

**Symbolism and Some other Aspects of
Traditional Hispanic Lyrics:**

A Comparative Study of Late Medieval Lyric and
Modern Popular Song

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To my father and grandfather
who did not have the right to life.

To my mother and brothers.

Abstract:

Medieval traditional lyrics can be distinguished from learned poetry by formal and thematic aspects. Symbolism, feminine voice, and intertextuality have been revealed as three defining aspects of these songs.

Symbols occurring in this poetry are constant, collective, and archaic. They represent nature and they are associated with human sexuality, permeating with eroticism other motifs and actions appearing in the songs. Their archaism suggests a remote origin.

The preservation of medieval traditional songs in their modern counterparts has been demonstrated by scholars in their textual similarities. However, there have not so far been systematic comparative studies that probe the relationship of old and modern traditional lyrics in their symbolic aspect. A systematic comparative and diachronic study of symbols occurring in traditional lyrics is needed.

The aim of this thesis is to analyse and confirm the relationship between Hispanic medieval traditional lyrics and their contemporary counterparts by studying the most relevant erotic symbols and motifs from the Middle Ages until now, in order to show the process of their preservation, change, or loss. I shall stress the gender of the voice of the songs and the connections between these lyrics and their contemporary European counterparts, so as to understand Hispanic and Portuguese traditional lyrics within their context.

Folksong intertextuality made necessary an interdisciplinary approach, drawing on literature, folklore, anthropology, and psychology. This apparently heterogeneous perspective is needed to comprehend the particularities of each song in its context.

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Solivia el pan, panadera,
solivia el pan, que se quema.
(C 1164)

1. Introduction

The study of Peninsular popular lyrics has been carried out in parallel directions. Until recently, published studies emphasized either the medieval or the folkloric aspect of the texts, though lacking a full understanding of the life of a folksong.¹ This situation has changed in the last decades with the publication of important works, which have paved the way for future research.

The strength of oral tradition is seen in the continued presence of archaic motifs. The revealing book of Eduardo Martínez Torner (1966) was the first systematic attempt to demonstrate this. In his book, learned and popular motifs are studied together. Several studies of symbolism in Castilian *estribillos* and Galician-Portuguese *cantigas de amigo* reveal different aspects of traditional symbols. Eugenio Asensio's work (1957), centred on the symbolism of the stag and the fountain, paves the way for further analyses. Other important works on the subject are by X. L. Méndez Ferrín (1966), who analyses the origins of the meeting of the lovers at the fountain; Vicente Beltrán (1984), who studies the motif of the wind; and Pilar Lorenzo Gradín (1990), who focuses her work on the female voice. In England the first major study was by Arthur Hatto (1965), who describes the symbolism of the elements that appear in dawn song from all over the world; Stephen Reckert's revealing studies on the micropoetics of Iberian traditional lyrics (1970, 1976, 1993) stress the similarities between Eastern and Western symbolism; Helder Macedo (1976) analyses the system of symbols of the *cantigas*; John Cummins (1977) briefly

¹ The term 'popular' will be used here as the equivalent of traditional.(see n. 2 below). The terms 'poem', 'song', 'refrain', *estribillo* are used as synonyms. In order to avoid ambiguity I do not use the term *villancico*. The origin of this term was studied by Antonio Sánchez Romeralo (1969), and more recently by Yakov Malkiel & Charlotte Stern (1984), among others.

describes some of the main traditional symbols; Alan Deyermond (1979-80) demonstrates the links of the traditional Spanish and Portuguese symbols with other medieval and Far Eastern traditions. In addition, in [Belgium] there is the work of Ria Lemaire (1987), in which symbols appearing in the *cantigas de amigo* are analysed. In France, there is the work of Daniel Devoto (1974). In the United States the study of Paula Olinger shows the importance of traditional symbolism (1985). In Latin America there are the fundamental studies of Margit Frenk (1971, 1992), which underline the relationship of Hispanic traditional symbolism with other popular traditions; also Raúl Dorra (1981), and Eglá Morales Blouin (1981) who pointed out the importance of mythology in traditional symbolism.

Another important source is dictionaries of symbols. The most important work in traditional lyrics is that of the German ethnomusicologist Werner Danckert (1976), a posthumously ~~by~~ published work focused on old and contemporary worldwide folksongs. In addition, there is the dictionary of Ad de Vries (1976), who also stresses the use of different symbols in folklore. Other important dictionaries are those of Jean Chevalier and Alain Gheerbrant (1982) and Juan Carlos Cirlot (1988) in which the stress is on symbols from classical mythology.

These studies show different approaches to the origin of the motifs which occur in current folksongs. Some scholars trace the motifs to a remote past, while others demonstrate the recurrence of the same motifs in different cultures at different times. However, scholars agree that traditional symbols are associated with human fecundity and erotic life, permeating with eroticism other motifs and actions appearing in the songs. Everything indicates the significance of carrying out a systematic comparative study of motifs and symbols, with a diachronic approach to Iberian traditional lyrics.

The aim of this study is to analyse the most important erotic motifs and symbols in Peninsular popular poetry from the Middle Ages until now, showing their preservation, change, or loss. Furthermore, I shall emphasize three main features of traditional style: the female voice, symbolism, and the links of Hispanic and Portuguese lyric with contemporary European counterparts in order to understand traditional poetry within its context.

In this study, I shall refer only to the corpus of old traditional songs which have been considered popular. This fact distinguishes the present work from previous studies. However, learned sources were not overlooked; on the contrary, I refer to them whenever they shed light on the text studied. The collections of popular songs examined here incorporate texts from all areas of the Iberian Peninsula, although my emphasis will be on Northern and Central areas of Spain and Portugal.

