque amanecía], porque ya goçaba del que más quería. [So el enzina].</p>
30	<p>[A la media noche recordé, mezquina], halléme en los braços del que más quería. [So el enzina].</p>	45	<p>[Porque ya goçaba del que más quería]: ¡muy bendita sía la tal romería! [So el enzina].</p>

Gornall remarks that her excuses are ‘so transparently disingenuous as hardly to constitute an attempt to deceive’ (1988: 436). This lack of endeavour to conceal her actions is immediately highlighted by the repetition of the *estribillo*: ‘So el enzina, enzina, / so el enzina’. As the principal reason for her sojourn is a ‘romería’ (line 4), the reference to a static locus immediately raises suspicion. Moreover, although Frenk notes that a number of trees are female such as the lemon, orange, or olive tree (1993: 19-20), Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbant expand on this that ‘el simbolismo sexual del árbol es doble. Exteriormente, el tronco erecto es una imagen fálica [...] La analogía árbol frutal-mujer fecunda desempeña a veces un papel complementario de la analogía árbol de látex-fuerza genésica (macho)’ (1991: 120-21). However, this is not an immediate deduction: as the refrain is repeated throughout the *glosa* of the *villancico*, the connotations of the ‘enzina’ incrementally gather erotic momentum.

The female speaker directs her address to the ‘madre’ (line 3) in order to validate her actions. By specifically addressing her as ‘mi madre’, the possessive pronoun indicates particular confidence in her, so the speaker is obsequiously appealing for her to condone her actions. Paula Olinger says: ‘It is noteworthy that the mothers of these eager girls are accomplices, willing or not, to their daughters’ encounters with the sexual experience’ (1985:

73). Therefore, the situation narrated in lines 3-6 appears to be endorsed by the 'madre', but Olinger remarks that 'There's nothing subtle about her consciously employed irony' (1985: 28):

Yo me iba, mi madre,
a la romería,
5 por ir más devota,
fuy sin compañía.

The errant ways of the female speaker are variously communicated throughout 'So el enzina, enzina' by means of symbolism, much of which already has been seen in earlier analyses. Her bold statement 'tomé otro camino, / dexé el que tenía' (lines 10-11) serves to foreground her active deviancy, and is reminiscent of the ballad *El caballero burlado*. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that the protagonist admits as a consequence 'halléme perdida / en una montiña' (line 15). Again, the metaphor for loss has been seen in 'Madre, una moçuela' of Chapter III, and 'A coxer amapolas', in Chapter IV, where both female protagonists transgress social boundaries through the jeopardy or abandon of their chastity, which is illustrated by the fact that they are lost. Her further confirmation that she is in a 'montiña' and her bold decision to fall asleep unchaperoned at the foot of the tree is reminiscent of the carefree actions of a *serranna*. It is at this point in the *villancico* that sympathy for her predicament dissolves as she is seen to bring her circumstances upon herself.

Paradoxically, the speaker describes herself as 'mezquina' (line 26), yet this lament swiftly contrasts with delight when: 'halléme en los braços / del que más quería' (lines 30-31). Similar to *Donde yago en esta cama* in Chapter III, the female protagonist is depicted in the arms of her lover; sexual activity is corroborated by the folkloric dawn topos of lines 38-9: 'Pesóme, cuytada, / desde que amanecía'. Although it was customary for lovers to bemoan dawn because it denoted the end of a night of passion, her use of 'cuytada' is ironic because it is more frequently associated with girls who acknowledge the sullyng of their reputations. The courtly denotations of 'goçaba' (line 40) further allude to a sexual aspect, confirming

that the female speaker has deviated from the chastity expected of her. Furthermore, her blasphemous attribution of a profane meaning to a religious occasion in lines 45-6: ‘¡muy bendita sía / la tal romería!’ on one level illustrates the chiasma of profanity and religion in literature, and on another can be interpreted as an amusing parody on pilgrimages, which is reminiscent of the earlier *cantigas de romería*, where the ‘romería’ is simply a cover story for lovers’ meetings.

As suggested by all three lyrics above, social norms are frequently violated by women. However, the female protagonist employs a number of strategies to alleviate herself of culpability for her deviant ways during the ‘romería’. This is all the more compelling as a lyric theme because of the female protagonists’ behaviour being at such odds with the social decrees laid down by the Church. This sensationalist aspect is exemplified by the next lyric, which functions as a possible sequential episode to many of the lyrics along this theme. ‘¡Héla por do viene!’ is found in the *Vocabulario de frases y refranes proverbiales* that Gonzalo Correas Íñigo compiled in 1627 (Frenk 2003: II, 1125):

¡Héla por do viene,
la romerota,
la calabaza llena,
la saia rota!

Even though omniscient narration would typically imply a neutral tone, from the outset, the hyperbole here indicates sensationalism. An informal tone is set by the colloquial hailing ‘¡Héla por do viene’; the line is reminiscent of the popular ballad *¡Hélo, hélo, por do viene!* and parodies the fight between El Cid and Almorávid King Búcar.⁴ The unknown of ‘do viene’ invites a range of suppositions, but more specifically arouses suspicion because the ‘romerota’ appears unchaperoned in the masculine public domain. The augmentative ending of ‘romerota’ implies immediately that a deprecating and contemptuous stance is taken towards her. On a literal level the suffix ‘-ota’ could refer either to her purported level of

⁴ *Cancionero de Envers*, 1550. See Smith 1996: 100-03 for the complete version. See Dutton 1990-91: I, 184 (LB1-168) for the truncated version.

devotion, or to the size of the pilgrim, but coupled with the phrase ‘calabaza llena’, a significant symbolic level is implied. As is the case with ‘¿Qué dirán de la freila?’, the inherent characteristics of the ‘freila’ provide a thematic catalyst for her actions, and in the case of this lyric, on a symbolic level, the ‘calabaza’ which means ‘gourd’, ‘calabash’, or ‘pumpkin’, is part of her and the reason for the suffix ‘-ota’. Magdalena Altamirano points out that:

la calabaza, insignia del romero (Covarrubias, s.v. calabaza), representa la parodia de lo sagrado al fungir como referente de la embriaguez y la sexualidad desenfrenadas, prácticas censuradas por la Iglesia a propósito de las noches de vigilia. (2009: 139)

It would have been just as appropriate to use ‘romera’ for the female protagonist, but the specific employment of the augmentative highlights her inherent characterisation as ‘rota’ in the metaphorical sense. Because the *villancico* concludes with her ‘saia’ also being ‘rota’, they are presented as one and the same, exposing the scandalous reason for her size. The frequent references to clothing and in particular, torn or soiled clothing have to be considered to understand the combined insinuations of the final two lines. Alan Deyermond discusses their significance:

The tearing of a girl’s clothes in an encounter with her lover is, of course, an aspect of social reality, like other lyric motifs already discussed. Its symbolic value is, however, more important here: It signifies the tearing of the hymen in the first act of love. At the symbolic level, girl and garment are one. (1979-80: 270)

The ‘saia’ is a garment more that is usually worn pulled tight to the body (similar to a belt or ‘cinturón’), and this close proximity to the body enhances its function as a synecdoche for the ‘romerota’. In addition to this, the belt is considered to be a symbol of chastity, therefore the implications of a broken belt are akin to those of a broken maidenhead. However, taking it one step further, the symbolism of the ‘calabaza llena’ being an inherent part of her also points towards her being pregnant. This conclusion would explain the negative light that the ‘romerota’ is presented in because whereas a loss of virginity can be concealed to an extent, pregnancy cannot, and it would be impossible to salvage her sexual status.

R. Howard Bloch's comment that 'poetry seems less merely to express than to engender sexual desire' is accurate when considering the varying ways in which this small selection of lyrics develop their climactic denouements (1991: 128). The ubiquitous flirting and sex in this section demonstrates that lyrics associated with pilgrims are dominated by the parallels of religious and secular devotion and errant ways, which is why María Alín says that the 'romerías' sung about are 'romerías de amor' (1991: 360). Most texts appear to condone the open sexuality of supposedly spiritually virtuous women even though the women transgress the bounds of stipulated comportment. Although they usually refute having an active part in the initial engagement with male characters, there are often undertones of admiration for their ensuing acts. This observation is not, however, true of '¡Héla por do viene!' In this case, negative stigma is attached to the 'romerota', which I suggest is because her sexual voracity has led to an irreversible problem of pregnancy, suggested by the imagery of her swollen stomach. The observation of Ward that churchmen believed 'women were lustful and had an insatiable sexual appetite' appears to be well-founded in the consideration of the number of lyrics in the female-voice that allude to promiscuous behaviour (2002: 3).

In the four lyrics discussed in this section, spiritual milieux provide the setting for the representation of lay women who deviate from societal expectations. Based on organic poems, these compositions are widely considered to represent real life (though usually glossed by erudite poets), and I suggest that the extensive diffusion of such lyrics throughout the populace may have the effect of making audiences believe that such decorum is the norm. Therefore, through the embellishment of literature, these patterns of behaviour during pilgrimages become customary.

THE HOLY WOMAN

In theory, the religious observance of the nuns and priestesses of the *canción* and five *villancicos* should be more intense than that of women on pilgrimages. However, it is

notable that by the late Middle Ages, entry into the religious order was often a practical route taken by unwedded daughters and widows. Also, it was frequently an existence inflicted on women whose circumstances did not allow them a choice, and although it should have afforded such women protection, as mentioned above, Linehan demonstrates that it did not:

In a critique as scathing as any penned by the Order's secular opponents, Humbert impressed upon the Dominican sisters the need for threefold protection ('triplex custodia'). As well as such feeble protection against all manner of social intercourse, even conversations at the window. Also – and in the case of the Ladies of Zamora this was a prophetic warning – they must be guarded against the friars charged with their spiritual care. (1997: 16)

Hence although the observation of chastity is fundamental to religious orders, poetry on the Peninsula reflects the evidence that it is frequently compromised.

Contrary to the free-flowing nature and all-encompassing subject-matters of most lyrics, the tight structural rules of the *canCIÓN* are reflected in thematic orthodoxy. Therefore, although deviant spiritual women appear intermittently in the lyric corpus, *¡Ay señora muy conplida!*, found in several fifteenth-century *cancioneros*, is one of only several *canciones* that depicts a woman of spiritual orientation:⁵

¡Ay señora muy conplida de bondat e de proeza!		Quando yo el lugar veo donde bevides, señora,
Pues del mundo es partida la vuestra muy grant nobleza,	10	con pesar e con deseo e con grant manzilla llora;
5 loando la vuestra alteza, la qual sirvo muy de grado, moriré desenparado		el mi coraçon adora la orden do vos morades,
con pesar y con tristeza.	15	pero me desanparades por vuestro morey agora.

It is also the only *canCIÓN* that portrays deviant aspects of a spiritual woman, presenting an inconsistency with tradition. Whereas the others depict women whose piety is demonstrated through their devotion to God, none are the object of passion when they are in a religious order. As suggested by Álvaro Alonso, there is more flexibility in *canCIÓN* composition amongst the earlier generations of poets; whereas the rhyme scheme and lexicon are typical, specific elements of the content draw the attention of the audience (1999: 26). Being an early

⁵ See Dutton 1990-91: I, 180 (PN1-251) and IV, 132 (SA7-189) with minor orthographical differences from II, 68 (MN15-1) and II, 377 (MN65-19).

component of the Castilian *cancioneros* could therefore be a reason for its anomaly. It was composed by Pedro González de Mendoza who was born in 1340, and killed in the battle of Aljubarrota in 1385. He was a knight of the court of Enrique II, and is the grandfather of the Marqués de Santillana. His repertoire is minor compared to the numerous compositions of the later poets, although perhaps a reason for the survival of his compositions is his social status. The atypical nature of *¡Ay señora muy conplida!* is more indistinct than almost all of the other poems considered in the chapter; elements contributing to this observation are discussed during its analysis. The base variant that I use is the 1430 *Cancionero de Baena* version (PN1-251), being the earliest complete extant text because although an epigraph is present in the SA7 variant, a missing folio means that the actual text is absent from the 1439 *Cancionero de Palacio*.⁶

As seen throughout the analyses of *cancionero* poems, attention has been called to the fundamental ingredient of woman as the object of desire in courtly love, although this is incongruous with the sanctified status of a nun, who, as the epigraph suggests, is the addressee of the poem: ‘primeramente se comiençan las cantigas quel hizo por amor e loores de una gentil doncella que mucho amava, por amor de la qual diz que mandó hazer el monesterio de Santa Clara de Guadalfajara do se metyó monja’. The nebulous function of *religio amoris*, a common overtone of courtly love, presents all too obvious a thematic arrangement to celebrate a spiritual woman as the object of profane affection. I suggest that the *double entendres* of *religio amoris* do not withstand the implication of a spiritual woman in a courtly love scenario because they obfuscate the subtleties of the function, hence the primary reason for spiritual women being unlikely candidates for the object of courtly love.

As a result of the time between composition of *¡Ay señora muy conplida!* and its earliest recorded transcription, similarly to ballads and lyrics, a contemporary audience has to

⁶ Dates of *cancioneros* according to Dutton 1990-91. Exact dates for some *cancioneros* are still contested: Jane Whetnall dates the *Cancionero de Baena* circa 1430, and the *Cancionero de Palacio* circa 1437-1442 (2003: 288).

take into account the layers of narrative that are involved in the variants that we encounter today. It is precisely the rubric that affects the construal of *¡Ay señora muy conplida!*, and its value is demonstrated by its survival alongside all versions of the *canCIÓN*. However, most importantly, in all the extant versions, the specific vocation of the female protagonist as a ‘monja’ is mentioned. Her religious calling is juxtaposed by the lexically conventional courtly love preamble indicated by vocabulary such as ‘amor’, ‘gentil’, and ‘donzella’. Vicente Beltrán, in his ‘aproximación cuantitativa a los aspectos más característicos de la expresión cortés’ (1990: 13), shows that these are amongst the most commonly used words of the courtly love style (1990: 54-64). Keith Whinnom summarises comments of A. A. Parker that ‘es más bien el instinto religioso pervertido el que produce el amor cortés, amor que intenta deificar a la amada, amor que dicta una sumisión completa a otra voluntad, amor cuya expresión más típica es la del sufrimiento’ (1981: 21). This observation indicates also why it is more common for the male speakers and protagonists to turn to religious asceticism. Rubin points out the fact that ‘Mary had long been associated with song, intimately linked to the liturgies of monastery and church and to the chants of confraternities. Fifteenth-century courts were active centres for new musical commissions’ (2009: 291). Therefore, the prevalence of Virginal *canções* demonstrates that a facet of the ideal women is to possess religious devotion. However, although this exaltation within a formulaic structure is adhered to, further development of this aspect of the persona seldom occurs in the *canCIÓN*.

Although in most cases poetic and compositional voice must be treated as distinct, the positioning of the rubric and *canCIÓN* in the folio, and the specific mention in the rubric that ‘las cantigas quel hizo por amor e loores de una gentil donzella que mucho amava’, indicate that there is a possible element of veracity surrounding the poem. However, for all the bibliographical data available on Mendoza, none points towards a maiden-turned-nun with whom he was in love when he composed the *canCIÓN*. Nevertheless, the Mendoza family was of noble stock, and Jennifer Ward points out:

It can be said that nuns usually came from the better-off groups of society, but they did not necessarily belong to the nobility. It is rare for the sources to give information as to why women became nuns, unless they are describing the life of a saint. Religious vocation, lack of a dowry, revolt against marriage, family pressures and widowhood all had a part to play. (2002: 162)

Therefore, although their social background was most likely to be compatible, only suppositions arise regarding the reasons for the anonymous 'monja' entering the religious order and rejecting the affection of Mendoza.

The *canCIÓN* itself follows the formulaic rhetoric of courtly love: immediately the speaker submits himself to the greater existence of his 'señora', whose identity he alludes to through toponymic and other clues, yet, like all the women in this chapter, remains nameless. He paints her conventionally, as a picture of perfection: 'muy conplida' (line 1). From the outset of the *canCIÓN*, dual sentiment is apparent, and although 'conplida' can mean 'perfect', the meaning of the word also being 'total' insinuates a completeness and enclosure that is often applied to the Virgin Mary. This metaphor for chastity is reminiscent of the portrayal of the Virgin as a *hortus conclusus* in late-medieval imagery, and as C. S. Lewis observes, the divinisation of profane love is one of the fundamental characteristics of courtly love (1953: 20). The piousness of the 'señora' is further illuminated by 'de bondat e de proeza' (line 2). The multiple layers of interpretation of *¡Ay señora muy conplida!* are developed through language that is often used in religious poetry: 'nobleza' and 'alteza' are descriptions that are often used for the Virgin Mary, and allude to her status as Queen of Heaven. The capitalisation of 'Alteza' in the PN1 version indicates emphasis on this particular characteristic. On the other hand, the speaker could be describing her personality, because as Juan Fernández Jiménez points out: 'la intención del poeta es la de presentar a la dama en un estado superior que justifique el 'servicio' del hombre' (2001: 148). In addition, in the light of the observations of Jennifer Ward, the speaker could also be indicating her elevated social echelon. Because the poetic voice directly addresses the 'señora', the repeated 'la vuestra' in lines 4 and 5 adds an edge of desperation to the register of the first octave.

In contrast to all but one of the *villancicos* in this chapter, ('No me las enseñes más', below), none of the implied masculine anonymous narrative voices link themselves to the protagonist. However, throughout both the first and second verses, the speaker links himself to the 'señora' by establishing their parallel existences: in the first, he says of her: 'pues del mundo es partida' (line 3), and he also mourns his own end: 'moriré desanparado' (line 8). The speaker creates here another level of meaning: the 'señora' will in effect depart from lay society, but also entry into holy orders is commonly depicted as a death to the world, and the enclosure of an anchoress was celebrated by the singing of the mass of the dead. This lends a realistic but also finite tenor to the poem. Furthermore, the plosive alliteration of lines 2 and 3 collectively underlines his sadness, but in the light of the rubric, this could be construed as the setting for a jealous milieu, which is an unusual emotion in *cancionero* poetry, although not implausible. Furthermore, by depicting both himself and object of his desires in congruent situations that transgress the bounds of mortality, he thereby creates an immortal bond between them.

The theme of death that runs through both verses is expanded in the second. Firstly, due to the metaphorical sense that his beloved has died, the speaker paradoxically appears to contradict the preliminary implication, which initially brings with it grief on account of her suggested exodus from lay society, which is illustrated in line 3. Instead, he establishes a binary opposition between his dying 'por vuestro morrey agora' (line 16), and the life of his beloved: 'donde bevides señora' (line 10) and 'la orden do vos morades' (line 14). Here, clarity of the situation of the 'señora' is illuminated by the corresponding information of the epigraph that the 'señora' is also a 'monja'. This has the temporary effect of estranging the two characters, and therefore enhances the melancholy of the speaker. However, ultimately the speaker links his character to that of the 'señora' by his choice of words. The lexeme 'mor-' is repeated in relation to his own death by misery in line 7 and ultimately in line 16, and in line 14 he uses the lexeme in relation to his beloved: 'la orden do vos morades'.

Although the meaning of ‘morar’ is to dwell or reside, the pervasion of her metaphorical death throughout the *canción* brings attention to the repeated lexeme, especially when driven by the initial assumption that she has parted from the world. It further seems ironic that although the speaker observes, and even ‘adora / la orden’ in which she lives, it is in fact he, by means of the catalyst *religio amoris*, who climactically becomes a martyr on account of the faith to which his beloved dedicates herself. The piety topos used by the speaker in lines 11-14 serves as a distraction from the underlying sexual tones that also permeate the *canción*.