Defining lyrics as traditional is a complex and polemical issue, and several aspects must be taken into account. In the first place, traditional lyrics are created and sung (not exclusively) by the rural lower strata, which includes peasants, shepherds and servants who emigrated to the cities.² Secondly, traditional songs live in variants, where the point of view of the collectivity is imposed upon the individual

² The rural background of the folksongs was also mentioned by Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1953 and 1960: 296-97); Stephen Reckert (1970 and 1993); Bruce W. Wardropper (1980); Margit Frenk (1993). John Cummins mentions that *poesía popular* 'is inadequate as a description of a type of verse whose tradition, while unbroken at the popular level, at times embraces wider social and literary strata' (1977:1). From my point of view this objection does not exclude that the creation of this lyric in lower rural strata and therefore its *popular* nature, even though it was adopted by other social strata. Another interesting problem of using the term popular was indicated by José María Alín in his second anthology:

la idea de un pueblo *creador, autor anónimo colectivo*, es una pura entelequia, de raigambre romántica, que resulta insostenible. Hay, siempre, *un autor*, del pueblo o no, anónimo o no; y cuando ese *pueblo* modifica o varía el texto dado, tampoco se trata de una *acción colectiva*, sino que es obra de uno o varios retocadores individuales, en posible acción sucesiva. El *pueblo* acepta, *colectivamente*, ese resultado; nada más. (1991:7)

This does not invalidate the term *popular* either because defining this lyric as created by the people does not necessarily mean a collective creation. Furthermore, the individual creation and recreation of the text has been accepted since Menéndez Pidal's definition of traditional style. Lastly, the people who sing this poetry (*pueblo*) not only accept but also reject songs.

in the process of creation and recreation of songs. Thirdly, traditional poetry has a limited number of topoi, motifs and stylistic sources known and shared by all the people.³ These three features define a popular style, which differs from area to area. These regional differences circumscribed into a certain period of time constitute a 'popular school'.⁴

By 'old' lyrics I mean those which were written down by courtly musicians, poets, and other educated people from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century in Castile. 'Contemporary lyrics' include all those texts which were collected from the oral tradition from the mid-nineteenth century until today.

As mentioned before, this study is based on a diachronic approach. Thus, the texts of different sections are sorted in chronological order so as to illustrate the process of transformation through time of the features studied. In most cases the contemporary songs are 'topos survivals', the text is substantially different, but the theme coincides with that of the old refrain. In some cases, however, contemporary songs have such close similarities with the old refrain that they should be considered 'survivals'.⁵

Popular poetry comprises a variety of genres, which can be classified into two main groups: 1) songs defined in accordance with their theme (work-songs, love-songs, satirical songs, and wedding songs); 2) songs described according to their structure (riddles and proverbs). I shall probe texts which are defined by their use of

³ Frenk 1993b: 13; Méndez Pidal 1953: 45-46. The acceptance or rejection of the song by the community was defined as *censure préventive* by Roman Jakobson (1973: 62); see also Peter Burke (1988).

⁴ Antonio Sánchez Romeralo (1969); Sergio Baldi 1946: 66. The term 'popular school' was first created by J. R. Moore (1916). This concept was rejected by Sánchez Romeralo (1969: 120). Here style is 'the manner of expression in prose or verse' (Cuddon 1992: s.v. style).

⁵ For the term survival see the studies of Juan Alfonso Carrizo (1945), Margit Frenk (1960), and José María Alín (1992).

themes, excluding one wide area, which deserves a particular study, children's rhymes.

Folksong's intertextuality makes necessary an interdisciplinary approach. The main areas that I shall be dealing with are: literature, folklore, anthropology, and psychology. This heterogeneous perspective is needed to comprehend the particularities of each song in its context.⁶

1.1 From the *estribillo* to the *copla*

Old traditional lyrics are mainly *estribillos*, which have been described as 'el núcleo lírico popular en la tradición hispánica' (Alonso 1949: 61). It is a brief strophe with assonant rhymes and syllabic irregularities (Menéndez Pidal 1951: 226). It is poetry to be sung, and

because [its] musical rhythm is quite independent of prosodic rhythm, the irregularities in stress could be disguised by the music, as could the syllabic irregularity by lengthening or compressing syllables to fit the melodic rhythm. The prosody of the poems is in a sense controlled by the melody, as can be observed to this day in the Spanish folksong. (Monroe 1975: 346)

Furthermore these irregularities, owing to the musical nature of the songs,

hacen pensar que música y letra no fueran compuestas a un tiempo y conservadas fielmente con su primitiva forma, sino que una de las dos ha sufrido modificaciones, o que a una melodía dada se le ha aplicado una nueva letra, de distinta acentuación rítmica. (Torner 1920: xxxi).

Another noticeable aspect of old Castilian lyrics is the woman's song, often a monologue of an unmarried girl. Such songs have been regarded by some scholars as the origin of lyric poetry.⁷ They often have interrogative formulas in the first person

⁶Ruth Finnegan (1992b) suggests an interdisciplinary approach to : folklore.

⁷Alfred Jeanroy (1904: 150-51). For the ancient origins of women's songs see Elvira Gangutia Elícegui (1972). There are studies on the female voice in traditional lyrics: Vicente Beltrán (1976); Doris Earnshaw (1978); Mary Gaylord Randel (1982), who studies the feminine voice in old *estribillos* and concludes that is a poetic fiction that poets can manipulate to diverse ends; López Estrada (1986); Miguel Ángel Pérez Priego (1989); and Pilar Lorenzo Gradín (1990). Elsewhere I conclude that there is not a special language of the

singular of the future. The young woman addresses her mother, her sisters, her lover, or some natural objects (animate or inanimate). Sometimes, a sense of old fashioned morality has confused scholars, who have identified the girl of the songs as a virgin whose aim is to get married and have children, or to preserve her virginal status.⁸ Other scholars, with whom I agree, conclude that this is not the case in the Castilian refrain.⁹ The girl is usually single, sometimes a virgin who is shown in the process of sexual awareness. However, in other cases the girl already knows physical love and that is the reason why she feels distress and longs for her lover.

The woman's song and the other stylistic features mentioned above are shared by early Peninsular lyrics: the *kharjas*, the Galician-Portuguese *cantigas de amigo*, and the Castilian *estribillos*. This led scholars to conclude that the three traditions have a common source that could be a Vulgar Latin tradition, or as far back as the roots of the Indoeuropean language.¹⁰

Old popular Peninsular lyrics are known because courtly fashion at a specific

woman, although there are some distinctive features that identify it (Mäser 1991). For the female voice in learned fifteenth century *cancioneros* see Jane Whetnall 1984.

⁸Menéndez Pidal: 1951a & 1960: 312; Sponsler 1975: 135-136.

⁹Frenk 1952, 1993a, 1993b; Blouin 1981; Olinger 1985.

¹⁰The common origin is accepted by the great majority of scholars, but one polemical issue is whether to consider it as traditional or learned. Some of the scholars who agree with the hypothesis of a common traditional origin are: Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1951: 30), Dámaso Alonso (1949: 59-60), Firmino Crespo (1966), Eugenio Asensio (1957), James T. Monroe (1976: 349), Alan Deyermond (1979-80), Margit Frenk (1993). More evidence supporting a common traditional origin has been presented by José Manuel Pedrosa (1995). The development of the discussion motivated by the problem of the origins of lyrics among scholars was summarized by Margit Frenk (1975: 9-45).

Other important studies on *kharjas* are: J. M. Sola-Solé (1973), Samuel M. Stern (1974). The relation of the *kharjas* with other traditions was studied by different scholars. P.F. Ganz (1953) commented on the links with the German *Frauenlied*. Irénée M. Cluzel (1960) studied the similarities with courtly love. The connections with the *cantigas de amigo* were pointed out by Martha E. Schaffer (1987). James T. Monroe (1976) underlined the relationship of the *kharjas* with North African poetry; Samuel G. Armistead (1973) shows the similarities with Provençal lyrics. Vincent Cantarino (1969) and Brian Dutton (1975) study the different traditions in the *muwashsha*. The versification of the *kharjas* was studied by Dorothy Clotelle Clarke (1978) and by Joseph B. Spieker (1984); Richard Hitchcock (1973; 1977-78 and 1980) pointed out some problems of textual interpretation *kharjas* in Arabic script.

period of time appreciated them as poetic material, hence confirming the interaction between learned and popular traditions. *Kharjas*, *cantigas de amigo*, and Castilian *estribillos* are the fruit of that mixture. This point was accurately studied by Alan Deyermond, who summarizes this process in the history of the Peninsular lyrics.

According to him:

popular and courtly elements interact differently in the two main chronological divisions. In both periods popular song survives [in written form] only when it is of use to a cultured poet or musician [...]. In the early period (from the beginning of the eleventh century to the middle of the fourteenth), the forms of courtly lyrics derive in large measure from those of popular song, and the themes and words of that song are present from the beginning in the poetic output of the courts. In the fifteenth century, on the other hand, the courtly verse forms have no direct debt to the popular tradition, and popular themes and words are excluded from the earliest *cancioneros*, but gradually yet inexorably, traditional song recaptures the imagination of the court poets and musicians. (Deyermond 1981: 27).

The process of adoption of Castilian refrain from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century is divided into two main periods. The first phase is from 1450 to 1580. The starting point was the court of Juan II, King of Aragon and Navarre, where the *Cancionero de Herberay des Essarts* was compiled (ca 1463), although it is not until the court of the Catholic Monarchs that popular poetry began to be methodically employed. This is seen in the number of popular songs that appear in the *Cancionero musical de Palacio*. After 1510 this poetic fashion is widespread and the two main places of diffusion are Valencia, with significant musicians such as Luis Milán and the Catalan Mateó Flecha the elder, and Portugal with the important contribution of Gil Vicente. In the second phase, from 1580 to 1650, 'la poesía popular española pasa a ser [...] punto de arranque de la nueva poesía' (Frenk 1971: 35). Its principal means of transmission was the theatre of Lope de Vega, Tirso de Molina, Vélez de Guevara, Rojas Zorrilla, Valdivielso, and Quiñones de Benavente (Frenk 1971: 38). Traditional poetry was also used by other poets like Góngora. The

culmination of the interest in traditional lyrics was erudite studies dedicated to it. This is the case with Gonzalo Correas, whose *Vocabulario de refranes y frases proverbiales* (ca 1627) and *Arte de la lengua castellana* (1625) are some of the most important sources for popular songs. The result of this tendency was a new style where traditional and cultured elements were combined.¹¹

As a result of the blending of styles, the brevity, the simplicity, and the directness of the old Castilian *estribillo* were contaminated with expressions where wit predominated. The symbol's ambiguity gave way to the concreteness of the metaphor (Frenk 1966: 24; Alín 1991: 48-49).

In this second phase, the main forms are seguidillas and octosyllabic *coplas*. Thus, the style that flourished in the seventeenth century replaced the old one. Nevertheless, in isolated areas the archaic style has been preserved up to our own days (Frenk 1971: 86-87).

Bearing in mind all that has been said about the Castilian refrains, there is yet another important aspect to be discussed here: transmission. This has been considered the main distinctive element of an oral poem. Ruth Finnegan (1992: 17) pointed out that three different aspects define an oral poem: '(1) its composition, (2) its mode of transmission, and (3) (related to (2)) its performance. Some oral poetry is oral in all these respects, some in only one or two'. On the one hand, texts were collected from the medieval popular tradition and written down by learned artists. Their means of transmission were the manuscript and the *pliego suelto*. Some poems were kept in written collections, thus stopping the process of text-recreation and confining the song's use to readers. Secondly, the *pliego suelto*, the most popular means of transmission, allowed for texts to be read and, probably, then, through performance,

¹¹ See José Manuel Blecua (1952), José María Alín (1968), Margit Frenk (1971).

returned to the oral tradition.¹² However, most songs were and have been orally transmitted. The proof of is old songs that are still sung by illiterate people from isolated areas. Moreover, there are contemporary songs with archaic structures and themes, indicating their ancient origin, which have no old text to prove it.¹³ In conclusion, since the *estribillos* were first recorded in the fifteenth century, it could be assumed that they have been mainly transmitted by oral means.¹⁴