Only in the 1980s did scholarship expose the extent of the underlying sexual lexicon of the *cancioneros*, even though death (a frequent concept in *canciones*), has been long-considered a euphemism for sexual climax, which Whinnom declares is also widespread ‘en todas las lenguas europeas, incluso el latín, tanto el clásico como medieval’ (1981: 35). Ian Macpherson notes particularly that the ‘*Cancionero de Palacio* contains a very high proportion of erotic love poetry’, and ‘morir’, and ‘related terms in a wide range of European languages, is a standard term for ‘to come to a sexual climax’, with *dar muerte*, *perder la vida* as recognizable variants in appropriate contexts’ (1985: 54). In this way, *¡Ay señora muy conplida!* reinforces the erotic element of the *cancionero*; the sexual undertones suggested by the significant number of references to death are on the parts of both the speaker and the female protagonist. Such sexualisation of the ‘monja’ who is the protagonist of the *canción* is reminiscent of the nun of ‘¡Cómo lo tuerce i lava!’, below.

Taking into account the ever-present underlying sexual tensions of *cancionero* poetry, it is surprising that Patrick Gallagher suggests that this tradition of several centuries could be termed a ‘new school of poetry’ (1968: 14). However, his phrase ‘the tensions of courtly love’ sums up the imbueement of sexual innuendo (1968: 211). Other than the associations of ‘morir’, there exist concealed implications that the nun is no longer virginal, and therefore imperfect, at the beginning of the second stanza:

10 Quando yo el lugar veo
 donde bevides, señora,
 con pesar e con deseo
 e con grant manzilla llora;

Whereas earlier descriptions of the beloved by the speaker invoke the Virgin Mary, whose medieval characterisation is frequently depicted as ‘sin manzilla’, the development of euphemism implies that the opposite can be applied now to the association of the speaker and the ‘monja’. ‘Manzilla’ is equivalent to ‘mancha’, ‘suciedad moral’, or even the variant ‘mansela’ as ‘dolor’, ‘pena’, or ‘herida’, all of which indicate moral depravity, or, in the case of ‘herida’, could be penetration.⁷ Although on one level ‘manzilla’ is part of the religious lexicon indicating sin, the two-fold intentions of the text are manifest: the earlier allusion to the Virgin Mary, and her inherent virginal characteristic points towards the lack of chastity of the ‘monja’. The evident bivalence of the text indicated by line 12 is perpetuated by the suggestion of the speaker that he is privy to the abode of his ‘señora’. Although it is not explicitly indicated that he sees inside her abode, the mention of an edifice is significant: the irrefutable signs of sexual analogy are evident when taking into account the suggestiveness of descriptions of a house, and the crossing of a threshold, which represent accordingly the female body and access to her sexual organs.

Although overall in *canciones* the spiritual aspect of women is not ignored, it can be concluded that the nun-protagonist is anomalous, if only for simply being the only such example. Even within the text itself, reference to her entry into the religious order is subtle: ‘la orden’, and it is the epigraph that explicitly supplies information regarding the ‘monja’. Of course, if the epigraph did not exist, it would not detract from her religious status, but the rubric serves to stress this aspect of her persona. The absence of the ‘romera’ is also notable in the *canciones*. I suggest that this is principally because of the constrictions of the *canCIÓN*: courtly norms dictated that the female addressee should be anomalous; revealing such traits

⁷ See Frauco y Cejador 1996: 262, Martín Alonso 1986: II, 1349, Kasten & Cody 2001: 445.

may lead to her recognition. Secondly, characteristics such as this are not part of the formulaic description: *canciones* focus on the elevated status, the piety and the perfection of the ‘dama’, and the grieving of the male speaker on account of her unattainability. Macpherson, MacKay and Whinnom were amongst scholars who brought the levels of sexual interpretation of *cancionero* poetry to the fore: such revelations regarding *¡Ay señora muy conplida!* are the vital elements that strike a discord with the expectation of piety and adherence to religious mores of such a ‘señora’. All in all, her implied action, that fractures any such spiritual bounds, deviates from social expectations.

I now move from one poem where the entry of the female protagonist into a religious order is undesirable from the point of view of the male speaker, to another where a young female speaker independently comes to the conclusion that being a nun is the most appropriate course for a happy life. ‘Mongica en religión’ is found in the most important oeuvre of Francisco de Salinas, *De Musica, libri septem* compiled in 1577 (Frenk 2003: I, 183):

Mongica en religión
me quiero entrar,
por no mal maridar.

Rationality and reasoning appear to be at the forefront of the mind of the speaker in ‘Mongica en religión’, in comparison to *¡Ay señora muy conplida!* where the details surrounding the entry of the protagonist into a religious order appear to be incidental. Although the longer *canción* verse-form purports a wider situational view, due to it often being little more than a vessel for the emotional outpouring of a speaker whose focus is his emotional state, practical details are often disregarded. However, in ‘Mongica en religión’, it is paradoxical that a young girl thinks that religion, being the main dictator of the behavioural norms laid down for her, could also be her saviour. The use of a diminutive in ‘mongica’ associates her with youth, lack of experience, and physical immaturity, so compared to many of the other female speakers who are seen to reject marriage in Chapter V, on the surface this

implies that her idea of entering the convent is idealistic. However, she does share with them the resolute impression that marriage can only be a negative experience: ‘por no mal maridar’, but as opposed to the usual *malmaridada* lyrics, her judgment has a focus on the alternative option, and not the agonies or consequences of marriage. In contrast to the discussion of *malmaridadas*, an interesting aspect to note in this lyric is the structure of ‘mal maridar’.

Although Reckert states of the traditional lyric that it is ‘léxica, sintáctica y morfológicamente tanto más conservador’ (2001: 48), Frenk notes that ‘very often these simple and direct words are laden with emotion’, and ‘humour’ (1998: 37). Yet on the surface, ‘Mongica en religión’ stands out through its slightly subdued tone: there is a deficiency of hyperbole, *exclamatio*, and modern punctuation, which would usually communicate the emotion of a speaker. Few lyrics exclusively lack a humorous aspect, and especially those representing women who deviate from the norm such as the speaker here. Combined with this, Olinger confirms that lyrics are ‘cryptic and suggestive, connoting rather than denoting’ (1985: 1). Therefore, the overtly clinical register with which the speaker sings her song, alongside the language she uses, point towards an insinuation of the underlying satirical element: parallels and inversions are frequent devices used in the lyric, and in ‘Mongica en religión’ it is these that reveal its satirical aspect. The potential ‘mongica’ constructs an inverted parallel between her suggestion of entry into the convent in order to fulfil her marriage to Christ, in contrast with her vetoing of marriage, where consummation of marriage traditionally corresponds to the husband entering the bride. Crossing a threshold in traditional poetry, as expanded upon earlier is frequently documented to have sexual connotations, and ‘entrar’, a euphemism in itself, is the focal vocabulary that triggers this interpretation of the text.

This once again is an example of an intersection of religious and secular imagery. There are a large number of *villancicos*, principally the erudite ones glossed by poets, which

are undisputedly religious in the corpus. However, conflation between the profane and spiritual is not an uncommon occurrence in the popular tradition, which is seen in *¡Ay señora muy conplida!*, and also partly in ‘Mongica en religión’. Deyermond explains the inevitable combination because ‘la omnipresencia de la Biblia en la Edad Media impide la delimitación de fronteras exactas entre lo bíblico y lo no bíblico’ (1989a: 100).

In contrast with the protagonist of ‘Mongica en religión’, the female speaker of ‘¿Cómo queréis, madre?’, found in Juan Vásquez’s 1551 *Villancicos y canciones a tres y a cuatro*, objects to entering the religious order (Frenk 2003: I, 178):

¿Cómo queréis, madre,
que yo a Dios sirva,
siguiéndome el amor
a la contina?

In the light of her belligerent suggestion of lines 3-4, the customary invocation of the ‘madre’ invokes a playful tone; this poem reveals as much about the young female speaker as it does the ‘madre’ figure. Olinger’s remarks that the ‘madre’ is often an accomplice to eager girls is embodied in ‘¿Cómo queréis, madre?’ where the syntax points towards a rhetorical question; such rhetoric implies that the speaker’s traits are renowned to the ‘madre’ (1985: 73). The question contains an implicit admission to the ‘madre’ that she has already begun to follow carnal pleasures, and serving God is a method to prevent her from continuing so doing. Although suggested in a satirical manner, the simultaneous serving of ‘Dios’ and ‘amor’, (indicated by ‘a la contina’) reflects the conflation of the profane and the religious discussed above regarding ‘Mongica en religión’ and ‘*¡Ay señora muy conplida!*’.⁸ On the surface, the speaker’s suggestion that they are not mutually exclusive points towards her misconception of the role religious servitude, but in the light of lyric humour, it is likely that she is fully aware of the implications of pursuing profane love alongside religious devotion.

⁸ ‘contina’ meaning continual: http://buscon.rae.es/draeI/SrvltConsulta?TIPO_BUS=3&LEMA=contina

Whereas allusions to the eroticisation of the nuns in ‘Mongica en religión’, ‘¿Cómo queréis, madre?’, and *¡Ay señora muy conplida!* are subtle, no such approach is taken by the narrative voice of ‘¿Cómo lo tuerce i lava!’, a lyric found in the 1620 *Cancionero de Jacinto López* (Frenk 2003: I, 60):

¿Cómo lo tuerce i lava
la monjita el su cabello!
¿Cómo lo tuerce i lava;
luego lo tiende al hielo!

In ‘¿Cómo lo tuerce i lava!’, the eroticisation of the female protagonist is conspicuously concretised. Most previous examples of the sexualisation of the female protagonist or the plot are implicit through folkloric allusion. However, ‘¿Cómo lo tuerce i lava!’ illustrates eroticism also on a literal level. Although to a modern audience, the action of washing hair does not have an ulterior motive, as discussed at length in Chapter IV, the specific display and emphasis of a woman’s hair connotes sexual availability. In conjunction with the erotic folkloric symbolism that is associated with hair and washing, the particular portrayal of a nun rather than any non-spiritual woman as the subject points towards the satirical register of ‘¿Cómo lo tuerce i lava!’.

The undertones of sexual desire are sown by the feminine symbolism of the ‘cabello’ which becomes a synecdoche for the nun. Therefore, the repeated refrain ‘lo tuerce i lava’ (lines 1 and 3), describing the wringing of her hair, evokes parallels with the sensual movement of the body during intercourse. Of course, this supposition is incongruous with the chaste behaviour expected of nuns. The use of the refrain in lines 1 and 3 to introduce the core ideas of the quatrain is emphasised by *exclamatio*, and lulls the audience into a false sense of conclusion; the verse implicitly is swelling towards anticipated passion and sexual activity.

The double narrative of the poem is evident: on a literal level the nun is flamboyantly displaying her hair, culminating in an anticlimactic state of inertia. On a figurative level, her

hair, which in medieval society is an erotic symbol, plays the part of a synecdoche, tracing her sexualised movements. However, the action of ‘luego lo tiende al hielo’ (line 4) revokes all of the actions of the nun in a sudden stroke because of the sterile, stagnant, and passion-killing connotations of the ice.⁹ Retrospectively, the explicit diminutive ‘monjita’ may not just apply to her youth, but the sudden anticlimactic dousing of sexual undertones hints at her inadequate sexual experience.

It is also noted that the voyeuristic nature of ‘¡Cómo lo tuerce i lava!’ plays a part in such sexual characterisation: many similar lyrics with sexual overtones are also in the male voice, implying that watching women wash is not an uncommon male fantasy. The narrative voice in this instance is the linchpin for the sexualisation of the nun, turning the *villancico* into an erotic fantasy which is curtailed when the narrator realises that it will not become a reality and will only ever be a fantasy.

The same notion of a voyeuristic male fantasy is portrayed in ‘No me las enseñes más’, a man’s song found in the 1554 *Farsa del juego de cañas* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz (Frenk 2003: I, 284-85).¹⁰

No me las enseñes más,
que me matarás.

Estávase la monja
en el monesterio,
5 sus teticas blancas
de so el velo negro.
Más, que me matarás.

In contrast to ‘¡Cómo lo tuerce i lava!’, the imagery in ‘No me las enseñes más’ presents a far more vivid fantasy. Undoubtedly, it is unashamedly explicit and the most obvious example of the eroticisation of a nun in the *cancioneros*, to the extent that it begs the question whether the speaker is ruminating over an actuality or whether it is to be interpreted as a fantasy. The

⁹ I am grateful to Manolo Hijano for suggesting that perhaps ‘hielo’ is a scribal error, and it should read ‘cielo’. This is a point that could be investigated further in the future.

¹⁰ Also see Dutton 1990-91, II: 586 (MP4f-448) where the full version has been lost.

lyric leaves little to the creative sensibilities of the audience; instantaneously, the female protagonist is characterised in *risqué* terms. Even though there is a lack of characterisation of the protagonist in the *estribillos*, it is still implicit that contact has occurred between the speaker and the protagonist because of the direct command and change in tense. In particular Olinger makes a valid statement that in the glossed version, the negative command ‘No me las enseñes más’ serves to concretise the suggestion that she has already tempted the male speaker, and it is not simply his fantasy (1985: 98). Again, this is realised through the use of the present tense imperative in the *glosa* and the *estribillo* narrated in the past, calling the audience to question why he no longer wishes to see what she has been showing him. The open-ended suggestions are common to the lyric, and serve to enhance the ‘sexually mischievous’ aspect that Frenk says pertains to many songs (1998: 44).

The structure of the *villancico* is based on antitheses: spiritual and physical, black and white, positive and negative, and past and present. In spite of the implications of the *estribillo*, the opening couplet of the *glosa* hollowly tries to lull listeners into a false sense of security by stationing the ‘monja’ in her customary ‘monesterio’ (lines 3 and 4). But this effect is quickly undermined because ‘monesterio’ and the ‘téticas’ (line 5) have such contrary connotations. Their juxtaposition exaggerates the typical connotation of devoutness that should be associated with the monastery because the mention of breasts injects sexual tension into the narrative. This eroticises the nun because the speaker imagines he is already intimately acquainted with her breasts. It is not only the specific use of the diminutive ‘tética’ which lowers the register, eroticising her, but also the choice of ‘tética’ contrasts with a more dignified possible synonymous ‘pecho’ (although this would upset the rhyme scheme).

The further antithesis of white and black invites a number of implications surrounding the characterisation of the nun. Firstly, there is the literal interpretation of the speaker’s observation that they are ‘téticas blancas’, which can only be praised, supported by the

associations of renunciation of evil associated with the customary black habit of the nun. However, on a symbolic level, it is notable that the male speaker indicates that her whiteness is covered with ‘el velo negro’ (line 6). The binary opposition of black and white correlates with that of good versus evil. Seeing beneath the ‘velo’ indicates the sudden eroticisation of the lexis where it begins as nun’s attire, then becomes a suggestive veil. By covering up again, the implication is that the speaker wants the audience to focus on this binary opposition, underlining the misconduct of the nun in opposition to archetypal modest behaviour. In particular, Gornall specifies that ‘a visual parallel between *morenas* and, as metonymy for ‘frayla’, *velos negros* may be in issue’ (2001: 130). His innovative suggestion of their correspondence typifies the intricate and often paradoxical framework of the lyric, but confirms what the close analyses of these poems suggest: religious women, like *morenas*, are inextricably linked to sexuality.

Even though there is consternation surrounding the transcription by Frenk, ‘No me las enseñes más’ confirms that religious morals are undermined through the final isolated ‘Más, que me matarás’ (line 7). Gornall understatedly says that it reveals her unsuitability for a convent (2001: 127). The unequivocal assertiveness in opposition to the original negative command of the *estribillo* is accentuated by its brevity and isolation. Figuratively, it alludes to the sexual climax of the male speaker through the associations of ‘matar’ with *petite mort*, which Nicholas James Perella clarifies (1969: 190). All in all, whether it is an erotic fantasy or the narration is based on the exposure by the nun of her breasts to the male speaker, her existence is eroticised by the focus on one aspect of her body, an emphasis that undermines religious moral and departs from the medieval expectancy that woman should embody paradigmatic facets corresponding to those of the Virgin Mary.

Although we have now seen a number of poems where nuns variously depart from model behaviour, there is only one example of an alternative spiritual woman who does so. Similar to ‘¡Cómo lo tuerce i lava!’, ‘Mientras el santero va por leña’, a lyric found in the

1550 *Endechas para mi señora Anna Yañez* of Pedro de Orellana, and also in the later 1627 *Vocabulario de frases y refranes proverbiales* of Gonzalo Correas Íñigo (Frenk 2003: II, 1213):

Mientras el santero va por leña,
t'a por agua por allá, santera.

The *villancico* relies heavily on folkloric symbolism to portray the deviance of the religious artisan, which has the effect of satirising her character. However, on a literal level it appears that the 'santero' and 'santera' are engaging in the diverse mundane activities of collecting kindling (or wood for carving religious sculptures) and water, but 'Mientras' points suspiciously to a linking of their circumstances. The register of the omniscient speaker in the second line is ambiguous; either the 't'a', the contraction of 'te ha' can be interpreted as an indirect command, or it can be remonstrating, which reveals a mischievous register with regards to the activities of the 'santera'. Her redirection indicates that there are unarticulated suspicions with regards to her present position contrasting with the 'allá' where she should be.

However, it is only on a symbolic level that the lyric reveals a humorous suggestion of the situation existing between the two protagonists. Because the priest is collecting kindling, the image of a sylvan setting, or more specifically that of a *locus amoenus* is conjured up. In particular, the speaker makes reference to the masculine phallic symbol that José Manuel Pedrosa writes about:

Existe en nuestra literatura y en nuestra tradición popular una larga historia de dobles sentidos eróticos asociados a sextas palabras y conceptos. Así, el doble sentido del 'leño' o de la 'leña' se halla bien documentado en la poesía áurea. En la indispensable colección de *Poesía erótica del Siglo de Oro* unida por P. Alzieu, R. Jammes e Y. Lissorgues, son tres los poemas en los que tales palabras 'designan metafóricamente el miembro viril'. (1993: 115)

The specific reference to 'leña' in the poem continues to heighten the atmosphere of eroticism initially introduced by the *locus amoenus*. In particular, this symbol is encountered a number of times in the lyric, but does not reach the rate of incidence that it does in the later Golden Age poetry, most likely simply because the depiction of men in the lyric is less

frequent than that of women. Nevertheless, the sexualised reference associated with ‘santero’ brings another dimension to the lyric that cannot be ignored when combined with that of the ‘santera’.

The chore of women fetching water is also a common symbolic ritual; Frenk points out that: ‘En la poesía folklórica de muchos países y épocas la fuente es el lugar donde se encuentran los amantes, y esto no es por mero azar’ (1971a: 54). The suggestion of water intimates that fecundity abounds, and even though the ‘santera’ is not fulfilling her task, there is the symbolic indication that its underlying purpose had a sexual nature. In particular, the signal of the speaker that the ‘santera’ is lost suggests not only her literal getting lost, but also hints at an allegorical interpretation that morally she has strayed. The speaker uses a gentle remonstration to redirect her, indicating that there is empathy with her character, and support rather than revulsion of her actions. This adds to the ambience of comical collaboration between the speaker and the characters because by creating a sexualised atmosphere between two characters sworn to chastity, social norms are undermined. Even though attitudes towards women had changed by the late Middle Ages, in the light of the reading of Elizabeth A. Leffeldt of one advice manual of the period, it is perhaps not a surprise that the lyric should exploit this area of weakness in religious women, because she records that:

There were two threats to a nun’s chastity: the sexual advances of outsiders and her own inherent weakness as a woman. The same advice manual reasoned that even holy women were weak because they could not divorce themselves from their nature as women. (2005: 179)

Therefore, ‘Mientras el santero va por leña’ employs the well-documented ‘saber callar a tiempo’ that Ramón Menéndez Pidal finds to be typical of the *romancero* (1973: 40-42). This has the effect of letting linger an amusing situation of erotic suggestiveness through the implicitly licentious ‘santera’.