The coexistence of both traditions in Early Modern Europe was described by Peter Burke:

there were two cultural traditions in Early Modern Europe, but they did not correspond symmetrically to the two main social groups, the elite and the common people. The elite participated in the little tradition, but the common people did not participate in the great tradition. This asymmetry came about because the two traditions were transmitted in different ways. The great tradition was transmitted formally at grammar schools and at universities. It was a closed tradition in the sense that people who had not attended these institutions, which were not open to all, were excluded. In a quite literal sense, they did not speak the language. The little tradition, on the other hand, was transmitted informally. It was open to all, like the church, the tavern and the market place.¹⁵

This interaction between learned and popular elements does not stop in the seventeenth century, though in the eighteenth century the acknowledgment of traditional poetry by learned authors declined. In the Peninsula, it is not until the last

¹² For a description of the process of transmission of lyrics in the Golden Age, see Antonio Rodríguez-Moñino (1965 and 1968), José Manuel Blecua (1970), Alberto Blecua (1983).

¹³ This has been studied by Margit Frenk and José Manuel Pedrosa (Frenk & Pedrosa). As I have said above, since most of the extant texts of old lyrics have survived because of a selection made by the courtly musicians, poets and playwrights, we may have lost many texts which were not committed to writing.

¹⁴ This was also pointed out by Sánchez Romeralo (1969: 85). Problems of the relationship between oral and written culture in the transitional period from Middle Ages to Renaissance were studied by Margit Frenk (1982) and Alan Deyermond (1988).

¹⁵ Burke 1978: 28. See also the work on medieval popular culture by Mikhail Bakhtin (1984); and the definition of popular culture in contemporary society by L. M. Lombardi Satriani (1973) and Adolfo Colombres (1987).

decades of the nineteenth century that popular poetry becomes again a subject for learned scholars, who were influenced by Romantic ideas. In the twentieth century, traditional poetry is appreciated not only as a subject of study but also as poetic material. On the one hand, Juan Ramón Jiménez, Federico García Lorca, Rafael Alberti, and other poets, used popular tradition in their poetry, in which popular songs are appropriated and transformed. On the other hand, a systematic study of lyrics by scholars emerged. Nevertheless, the most important source of traditional poetry is still those people who continuously sing them. Thus, the interaction between the two traditions never ends; as Ruth Finnegan (1992: 23) pointed out: 'since literate and non-literate media have so long coexisted and interacted it is natural to find not only interaction between "oral" and "written" literature but many cases that overlap and mixture'. However, it is important to take into account that popular and learned contemporary lyrics interact in an analogous, but not identical, fashion to their old counterparts.

In conclusion, in this study the term 'popular lyrics' refers to a 'poetry orally composed and orally diffused, often changed in the process of diffusion, and committed to writing much later, if at all; or poetry by cultured writers who are so familiar with the popular tradition that their poems can be absorbed into it [losing the traces of their individual styles]' (Deyermond 1989: 7). It is clear, then, that a song cannot validly be denied the status of 'popular' because at some point of its life written means were used for its preservation.

1.1.1 Lyra minima and structure ¹⁶

Reiteration is a formal feature that distinguishes traditional poetry. This

¹⁶I shall use the term structure as 'the sum of the relationships of the parts to each other; thus, the whole' (Cuddon 1992: s.v. structure).

involves a word, a sentence, a whole refrain and often results in songs with simple parallelism or with *leixa pren* (see **Dawn**):¹⁷

Mis ojuelos, madre,
valen una ciudade.

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

Mis ojuelos, madre,
tanto son de veros,
cada vez que los alço,
merescen dineros.
Dineros, mi madre.
Valen una ciudade
(C 128)

This has been preserved in contemporary folksong, in which theme and formal structure indicate their archaism (Frenk 1980):

Ó malvinha, malveta,
ó da malva moreneta,
malva do corpo vazio,
lá detrás daquela serra
diz' me se vai algum rio.

Grande rio vai, senhor,
mas ele vai empulberido,
não no passava el-rei
quando vinha de Castilla.

Grande rio vai, senhor,
mas ele vai empulburado,
não passava el-rei
quando vinha em seu cavalo.

(Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 291)

¹⁷ For an analysis of the structure of old Castilian refrains see Sánchez Romeralo 1969; Frenk 1971: chapter 2, and the studies in Frenk 1978; Alín 1968: 51-148; Cummins 1977: 1-35. For parallelism in medieval songs: Bec 1969. For parallelism in *cantigas de amigo* see Atkinson 1955; the full analysis of Eugenio Asensio (1957: 75-132, 181-224), Reckert (1970), and Reckert & Macedo 1976. For parallelism in contemporary songs see Romeu Figueras 1954; Pérez Vidal 1948; Magis 1969: 383-392, 595-609. For parallelism in Jewish Spanish wedding songs Alvar 1971. For a formal comparative study see Torner 1966.

Alcánzame esa espada
que quiero saber quién anda.

Alcánzame esa espada,
ésa de filo torcido,
que quiero saber quién anda
a la vuelta del castillo,
a la vuelta del castillo.

Alcánzame esa espada.

Esa de filo doblado,
que quiero saber quién anda
a la vuelta del palacio,
a la vuelta del palacio.

Alcánzame esa espada
que quiero saber quién anda.

(Díaz Viana & Manzano 1989: 172, no. 4)

The refrain with binary structure is the most common form of traditional lyrics. Old Castilian refrains are sometimes linked with a popular gloss that expands or repeats them; there are other songs where 'glosa' and refrain are thematically dissociated, which may be the result of the combination of two texts.¹⁸

The frequent appearance of distichs such as

Yo, mi madre, yo,
que la flor de la villa me so.
(120 A)

has often been seen by scholars as evidence of the archaism of traditional lyrics.¹⁹ In contemporary lyrics the four-line stanza predominates as a *seguidilla* (7-5-7-5) or an octosyllabic *copla*:

Las ánimas han dado,
mi amor no viene;
alguna picarona,
me lo entretiene.
(Rodríguez Marín 1910: 244)

¹⁸For the relationship between refrain and 'glosa' see Frenk 1952; Alín 1991: 28-29.

¹⁹Alín 1968: chapter 2, Sánchez Romeralo 1969; Frenk 1971; Cummins 1977; Frenk 1978; Alín 1991.

Tengo un mandilín en casa
 con flores de primavera;
 el galán que me le ha dado
 ya sabe que soy soltera.

(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: IV, 188, no. 197)

However there are examples of contemporary distichs, whose archaism shows their ancestry:²⁰

Tú que te llevas la flor,
 tú te la llevarás.

(Díaz & Díaz Viana 1983: 172)

Another remarkable feature that denotes the archaism of this lyric is assonance and the syllabic irregularities. Irregularities are not hazardous, because also they follow certain patterns. In traditional lyrics there are two forces, those that tend to regularize structures and those that tend to asymmetric forms. These features are often maintained in contemporary folk songs.²¹

There are some internal patterns that frequently appear in this *lyra minima*. The reduplication of the pattern 'statement>question / statement> question' (Reckert 1970: 2); symbolic equivalence - a parallelistic symbolic comparison - in quatrains, where the symbolic meaning of the first two lines is disclosed by the last two (Reckert 1970: 3); simple replacement - the term of the comparison is omitted and is replaced by the symbol, which is already familiar to the poet (Reckert 1970: 3). Another common structure is parallelism with antithesis (Reckert 1970: 6). These simple structures can be combined, thus there is the combination of symbolic equivalence with simple replacement (Reckert 1970: 7). Lastly, the brevity of these

²⁰ For the contemporary song's structure see: Rodríguez Marin 1910; Magis 1969. There are also the studies included in song collections dedicated to a particular area: Olmeda 1903; Torner 1920 and 1966; Gil 1963; Córdoba y Oña 1948-55; Scubarth & Santamarina 1984; Díaz Viana & Manzano 1989. There are specific studies: Romeu Figueras 1948. For the musical aspect of these lyrics: Anglés 1959-60; García Matos 1960-61.

²¹ Regularization as a feature of traditional lyrics was pointed out by Frenk (1971: 92) and Alín (1991: 35), who affirms that traditional lyric has a regular form.

lyrics results in a semantic condensation, where different topoi are clustered together. This I shall define as accumulation of symbols.

1.2 Sources

Since the fifteenth century, traditional songs have been preserved in anthologies, thus the corpus of old songs that we have is the result of a selection made by many compilers. Consequently, an analysis of the different criteria that guided this selection of songs is needed in order to understand the material that I shall study here.

The task of making a comparative study of popular lyrics would have been impossible without the series of modern anthologies that scholars have published, since there is an enormous number of texts in a great variety of sources.

1.2.1 Old *estribillos*

Since the lecture of Menéndez Pidal in 1919, intense research on Hispanic lyrics has been carried out, resulting in a number of anthologies. Julio Cejador y Frauca, *La verdadera poesía castellana* (1921-30), is a pioneering work. The collection is organised in ten volumes. The texts are arranged following a structural criterion, from the simplest to more complex songs. Its importance lies in the stress on popular lyrics and the author's assertion that the *villancico* should be considered as its nucleus. However, the lack of systematization makes reading difficult.

Later, as a consequence of the discovery of the *kharjas*, new anthologies appeared. These publications could be divided into three main groups according to their date of publication. The anthology of Dámaso Alonso and José Manuel Blecua (1956) was followed by the first anthologies by Margit Frenk (1966) and José María Alín (1968). The latter is the largest collection (942 texts) of this group. The titles of

these anthologies suggest that the definition of lyrics as traditional or popular is based on the authorship of the songs collected. These scholars considered that some of the extant texts were perhaps an imitation of popular songs by a learned author; thus they use the term 'poesía de tipo tradicional'. The criterion of organization of the texts that prevailed in these studies was chronological. They do not give different versions of the songs. The main difference is the inclusion or exclusion of a learned 'glosa' to popular *villancicos*: Alonso & Blecua and Alín included learned glosses, whereas Frenk excluded them in order to emphasize the traditional aspect of the texts. Hers is the first anthology where texts were thematically sorted.

Afterwards came the works of Antonio Sánchez Romeralo (1969) and John Cummins (1977). Sánchez Romeralo is the first to bring to our attention the necessity of stressing the popular style of the old songs. According to him 'nuestra antología, [...] obedece, pues, a un esfuerzo por delimitar, por precisar aún más lo popular, lo tradicional'. He believes in 'un *estilo popular*, auténticamente popular, y en la posibilidad y necesidad de detectarlo y explicarlo. Las canciones de nuestra *Antología popular*, de procedencia diversa, presentan una homogeneidad estilística esencial; su estilo sí es *popular*, hecho en y por la tradición popular' (1969: 11). In order to better understand a popular style Sánchez Romeralo made a comprehensive study of the language, themes, and structures of the texts.

John Cummins opts for the term *poesía de tipo tradicional*, emphasizing the song's authorship instead of its style. His anthology has an introductory study and is divided into two parts. The first contains those anonymous songs considered traditional. An important feature of this section is the inclusion of contemporary texts, which show the development of each topos and accentuate the importance of continuity in oral tradition. The second part contains the use of traditional poetry in

different cultured authors (from the *kharjas* to García Lorca).

A new phase begins with the appearance of Margit Frenk's *Corpus de la antigua lírica popular (siglos XV a XVII)* (1987). It is the first attempt since Cejador (1921-30) to include all of the texts, and is the first with a serious critical apparatus, which provides the researcher with thorough information on each song. The *Corpus* has the largest number of texts (2383), and has been expanded with 63 new texts in 1992: *Corpus de la antigua lírica popular hispánica: Suplemento*.²² The criterion followed by Margit Frenk is based on the concept of a popular style she collected: 'lo que sentía, por su temática, estilo y técnica, como más "auténtico", más cercano a lo antiguo, menos "contaminado" por los estilos poéticos cultos' (1987: vi). Moreover the texts of the collection are a 'conjunto heterogéneo' where the 'popularizante' and popular styles are mixed. However, as has been noted by Manuel da Costa Fontes (1991), it should be stressed that most of the songs contained in Frenk's rigorous work can be considered medieval because of their structure and style.