Finally, I look at the *villancico* ‘¿Qué dirán de la freila?’, which shares thematic similarities with ‘¡Cómo lo tuerce i lava!’ and ‘Mientras el santero va por leña’. All three are

set in locations invoking the *locus amoenus*. Also similarly to ‘Mientras el santero va por leña’, satire plays a role in the depiction of the protagonist, the ‘freila’; although her promiscuity is not realised, her comic attempts highlight the amusement that is gleaned from failure of chastity in the lyric corpus. The glossed version here is found in the 1627 *Vocabulario de frases y refranes proverbiales* of Correas (Frenk 2003: II, 1335-6):

¿Qué dirán de la freila?,
¿qué dirán d’ella,
si abraza los robles,
pensando que eran onbres?

Similar to ‘Perdida traygo la color’, the ‘¿Qué dirán?’ of the first two lines sets the poem within the parameters of popular gossip, pointing towards a salacious aspect. The repetition of the phrase suggests that public indiscretion amplifies the entertainment provided by social downfall. The minor modification from ‘freila’ to ‘ella’ also underscores the gossip element by invoking the gossip chain that subtly alters a story as it is passed from one person to another. Whereas usually the gossip topos has a slanderous register, here serves to highlight the bathos surrounding the ‘freila’; on a literal level, she could be seen as insane for believing the oak trees to be men. However, the idea that even an insane character would openly seek to break her vow of chastity underpins the evidence of Lehfeldt that medieval Iberians believed: ‘even holy women were weak because they could not divorce themselves from their nature as women’ (2005: 179). On another level, it could be interpreted to be linked to the anticlerical tradition that satirises the depravity of lower clerical ranks where the ‘freila’ is not discerning whether she embraces oak trees or men. Whether on a literal or figurative level, the audience are presented with a raw sense of female desire, shown by her action ‘abraza’.

It is highly unlikely that the representation of the ‘freila’ is meant to be understood only on a literal level due to the multivalent nature of the traditional lyric. This is also indicated by the location of this lyric in the collection *Vocabulario de frases y refranes*

proverbiales of Correas, who was known, as Frenk points out, for his ‘notable atención a las formas poéticas de tipo popular y las ilustra con abundantes ejemplos’ (1971b: 90). Therefore, the gloss reveals the metaphorical intention of the *villancico*. As with the image of the oak tree in ‘So el enzina, enzina’, ‘roble’ can also be seen as a masculine phallic symbol; the nun’s actions are then sexualised because she is seen to be satisfying her sexual urges.

This sexualisation, although similar to the characterisation of the other nuns, is rendered more poignant because of her proposed insanity. Whereas for the most part *villancicos* function completely on both literal and symbolic levels, the speaker of ‘¿Qué dirán de la freila?’ distinctly limits the figurative interpretation through the final line: ‘pensando que eran onbres’. The emphasis is therefore on the literal, which renders the interpretation predominantly amusing rather than salacious.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the representation of spiritual women who deviate from the ideal archetypal woman is the most poignant category because of the piety and chastity that should be demonstrated within their exemplifying roles in society. Overall, there are fewer examples of deviant women in this category, although the extent to, and way in which, women in the religious ambit diverge from the established paradigm is not altogether unusual following the inferences of most other poetic analyses in this study.

With specific regard to pilgrimages, the mockery of the essence of such a journey is well-established in the lyric tradition, and becomes an expectation when the theme arises. Three of the four examples are in the female voice, and possibly act as a reflection of contemporary female ideology: paradoxically the pilgrimage is a liberating, and in most cases also a liberating experience where young girls establish a sense of self. The disregard for the

devotional and truth-seeking reasons behind pilgrimages points towards the egocentric nature of women in the traditional lyric that is established in Chapter IV.

The contrast between the speaking voice in the earlier texts on pilgrimages, and that relating the tales of female protagonists who are about to or already have established themselves in religious orders is notable: in the latter, a surprisingly low proportion are in the female voice. This, although not in the case of the *canción*, is especially unusual in traditional poetry. On a wider scale, this could demonstrate the reflections of a male-dominated society, pointing towards a guarded vision on the part of women to represent themselves as the embodiment of original sin of which they had only been divested in latter years. However, for the less well-informed young woman who looks to religion for an escape from patriarchal society, it is inconceivable that such a role in society could lead to the impropriety demonstrated by the religious personae later in this section. This not only highlights the portrayal of a lack of awareness of some women, but also the immediateness of the worlds in which they exist.

Nonetheless, the overarching scandalous aspect of the spiritual women cannot be ignored, especially those in more devout positions who rebel against leading a chaste existence. The sensationalism with which the poems are delivered indicates a satirical representation; in particular rebellion against and deviance from the archetype remains an underlying humorous aspect that permeates many of the poems.

CHAPTER VIII: WOMAN AT THE MARGINS

INTRODUCTION

Control of medieval society by the Church and the aristocracy for the most part was facilitated by holy zeal and taxes, but Barbara A. Hanawalt also explains that marginalisation was a mechanism of social control (1995: 1). Furthermore, according to the medieval model of the world, the ‘Great Chain of Being’, there is a clear hierarchy placing women below their male counterparts, and as E. M. W. Tillyard demonstrates, this structure of the ‘sensitive’ (living) ‘class is precisely ordered along the chain of being’ (1960: 25). In it, the world constructed subordinates women to men: men are the only voice of authority, and as María Cruz Muriel Tapia explains: ‘la consideración de la mujer como ser inferior predomina en la Edad Media de modo tan aplastante que las pocas y tímidas manifestaciones contrarias a esta tendencia son auténticas voces en el desierto’ (1991: 6). However, within the classification of ‘woman’, there are further certain types who are considered inferior to those who do fit into the patriarchal construction of medieval society. Three principal groups of marginalised women are analysed in this chapter in *villancicos*, *serranillas*, and *canciones*.

The representation of the first group of women is of those whose marginalisation is on account of their religious categorisation. In the late Middle Ages, the area that we know today as Spain was predominantly comprised of Catholics even before the end of the hard-fought *reconquista* in the late fifteenth century. Alongside Catholics, there were two less prevalent religions. Firstly, Jewish settlers had arrived on the Iberian Peninsula in the second century BC; a distinct Sephardic tradition still survives today. Also, Muslims mainly from North Africa conquered the majority of the Peninsula in 711 AD, but were gradually pushed back southwards until the fall of the last Moorish stronghold of Granada in 1492. Muslims played a dominant role in shaping the culture of the Iberian Peninsula therefore it was natural for them to feature in Hispanic literature. Nonetheless, cultural differences were still

apparent in society, and the simple fact that Muslim women constituted a minority of the Peninsula population points towards their uniqueness. As the three *villancicos* below show, their ‘othering’ becomes a process of eroticisation, and often their sexuality is amplified beyond that of the usual connotations of lyric symbolism. Notably, no Muslim women appear in the courtly *canciones*.

The second type of marginal woman addressed in this chapter is the *serrana*, who is represented in both forms of poetry: *villancicos* and also the erudite *serranillas*. In the lyric, the definition of *serrana* is less watertight than in other forms of poetry such as the erudite *canCIÓN* or the *romance*. This is because in these types of poetry, nature as a defining characteristic of the *serrana* is not such a dominant theme, although Nancy F. Marino believes that overall the typology should be more far-reaching:

Aunque en la mayoría de las composiciones de este género los poetas identifican de este modo a todas las figuras femeninas que encuentran en sus andanzas, también utilizan otros vocablos que no son necesariamente equivalentes a *serrana*. Estos nombres son *moça*, *villana*, *pastora*, *vaquera*, *niña*, *aldeana*, *dama*. (1987: 6)

Mary Gaylord Randel declares that the female persona of traditional oral poetry is ‘a myth of female desire’ (1982: 124). Although I agree with Randel that the *serrana* desires, she is also considered desirable. As is seen in the following *villancicos*, her persona is satirised and her appeal is facilitated by her approximation to the earth and nature, which connote fecundity and fertility. In this chapter we also see atypical examples of *cancioneril* adulation; socially elevated young women, the usual protagonists of erudite *canciones*, are replaced by *serranas*.

In contrast to the usual paucity of actual descriptions of the female protagonist in the *canCIÓN*, each of *serranillas* use the daily setting of the female protagonist to underpin tangible, realistic descriptions which are more in keeping with a register characteristic of the popular lyric than that of erudite *canciones*. The tangibility and reality reflected in the *serranas* contradicts the general typology of women in the *canCIÓN* who are presented as unattainable and transcendental personae. Through the reality topos of the daily occupations

of the *serranas*, the usual amorous theme of *cancionero* poetry becomes sexualised. The rural environment of the first two *serranillas* serves as a catalyst for this, and as Regula Rohland de Langbehn points out: ‘Las serranillas forman un grupo de composiciones narrativas en que se esboza una fugaz vivencia de encuentro o desencuentro sexual’ (1997: xxxiv).

The final group of marginalised women that I look at are prostitutes. Prostitution is an integral part of medieval society, yet paradoxically, although women who were found guilty of extra-marital sex suffered stringent penalties, prostitutes were not condemned; they were seen as necessary for public wellbeing. Jennifer Ward illustrates why:

Conorting with prostitutes helped to lessen young men’s aggression and therefore defended the honour of ‘honest’ women. Although contemporaries drew a clear distinction between ‘honest’ woman and harlot, the prostitute performed a social service in being available for sexual relations and could therefore be seen as part of the acceptable sexual order of society, whether she was protecting wives and daughters from male violence or deterring men from homosexual relationships. (2002: 107)

However, simultaneously, as Ruth Mazo Karras explains, the medieval institution of prostitution was considered ‘a necessary evil’ because:

The medieval world adopted a hydraulic model of masculine sexuality: people believed that pressure builds up and has to be released through a safety valve (marriage or prostitution), or eventually the dam will burst and men will commit seduction, rape, adultery, and sodomy. (1996: 6)

The commonplace existence of prostitutes is mirrored by their depiction in numerous lyrics. Some link the women to existent medieval towns, and in so doing create reality topoi that enable the contemporary audience to engage more fully with the characters. This reflects the way in which the lyrics use quotidian surroundings as stimuli, which is seen prevalently in pastoral *villancicos*. On the other hand, such a category of woman blatantly conflicts with the strict constitution of the *canción*, which is usually complemented by ephemeral content and infrequently appears as a realistic scenario. However, the final *canción* of this chapter, *Gentil dama singular*, immediately points towards an anomaly with the depiction of a

prostitute; the poem functions as a parody of courtly-love *canciones*, and exemplifies a satirical and humorous treatment of woman.

MUSLIM WOMEN

Although *mora* is not synonymous with *morena*, one cannot ignore that generally, the Muslims on the south of the Iberian Peninsula were darker-skinned than the Visigothic gene-pool that had influenced the population from the north. In the light of the general ethnicity of *moras*, it is often assumed that they are darker-skinned and thus through literary topoi bear associations of promiscuity. Consequently, considering the texts that have been analysed in this thesis, it is not surprising that the three poems below depict Muslim women whose sexual behaviour deviates sharply from that of archetypal woman. ‘Di, perra mora’ is one such as lyric, which is found in the *Cancionero musical de Medinaceli*, copied in the second half of the sixteenth century (Frenk 2003: I, 1065):

Di, per[r]a mora,
di, matadora,
¿por qué me matas
y, siendo tuyo,
5 tan mal me tratas?

Because the lyric opens with a bestialising insult ‘perra’, the sensationalism that usually accompanies ‘matadora’, is exaggerated. Furthermore, the primary association of ‘mora’ with ‘perra’ highlights the speaker’s characterisation of the female addressee, with these two descriptions being most integral to her character. ‘Matadora’ is usually complimentary, and is reminiscent of women such as the eroticised protagonist of ‘Vide a Juana estar labando’, the adulated ‘La morena graciosa’ of Chapter III, and also the coquettish young woman of ‘Son tan lindos mis cabellos’ in Chapter IV. These women provoke chagrin in their male voyeurs, which is especially evident through the male speaking voice in ‘La morena graciosa’. But simultaneously they invoke a wider sensationalism because of the sexual

associations with 'matar'. The repetition of the root form 'mata' also invokes a courtly love aspect; so the audience are programmed to feel pity for the speaker because of the concept of ennoblement through suffering.

Nevertheless, the final couplet underscores the addressee's manipulative nature: in the speaker's use of 'siendo', he implies that the two characters are currently (or have recently) conducted a relationship. Further, there are the implications of it being sexual because of the intimacy projected by the verb 'tratar' and phrase 'siendo tuyo'. This is outside the acceptable bounds of comportment. Because 'tan mal me tratas' is a consequence of 'siendo tuyo', it shows that the female has been the dominating force in the (sexual) relationship, rather than the submissive character. The acerbic tone of 'Di, perra mora' is punctuated throughout by a vigorous rhythm, which Margit Frenk accentuates by the caesurae after the anaphora 'di' and plentiful punctuation. Because the 'mora' is the focal subject of the first two lines, the raw emotion surrounding the address is emphatically directed at her: the accusatory nasal assonance in 'm' in the first half of the lyric develops into a venomous tone due to the assonantal /t/ of the second half.

Although for the most part, the imagery conjured here is found frequently in the lyric corpus. However, the bestialising description is not a common feature of *villancicos*, and it underlines the addressee's marginalisation in medieval Iberian society. The lyric highlights not only the protagonist's unscrupulous morals in terms of an implied unsanctioned relationship, but also her disinclination to treat the speaker adequately. This subtle aspect of the slight on the female addressee is also seen in the lyric '¡Cuitada de la mora!' found in Gonzalo Correas Íñigo's 1627 *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales* (Frenk 2003: I, 960):

¡Cuitada de la mora,
en el su moral tan sola!

The lyric has a setting reminiscent of that of ‘¡Ay, mezquina!’ of Chapter IV – a young solitary girl surrounded by prickly (mulberry) bushes. Her state of wretchedness in line 1 (‘cuitada’) is part of the lexicon frequently associated with young girls who have committed some social misdemeanour, as in ‘¡Ay, mezquina!’. The reason for her wretchedness has to be deduced from her surroundings. Evidently she is in the countryside or a garden; either one is a bucolic setting, and therefore, a *locus amoenus*. As is seen in ‘¡Ay, mezquina!’, and also below in ‘Tres morillas m’enamoran en Jaén’, sexual activity is indicated by the *locus amoenus*.

As well as consideration of the literally eroticising aspect of the lexeme, as John G. Cummins says: ‘if the tiny poem is to say anything very much, it must employ a language of association and allusion’ (1977: 19). Because the texts are so short, it is often their combination that helps make sense out of them. Therefore, we should also take into account the refrain of ‘Ya florecen los árboles, / mal seré de guardar’, which is analysed in Chapter IV (1999: 16). In both cases the tree symbolises the masculinity which complements the female protagonist, either represented by the mulberries or the blossom and or almonds. Also pertinent is Ian Macpherson’s opinion that there is a certain degree of transverse influence between erudite and popular poetry (1985: 54). His observations on word-play and puns in erudite poetry may also then be applied to popular poetry: ‘I am personally convinced that many of these poets were considerably more enterprising and ambitious, particularly in their joy and skill in handling the multiple values of words, than they have generally been given credit for’ (1985: 62). Therefore, although it could be considered an anachronistic suggestion, ‘¡Cuitada de la mora!’ can be interpreted as a double entendre, which would be an unusual feature of the lyric corpus, and which revolves around the ‘mora’. This lexeme introduces the focal point of the *villancico* whereby the second line of the distich is the

double entendre of the Spanish 'moral' both as 'mulberry bush' and 'moral', although the imagery is integrally linked.

The association of her state of wretchedness with the metaphorical stain of the mulberry conjures the suspicion that she has been promiscuous. Sex outside marriage is a contentious and subjective issue, and it is fitting that if the 'mora' has been lustful she would be isolated ('en el su moral tan sola'). It is significant that although the narrative voice calls her 'cuitada', the *exclamatio* contrarily indicates excitement surrounding her misdemeanour as if a sadistic reaction her downfall. Both '¡Cuitada de la mora!' and '¡Ay, mezquina!' demonstrate that not only in the corpus, but within the widespread tradition of popular poetry, spiky bushes with red or purple fruits are associated with intercourse and or the sexual organs. This representation is seen also in the *romancero* in *Mora Moraima*, where, contentiously, Louise O. Vasvári makes extensive arguments that 'Mora', the name of the female protagonist and also a blackberry, is representative of a vagina because of its colour (1999: 58).¹ However, I would emphasise that the association of sexual activity with such bushes is more likely because of their penetrative properties (whereby on penetration they can cause blood), and also the distinct stain of its berries being seen as a metaphor for the breaking of the virgin's hymen.

Hence the speaker has been made wretched or shameful by a specific event in the *locus amoenus*, and even though the literal translation of 'mulberry bush' is more in keeping with the common theme of nature in the lyric, the symbolic aspect cannot be ignored. Furthermore, the repetition of the lexeme *mor-*, which is a common technique in both popular and erudite poetry of the period, reinforces the audience's recognition of the female protagonist's ethnicity, as is the case in the *Mora Moraima*. She is therefore also eroticised

¹ See Dutton 1990-91: I, 158 (LB1-61); V, 333 (11CG-459); VI, 131 (14CG-491); and VI, 320 (20*MM-1G).

as an other before a symbolic reading takes place, so the listeners may link her abject state to her evocativeness.

In the final text depicting the marginalised Muslim woman, natural symbolism is again rife, and lends itself to the framework that supports and enhances the protagonists' depiction, as well as acting as a catalyst to charge the atmosphere sexually. The representation of three Muslim female protagonists increases three-fold the notion of exoticism in 'Tres morillas m'enamoran en Jaén', a *villancico* found in the late-fifteenth-century *Cancionero musical de Palacio* (Frenk 2003: I, 58-9):

	Tres morillas m'enamoran en Jaén: Axa y Fátima y Marién.	Tres moricas tan loçanas Yvan a coger mançanas [y cogidas las hallavan] [en] Jaén: Axa y Fátima y Merién.
5	Tres morillas tan garridas yvan a coger olivas y hallávanlas cogidas en Jaén: Axa y Fátima y Marién.	
10	Y hallávanlas cogidas y tornavan desmaídas y las colores perdidas en Jaén: Axa y Fátima y Marién.	

From the outset the male narrator makes the audience aware of various characteristics of the girls that enhance their attractiveness – they are pretty ('garridas') and lively ('loçanas'), emphasised by the two-fold repetition of 'tan' (lines 4 and 14). This is one of the few lyrics that contains multiple characters, which also lends the women an extraordinary and alluring air, especially because the number three is deeply imbued in folklore. Their triplicate representation exaggerates their exoticism which arises through their ethnicity, a subject on which Vasvári comments: 'as a group *moras* are forced to play the role of the deviant body of the exotic-erotic Other' (1999: 32). Even though the girls are Muslim, they are notably in the Christian stronghold Jaen; by highlighting this fact, the narrator is indicating that they are culturally different from him.

However, love in ‘Tres morillas m’enamoran en Jaén’ does not begin in an organic framework – the narrator mentions that love is in the air in line 1: ‘Tres morillas m’enamoran’ without any pretensions. It is only when the girls ‘yvan a coger olivas’ (line 5), we can take into account Frenk’s observation that the olive grove is on par with the river, the reed-field and the mountain as a *locus amoenus* (1993: 16). In this way the *villancico* works simultaneously on a literal and symbolic level. The metaphor is explained by Frenk’s further statement that ‘In the Hispanic tradition, both an olive tree and its fruit may stand for a woman’ (1993: 19). Nevertheless Frenk only gives one example to support this claim, and it seems paradoxical that the olive tree is seen as a female entity because of the way that its roots enter the earth. As the scene of the *locus amoenus* develops throughout the lyric, this emotional and hypothetical love progresses to a physical one in line 6: ‘hallávanlas cogidas’. However, it is commonly accepted that women are assimilated to fruit, and hence the *canción* is satirical, the humour being that although the *moricas* go to Jaen to pick various fruits, they end up having their own fruits picked.