Belonging also to this group is José María Alín's *Cancionero tradicional* (1991), a second edition of Alín 1968 in which the number of texts was expanded to 1195. The author changes his approach. In the introduction he states that this poetry has learned origins (Alín 1991: 11-12). Consequently, some previous songs have been excluded and numeration has been altered. Another important addition is the inclusion of notes with references to contemporary survival texts, though they do not appear systematically.

I have chosen the *Corpus de la antigua lírica popular* as the main source of the ancient songs studied here, because I believe it is not only the largest but also the

²² For reviews of Frenk's *Corpus* and *Suplemento* see: Devoto's polemical article (1989) and the answers to this article made by Frenk (1990), Costa Fontes 1991, Pedrosa 1994. For another review see Gornall 1988b. For a review of the *Suplemento* see Whetnall 1994.

best anthology. Furthermore, the critical apparatus and the thematic organization simplify the analysis of the texts.

1.2.2 Modern folksongs:

The compilers of contemporary anthologies do not follow specific criteria, making it difficult to summarize their approach. In the most problematic anthologies the author does not explain in a rigorous way the inclusion or exclusion of certain texts. Sometimes the songs are not even numbered. Notwithstanding, anthologies appearing in the last decades have systematized the information and have become more rigorous in the selection of texts, for now they provide different versions, and number them. One example of this is the *Cancionero popular de Castilla y León* coordinated by Luis Díaz Viana and Miguel Manzano Alonso (1983).

I have chosen some general collections such as Francisco Rodriguez Marín, *Cantos populares españoles* (1882-83); Kurt Schindler, *Folk Music and Poetry of Spain and Portugal* (1941); and monographic studies of different areas. Another source of contemporary songs is articles published in specialized journals. Thus, in order to have a complete perspective, the criterion for the selection of contemporary songs was geographical. I have also consulted contemporary European folksong collections, where, as in Castilian ones, there is not a uniform criterion. The countries I chose to concentrate on are Italy, France, and England.

1.3 The references

The system of references that is used here for the sources is: firstly, for old songs, I have followed the numeration given by Margit Frenk in *Corpus de la antigua lírica popular* (C) and in its *Suplemento* (S). For anthologies of contemporary lyrics and other sources, I have followed the author-date system.

1.4 This study

I divide this study into two chapters. The first chapter is divided into two parts. The first is a selection of topoi related to wooing and marriage since love is the main subject of traditional lyrics and the woman's voice its distinctive feature. In the second group I include topoi related to peasant labour. I have distinguished two groups. The first is women's work: spinning and baking. The second group are labours performed either by men or by women: shepherding and harvesting. Some of these labours because of their rhythmic nature are related to erotic activities in traditional lyrics. Thus sometimes their meaning slips from a literal to a symbolic plane overlapping with, the theme of my second chapter:

TABLE 1: TOPOI

1 WOOING AND MARRIAGE

1.1 DAWN

1.2 THE KISS

1.3 MARRIAGE

1.3.1 THE *MALMARIDADA*

1.3.2 THE RELUCTANT NOVICE

2 WORK-SONGS:

2.1 WOMAN'S WORK SONGS:

2.1.1 THE SPINNER

2.1.2 THE BAKER

2.2 MAN'S AND WOMAN'S WORK SONGS:

2.2.1 THE SHEPHERD

2.2.2 THE HARVESTER

I dedicate the second chapter to the analysis of the most important erotic symbols in traditional songs. The symbols analysed here can be sorted into four groups: natural symbols, animal symbols, symbols associated with the woman, and those symbols associated with spaces created by human beings to shelter them. I

~~symbols in traditional songs. The symbols analysed here can be sorted into four groups: natural symbols, animal symbols, symbols associated with the woman, and those symbols associated with spaces created by human beings to shelter them. I~~

have organized them into nine sections:

TABLE 2: SYMBOLS

1 SYMBOLS TAKEN FROM NATURE:

- 1 WATER
- 2 TREES
- 3 FRUITS AND FLOWERS
- 4 THE WIND, THE MOUNTAIN, AND THE MOON.

2 SYMBOLS OF ANIMALS: 5 ANIMALS

3 THE WOMAN:

- 6 THE *MORENITA*
- 7 THE HAIR AND THE RIBBON
- 8 SYMBOLS ASSOCIATED WITH THE VIRGIN

4 SPACES MADE BY HUMAN BEING:

- 9 OTHER SPACES: THE HOUSE,
THE MILL AND THE CASTLE

This study aims to show the persistence of medieval topoi in contemporary folksong as an indicator of the archaism of traditional lyrics, emphasising that some topoi have maintained their symbolic meaning until today.²³ I shall emphasize that the young girl of traditional lyric is conscious of her sexuality and that her aim is not always marriage. Another important feature that I hope to demonstrate is the links of contemporary Iberian traditional lyrics and their European counterparts.

²³ Alín has pointed out that symbolism has disappeared in the new popular style that flourished from the seventeenth century (1991: 54).

Chapter 2

Topoi

Introduction

Theme preservation in contemporary folksongs is one important aspect of traditional lyrics that shows their authenticity and archaism.²⁴ The importance of studying topoi in traditional lyrics was pointed out by Carlos Magis (1969: 29):

Si en el caso de la literatura personal, el estudio de los lugares comunes puede ser muy revelador, en el caso de un arte colectivo, como es la poesía folklórica, este estudio resulta no sólo utilísimo, sino imprescindible.

The main theme of Castilian traditional lyrics is love, in which peasant men and women often find happiness and -less frequently- suffer setbacks. However, this predominance of eros does not exclude a diversity of themes. This variety was pointed out by Eugenio Asensio (1957: 214) as a distinctive feature of old *estribillos*:

Las situaciones humanas se diversifican: la malcasada y la abandonada lejos de su tierra lamentan su infortunio, la niña en cabellos se rebela contra el convento en que la quieren encerrar; los amantes caminan bajo la luna o invocan al sol para que no se ponga hasta que hallen su amor.[...] Hay cantares que aluden al trabajo: la morena siega la hierba, la panadera lleva su pan a vender a la villa.

The predominance of a joyful tone and multiplicity of topoi distinguish old *estribillos* from *cantigas de amigo* and *kharjas*. Moreover, Castilian refrains' thematic diversity suggests their intertextuality (Frenk 1971: 67).

In this chapter I have confined myself to the study of those topoi which demonstrate characteristic features of old *estribillos*, emphasising their preservation or loss in contemporary folksongs. This section is divided into two parts. In the first

²⁴Here I shall use motif and topos as equivalent terms. Motif is, according to Magis (1969: 29): 'temas menores que se estereotipan en cuanto a su modo de experiencia, pero conservan su frescura y agilidad en cuanto a su modo de expresión'.

part I shall analyse the topoi associated with wooing and marriage: dawn, the kiss, the *malcasada*, and the reluctant novice.

Traditional lyrics are related to rural and semirural society, thus in the second part of the chapter I shall analyse four main peasant tasks represented in the texts. As the protagonist of old traditional songs is the peasant girl who is often depicted performing different jobs, I shall analyse here two female labours: spinning and baking. Furthermore, I shall study tasks related to either women or men: shepherding and harvesting, which represent the two basic ways of life of a farming village. All of them are often permeated by eroticism, overlapping with the subject of the second chapter: symbolism.

The topoi studied here reveal contacts between traditional lyrics and their environment; however, to recognize this connection does not mean that I exclusively consider them as a direct reflection of reality. Thus, it is important to bear in mind - echoing the words of Margit Frenk (1994: 42)- that the connection between lyrics and reality are various and complex.

2.1 Wooing and marriage

2.1.1 Dawn

The erotic dawn is a universal motif shared by courtly and traditional lyrics. This motif is related to the encounter of lovers (*alborada*) and to their separation at dawn after spending the night together (*alba*). Hypotheses about the origin of this 'genre differ and there has not been agreement between scholars so far.²⁵

²⁵I shall analyse here exclusively the songs associated with the awakening of lovers. Dawn origins still are a polemical subject. They were pointed out by Gangutia (1972: 343-46) in Classical and Arabic literature, emphasising its popular aspect. This genre's popular origins in Mozarabic literature were studied by Menéndez Pidal (1951: 197). Hatto (1965: 51, 56) indicates the relationship between dawn and spring festivities, suggesting an origin in pagan fertility rites. This author also calls attention to the possible relation of dawn with customs of wooing at night and wedding songs (1965: 57-68). The problems and

It is, however, generally agreed that the originality of Iberian Peninsular lyrics lies in the frequency of *alboradas*.²⁶ The dawn as an erotic motif occurs in *cantigas de amigo*. The girl of the *cantiga* complains about her lover's betrayal:²⁷

Levad', amigo que dormides as manhãas frias;
toda-las aves do mundo d'amor dizian:
leda m' and'eu.

The problems and different hypotheses about popular and learned origins of the erotic dawn were also studied and summarized by Margit Frenk (1975: 88-89). According to Jeanroy a woman's monologue and the singing of birds were the origin of dawn songs (Jeanroy 1904: 68, 141).

Dawn was considered as a part of the night by Isidore of Seville in his *Etymologiae* (v.31). According to Isidore, the night can be divided in seven parts: 'vesper, crepusculum, conticinium, intempestum, gallicinium, matutinum, diluculum'. Note that the 'gallicinium', which precedes morning, is named because of the cock crow, and dawn 'diluculum', is defined as 'quasi iam incipiens parva diei lux. Haec aurora, quae solem praecedat'. In the same way Covarrubias defines *Albor*, and he explains that the term *Alborada* is applied to 'dar el alborada dar los buenos dias muy de mañana' (1611: s.v. Albor). For dawn in folktales see Thompson 1955-58 s.v. dawn.

²⁶ The preference for the *alborada* as a distinctive feature of Iberian lyrics was pointed out by Wilson 1965: 319. The original statement was from Entwistle 1939: 134 (Wilson 1965: 305). This feature contrasts with Provençal and French songs where dawn is associated with the parting of adulterous lovers (Jeanroy 1904: 62).

The most important female work that is likely to result in a lovers' meeting is performed - both in life and in the poetry of *cantigas de amigo* and *estribillos* - early in the morning. This I shall study later (see *Washing, wringing, laying out to dry*). The erotic meaning of getting up early in the morning, associated with entering a garden and sending a garland to the lover as a conventional erotic prelude, was studied by Pierre Bec 1981 in medieval and contemporary French songs.

²⁷The problems of considering the *kharjas* as an *alba* were discussed by Stern (1965: 299-300). I shall quote two examples to illustrate the problem:

La magia es cierta, pues yo de ella puedo dar testimonio: el amor humilló mi alma y no se agota. Así pues ¿dónde está la verdad de una doncella que canta...?

b(n) y' ^ωsh'r' 'lb qst kn b'lfgrw kn(d) bn' bdy (m)wr.
(Sola-Solé 1973: no. 2a,b)

According to Sola-Solé (1973: 75) the translation is: 'Ven, oh hechicero: un alba que está (o: tiene) con fogor, cuando viene pide amor'.