Further indications that a sexual encounter has taken place are the changes with regards to the *morillas*. Firstly, the ambivalent line ‘Y hallávanlas cogidas’ (lines 9 and 16) can be taken on a symbolic or literal level because the object pronoun is feminine. The girls ‘tornavan desmaídas’ (line 10), which is an exterior indicator of their change in mood, and could even be interpreted as a post-coital swoon. The verb that the narrator chooses is reminiscent of ‘volver’ and ‘hacer’ which are similar verbs that indicate physical changes in other lyrics depicting the *morena*. Furthermore, as was well known, and illuminated in ‘A coxer amapolas’ discussed in Chapter IV, and also the Saint John’s Day lyrics of Chapter VI, the plucking of flowers or fruit, facilitated by a fertile *locus amoenus*, is equated to the snatching of a girl’s virginity (the former example), or having sex (in the latter). In particular, ‘coger’ is synonymous with ‘joder’, which is the crux of the salacious element of

the poem; there is seen to be a progression from ‘yvan a coger’ to ‘hallávanlas cogidas’ indicating a premeditated reason for going to Jaen on their part. But this contrasts with the girls’ sorrowful reaction to the literal fact that the olives or apples have been picked already, implying that the loss of their virginity was not as expected. Their change in mood is a corroborating outward indication mirroring the interior change; it evokes the *corteza* and *meollo* distinction, and is further indicated by the paradoxical feature of line 11: ‘las colores perdidas en Jaén’. The use of an urban setting is incongruous with the bucolic features of ‘Tres morillas m’enamoran en Jaén’, so it also indicates a change on some level, not only the change in colour of the *morillas*. In order to understand this, we must relate to the lyric tradition of the *morenita*, which is looked at in Chapters III, IV, and VI. In these chapters, it is established that the change in colour frequently alludes to natural forces taking the virginity of young girls through which process they become swarthy. However, Jaen has the opposite effect on the Muslim girls because here they lose rather than acquire colour. Of all the lyrics in the corpus, only two correspond with this: ‘Perdida traygo la color’ which is looked at in the previous chapter, and ‘Morenica, ¿qué has tenido?’ which is looked at in Chapter III. In both, the important feature is simply the external change of appearance, but the underlying meaning is the same.

It is not only the content but also the form of ‘Tres morillas m’enamoran en Jaén’ implicates the *morillas* in licentious activity. The *leixapren* serves to imitate a constantly tumbling, turning dance both audibly and also visually on the page, which is an extremely sexualised action in medieval literature. The development of the *leixapren* also serves to mirror the ebb and flow of a primordial rhythm, supported by the interchangeable representation of the ‘morillas’ and the ‘olivas’ being picked. As quoted previously, Reckert explains that the core feature of such a literary tool is transformation, which is exactly what ‘Tres morillas m’enamoran en Jaén’ entails (1998: 9). Initially the narrator implies that the

women are responsible for their actions because they fall in love with him. Yet the comic element intoning that there is an element of surprise that their own fruits are picked implicitly alleviates them from the responsibility of losing their virginity, even though they end up ‘desmaídas’ on account of losing their virginity. However, the audience must remember that although the girls may not specifically choose to enter a clearly defined *locus amoenus* (it may be a requirement due to the nature of their labour), it is a parameter to facilitate symbolism that can depict the lustful conduct of the three young Muslim protagonists.

The outcome of the analyses of these *villancicos* indicates that Muslim women, who are on the margins of society in the later Middle Ages, are depicted as deviant; they display a lack of adherence to norms dictated by the Catholic Church, and, as ‘¡Cuitada de la mora!’ embodies, can abide by their own set of morals. This deviance is primarily sexual. An overt confidence is projected onto characterisations of the women, especially in ‘¡Cuitada de la mora!’ and ‘Tres morillas m’enamoran en Jaén’, which is also displayed by the *serranas* and prostitutes in this chapter. However, it must be noted that none is in the female voice. Therefore, their characterisation is dependent on a voyeuristic speaking voice, as is seen in the lyrics in Chapter III. The characterisation of the protagonists as *moras* underlines their otherness and contributes to their marginalised status. However, it must be noted in conclusion that it is this, and not any other feature that primarily renders them as other.

THE SERRANA

Serranas, in contrast, can lay claim to their own genre in the medieval literary corpus and their existence across two distinct forms of poetry: the lyric and as part of the erudite corpus. *Serranas* range from the stuff of legends to women who simply who reside in the *sierra*. Due to the mountainous character of the Iberian Peninsula, the population was disproportionately

spread, and because the harsh mountainous areas did not always provide ideal living conditions, they were sparsely populated. As a result, this marginalised the mountain inhabitants from society, and in turn also rendered them exotic. Therefore, the lure of the *sierra*, is more often than not, the unknown. Even seemingly ordinary females can acquire 'serrana' status through traits such as self-assurance, as for example the 'niña' of 'En el monte anda la niña', a lyric found in Correas' 1627 *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales*, demonstrates (Frenk 2003: 1, 60):

En el monte anda la niña,
i sin vasquiña.

On the surface, the initial depiction of the 'niña' seems not bestow a social stigma onto her because the term appears too infantile to be sexualised. However, 'niña' is equivalent to 'virgen', hence her depiction is sexualised. Albeit very brief, there is unsettling discord surrounding the representation of the 'niña' walking in the mountains; one characteristic of the *serrana* is that she is always a wily character who cannot be trusted whatever the outward appearance. Furthermore, Swan et al. say:

Our opinion is that, notwithstanding those differences, there is little to discriminate between the psychological, moral and social characteristics of the 'serrana' and those of the traditional 'niña'. Both show the same well predisposed attitude to innocent sexual activity, blessed by Nature, free from the stain of calculated hypocrisy. (1979: 540)

Appropriate attire was important in the Middle Ages, so when contrasted with the socially accepted dress code, the girl's lack of covering is sexually provocative. Time again, as we see in the other chapters, clothing is a synecdoche for females and the implication of the 'niña' wandering without an overcoat is that she has lost something integral to her; the metaphorical implication is that it is her virginity. On one level, beginning the second line with the conjunction 'i' makes it seem a natural occurrence that the protagonist should be without an overcoat, although on another it shows that the 'monte' is again a catalyst to bring the depiction of human existence closer to earth, and fecundity. These are inextricably fused in popular medieval poetry and so natural symbols and images play a far greater role in the

representation of women's sexuality in the lyric than in the *cancionero*. However, as we see below, erudite *serranillas* are the exception.

Such self-assurance and independence characterises women of the mountains, and Paul Freedman notes why their confidence is customary:

There are antecedents in the swaggering rustic women who guard the mountain passes in the *villancicos serranos*, and the baleful mountain girl is perhaps an ancient folkloric representation of nature. The *serranas* share some of the characteristics of the wild men (and women) who also derive, in part, from ancient rural beliefs. The wild man lives as an animal, hunting, foraging, and solitary. (1993: 22)

Whereas the 'niña' of 'En el monte anda la niña' connotes peril due to her lack of 'vasquina', the real danger of the *serrana* is encapsulated in 'Y dezid, serranicas, ¡he!', a lyric found in the 1556 *Cancionero de Upsala* and also the *Cancionero toledano* of 1560-1570 (Frenk 2003: I, 423):

Y dezid, serranicas, ¡he!
d'este mal si moriré.

A flirtatious tone is used by the male speaker, indicated by the diminutive 'serranicas'. This common rustic suffix contrasts with the courtly imagery in the second line 'moriré'. The sexual tension, however, is shown to be two-way; the 'serranicas' can advise on his 'mal', which equates to love in the popular lyric. This indicates that they are experienced in love, which is a characteristic common to all *serranas*, and again, confirms that the female protagonist of 'En el monte anda la niña' is sexualised. Crucially, the originality of the *serrana* lies in their sexual empowerment and potency, which Vera Castro Lingl acknowledges can be a powerful weapon:

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

Hence the *serranas* were known for being the instigators of sexual activity, as demonstrated by 'Salteóme la serrana', a lyric located in the sixteenth-century *Cancionero de Sebastián de*

Horozco; Lope de Vega's *La serrana de la Vera III*; and *La serrana de Plasencia* of José de Valdivielso (Frenk 2003: I, 677):

Salteóme la serrana
juntico al pie de la cabaña.

'Salteóme la serrana' is the refrain of a longer *villancico* that narrates a story, within which are provided two physical descriptions of *serranas*. This makes it a more interesting text, and gives the male speaker greater responsibility for the sexualisation of the 'serranas', but the refrain is explicit enough to glean the *serrana*'s motives, where ultimately she is responsible for the action. Moreover, two pertinent factors are precipitated by the event taking place 'al pie de la cabaña'. Firstly, as has been previously discussed, and is summarised by C. J. Cela in his *Enciclopedia de erotismo*, the foot is 'la parte del cuerpo, el objeto o la característica en que se centra el interés erótico' (1976: 635). Therefore, 'pie' is synonymous with vagina, alluding to a sexual motive on her part. Secondly, because of the association of women with edifices, the fact that the event takes place near to a 'cabaña', which is a temporary lodge, emphasises the transience of the expectations of the 'serrana', mirroring the forever-changing state of nature.

It was partly due to their innate sexual prowess that *serranas* were so feared. Santiago López-Ríos' analysis that they recall the *silvatica*, who was associated with the devil (and whose actions were also characterised by lasciviousness) could be a reason for this (1999: 78). In '¿Por dó passaré la sierra?', a *villancico* found in Gil Vicente's fifteenth-century *Triunfo de invierno*, a 'gentil serrana morena' instils fear into a passing traveller (Frenk 2003: I, 673-74):

	¿Por dó pasaré la sierra, gentil serrana morena?		- <i>Tiriririrí</i> , queda tú aquí.
	- <i>Turururulá</i> ,	15	- <i>Tururururú</i> ,
	¿quién la pasará?		¿qué me quieres tú?
5	- <i>Tururururú</i> ,		- <i>Tororororó</i> ,
	no la passes tú.		que yo sola esté.
	- <i>Tururururé</i> ,	20	-Serrana, no puedo, no
	yo la pasaré.		que otro amor me da guerra.
	Di, serrana, por tu fee,		¿Cómo pasaré la sierra,
10	si naciste en esta tierra,		gentil serrana morena?
	por dó pasaré la sierra,		
	gentil serrana morena?		

The male speaker's fear is communicated by his paradoxical address in line 2: 'gentil serrana morena'. In addressing her as 'gentil', the speaker elevates her status, which is ironically far above her station. Throughout the lyric, the *leixapren* accumulates irony towards his reference of her elevated social rank because a quintessential characteristic of the *serrana* is her earthliness. Hence 'gentil' is juxtaposed to 'morena', invoking the swarthy female who has spent time toiling outside, and also, as Bruce Wardropper writes, is an allusion to sexual experience (1960: 191). The male speaker is unsure how to address her and is nervous in her presence, and although it is he who first alludes to her sexuality by calling her 'morena', characteristic of the forwardness of the *serrana*, she makes the first overt move in suggesting that he keep her company in line 14: 'queda tú aquí', and again intimates her need for his company in line 18: 'yo sola esté'. The male speaker interprets her suggestion as a sexual invitation because of his refusal in line 20 'que otro amor me da guerra', but even finds it hard to convince himself, having to repeat twice 'no' in line 19. All the while, her gentle trilling functions as a hypnotic wooing device. His threefold repeated questioning about how to get over the mountain, supported by the over-used polyptoton 'pasar' breeds an air of desperation on his part. Because the two protagonists do not reach a conclusion by the end of the text, and the final image the listeners have is of the 'gentil serrana morena', the

implication is that she is the dominant persona in their encounter, and has used her sexuality to keep him there.

The paradoxical attraction of the *serrana* who uses her sexuality as a tool is exemplified by the female protagonist of an erudite *serranilla*, *Llegando a Pineda*. Whereas *serranas* can be presented as physically threatening women, such as below in *En toda la Sumontaña*, the *serrana* in *Llegando a Pineda* uses other means to effect a strong captivating power in order to dominate the speaker. *Llegando a Pineda* survives only in the *Cancionero de Palacio*, dated around 1439 (Dutton 1990-91: IV, 90 (SA7-33)):

	Llegando a Pineda, de monte cansado, serrana muy leda vi en un verde prado.	15	Sola fermosura trae por arreo, de gran apostura el muy bien aseó; cierto es que l'amara car fuy demudado, si no m'acordara qu'era namorado.
5	Vila, aconpañada de muchos garçones, en dança reglada d'acordados sonés; qualquier que la viera, como yo, cuitado, en grant dicha oviera de ser d'ella amado.	20	

The poem was composed by Francisco Bocanegra, a minor poet of the early- to mid-fifteenth-century. Brian Dutton points out that this *cancionero* is 'largely erotic, specializing in *canciones*, *villancicos*, treatises on love, praise of women, a few popularizing poems, *serranillas* and less occasional poetry' (1979: 456).

Llegando a Pineda opens with a topographical reference that acts as a veracity motif to enable the empathy of the audience. The lack of specification of the subject until the implication of a first person from 'vi' (line 4) additionally has the effect of drawing in the audience and inviting them to participate in the scene, which entertains two common themes – the implication of hunting because the speaker returns 'de monte cansado' (line 2), and the *locus amoenus* 'un verde prado' (line 4). Early on in the poem, these establish the idea of

romantic and or sexual encounters that Rohland de Langbehn notes are common to the *serranilla* genre. This occurs firstly through the connotations of hunting, *la caza del amor*, a courtly activity that is often a euphemism in literature for ‘hunting women’, and secondly the *locus amoenus*, a poetic convention for a romantic setting.

A voyeuristic stance is taken by the speaker, which initially serves to establish a distance between him and the ‘serrana muy leda’ (line 3), maintaining the dichotomy between spectator and actor, court and country, and the emotionally weary (‘cansado’) and carefree (‘leda’). To a point these are sustained, because unusually for the *serranilla* genre, *Llegando a Pineda* does not contain a dialogue between the speaker and *serrana*, which often becomes the instance that allows for interaction and melding of differing virtues. However, his latter proximity to the *serrana*, as indicated by the fact that he is able to read her emotions, proves to be his downfall, as is the case for many of the speakers in *serranillas*.

The obvious wanton nature of the *serrana* is repeatedly in various guises, but unlike *Gentil dama singular*, below, this does not repel the speaker. She is ‘aconpañada / de muchos garçones’ (lines 5-6), pointing not only towards her coquettish behaviour, but also the word for her playfellows ‘garçones’ indicates their uncultured and rustic origins, and highlights the social disparity between the speaker and the participants. An erotic atmosphere is created by the euphemism of ‘dança reglada / d’acordados sones’ (lines 7-8). Although the dancing could be suggested to be courtly, the *locus amoenus* setting and rustic characterisation of the dancers points toward the dancing being a pursuit that connotes sexual activity. The scene arouses the emotions of the speaker to such a point that he forgets social hierarchy and becomes affected as much by the vision of the *serrana* as the boors that surround her: ‘qualquier que la viera, / como yo, cuitado’ (lines 9-10). This type of poem is unusual in that just the sight of the *serrana*, who is implied to be socially unequal to the speaker, impassions him to such an extent that ‘en grant dicha oviera / de ser d’ella amado’

(lines 11-12). The register becomes even more risqué in the final octave when the speaker describes the *serrana*, who is customarily considered a primitive persona, with a conflation of courtly depictions. Hyperbole refines descriptions that are usually reserved for the addressees of courtly *canciones* in lines 15-16: ‘de gran apostura / el muy bien aseó’, but these form a contrast with the titillating proclamation ‘Sola fermosura / trae por arreo’ (lines 13-14), which implies either that she is naked, which accentuates her sensuality, or simply that her clothes are of a poor quality and do not enhance her attractiveness in any way. For the large part, the combination of such language suggests exoticness because her portrayal encompasses both elements of the typical courtly beloved, and also facets of the rustic *serrana*.

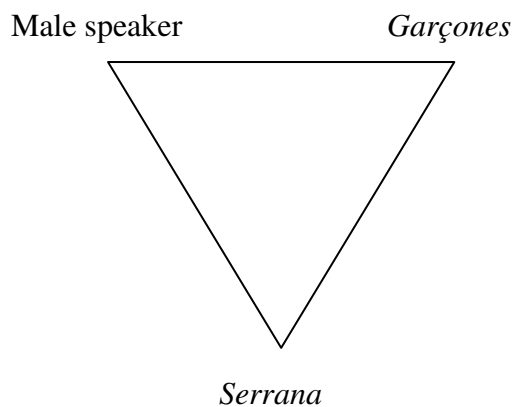
It has already been implied that the presence of the female protagonist affects the rational thought not only of the participants of the dance, but also those of the speaker. Nonetheless, a concrete suggestion of bewitching by the speaker is not introduced until lines 17-18: ‘cierto es que l’amara / car fuy demudado’. Although *serranas* are often considered a law unto their own, it is rare for them to be presented as not interacting with the male speaker, and it is unusual that the passivity of the *serrana* here has the capacity to render him spellbound. In this poem, the suggestion of enchantment functions as an explanation for the effects of the confused poetic voice on the representation of the female protagonist. However, the salacious aesthetic appeal of the *serrana* about which the speaker narrates throughout, and which engages and enchants him into an amorous state, is undermined by an ironic twist: ‘si no m’acordara / qu’era namorado’ (lines 19-20).

The previously overlooked existence of his beloved is a reflection on his own characterisation rather than that of the female protagonist, which is the focus of the analysis, but it does open up the question of the veracity of the levels of poetic voice versus the purported extent of her beguilement. Nevertheless, the effects of, and the manner in which

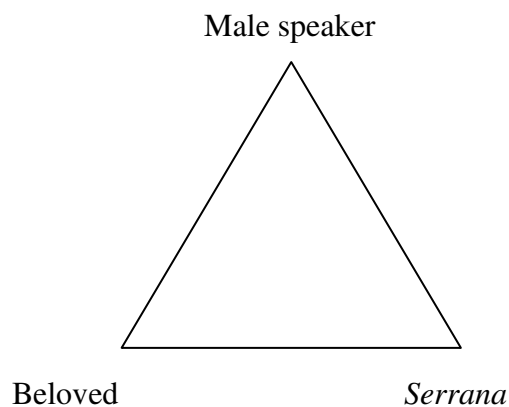
her provocativeness is conveyed, is atypical for the *serranilla*, although the use of remarkability correlates with the organic, free content of the genre itself. Paul Freedman is unconvinced of the extent of the value of the *serranilla*:

The small number of these poems [serranillas] makes one hesitant to ascribe to them a significance beyond their essentially parodic or lyrical appeal. They can hardly be said to depict rural life, but they do express elite assumptions about the denizens of the countryside and their character. (1993: 21)

However, *Llegando a Pineda* does bring to the fore another representation of an anomalous woman in the *cancionero*, and most significantly it is unique in alluding to a situation encountered in the *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios*, a *canción* of Chapter V. The love-triangle of *Bien puedo dezir, par Dios* is played out through the popular refrain ‘Como a tres con hun sapato’, but in *Llegando a Pineda*, two separate love-triangles are established by the male speaker:



(Figure 1)



(Figure 2)

In Figure 1 is the love-triangle that at first the male speaker may not believe himself to be part of, and although he separates himself from the ‘garçones’ in the first instance, he is so taken in by the *serrana* by the conclusion that he almost relinquishes his stance as voyeur, thereby becoming part of the eroticised dance that the *garçones* comprise. In admitting to so doing, he also refers to his beloved, a two-way tug that is illustrated in Figure 2. Although the *serrana* is thwarted in this instance by the existence of a bona fide beloved, her

lasciviousness and confidence abounds, in stark comparison with the demureness and chastity that was expected of medieval women.

Whether the speaker is in fact dissuaded from a dalliance with the *serrana* because of his beloved or the reputation of the *serrana* figure, there is an imminent sense of peril associated with sleeping with *serranas*, which is exemplified in ‘Por dormir con una serrana’, a lyric found in Correas’ 1627 *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales* (Frenk 2003: I, 436):

Por dormir con una serrana,
caro me costava la madrugada.

Whereas usually it is the woman who fears the consequences of sexual encounters, the imperfect tense of ‘costava’ implies that the male is narrating a first-hand experience. It is reminiscent of the ‘alborada’ tradition, a duplication of the typical trepidation experienced by the girl caught out while returning from a dawn encounter. Whichever, the implication is that in the lyric, the male experience with the *serrana* proves to contrast with that of *cancionero* poetry: he exercises less control, and meetings are tinged with fear. Although this fear has a sexual element, moreover it embodies the control that the *serrana* has over the male protagonist, inverting the mores of medieval Iberian society.

This control is exhibited in *En toda la Sumontaña*, a *serranilla* composed in 1429 by Íñigo López de Mendoza, Marqués de Santillana (Dutton 1990-91: II, 38 (MN8-94) and IV, 189 (SA8-79)):

	En toda la Sumontaña, de Trasmoz a Veratón, non vi tan gentil serrana.		Traya saya apertada, muy bien fecha en la cintura; a guisa de Estremadura, cinta e collera labrada.
5	Partiendo de Conejares, allá suso en la montaña, cerca de la Travesaña, camino de Trasovares, encontré moça loçana poco más acá de Añón, 10 riberas de una fontana.	15	Dixe: ‘Dios te salve, hermana; aunque vengas de Aragón’ d’esta serás castellana’.
			Respondióme: ‘Cavallero, non penséis que me tenedes,

20 ca primero provaredes
 éste, mi dardo pedrero;
 ca después d'esta semana
 fago bodas con Antón,
 vaquerizo de Morana'.

Santillana was a pioneer of the *serranilla* style, and as Rohland de Langbehn describes, an 'infatigable experimentador formal' (1997: xxxviii). Notwithstanding the great popularity of the works, and more pertinently, all the *serranillas* of Santillana, there are only two extant versions of *En toda la Sumontaña*.² Miguel Ángel Pérez Priego suggests a reason for this:

hace sospechar que tales poemas no conocieran el cauce de difusión poética más ordinario del cancionero manuscrito, esto es, que no corrieran ni se divulgaran en su tiempo de forma escrita. Y sin embargo, consta que son poemas que gozaron de enorme difusión y popularidad. (1987: 191)

I will be using the SA8 version as the base text because of its significant ante-dating of MN8.

Santillana is still known for forging his own style within such a productive poetic epoch; his poetic vision pushed the boundaries of lyrical norms of the period. Under the guise of the *canCIÓN*, he was able to marry court and country into an innovative and well-received form: the *serranilla*. Rather simplistically, Swan et al. see this combination of rustic and courtly as having a dichotomising effect on the speaker:

When faced with the realities of the country, the courtly poet can adopt two different attitudes: he can idealize his experience, thus becoming a pastoral poet, or he can divest himself temporarily of his courtly beliefs and approach the country as an apt field in which to conduct his 'algaradas amorosas'. He thus becomes what we have already termed a 'Don Juan de aldea.' (1979: 532)

Aside from their lack of distinction between the poet and poetic voice, and although their observations give an overall view, Swan et al. neglect to consider the versatility and plurality of the poetic voice of the *serranilla*; poets such as Santillana develop an enduring strand of the erudite *canCIÓN* that melds together court and country, to such an extent that previous parameters are obliterated and irrelevant, and courtly and rustic become inextricably linked.

² In the SA8 *cancionero*, several of the *serranillas* are assigned precise years of composition, and Nicasio Salvador Miguel argues convincingly that they can be relied upon (2002: 296). Therefore, *En toda la Sumontaña* was composed in 1429, a quarter of a century or so before SA8 was compiled in 1456, and nearly three centuries before MN8 was compiled in 1700.

Similarly to *Llegando a Pineda*, *En toda la Sumontaña* opens with a topographical reference. Topographical motifs are at the thematic core of *En toda la Sumontaña*; they serve as reality topoi that engage the audience by giving them tangible hooks to visualise the imagery presented. Although topographical references are used in many *serranillas*, this is undoubtedly the most turgid occurrence of such a use. The names themselves, as well as being genuine places located on the north of the Peninsula, also often are used as double entendres. In 1955 Francisca Vendrell de Millás published an article outlining a new interpretation for *En toda la Sumontaña*. She believes that the poem reflects an actual political situation, and in particular identifies ‘la moça loçana’ (line 8) as Doña Violante, or Brianda de Luna, who was an abbess in a monastery of Trasovares, and who was the beloved of her cousin, Antón de Luna (1955: 26). Marino dismisses the research of Vendrell, stating that ‘nos parece algo extravagante’ (1987: 82). Nonetheless, the evidence that poets often draw on real scenarios and personae for inspiration cannot be ignored, although I would agree that on balance, to view it as a biographical *serranilla*, and as distinctly as Venrell de Millás does, would be far-fetched: ‘y todo ello lo quiso condensar en una *Serranilla* llena de energía y ambiente bastante lejanos del idilio pastoral y amoroso’ (1955: 45).

Similarly to *Llegando a Pineda*, the setting appears to take priority over the characterisation of the characters, as three place names are mentioned before their relevance to the female protagonist is revealed:

En toda la Sumontaña,
de Trasmoz a Veratón,
non vi tan gentil serrana.

In both the extant texts, ‘Sumontaña’ is written as ‘su montaña’, and Rohland de Langbehn points out that the originally separated words ‘constituyen una *lectio facillior*’ (1997: 35). Almost all modern editions elide the two words to form ‘Sumontaña’, in keeping with the topographical theme. In actuality, ‘Somontano’ is a region of Aragón, close to the Pyrenees

and in the vicinity of the other topographical references mentioned in the poem. The indication that the mountain belongs to the ‘gentil serrana’ further suggests that she is an imposing, prevailing figure in an expansive domain, and moreover her presence is organic. It is reminiscent of the depiction of Mengal, the *serrana* of *Serranillas de Moncayo*, whom Salvador Miguel describes as ‘guardiana de su territorio’ (2002: 301).³ Given the peasant origins of *serranas*, the paradox of ‘gentil’ and ‘serrana’, is also reminiscent of the same paradox that arises in the *romance Gentil dama*, and also in the *canción Gentil dama singular*: namely that a ‘gentil’ woman is juxtaposed to a countryside setting.

As with ‘Sumontaña’, ‘Trasmoz’ and ‘Veratón’ are *bona fide* localities, and they provide clues to the atmosphere that the composer wishes to create. On the surface, the speaker covers a great area for the incomparability of nobility of the ‘serrana’ to others, although such a description sounds insincere considering the paradoxes mentioned above. Also, the veiled lexeme ‘vera’ in ‘Veratón’ does not serve to augment his genuineness, but intensifies the conception that it is a parody. Undertones of the customary ‘desencuentro sexual’ are also suggested by the compound of ‘Trasmoz’, which, when broken down into its two syllables implies that chasing youthful males or females is a pastime of the mountains.

The sexual atmosphere is further augmented by the anthropomorphological topographical references in the following octet. Although ‘Conejares’ (line 4) is a *bona fide* village in the province of Soria, G. B. Gybbon-Monypenny points out that ‘conejo’ in the *Arcipreste de Hita* is a: ‘Eufemismo sexual, normalmente del órgano femenino, pero aquí se aplica al miembro viril’ (1988: 134). Similarly, the reference here could be interpreted as either the feminine or masculine sexual organ, and whichever interpretation is taken, it sexually charges the atmosphere. If we are to interpret it along the same lines as the other topographical references, *id est* phonetically, ‘Conejares’ is more comparable to the Latin

³ For full transcriptions of the text, see Dutton 1990-91: II, 38 (MN8-71); and IV, 189 (SA8-78).

‘cunnus’, which would indicate that the feminine interpretation is more apt in this instance. Additionally, although ‘Travesaña’ (line 6), is no longer an existing locality, Rohland de Langbehn suggests that ‘Travesaña’ can be assimilated to ‘travesía’, which continues the theme of anthropomorphism (1997: 35). However, ‘Travesaña’ is more likely to be an allusion to an amalgamation of ‘atravesar’ and ‘saña’; a forewarning of the wrath of the *serrana* that is exhibited later in the *canCIÓN*. Similarly to the connotations of ‘Conejares’, with regard to line 7: ‘camino de Trasovares’, the erotic associations of ‘camino’ have been noted by Monique de Lope, which is thematically in keeping with the topographical references of this octave (1984: 90-92). In light of the use of phonetic connotations, I would also suggest tentatively that ‘camino’ is not the only gynaecomorphous reference, but also ‘Tras - ovares’ where ‘ovares’ could refer to ovaries. The etymology of ‘ovares’ could alternatively be from Latin *ovis, ovis*, which may make more sense in terms of bucolic references, but it would not be in keeping with theme common to the other toponyms.

This maintains the governing of topographical references by sexual undertone, which are concluded in the first part of the poem, as if in case the theme is overlooked by the audience, with a popular reference to the *locus amoenus* where the speaker says:

10 encontré moça loçana
 poco más acá de Añón,
 riberas de una fontana.

Añón is a town of Zaragoza, situated near to Moncayo, and the symbolism of ‘fontana’ is in keeping with the gynaecomorphisation of geographical references: Barry Taylor says, with reference to Fray Pedro de Valencia’s *En un vergel deleitoso* that ‘‘Fuente’, I think is *cunnus*’ (2007: 242).⁴

In contrast to the first ten lines that are imbued with erotic tones, the speaker then describes the *serrana* physically. An ironic tone is employed where the *serrana* could be

⁴ For the full text see Dutton 1990-91: III, 289 (PN1-505). Lines 13-16: ‘de ribera muy estraña; / al que una vez se baña / en su fuente perenal, / según curso natural, / la duçura lo engaña’.

portrayed as chaste in line 11-12: 'Traya saya apertada / muy bien fecha en la cintura'. Although it is stated that this is in the style of Estremadura (line 13), on the other hand, it could be conjectured that it is tight fitting because her stomach is swollen, which is reminiscent of the pregnant *romera* of '¡Hela, por do viene!' encountered in Chapter VII. However, amongst these contradictions, Marino points out, 'Su vestimenta elegante contradice su ambiente rústico', also referring to the 'cinta e collera labrada' of line 14 (1987: 80). The speaker ignores this as any indication of social status and forges the usual representation of social inequality between speaker and *serrana*, addressing her as 'tú'. Paul Freedman notes that this is a feature of the works of Santillana: 'The *serranillas* of the Marquis of Santillana reverse the distance and hauteur of courtly devotion' (1993: 26). Even though this does occur in the few *serranillas* in existence, the combination of familiarity and formality are discordant; they immediately have the effect of pointing towards an irregular natural world order.

The subversion of expectation of the usual passive and feeble woman is provoked by the statement that the speaker will take her prisoner in lines 16-17: 'aunque vengas de Aragón / d'esta serás castellana'. The use of places is continued in the poem at this point, but they no longer hold the same associations as earlier ones, and in this case they serve as an introduction to the antitheses of the two characters. Not only are they from different regions but also, whereas the speaker addresses the *serrana* as 'hermana' (line 15), she also creates a distance between them through social hierarchy by responding to him as 'Cavallero' (line 18) and addressing him formally in lines 19-20; he is lulled into a false sense of security by the *serrana* superficially indicating her subordination to him.

However, while it seems that the male speaker has been in control of the situation until this point, the *serrana* rapidly fractures the equilibrium by firmly declaring:

20 non penséis que me tenedes,
 ca primero provaredes
 éste, mi dardo pedrero

In an instance, she ironically overturns the image of deference that the male speaker had constructed for her, and in doing so inverts typical gender roles. Not only does she then become the dominant character, but she also assumes sexual empowerment by assimilating herself with the masculine, penetrative symbol of the spear. This invokes the *mundus inversus* present in the earliest example of a *serranilla* in the ballad *Gentil dama* where the female protagonist also assumes the masculine penetrative role when ‘las teticas agudicas / que el brial quieren hender’ (lines 33-4). In a sharp lesson, the *serrana* suggests that he who would do the penetrating will become the penetrated. She addresses him abruptly, without mirroring his greeting preamble, and clearly alludes to his superior social status, dismissing his implication of their parity with ‘hermana’ (line 15). This has the effect not only of inverting the typical male/female power hierarchy in both a literal and symbolic fashion, but also inverts the power of social hierarchy: she is a lowly peasant who has ultimate control over him, a ‘cavallero’. Her forthright tone illustrates that actually, it is she who has been in control all along.

Santillana continues to provide an original aspect to the *serranillas* by then justifying her self-defence with her approaching ‘bodas con Antón’ (line 23). Being wedded is a circumstance that sits uncomfortably with the organic and free-willed nature usually associated with the *serranas*. However, this again could be a way of diverting the attention of the speaker, and indeed the audience, from the ensuing final riposte that brings with it a level of subtlety beyond that of the earlier topographical references. By referring to Antón as the ‘vaquerizo de Morana’ (line 24), the *serrana* brings the poem to a crescendo that aggregates the eroticism suggested throughout the poem. She emphasises her peasant origins by associating herself with the ‘vaquerizo’, but as Reckert points out: ‘suele decirse que el

espacio es el dominio de la mujer' (1997: 57). In keeping with the association of the topographical references, Morana, situated to the south of Tarazona in Aragón, evokes raviney terrain, where valleys and gullies symbolise female genitalia. As the *serrana* defends herself, she ridicules the speaker not only because she has the upper hand physically, but also she uses the topographical topoi used by him throughout to illustrate to him her unattainable sexuality. Furthermore, she implies that the only person whom she will allow to experience her is the 'vaquerizo de Morana' (line 24).

Therefore, in this poem we see, through the eyes of one of the most respected poets at the beginning of this period of analysis, the depiction of a woman who steadfastly breaks the rules of comportment by defending herself and her chastity, and reflects back at her aggressor his own rhetoric in order to call attention to her sexuality. Although her sexuality is alluded to early in the poem, it is only through her speaking voice that her true Amazonian colours are revealed and she becomes a virago who will not submit herself to the 'cavallero'. The unexpected succinct and forthright manner with which she responds renders his purported influence and superiority ironic. Although she communicates her power over him by means of a sexual metaphor, which serves to convey his emasculation, this is only symbolic of her ultimate control. Her association to the natural landscape presents her as a genuine organic product, thereby rendering her integrally superior to the speaker. Due to the numerous examples of *serranillas* that depict women outside the usual bounds of acceptable comportment, *En toda la Sumontaña* must be taken as representative of similar poems that depict anomalous women; unfortunately limited space cannot afford to analyse all of them.

In summary, the *serranas* of the popular and erudite corpus are strong, sexually aware women who are not afraid to retaliate, in contrast to the submissive and virginal ideal. Whether or not they are the instigators of communication with the male protagonists, they effortlessly use their sexuality to control the situation, in a frank manner that differs from the

coquettish behaviour displayed by other women in the lyric and *canCIÓN*. Emphasis and indeed mention of vocation itself is unusual in the *cancionero* because of the upper echelons for whom the poems are usually composed and amongst whom they are generally disseminated. However, as we see, the *serranilla* developed into a discrete genre of poetry within the *canCIÓN*; another of their distinctions is their dissimilarity to the ephemeral nature of courtly *canCIÓN* themes. Nevertheless, it is not only the fact that their livelihoods are centred around the *sierra* that is central to their characterisation, but in most cases it is implicit that their subsistence is linked to a lascivious nature; they become one with the harsh yet fertile environment.

THE PROSTITUTE

Finally, I address the paradoxically most scorned, yet simultaneously most appreciated marginalised groups of women in medieval society: the prostitute. On one hand, as Jacques Rossiaud points out, 'More often than not, the urban brothel was built with public funds (that is, with tax revenues) and was leased to a manager (an *abbesse* or a *tenancier*), who in theory held a monopoly of prostitution in the town or city' (1988: 4). However, on the other, the Church in particular maligned prostitutes as unreachable sinners; Eukene Lacarra Lanz points out that according to the Church, poverty was not a circumstance that would mitigate a woman turning to prostitution (2002b: 168). Because of this dichotomy, Karras points out that it is arguable whether the prostitute is classed as a marginalised figure in society:

Some historians consider the medieval and early modern prostitute a figure on the margins of society, along with those who lived by other shady means such as gambling, begging, or theft. Others argue that brothels, especially legalised ones, were central to town life, and that prostitutes only became marginal later, as they lost official sanction. (1996: 84)

Heath Dillard expresses similar ambiguity regarding public attitudes to prostitutes: whereas on one hand she says 'She was known as inconstant, lewd, malicious and untrustworthy, but most of all as bad (*mala*)', on the other hand discretion was maintained as a major defence for

prostitutes by her clients (1984:196-97). However, within the parameters of this thesis, they are classed as marginal; they do not correspond with the medieval patriarchal idea of chastity and existence within a familial structure or domestic environs.

Symbolism, metaphor, and allusion are usually used to refer to sexual acts in the medieval poetic corpus. However, because of the obviousness of their occupation, a large number of *villancicos* that depict prostitutes do not need to use such literary tools. The limits of their literary value are broad social satire, and many do not enhance the understanding of deviant woman in the corpus. Hence I refer only to two *villancicos* in this section. However, the candid reality in lyrics with such a topic conflicts with the ephemeral content of the courtly songs in the late medieval period; usually the strict *canción* structure depicts an unrealistic scenario. Therefore, the *canción Gentil dama singular* immediately points towards an anomaly; the poem functions as a parody of courtly-love *canciones*.

‘Anda, puta, no serás buena’ is a lyric found in Francisco Delicado’s 1528 *Retrato de la lozana andaluza* (Frenk 2003: I, 711):

- Anda, puta, no serás buena.
- No seré, no, que só de Llerena.

Where lyrics are more often than not in the female voice, the blatancy of the characterisation of the protagonist can be attributed to the introduction of the protagonist in the male voice. The dialogue between a prostitute and another speaker and is unusual because none of the other similarly themed lyrics report the speech of the women; they are descriptive rather than recounting an incident.

On one hand, ‘puta, no serás buena’ could merely be an insult, and therefore could be translated as ‘a bad girl’. However, social stigma is often negative, exemplified by the protagonist’s adverse reaction in ‘Llamáysme villana’ of Chapter V where she protests ‘¡yo no lo soy!’ to the suggestion that she is a ‘villana’ and ‘hija de pechero’. So one would expect a fierce refute of this *llerense* being called a ‘puta’ if she felt she should not be classified as

such. However, because in her negative response she only refers to the town from which she comes, she does not reject the first speaker's assumption that she is a prostitute, but she affirms it. She is not looked on favourably by the first orator, who shoos her away: 'Anda, puta', but then her response is to accept the second part of the affront 'no serás buena' with the agreement 'No seré, no'. Her immediate acquiescence with the speaker is peculiar, but perhaps part of the parcel of being a prostitute, being of a lower social echelon.

However, her negative agreement with the speaker that she may not be a good prostitute may be a veracity topos on account of her origins being Llerena: in the sixteenth century, Luís Zapata de Chaves immortalised the town in his *Libro de Cetrería*:

Llerena, lugar nobilísimo, cabeza de la provincia de León en Extremadura, situada en las raíces de Sierra Morena, feliz de sitio, fértil de suelo, sano de cielo, soberbia de casas, agradable de calles, abundante de hermosas, llena de caballeros y letrados y de tan raros ingenios, que apenas necio podrá hallarse uno. (2001: 25)

He sings the praises of the town, and in essence, the female speaker's agreement that she will not be a good prostitute may reflect the high morals of the town. Considering that the lyric is frequently sexual poetry, it is surprising that the female speaker does not defend her job. In fact, it indicates her lack of zeal for it, demonstrating Vern L. Bullough's assessment of the medieval tradition of the prostitute as a dichotomous 'weak and strayed person who could be saved in spite of herself' (1994: 34). More importantly, 'such a change in attitude had implications for the overall view of women, since instead of establishing a dichotomy between the good and bad woman, it recognized that women, like men, could be part good or part bad' (1994: 34). So even though the 'puta' is part of the lower echelons of society, by coming from Llerena, her characterisation is positive. This observation reflects my thesis: women of the lyric are multifaceted, however set the paradigms of women's behaviour in medieval Iberia appear.

In a similar topographical vein ‘Alva de Tormes’ is a simple yet amusing lyric found in Correas’ 1627 *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales* and Mosén Pero Vallés’ 1549 *Libro de refranes* (Frenk 2003: I, 716):

Alva de Tormes:
baxa de muros,
alta de torres;
buena de putas,
5 mejor de ladrones:
mira tu capa
dónde la pones.

Similar to ‘Anda, puta, no serás buena’, prostitutes are mentioned in connection with a specific town. The picture painted of the Salamanca town of Alva de Tormes, however is opposite to the pleasant image that Luís Zapata de Chaves paints of Llerena. The lyric moves logically from a physical description of Alva de Tormes to a characterisation of the citizens, and finally into the witty denouement.

As with ‘Anda, puta, no serás buena’, the speaker presents a dichotomous view of prostitutes in this lyric. Female characteristics are often attributed to cities, the paradigm being Mary, the Virgin bride of Christ who is the Holy city, an impenetrable New Jerusalem in Revelation 21.2. Yet here, Alva de Tormes is characterised by being ‘baxa de muros’ (line 2), implying that the city is easily penetrable. By applying the association of women with edifices such as doors, walls, and windows, the low walls of Alva de Tormes denote the depravity of the women who live there, especially the ‘putas’ who are plentiful: ‘buena de putas’ (line 4). Yet this is followed by the apparently conflicting phallic imagery ‘alta de torres’ (line 3), which is reminiscent of ‘¡Torre de la niña, y date!’ in Chapter III; the tower, which can be seen to represent chaste, impenetrable, and dominant women. On the other hand, J. E. Cirlot also notes that ‘the tower symbol, given that it is enclosed and walled-in, is emblematic of the Virgin Mary’ (2002: 345). Notably, though walled-in, the towers of Alva de Tormes are not well-protected. Although there is the suggestion that moral behaviour

exists, such imagery assimilates Alva de Tormes to Mary Magdalene, the prostitute saint. Bullough notes that throughout the Middle Ages a more concerned attitude towards prostitutes developed, seeing them as necessary sinners who could yet be saved, which caused Mary Magdalene to become revered (1994: 38). The sacred and profane imagery side by side appears to be juxtaposed, but James F. Burke explains how it was received in the Middle Ages:

The characteristics of this field, positive and negative, sacred and profane, appropriate and scandalous, would then necessarily have transferred as such into one's consciousness. The relation of the medieval self to its circumstances was then always in some sense one of passive specularity. (1998: 19)

Although Alva de Tormes is typified by prostitutes, the Marian associations imply that atonement is possible for both them and the city. However, there is the implication that the 'ladrones' of line 5 are through and through unscrupulous characters. Because their thieving actions are the climax: 'mira tu capa / dónde lo pones' (lines 6 and 7), it is implied that there is no redemption for them, in contrary to the position of the 'putas'.

Whereas these two particular lyrics unusually treat the female protagonist and the subject with a degree of seriousness, in steep contrast, the most innovative of all *canciones*, *Gentil dama singular*, found in three *cancioneros*, parodies the representation of a woman who is undisputedly of a vocation of sexual nature.⁵

5	Gentil dama singular, honesta en toda doctrina, mesuraos en vuestro amblar; que por mucho madrugar no amanesce más ayna.	10	poco a poco, y no del todo el traer de las caderas. Y al tiempo del desgranar qu'el ombre se desatina, mesuraos en vuestro amblar;
	Las nalgas baxas, terreras, melceldas por lindo modo,		que por mucho madrugar no amanece más ayna.

The poem is unique whereby the speaker uses a witty and provocative *modus operandi* within the conventional framework of the *canción* to eulogise the paradoxical woman of his

⁵ See Dutton 1990-91: V, 526 (11CG-1001); VI, 226 (14CG-1080); and VII, 634 (19OB-25).

affections. It challenges every aspect of the typical courtly song of the *cancioneros*, but above all, that of the representation of the female protagonist. The *canCIÓN* was composed by Antón de Montoro, who lived from 1404-77, and was a *converso* who was also commonly known as ‘el Roperero’ because of his occupation as a clothes mender and pedlar. As the *canCIÓN* demonstrates, Montoro utilises an acerbic yet shrewd style which distinguishes him from many of the other composers of the period. This may be because, as Álvaro Alonso reveals: ‘Varios poetas de la época, como Juan Agraz o Juan de Valladolid, ridiculizaron su linaje y su condición de ropavejero, lo que le obligó a defenderse en poemas violentas o amargamente sarcásticos’ (1999: 282). Being the earliest transcribed version, I use the base text from the 11CG.

As with other anomalous representations of women in the *cancionero*, *Gentil dama singular* calls the attention of its audience through an inconspicuous and original image of the addressee, which is not only unusual in this type of erudite poetry, but also as Henk Heijkoop and Otto Zwartjes point out, it is even a rare feature of the popular lyric: ‘such mockery of woman’s physical features or habits is practically non-existent’ (2004: 47). As part of the rubric ‘Canción suya a una muger que traya grandes caderas y quando andava parecía que amblava’, the physical description precedes the poem, but is also repeated within. It prepares the audience for the physical theme that follows by setting up a contrast with the usual expectations that Marithelma Costa suggests sums up courtly love poetry: ‘El intento de la poesía de amor cortés de profundizar psicológicamente en una experiencia amorosa’ (1990: xxv). Francisco A. Marcos-Marín cites M. Angellus Blondus who wrote *De cognitio hominis per aspectum* in 1544, where ‘large hips are evidence of a courageous spirit’, and are desirable alongside a narrow waist (1999: 34). Therefore, we are not necessarily presented with a woman who is unattractive, as wide hips were good for child-bearing, but the way in

which ‘parecía que amblava’ is the crux of the description, it implies a repulsive yet paradoxically alluring aspect.

The uncommon choice of verb ‘amblar’ brings with it several implied meanings, all of which are likely to be intended by the sharp-witted Montoro, as according to Costa, he is seen as a poet who ‘aprovecha las máximas posibilidades semánticas de los términos, y multiplica ambigüedades, antítesis, anfibologías y referencias oblicuas, a fin de condesar en sus poemas el mayor número de significados’, which indeed he capitalises on in *Gentil dama singular* (1990: xxv). On one level, ‘amblar’ can apply to the walking movement of an animal such as a horse, a comparison that can only be derogatory. However, this interpretation could be considered anachronistic. The second interpretation, a sense that is no longer used, yet pertains to the period of composition, is ‘mover lúbricamente el cuerpo’, also a sensual movement that is more commonly associated with lovemaking.⁶ On a sliding scale of obscenity, Costa also footnotes that Joan Corominas’s *Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico* shows: ‘en gallego-portugués, fornicar’ (1990: 344). Therefore, in light of my further observations below, the description of her movements may not be a public observation, but may in fact be a private appraisal of her movement during sex.

In *Gentil dama singular*, similar to the erudite *serranillas*, Montoro fuses courtly and popular elements, which is seen in the opening of the poem in a clichéd epithet frequently found in the *cancioneros*: ‘Gentil dama’ (line 1). In light of the register used throughout, the observations of Linda Hutcheon must be taken into account: she says that in contrast to parody, satire ‘is both moral and social in its focus and ameliorative in its intention’ (1985: 16). However, in light of the work of Montoro, it cannot be concluded that an ethical and social nature really underpins it. It is difficult to comment on the personal sentiments of Montoro in his compositions because of the deficiency of bibliographic information available

⁶ http://buscon.rae.es/draeI/SrvltConsulta?TIPO_BUS=3&LEMA=amblar

on him, but in light of the bitter exchanges that he held with his contemporaries, it would seem doubtful. However, if we are to rely on the strict delineations of Hutcheon between ‘parody’ and ‘satire’, it can only be conceded that throughout, the speaker alternates between both. For example, the speaker may use line 1 satirically because it connotes the representation of the conventional woman of courtly-love *canciones*. Nevertheless, the rubric has already established that the addressee is a parodying figure whose movements could be likened to those of animals, or during lovemaking, so both ‘gentil’ and ‘dama’ become ironic. Lines 2-3: ‘honesta en toda doctrina, / mesuraos en vuestro amblar’ can then be taken literally; although he is marvelling her form, in light of the detailed description, implied to be from a close angle, the speaker is not conventionally publicly confessing his love to the lady in question.

More pertinently, in considering the obviously provocative way in which she walks, and especially one that calls male attention (equating to her ‘doctrine’), the brazen attitude at odds with contemporary society can be considered, indicating that she does so because it is her means to existence: as a prostitute. However, the speaker mirrors the ethos of the courtly *canción* and the addressee remains elevated and distanced from the speaker through the formal address implied by ‘vuestro’ (lines 3 and 12). Further in keeping with the framework of a form of poetry that is based on subtlety and discretion, it is fitting that her implied livelihood is not explicit, and ‘ambladora’ could be added to the list of synonyms that Ángel C. Urbán Fernández and Salvador López Quero have collated for prostitute: ‘como sinónimo de *puta*, hemos documentado los términos *Cortabota*, *gualtas* y *soldaderas*. Asimismo, en el *Cancionero* aparecen distintas clases de putas: *mundaria*, *puta de costumería*, o *costumera* y *focaria*’ (2001: 390). This can be classified as the satirical rather than parodying element that Hutcheon above refers to, as Costa points out: ‘Se engarzan en el discurso poético como verdades; aparecen en los poemas destinados a personajes nobles, y en los de personajes

populares’, the latter for which she uses *Gentil dama singular* as an example, amongst others (1990: xxv).

In keeping with the style of erudite *canciones*, a popular refrain is repeated:

mesuraos en vuestro amblar;
que por mucho madrugar
no amanesce más ayna. (lines 3-5 and 12-14)

In both instances it reflects on the manner of the ‘gentil dama’, but due to its position in the *canción*, each occurrence has a different effect. Due to the initial lack of contextualisation, the first instance lacks the ominousness of the second, which has the benefit of the gloss, and brings with it a more shrewd tone. On the surface, the adage of the latter tercet has connotations of the traditional *alba* or *alborada* tradition, although in light of the profession of the female protagonist, the imagery is satirical. The literal translation ‘No matter how early you get up, you cannot make the sun rise any earlier’, however, has a distinct implication in comparison with the *alba* or *alborada* topos. In lines 3-5, even though it is in an impersonal form, the refrain initially appears to be an address to the woman because usually courtly love poems are composed for women, not just about them. However, as the poem develops, the intentions of the speaker also become clear, and by the second occurrence in lines 12-14, a pecuniary value is attached to line 12, and the maxim, as well as functioning as the crescendo of the poem, also becomes a warning to other men who may come across her, the sentiments of which concur with studies by Costa that have lead her to conclude that: ‘En las obras de Montoro los refranes tienen una función tanto estilística y ornamental, como didáctica y ejemplificadora’, a sentiment that can also be applied to other poets of the period (1990: xxv).

Lines 6-9 provide more graphic images upon which the audience can dwell. In this section, again, Montoro plays with a fusion of low- and high-register words, such as the

combination in lines 6-7: ‘Las nalgas baxas, terreras, / melceldas por lindo modo’.⁷ The meaning of line 6 is ambiguous: ‘terreras’ could be taken as an adjective to enhance the illustration of her buttocks being close to the ground (which, during sex they would be), and on the other hand, being close to the earth also alludes to her low social status but contradicts the elevated status that the speaker has previously conferred her. Furthermore, the use of such a word in this context invokes the phrase ‘hacer terrero’, referring to the wooing process ‘Galantear o enamorar a una dama desde la calle o campo delante de su casa’.⁸ The explicit image of her buttocks is juxtaposed next to ‘mecedas’, which is of a high register, and in being complemented by a phrase reminiscent of typical eulogising *canciones*: ‘por lindo modo’, the effect is ambiguous. The appreciation of her form is through the male gaze, which intensifies her representation as a repulsive yet fascinating sexualised object. In particular, the sensuality of her movement suggested by these lines 6-9 renders the message of the speaker as multivalent, and in illustrating the ‘gentil dama singular’ so intimately, leads the audience to ask whether the speaker is not only imagining, but recounting the act of sex with her.

Returning to the interpretation of the final refrain, it is the preceding lines 10-11 ‘al tiempo del desgranar / qu’el ombre se desatina’ that substantiate the perception that it has become a warning to men as opposed to its earlier direction towards the depicted woman. The speaker turns his attention away from her, and whereas usually in courtly *canciones* he would expound his woes at this point, in *Gentil dama singular*, he implies a hint of shame of the actions previously suggested; through an impersonal caution that is extended to all men. In keeping with the rest of the poem, he paradoxically marries passivity with activity in ‘desgranar’ and ‘desatinar’, and thereby alleviates himself and any other males to whom he is

⁷ http://buscon.rae.es/draeI/SrvltConsulta?TIPO_BUS=3&LEMA=nalgas From vulgar Latin ‘*natīca*’: ‘Cada una de las dos porciones carnosas y redondeadas situadas entre el final de la columna vertebral y el comienzo de los muslos.’

⁸ http://buscon.rae.es/draeI/SrvltConsulta?TIPO_BUS=3&LEMA=hacer%20terrero

also referring, of any blame. Whereas the interpretation of the first occurrence of the refrain retrospectively could be along the lines of a gentle remonstrance that the female protagonist need not flaunt herself to receive attention, the repetition in line 12 ‘mesuraos en vuestro amblar’ also becomes part of the caution to men because of the development of her character as a prostitute, which thereby ultimately connotes an economic value. By aggregating himself with men in general, it is implied that he needs this potency to face the ‘gentil dama singular’ whose enigmatic portrayal appears difficult to disregard.

This poem contains a reality that in many ways is at odds with Petrarchan ideals, yet simultaneously contains courtly elements that have the effect of rendering it a truly unique *canCIÓN*. The depiction of the woman is incomparable with that of any other erudite *canCIÓN*: she is portrayed from an unusual viewpoint that presents an equivocal critique. Furthermore, on another level, the physical description points towards her movement during sex; this brings the poem onto a far more intimate level. At times, the poem is couched in courtly language which lulls the audience into a false sense of security in their expectations, yet simultaneously this is complemented by a vulgar anti-courtly agenda alluding to the ‘gentil dama singular’. The insinuations are that she is a prostitute, yet the speaker adheres to the taboo of being explicit about the addressee of courtly *canções*. Considering the other works of Montoro, which Erasmo Buceta claims include ‘dos de las más desvergonzadas y obscenas composiciones’, such a composition is probably to be expected (1920: 651). However, it is the ingenious brazen of Montoro that amusingly portrays an unparalleled female addressee.

CONCLUSION

In this chapter we encounter a number of women who are on the periphery of medieval society. They are depicted in a range of situations, but in some instances they have common

characteristics. For the most part, their depiction takes a sexual slant, although to different effect. In the case of Muslim women, because of the male speaking voice, there is little recourse to their depiction; overall they are portrayed as a maligned fraction of society. However, it is not simply the lascivious aspect of their characters that is highlighted, but all three *villancicos* contain an acerbic tone that points towards an inferior morality of the female protagonists. On the other hand, the *serranas* are more complex and extensive in their depiction: sexuality is a principal aspect of their portrayal, which they often use as a tool to control the situation, and more particularly, their male counterpart. They display a confidence unparalleled by other women in the traditional and erudite corpuses, and revel in their uniqueness. Finally, it is notable that, in contrast with the *villancicos* depicting prostitutes, *Gentil dama singular* is more subtle in the suggestion that the female protagonist is a prostitute. However, similar to Muslims and *serranas*, overall the prostitutes encountered demonstrate a lack of regard for their disparaged status.

CONCLUSION

Depictions of the deviant woman in late medieval Castilian poetry are various and multifaceted, as demonstrated by the *villancicos*, *canciones*, and *serranillas* analysed in this thesis. Although there are diverse groups and situations portraying deviant woman, taken as a whole, she elicits a pattern of subversive behaviour which is largely based around the jeopardy and compromise of her chaste existence, which is decreed by the Church and aristocracy.

The first introductory chapter deals with the contextualisation of poetic sources on which analyses of women's behaviour are based, and demonstrates their value not only as a literary source, but also their sociological and historical value. However, in the light of the distinct roles of men and women (which are far less exclusive in western society nowadays), the masculine censorship of the anthologist and copyist of the time must be taken into account when considering portrayals of deviant women. There is a palpable distinction between the representations of deviant women in the lyrics, courtly *canciones*, and the *serranillas*. The lyrics, that are arguably the closest form of self-representation of women in poetry we will encounter, are principally feminine compositions glossed by male copyists; they depict bold, subversive, and promiscuous women on a figurative level. Formulaic unity across the lyric form allows the disguise and obfuscation of the truth on a literal level, yet ultimately the poems are comprehensive due to understanding of symbolic meaning and metaphor by contemporary audiences; this use of allusion and symbolism in their portrayals serves to protect the reputation of women. On the other hand, the *serranilla*, although also extensively employing symbolism and allusion to depict her sexualisation, contains a type of woman who evidently deviates due to her aggressive, assertive, and self-assured manner. These wily and manipulative female protagonists usurp masculine behavioural traits, and also sometimes use provocative means to win over their male counterparts. Furthermore,

serranillas also portray women who are seen to deviate from the norm because of their existence on the margins of society, and as Barbara A. Hanawalt says: ‘By limiting the physical spaces that women could occupy and controlling women both within that space and outside of it, medieval men defined a spatial location for women that made women who moved beyond those boundaries more clearly marginal’ (1995: 3). As established in Chapter I, the *canCIÓN* is an exclusively erudite, courtly, and formulaic form of poetry that leaves little leeway for deviations from the revered and venerated woman. Nevertheless, although they are seldom, deviant women and anomalous female attitudes do make their way into the *canCIÓN*. Just as the *villancico* and *serrana* do, *canciones* employ their own courtly genre of symbolism to portray the deviance of woman, and it is notable that in most cases, promiscuity is again the reason for their deviance from the norm.

In the second introductory chapter, contemporary literary texts and modern historians reveal the importance of the Virgin Mary in medieval society and the effect that the emergence of the cult of the Virgin Mary had on the ruling administrations’ shaping of the ideals surrounding women’s behaviour. Above all, the establishment of archetypal woman demonstrates the social emphasis on chastity, although this was not the be-all and end-all of her characterisation, as R. Howard Bloch says, the Marian idea of Virginal constitution was not necessarily a woman who has not been penetrated by a man, but one of pure thought (1991: 98). Of equal importance, as shown by the strict hierarchy of the Great Chain of Being, is her social position below the patriarch. Therefore, a principal expectation of her behaviour was submission to him in a reticent and modest manner. Furthermore, the values of piety, devotion, and compassion for which the Virgin Mary is renowned also are encompassed by the ideal woman. Finally, it is shown that there was also an expectation that she was to be attractive, although not through wearing too much make-up; inner beauty was meant to be reflected by her exterior.

The main chapters of the thesis establish a thematic pattern of deviance through close textual analyses. All in all, there is a large amount of salacious material indicating that women are deviant principally through their sexual misdemeanours. In Chapter III, both *canciones* and lyrics in the male voice invert conventional societal values; the portrayal of deviant woman in the context of love shows the masculine voice to be a voyeuristic tool, and ultimately establishes that women's control over men is manifested in their sexuality. This contrasts with the female-voice representation of woman and love in Chapter IV, which frequently renders the portrayal of women as victims of circumstance, but which simultaneously enables them to elaborate on and push the bounds of promiscuity because they are rendered less culpable. Then, Chapter V focuses on women whose denial, rejection or ignorance of their role within the family satirises patriarchal subversion. Their challenge of patriarchy by being an envoy of sexuality encompasses not only a threat to the family *honra*, but more importantly, this jeopardises social stability because patriarchal rule is a pillar of society. Chapter VI sees women exploit their situation of freedom from chaperones, and whereas the private arena of the home presents deviant women as antagonistic, the catalyst of the public arena provides an organic way for women to enjoy their sexuality, and notably they are gleeful in their exploitation of this liberty. Subsequently, Chapter VII also sees women take advantage of their relative freedom where pilgrimages are a vehicle for exploitation of their sexuality, as seen in the earlier *cantigas de romería*. However, markedly, none of the poems depicting religious figures who display deviance from their expected chaste behaviour are in the female voice (with the exception of young women who are about to enter religious orders). Hence this indicates that such a disregard for religious values transgresses sensitive bounds for which the female voice does not take responsibility. Finally, in Chapter VIII, although almost all women at the margins of medieval Castilian society are presented as deviant because of their promiscuity, they also demonstrate a distinct

lack of regard for moral codes, which is explained by their marginal existence. Consistent with the observation on male-voice lyrics, control of men by *serranas* is executed on account of their sexuality, but all in all, the actions of the women of this chapter are endorsed because of their marginalisation. In conclusion, these representations of woman defying archetypal norms are for the large part humorous and satirical, and deviance of woman in both traditional and courtly medieval Castilian poetry pivots around their sexual provocativeness and promiscuity, and patterns arise in certain categories.

As we have seen, whereas scholarship has made significant contributions to analyses of the portrayal of women in traditional poetry (Alan Deyermond, Margit Frenk, John Gornall, Lucy A. Sponsler, Bruce W. Wardropper), women in the *canción* have overall received less attention (Jane Whetnall). Vera Castro Lingl and Sponsler have attempted investigations of comparisons across forms, of which an obvious limitation is space. However, the discoveries and assessments of this thesis help present a more complete picture of deviant women in medieval Castilian poetry, and are a basis on which future investigations can be based.

APPENDIX A: LIST OF POEMS ANALYSED AND THEIR SOURCES

CHAPTER II: INTRODUCTION TO WOMAN IN THE MEDIEVAL PERIOD

<u>FORM</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>SOURCES</u>
Lyric	‘¿Quién tendrá alegría?’	FUENTES. A: Lope de Vega, <i>La madre de la mejor</i> III (<i>Acad</i> , t. 3, p. 382b); B: Juan Luis, en <i>Versos de varios poetas</i> , ms. Bibl. Acad. Hist. (<i>apud</i> Gallardo, t. 1, col. 1097).— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Magariños pp. 205 s, Alonso-Blecua 435; B Cejador 1-27.
Lyric	‘Las blancas se casan’	FUENTES. Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 211a .
Lyric	‘¡Fuera, fuera, fuera, el pastorcico!’	FUENTES. A: Timoneda, <i>Sarao</i> , f.54 (núm. 97); B: Orellana, <i>Endechas</i> , f. [14]v; C: «Romance sobre los amores de Reynaldos de Montalban...», pl. s. (<i>Pliegos Praga</i> , t. 2, p.24); D: Tirso de Molina (?), auto de <i>La ninfa del cielo</i> (ed. Rios, t. 2, p. 768a).— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Cejador 2-1392, Frenk 279, Alín I 473; B Alín II 292, Cummins p.106.
<i>Canción</i>	<i>Entre todas escogida</i>	MP3-73 (134-135) (4, 2x8). [FD373]. Au: Manrique, Gómez. Ti: <i>Cançon a la conçeçion de nuestra señora</i> .
<i>Canción</i>	<i>Por una tal como vos</i>	11CG-816D (170 ^v -172 ^r) (4,8). Au: caballero, un. Ti: <i>Haze fin con esta cancion</i> .
Lyric	‘¡Ay!, madre, al Amor’	FUENTES. A: <i>Cancioneiro de Évora</i> , núm. 49; A¹: BNP, ms. Esp. 373, f. 230; A²: Caietain, f. 18v.— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Cejador 4-2291, Alín I 528, II 447.
Lyric	‘Tal niño y pastor’	FUENTES. A: <i>Cancionero sevillano</i> , f. 92 (núm. 156).
Lyric	‘Tú, Virgen María’	FUENTES. Francisco de Yepes (<i>apud</i> Velasco, <i>Vida</i> , p. 296).
Lyric	‘Cabellicos de oro’	FUENTES. «Qvarto Quaderno de varios Romances...», Valencia, 1597 (<i>Pliegos Pisa</i> , p. 127, y <i>Cancionerillos de Múnich</i> , núm. 151).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Alín I 767, II 631.— Cf. Núms. 2393 a 2397.

CHAPTER III: WOMAN AND LOVE (THE MALE-VOICE REPRESENTATION)

Lyric	‘Madre, una moçuela’	FUENTES. Ensalada “Rey don Sancho, rey don Sancho”, «Aqui comiença vn romance de vn desafio...», pl. s. (<i>Pliegos Praga</i> , t. 1, p. 4).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Frenk 130, Alín I 831, II 679.
Lyric	‘Alça la niña los oyos’	FUENTES. <i>Cancionero de Upsala</i> , ff. 14v s (núm. 21).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 3-1562, Alonso-Blecua 142, Alín I 417.
Lyric	‘Mirándome está mi niña’	FUENTES. A: <i>Jardín de amadores</i> , f. 93v; A¹: BNM, ms. 3700, f. 142.
Lyric	‘Páreste a la ventana’	FUENTES. A: Sebastián Fernández, <i>Tragedia policiana</i> XXIV (<i>NBAE</i> , t. 14, p. 48a); B: ensalada “Çe señora, çe, deçi”, <i>Cancionero toledano</i> , f. 11.— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Cejador 1-875, Alín I 321, II 255.

Lyric	‘Los cabellos de mi amiga’	FUENTES. A: <i>Cancionero general</i> (1514), <i>Suplemento</i> , núm. 104; A¹: «Aqui comiẽça vn pater noster...por Rodrigo de Reynosa», pl. s. (<i>Pliegos BNM</i> , t. 2, p.13); B: Andrade Caminha, <i>Poesias inéditas</i> , núm. 261.— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Cejador 1-582, Alonso-Blecua 17; A¹ Cejador 7-2756; B Alín I 197.
Lyric	‘¡Torre de la niña, y date!’	FUENTES. A: <i>Cancionero musical de Palacio</i> , 341 (221) (mús. Juan Ponce); A¹: <i>ibid.</i> , 414 (222).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Frenk 163.—Cf. núm. 116.
Lyric	‘¡Castillo, dáteme, date!’	FUENTES. <i>Flor de enamorados</i> , f. 83v.).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Böhl 338, Cejador 4-2350. — Cf. Núm. 859
Lyric	‘Una dama me mandó’	FUENTES. A: Correas, <i>Arte</i> , p. 455; B: Lope de Vega, <i>La villana de Getafe I</i> (<i>AcadN</i> , t. 10, p. 376a); C: BNM, ms. 3985, f. 228; D: <i>loc. cit.</i> (cf. <i>Séguedilles</i> , núms. 289, 292); E: <i>ibid.</i> , f. 228v.— ANTOLOGÍAS. B Cejador 2-1214, Magariños p. 208; C Alín II 1022.
Canción	<i>Desde aquí quiero jurar</i>	MN54-142 (149 ^v -150 ^f) (3, 2x7), RC1-114 (124 ^{f-v}), VM1-48 (35 ^v). [FD1018]. Au: Carvajal. Ti: <i>Cançion suya de caruajales</i> MN54 VM1. <i>Caruajales</i> RC1.
Canción	<i>Donde yago en esta cama</i>	12MO-5 (104 ^f) (4, 2x8). [FD38]. Au: Mena, Juan de. Ti: <i>Cancion que hizo Juan de mena estando mal.</i>
Lyric	‘Vide a Juana estar labando’	FUENTES. A: <i>Cancionero 2803</i> , f. 217v (núm. 149); A¹: Bibl. Real, ms. 1580, f. 20v; A²: BNP, ms. Esp. 372, f. 66; A³: BNP, ms. Esp. 373, f. 5v; A⁴: <i>Cancionero 617</i> , f. 319v (294v) (núm. 459).
Lyric	‘Vide a Juana estar lavando’	FUENTES. A: <i>Cancionero sevillano</i> , ff. 254v s (núm. 542); A¹: Timoneda, <i>Guisadillo de amor</i> , ff. 6v. s; A²: <i>Flor 1578</i> , p. 175; A³: Bibl. Real, ms 1580, f. 198v; A⁴: <i>Cancionero de Pedro de Rojas</i> , f. 38 (núm. 38); A⁵: Bibl. Vaticana, cod. reg. lat. 1635, f. 49v; A⁶: Bibl. Bartolomé March, ms. 23/4/1, ff. 62v-63; A⁷: BNM, ms. 1580 f. 252rv; B: BNM, ms. 3806, f. 128v; C: <i>ibid.</i> , f. 127v; C¹: Bibl. Real, ms. 1580, f. 198v; C²: <i>Cancionero de Jacinto López</i> , f. 217v (<i>Séguedilles</i> , núm. 334); D: <i>ibid.</i> , f. 320; E: Lope de Vega, <i>El mesón de la corte I</i> (<i>AcadN</i> , t. 1, p. 284ab); F: <i>id.</i> , <i>El galán escarmentado III</i> (<i>ibid.</i> , p. 148a); G: <i>id.</i> , <i>Obras son amores II</i> (<i>AcadN</i> , t. 8, p. 188b); H: <i>Cartapacio de Morán de la Estrella</i> , f. 35 (núm. 178); I: BNM, ms. 22028, f. 251rv.— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Alín II 476, Cejador 1-1020; A⁴ Alín I 630; B Cejador 1-770.
Lyric	‘Morenica, ¿qué has tenido?’	FUENTES. Timoneda, <i>Sarao</i> , f. 5 (núm. 9). ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejadór 7-2832, Alín I 469, II 418.
Lyric	‘La morena graciosa’	FUENTES. A: <i>Romancero de Madrigal</i> , f. 42v (núm. 1213); A¹: <i>Cancionero musical de Turín</i> , ff. 24v s (núm. 25).— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Cejador 7-2733; A¹ Alín I 853.
Lyric	‘Mozuela de la saya de grana’	FUENTES. A: <i>Cancionero de Jhoan López</i> , f. 37 (núm. 135); A¹: <i>Cartapacio de Pedro de Penagos</i> , f. 117; A²: <i>Cancionero de Florencia</i> , f. 175; A³: <i>Cancionero de Jacinto López</i> , f. 68v.— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Cejador 7-2834; A¹ Alín II 591; A³ <i>Poesía erótica</i> pp. 164 s.

Lyric	‘¡Dale, si le das!’	FUENTES. <i>Cancionero musical de Palacio</i> , 141 (412).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 6-2418, Alín I 88, <i>Poesía erótica</i> 68.— Cf. núm. 1462 <i>ter</i> , 1516 A, 1788.
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CHAPTER IV: WOMAN AND LOVE (THE FEMALE-VOICE REPRESENTATION)

Lyric	‘Eché’el ojo’	FUENTES. Orellana, ensalada “Delicta juventutis me”, <i>Endechas</i> , f. 3.
Lyric	‘Mis ojuelos, madre’	FUENTES. «Cantares de diuersas sonadas...», pl. s. (<i>Cancionero de galanes</i> , p. 62).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Alonso-Blecua 174, Frenk 182, Alín I 204, II 172.— Cf. núms. 107 a 111, 185 A y C.
Lyric	‘Son tan lindos mis cabellos’	FUENTES. A : Horozco, <i>Cancionero</i> , núm. 126 (p. 63); B : <i>id.</i> , <i>loc. cit.</i> ; C : ensalada “Por muy linda pradería”, <i>Cancionero de Pedro del Pozo</i> , núm. 34.— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Cejador 1-119, Alín I 359.
Lyric	‘Por un pagesito’	FUENTES. <i>Cancionero de Jacinto López</i> , f. 319rv (cf. <i>Séguedilles</i> , núm. 323).— Cf. núm. 18. Núms. 276, 277: cf. núm. 714.
Lyric	‘Seguir al amor me plaze’	FUENTES. A : romance “En un(a) aldea de corte”, <i>Flor 1589</i> , f. 19; A ¹ : <i>ibid.</i> , <i>Flor</i> , Segunda parte, f. 110; A ² : <i>ibid.</i> , <i>Romancero general</i> , f. 37v (núm. 88).— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Alín I 711; A ¹ Cejador 8-3167; A ² Böhl 846.
Lyric	‘A mi puerta nasce una fonte’	FUENTES. « Cantares de diuersas sonadas...», pl. s. (<i>Cancionero de galanes</i> , pp. 74 s).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Alonso-Blecua 180, Frenk 81, Alín I 205, II 173, Cummins p. 61.— Núms. 321, 322: cf. núm. 536 B, 2352 A.
Lyric	‘Bullicioso era el arroyuelo’	FUENTES. A : «Septimo qvarderno de varios romances...», Valencia, 1601 (<i>Cancionerillos de Munich</i> , núm. 123; A ¹ : <i>Romancero de Madrigal</i> , f. 81 (núm. 1306); A ² : Bibl. Riccardiana, ms. 2774, f. 71v; A ³ : <i>ibid.</i> , ms. 2793, f. 92v; A ⁴ : <i>ibid.</i> , ms. 2804, f. 157v; A ⁵ : <i>Cancionero de Franco Palumbi</i> , f. 131rv (<i>apud</i> Cacho, “Manuscritos españoles”, p. 214; B : Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 367a.— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Alín I 871, II 701; A ¹ : Böhl 249, Durán p.109.— Cf. núm. 953.
Lyric	‘Enbírame mi madre’	FUENTES. A : <i>Cancioneiro de Évora</i> , núm. 56; B : <i>Cancionero de Nuestra Señora</i> , p. 40; B ¹ : Ocaña, <i>Cancionero</i> , f. [9] (p.52).— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Cejador 6-2620, Alonso-Blecua 81, Frenk 871 B ¹ Cejador 1-64.
<i>Canción</i>	<i>O desvelada, sandía</i>	LB1-79 (29 ^r), LB2-122 (151 ^v -152 ^r), ME1-54 (82 ^{r-v}), PN8-17 (24 ^r -25 ^r) (5, 3x9); MN54-31 (62 ^{r-v}), PN12-12 (13 ^{r-v}), RC1-31 (62 ^v -63 ^r) (5, 2x9, 8). Au : Rodríguez del Padrón, Juan. Ti : <i>Comiençan las obras de Juan Rodrigues del padron en nombre de su amiga quando huyo della</i> LB1. <i>El mesmo</i> LB2. <i>Johan Rodriguez de la camara</i> MN54 PN 12 RC1. <i>Joan rodriguez</i> PN8. <i>Otra cançion suya</i> ME1.
Lyric	‘En el campo nacen flores’	FUENTES. Antonio de Torquemada, Colloquio pastoril, <i>Colloquios satiricos</i> , f. 373.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Frenk 71, Alín II 556. — Cf. núm. 95.
Lyric	‘Ya florecen los árboles, Juan’	FUENTES. Juan Vásquez, <i>Recopilación</i> , II, núm. 14.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 9-3542, Alonso-Blecua 108, Frenk 72, Alín I 451, II 413, Cummins pp. 71 s.— Cf. núm. 314.

Lyric	‘Niña y viña, peral y habar’	FUENTES. <i>Cancionero musical de la Colombina</i> , f. 72v (núm. 54).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Alonso-Blecua 22, Frenk 73, Alín I 47, II 37, Cummins pp. 69 s.— Cf. núms. 10, 16664 B, 1682; 11, 2039.
Lyric	‘Si mi padre no me casa’	FUENTES. A : <i>Cancionero sevillano</i> , f. 196v (núm. 380); B : «Compendio de nuevos chistes...», pl. s., Granada, 1571 (<i>Pliegos Cracovia</i> , p. 132); C : Timoneda, <i>Truhanesco</i> , f. 10.— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Alín I 533.
Lyric	‘Aguardan a mí’	FUENTES. A : Suero de Ribera (¿o Santillana?), ensalada “En una linda floresta”, BNM, ms. 3788, f. 7 (cf. Lapesa, <i>Santillana</i> , pp. 323 s, nota); A ¹ : <i>id.</i> , <i>ibid.</i> , <i>Cancionero de Palacio</i> , núm. 85. A ² : [<i>id.</i>], <i>ibid.</i> (“Por una linda floresta”), «Espeio de Enamorados. Cancionero de nuevo de romances glosados...», pl. s. [Barcelona, ca. ¿1540?] (<i>Seis pliegos barceloneses</i> , 1); A ³ : [<i>id.</i>], <i>ibid.</i> (“Por una gentil floresta”), «Las glosas delos romances q en este pliego...», pl. s. (<i>Pliegos Praga</i> , t. 1, p. 167); A ⁴ : [<i>id.</i>], <i>ibid.</i> (<i>id.</i>), <i>Espejo de enamorados</i> , p. 62; B : Fernández de Heredia, ensalada “Soy garridica”, <i>Obras</i> , f. 87 (p.104); B ² : [<i>id.</i>], <i>ibid.</i> BNM, ms. 5593, f. 82.).— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Cejador 1-418, Alonso 35, Alonso-Blecua 333, Alín I 8, II 9; Frenk 237, Cummins p. 139; B ² Cejador 9-3476.
Lyric	‘Cuanto me mandades’	FUENTES. A : Horozco, <i>Refranes</i> , núm. 2483; B : <i>id.</i> , <i>Recopilación</i> , f. 160v; C : <i>Cancionero de Jacinto López</i> , f. 318v (cf. <i>Séguedilles</i> , núm. 11).— ANTOLOGÍAS. C Cejador 1-845.
<i>Canción</i>	<i>Destas aves su nación</i>	11CG-343 (125 ^v -126 ^t), 14CG-360 (104 ^v) (5,9). [FD962]. Au : Pinar, Florencia. Ti : <i>Otra cancion de la misma señora a vnas perdices.</i>
Lyric	‘Salga la luna, el cavallero’	FUENTES. Juan Vásquez, <i>Recopilación</i> , II, núm. 18.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 9-3534, Alonso-Blecua 112, Frenk 367, Alín I 452, II 410.
Lyric	‘Ya cantan los gallos’	FUENTES. A : Montesino, <i>Cancionero</i> , f. 68v; A ¹ : [<i>id.</i>], <i>Secunda parte del Cancionero general</i> , ff. 189-191; B : <i>Cancionero musical de Palacio</i> , 155 (413) (mús. Vilches); C : <i>Cancionero musical de Elvas</i> , I, núm, 54; D : folios anexos al <i>Cartapacio de Pedro de Padilla</i> , f. 228v (cf. <i>Cartapacios salmantinos</i> , p. 303).— ANTOLOGÍAS. B Cejador 9-3378, Frenk 112, Alín I 95, II 80; C Alonso-Blecua 78; D Cejador 9-3379.— Cf. núms. 298, 2218, 2290.
Lyric	‘Pasito, pasito, amor’	FUENTES. Gómez Tejada de los Reyes, estribillo dl villancico cantado “La palabra eterna”—, <i>Autos</i> , pp. 292 s.— Cf. núm. 2441.
Lyric	‘¡Ay, mezquina’	FUENTES. A : <i>Cancionero toledano</i> , f. 56v; A ¹ : <i>ibid.</i> , f. 92v.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Alín I 571, II 483, Cummins p. 73.
Lyric	‘A coxer amapolas’	FUENTES. A : Correas, <i>Arte</i> , p. 453; B : <i>id.</i> , <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 21b.— ANTOLOGÍAS. AB Cejador 1-820; A Alonso-Blecua 315, Frenk 90, Alín I p. 742, II 1051.
Lyric	‘Aunque soi morenita un poco’	FUENTES. A : <i>Cancionero de Jacinto López</i> , f. 318 (cf. <i>Séguedilles</i> , núm. 298); B : Correas, <i>Arte</i> , p. 454; C : <i>id.</i> , <i>ibid.</i> , p.465. ANTOLOGÍAS. A Frenk 203, Cummins p. 101; B Cejador 1-923, Alonso-Blecua 316, Alín I p. 744, II 973.— Cf. núm. 589.

Lyric	‘Dale el viento en el chapirón’	FUENTES. Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 307a.
Lyric	‘Levantóse un viento’	FUENTES. A: Garay, <i>Cartas</i> , f. 93v; B: Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 214b.— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Alín I 394, II 588; B Cejador 2-1247, Alonso-Blecua 303, Cummins p.66.
Lyric	‘Madre, la mi madre’	FUENTES. <i>Cancionero de Jhoan López</i> , f. 28 (núm. 109).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 7-2781, <i>Poesía erótica</i> 60, Alín II 654.

CHAPTER V: WOMAN AND GENDERED ORTHODOXY

Lyric	‘Dizen que me case yo’	FUENTES. Gil Vicente, <i>Sibila Cassandra</i> , en <i>Copilaçam</i> , f. 9.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Böhl 347, Durán p. 116, Cejador 6-2501, Alonso 95, Alonso-Blecua 352, Frenk 282, Alín I 186, II 162.
Lyric	‘Que no quiero, no, casarme’	FUENTES. A: Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 383b; B: <i>id.</i> , <i>ibid.</i> , p. 456a; C: <i>Cancionero de Jhoan López</i> , f. 2 (núm. 6); C¹: <i>Cancionero 1587</i> , f. 39v (núm. 50); C²: BNM, ms. 22028, f. 328; C³: HSA, ms. B 2465, f. 225v (<i>apud</i> Jammes, “Cinco letrillas”, p. 92).— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Cejador 1-102; B Cejador 1-95; C Cejador 8-3193, Alín I 796, II 649.
Lyric	‘Pues que me sacan a desposar’	FUENTES. Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 484b.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 1-328, Alonso Blecua 308.
Lyric	‘No quiero ser casada’	FUENTES. A: «Chistes de muchas maneras nueuamente compuestos...», pl. s. [Valencia, a. de 1550] (<i>Pliegos BNM</i> , t. 4, p. 78); A¹: «Coplas contra las Rameras con otras muchas obras», pl. s. (<i>apud</i> Gallardo, t. 4, col. 1417); B: <i>Cancionero toledano</i> , f. 19v; C: Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 383b.— ANTOLOGÍAS. A¹ Böhl 333, Cejador 7-2912, Alín II 307; B Alín I 572; C Cejador 1-457.
Lyric	‘Pídeme, carillo’	FUENTES. Horozco, <i>Cancionero</i> , núm. 131 (p. 65).
Lyric	‘Padre mío, casarme quiero’	FUENTES. Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 462b.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 1-309.
Canción	<i>La vella malmaridada</i>	MP2-163 (178 ^v -179 ^r), (1x4), <i>Estríbillo</i> : LB1-345 (92 ^v -93 ^r), MP2-164 (178 ^{r-v}), MN17-33 (44 ^{r-v}), MP4g-506 (234, 158) (136 ^r), 13*BE (¿?) (Perdido). Au: Anón. Ti: <i>Cançion de la uella Malmaridada</i> MP2.
Lyric	‘Llamáysme villana’	FUENTES. A: Juan Vásquez, <i>Recopilación</i> , II, núm. 30; B: Salinas, <i>De música</i> , p. 338 (p. 590).— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Cejador 9-3512, Alonso-Blecua 120, Frenk 290, Alín I 459, II 402; B: Cejador (1-19).
Lyric	‘Quando mi padre me casó’	FUENTES. Vila, <i>Madrigales</i> , p. 17.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Alín I 620, II 424, Cummins p. 96.
Lyric	‘Abaxa los ojos, casada’	FUENTES. Juan Vásquez, <i>Villancicos</i> , núm. 7.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 3-1527, Alonso 176, Alonso-Blecua 91, Frenk 179, Alín I 367, II 343, Cummins p. 95.

Lyric	‘¿Dó benís, casada?’	FUENTES. A: BNM, ms. 3985, f. 129v (cf. <i>Séguedilles</i> , núm. 35); B: <i>ibid.</i> , f. 227v; C: <i>ibid.</i> , f. 229 (cf. <i>ibid.</i> , núm. 55.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Alín II 997.— Cf. Núms. 241, 1960.
Lyric	‘Casadica, de vos dizen mal’	FUENTES. Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 374b.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 1-160.
Lyric	‘¿Para qué se afeita?’	FUENTES. Luis de León, <i>La perfecta casda</i> XII, p. 153.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Frenk 518.
Lyric	‘Cogióme a tu puerta el toro’	FUENTES. Lope de Vega, <i>Peribáñez</i> III (<i>Acad.</i> , t. 10, p. 141b).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 3-1624, Alonso 142, Magariños pp. 131s.
Lyric	‘Mientras que el morico duerme’	FUENTES. <i>Cancionero sevillano</i> , f. 63 (núm. 73).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Alín I 545.— Cf. Núm. 1701.
Lyric	‘Covarde cavallero’	FUENTES. A: Juan Vásquez, <i>Villancicos</i> , núm. 5; A¹: <i>id.</i> , <i>Recopilación</i> , II, núm. 24; A²: Fuenllana, f. 163 (pp. 929-933).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 3-1623, 9-3500, Alonso-Blecua 116, Frenk 149, Alín II 340; B Magariños p. 352, Alín I 364.
<i>Canción</i>	<i>Bien puedo dezir, par Dios</i>	PN8-45 (94 ^{r-v}) (4, 3x8, 2); PN12-37 (79 ^v -80 ^r) (4, 3x8); MN54-16 (29 ^{r-v}) (4, 2x8), RC1-16 (30 ^r). [FD311]. (<i>MN54</i> y <i>RC1</i> no indican que es respuesta). Au: Padilla, Juan de MN54 RC1. (Anón. PN8 PN12). Ti: <i>Otra</i> (+Respuesta de mano posterior) PN12. <i>Otra respuesta</i> PN8. <i>Cancion de Johan de Padilla</i> MN54 RC1.
Lyric	‘Mi marido anda cuytado’	FUENTES. A: <i>Cancionero de Nuestra Señora</i> , p. 68; A¹: «Villancicos Para cantar en la Natiuidad... por Esteuan de çafra...», pl. s., Toledo, 1595 (<i>Pliegos BNM</i> , t. 3, p. 37).— ANTOLOGÍAS. A¹ Alín I 306, Cummins p. 95.
Lyric	‘Por amores lo maldixo’	FUENTES. A: Juan Vásquez, <i>Villancicos</i> , núm. 23, <i>Tenor</i> ; A¹: <i>id.</i> , <i>Recopilación</i> , II, núm. 3.— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Cejador 3-1905, Alín I 375, II 350; A¹ Alonso 177, Alonso-Blecua 105, Frenk 322.

CHAPTER VI: WOMAN AND THE PUBLIC ARENA

Lyric	‘A coger el trévol, damas’	FUENTES. A: Castaña, <i>Romances nuevos</i> , f. 36; A¹: [<i>id.</i>], <i>Romancero general 1604</i> , f. 453v (núm. 1011); A²: [<i>id.</i>], <i>Romancero de madrigal</i> , ff. 94v s (núm. 1333); A³: [<i>id.</i>], <i>Jardín de amadores</i> , f. 67v; A⁴: <i>Cancionero judío de Amsterdam</i> , 1683, f. 31v; A⁵: <i>ibid.</i> , Bibl. Royale Albert 1er., Bruselas, ms. II-93, f. 30v (<i>apud</i> Armistead 1989, p. 505).— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Alín II 759; A¹ Durán p. 159, Frenk 456; A² Cejador 4-2129.
Lyric	‘La noche de Sant Juan, moças’	FUENTES. Caramancheles, <i>Pastora de Manzanares</i> I 3, f. 31.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Frenk 454, Alín II 792.
Lyric	‘Garridica soy en el yermo’	FUENTES. Ensalada “Serrana del bel mirar”, <i>Cancionero musical de Palacio</i> , 71 (346) (mús. Francisco Millán).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 1-577, Magariños p. 42, Alonso-Blecua 55, Frenk 292, Alín I 80.

Lyric	‘Blanca me era yo’	FUENTES. Lope de Vega, <i>El gran duque de Moscovia II</i> (<i>Acad</i> , t. 6, p. 622b).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 1-626, 1-929, Alonso 140, Magariños pp. 133 s, Frenk 198, Alín II 791.
Lyric	‘Aunque soi morena’	FUENTES. A: <i>Cancionero de Jacinto López</i> , f. 320 (cf. <i>Séguedilles</i> , núm. 26); B: Correas, <i>Arte</i> , p. 453.— ANTOLOGÍAS. A: Frenk 196, Alín II 949, Cummins p. 100; B: Cejador 1-778.
Lyric	‘A segar son idos’	FUENTES. Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 12a.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Frenk 403, Cummins p. 119, Alín II 1098.
Lyric	‘Guárdame las vacas, carillo’	FUENTES. A: [Fernández de Heredia] (?), «Romance de vn desafio que se hizo en Paris...», pl. s. [Valencia, ca. ¿1550?] (<i>Pliegos Londres</i> , t. 3, p. 1384); A¹: [<i>id.</i>], «Comieça vn romance del conde Alarcos: Hecho por Pedro de riaño», pl. s. [Zaragoza, Jorge Coci, ca. 1520] (<i>ibid.</i> , t. 2, p. 760; ed. H. Thomas, <i>Early Spanish Ballads</i> , t. 2, pp.13 s); A²: Fernández de Heredia, <i>Obras</i> , f. 108v (p. 129); B: Horozco, <i>Cancionero</i> , núm. 198 (p.109); B¹: «Glosa de Olorosa clauellina. Con otra...», pl. s. (<i>Pliegos BNM</i> , t. 2. p. 198); B²: «Coplas hechas de Guardame mis vacas...», pl. s. (HSA); C: «Glosa al Romãce de O belerma... por Bartolome d’ Santiago...», pl. s. (<i>Pliegos BNM</i> , t. 3, p. 231; D: «Coplas nuevamete hechas de Guardame mis vacas...», pl. s. (<i>apud Diccionario</i> , 818); E: Castillejo, <i>Obras</i> , t. 2 (1969), pp. 111 s; E¹: <i>id.</i> , <i>Libro de diversas trovas</i> , BNM, ms. 3691, f. 51v (cf. Gallardo, t. 2, col. 288); F: Orellana, ensalada “In loco pascue pasté”, <i>Endechas</i> , f. 3; G: <i>England’s Helicon</i> , 1600, f. M.— ANTOLOGÍAS. B Cejador 6-2685, Alín I 200, II 170; B¹ Cejador 6-2685; C Cejador 2-1397; E Cejador 6-2686, Alonso 110, Alonso-Blecua 368, Frenk 143.
Lyric	‘Guárdame mis vacas’	FUENTES. Valverde Arrieta, f. 35rv.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 6-2687.
Lyric	‘Galán, toma de mi pan’	FUENTES. A: Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> p. 343a; B: farsa sacramental <i>Premática del pan</i> (<i>apud Rouanet</i> , t. 3, p. 247).— ANTOLOGÍAS. B Cejador 9-3458.

CHAPTER VII: WOMAN AND RELIGION

Lyric	‘Lo que demanda el romero, madre’	FUENTES. A: <i>Cancionero musical de Palacio</i> , 365 (236); B: Horozco, <i>Cancionero</i> , núm. 273 (p.139).— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Frenk 102, Alín I 1333, II 106; B Cejador 1-959, Alonso-Blecua 169.
Lyric	‘Perdida traygo la color’	FUENTES. Juan Vásquez, <i>Villancicos</i> , núm. 12.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 3-1903, Alonso 181, Magariños pp. 351 s, Alonso-Blecua 92, Frenk 139.—Cf. núm. 313.
Lyric	‘So el enzina, enzina’	FUENTES. A: <i>Cancionero musical de Palacio</i> , 20 (402).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 8-3241, Alonso 169, Margariños p. 41, Alonso-Blecua 53, Frenk 95, Alín I 72, II 65.

Lyric	‘¡Héla por do viene!’	FUENTES. Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 588a.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 1-862.
<i>Canción</i>	<i>¡Ay señora muy conplida!</i>	MN15-1 (1 ^r) (2x8), MN65-19 (8:1 ^r), PN1-251 (84 ^v), SA7-189 (86 ^v ...) (falta) (Gallego). Au: González de Mendoza, Pedro, padre del Almirante Diego Furtado. Ti: <i>Aqui se comiençan las cantigas e dezires muy graçiosos e bien fechos que fizo e ordeno en su tiempo el honrado e noble cauallero pero gonçales de mendoçapadre del almirante don diego furtado e primeramente se comiençan las cantigas quel fizo por amor e loores de vna gentil donçella que mucho amaua por amor de la qual diz que mando fazer el monesterio de santa clara de guadalfajara do se metyo monja PN1 MN15 MN65. Como pero gonçalueç de mendoça fuesse emdrado(!) de vna donzella al tiempo que era mas congoxado de la passion de bien amar ella se puso monja en esguarde del gran bien que la querria hedifico el monasterio de santa clara de Guadalaxara et fiço esta cançion siguiente por ella SA7.</i>
Lyric	‘Mongica en religion’	FUENTES. Salinas, <i>De musica</i> , p. 300 (p. 520).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 1-591, Alín I 650, II 522.
Lyric	‘¿Cómo queréis, madre?’	FUENTES. A: Juan Vásquez, <i>Villancicos</i> , núm. 15; A¹: Fuenllana, f. 132rv (pp. 710-716) (mús. “de Juan Vásquez”).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 3-1629; A¹ Magariños p. 356, Alín I 398, II 352.
Lyric	‘¿Cómo lo tuerce i lava!’	FUENTES. <i>Cancionero de Jacinto López</i> , f. 318v (cf. <i>Séguedilles</i> , núm. 307).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Alonso-Blecua 317, Frenk 195, Alín I 515, II 954.— Cf. Núms. 276 A, 2278.
Lyric	‘No me las enseñes más’	FUENTES. Sánchez de Badajoz, <i>Farsa del juego de cañas</i> , vv. 276-285 (<i>Recopilación</i> , p. 521).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 3-1832, Alonso 108, Alonso-Blecua 365, Frenk 180, Alín I 61, II 57, Cummins pp. 90 s.
Lyric	‘Mientras el santero va por leña’	FUENTES. A: Orellana, <i>Endechas</i> , f. [12]v; B: Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 154b; C: <i>loc cit.</i>
Lyric	‘¿Qué dirán de la freila?’	FUENTES. Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 384a.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 1-1998, Frenk 567, Cummins p. 91, Alín II 271.

CHAPTER VIII: WOMAN AT THE MARGINS

Lyric	‘Di, perra mora’	FUENTES. <i>Cancionero musical de Medinacelli</i> , pp. 12 s (núm. 9).
Lyric	‘¡Cuitada de la mora!’	FUENTES. Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 452a.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 1-432, Alonso-Blecua 297.
Lyric	‘Tres morillas m’enamoran en Jaén’	FUENTES. <i>Cancionero musical de Palacio</i> , 24 (17).— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 8-3291, Alonso 158, Alonso-Blecua 25, Frenk 101, Alín I 73, II 66, Cummins p.46.
Lyric	‘En el monte anda la niña’	FUENTES. Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 123b.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 1-219.

Lyric	‘Y dezyd, serranicas, ¡he!’	FUENTES. A: <i>Cancionero de Upsala</i> , ff. 0v-1r (núm. 2); B: ensalada “Descanso del alma mía”, <i>Cancionero toledano</i> , f. 31.— ANTOLOGÍAS. A Cejador 9-3392, Alonso 194, Alonso 194, Alonso-Blecua 137, Alín I 428.
Lyric	‘Salteóme la serrana’	FUENTES. Velez de Guevara, <i>La serrana de la Vera</i> III, vv. 2656-69.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 8-3161, Margariños p. 307, Alonso-Blecua 475, Frenk 375, Alín II 310.
Lyric	‘¿Por dó passaré la sierra?’	FUENTES. Gil Vicente, <i>Triunfo do inverno</i> , en <i>Copilaçam</i> , f. 177.— ANTOLOGÍAS. Cejador 8-3013, Alonso 104, Alonso-Blecua 358, Frenk 374, Alín I 243, II 202, Cummins pp. 103 s.
<i>Serranilla</i>	<i>Llegando a Pineda</i>	SA7-33 (13 ^{r-v}) (4, 2x8). Au: Bocanegra, Francisco. Ti: <i>Serrana françisco bocanegra</i> .
Lyric	‘Por dormir con una serrana’	FUENTES. Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 477a.
<i>Serranilla</i>	<i>En toda la Sumontaña</i>	MN8-94 (215 ^{r-v}) (3, 3x7), SA8-79 (246 ^v -247 ^r). [FD259]. Año 1429. Au: Santillana. Ti: <i>Serranilla</i> .
Lyric	‘Anda, puta, no serás buena’	FUENTES. Delicado, <i>Lozana andaluza</i> XII, p. 133.
Lyric	‘Alva de Tormes’	FUENTES. A: Vallés, f. [14]v; B: Correas, <i>Vocabulario</i> , p. 52a; C: <i>id.</i> , <i>loc. Cit.</i>
<i>Canción</i>	<i>Gentil dama singular</i>	11CG-1001 (228 ^v), 14CG-1080 (206 ^v -207 ^r) (5, 9), 19OB-25 (?). Au: Montoro, Antón de. Ti: <i>Cancion suya a vna muger que traya grandes caderas y quando andaua parescia que amblaua</i> .

ABBREVIATIONS AND DETAILS OF MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED SOURCES USED BY DUTTON

<u>ABBREVIATION</u>	<u>TITLE</u>	<u>DATE</u>
LB1	<i>Cancionero de Rennert</i>	c. 1510
LB2	<i>Cancionero de Herberay</i>	c. 1465
ME1	<i>Cancionero de Módena</i>	c. 1475
MN8	Obras de Santillana	c. 1700
MN15	<i>Pequeño cancionero del Marqués de la Romana</i>	c. 1590
MN17	<i>Cancionero de Gallardo</i>	Siglo XIV
MN54	<i>Cancionero de Stúñiga</i>	c. 1462
MN65	Copia de MN15	Siglo XVIII
MP2	<i>Cancionero de poesías varias</i>	c. 1560
MP3	Obras de Gómez Manrique	c. 1475
MP4	<i>Cancionero musical de Palacio</i>	1498-1520
PN1	<i>Cancionero de Baena</i>	c. 1450
PN8	'E'	c. 1475
PN12	'H'	c. 1480
RC1	<i>Cancionero de Roma</i>	c. 1465
SA7	<i>Cancionero de Palacio</i>	c. 1439
SA8	Obras de Santillana	c. 1456
VM1	<i>Cancionero de Venecia</i>	c. 1470
11CG	<i>Cancionero general</i>	1511
12MO	<i>Las trescientas con su glosa etc</i>	1512
13*BE	<i>Coplas de la bella malmaridada</i>	¿1513?
14CG	<i>Cancionero general</i>	1514
19OB	<i>Cancionero de obras de burlas</i>	1519

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