Una virgen suspira por encontrar al amigo, cuando lo ve, desearía la desaparición del miedo del guardián. Ella recita, mientras canta con la belleza de una voz admirable:

'lbqd mr f'wr 'lmydy mwy ldwr
bstnd llrqbyb 'stnwht'myr.
(Sola-Solé 1973: no. 47)

The translation given by Sola-Solé is: 'El alba me da ardor y el alma me da ledor. Visitando está el espía esta noche a mi amor'. The terms *fulgore* and *ledore* are discussed by Hawking (1979: 81). Problems of translation lead scholars to avoid to describing them as dawn songs (Sola-Solé 1973: 288).

Levad', amigo que dormide'-la frias mahãas;
 toda-las aves do mundo d'amor cantavan;
 leda m' and'eu

Todas-las aves do mundo d'amor diziam:
 do meu amor e do voss'en ment'avíam;
 leda m' and'eu

Todas-las aves do mundo d'amor cantavan:
 do meu amor e do voss'i enmentavan;
 leda m' and'eu

Do meu amor e do voss' en ment' avian;
 vós lhi tolhestes os ramos em que siian:
 leda m' and'eu

Do meu amor e do voss'i enmentavam;
 vós lhi tolhestes os ramos en que pousavan:
 leda m' and'eu

Vós lhi tolhestes os ramos em que siian,
 e lhis secastes as fontes em que bevian:
 leda m' and'eu.

(Nunes 1926: no. 75)

The appearance of erotic motifs, dawn and the coming of the spring, contrasts with the subsequent devastation of the *locus amoenus* emphasising the lover's neglectfulness or betrayal. This use of the erotic dawn motif is not frequent in traditional lyrics.²⁸

²⁸Other aspects of this song are studied by Reckert & Macedo 1976: 123-27; Deyermond 1975: 42; and Cummins 1977: 59. The relationship of this song with contemporary folksongs was pointed out by Crespo 1966: 204.

The end of the blossom or the withering of plants is a common symbol of sorrow in contemporary Russian folklore (Sokolov 1971: 522). The *locus amoenus* representing the protagonist's feelings was studied by Joaquín Casaldueiro (1953) in the *sierra* episode of the *Libro de Buen Amor*.

The convention of dawn suggesting an erotic encounter or departing of lovers occurs in medieval non-lyrical genres, where this motif often stresses a moral point, as has been demonstrated by Deyermond (1975). He argues that the *Afrenta de Corpes* in the *Cantar de Mio Cid* is an *alba* that instead of stressing the love of the lovers, emphasizes the brutality and perfidy of the Infantes de Carrión (Deyermond 1975: 41-42). Another *alba* used to stress social decadence occurs in *Celestina*. Pármeno and Areusa (act 8: 134), a servant and a prostitute, follow the social conventions, whereas their noble counterparts, Calisto and Melibea (act 14: 192), ironically disobey them. Another example pointed out by Deyermond is the parody of the canonical hours in the *Libro de Buen Amor* (376-78), where the erotic dawn motif stresses the priest's lust (Deyermond 1975: 47).

2.1.1.1 Meeting at dawn: 'alborada'

In old *estribillos* the motif of the erotic dawn occurs in a few songs. The *alborada* from a woman's point of view occurs in an archaic parallelistic song, where the terms *dia* and *alba* alternate to describe dawn:

Al alva venid, buen amigo.
al alva venid.

Amigo, el que yo más quería,
venid a la luz del día.

Al alva venid buen amigo,
al alva venid.

Amigo, el que yo más amava,
venid a la luz del alva.

Al alva venid buen amigo,
al alva venid.

Venid a la luz del día,
no trayáys compañía.

Al alva venid buen amigo,
al alva venid.

Venid a la luz del alva,
no traigáis gran compañía.

Al alva venid buen amigo,
al alva venid.

(C 452)²⁹

Male-voice *alborada* also occurs in old Castilian refrains, where the man promises the girl that he will come to see her at dawn or he invites the girl to come at dawn and meet him:

Y al alboré, y al alboré
niña, te lo diré.

(C 450)

²⁹ See also C 2222.

Vente a la mañana, hermana,
 vente a la mañana.
 (C 451)

Dawn songs emphasize the time and the invitation of the lover to meet her or him at daybreak, but frequently the place is not mentioned.³⁰ In contemporary songs erotic *alboradas* are not common. Mostly, they occur in serenade songs that have a male focus:³¹

Esta mañanita yo te desperté
 porque ya es de día
 porque ya se ve,
 porque ya es la hora del amanecer
 de venirte a ver.

(Córdova y Oña 1948-55: II, 216, no. 36)

2.1.1.2 Parting at dawn: the cock-crow

A distinctive feature of old *estribillos* is the parting of lovers caused by the cockcrow. The motif of the cock was already present in 'early Spanish Christian Hymnody, not only in the works of Prudentius but also in the *Breviarium Gothicum*' (Hawking 1979: 74). Furthermore, the formula 'Iam gallus canit' already appeared. The vigour of Latin hymn imagery 'would appear to justify the suggestion that the

³⁰There is one old *estribillo* where it is specified that the girl has to go to the valley. The gloss of the text discloses the vagueness of the refrain: the lover is waiting for the girl in the valley and, also, the feelings of the lover are described:

Descendid al valle, la niña,
 que ya es venido el día.

Descendid, niña de amor,
 que ya es venido el alvor,
 veros á vuestro amador,
 qu'en veros se alegraría.
 Que ya es venido el día.

Descendid al valle, la niña,
 que ya es venido el día.
 (C 1087 C)

³¹ It is a widespread wedding custom to sing an *alborada* to the bride (Rincón Ramos 1958; Cuevas 1944-45; Gutiérrez Macías 1960).

inspiring and colourful liturgical language [...] gave poetic expression to a convention which may have had its roots in economic circumstances or more distantly in pagan ritual' (Hawking 1979: 82).³²

There are few examples of *alba* in old *estribillos*, where the crowing of the cock is the signal for the departure of the lover. Note that in the following songs the word *alba* has been replaced by *amanecer* or, in the Catalan example, the day is suggested by the awakening of people:³³

³² The motif of dawn was studied by Alín 1968: 164-66; Sánchez Romeralo 1969: 63, Cummins 1977: 57-60, Frenk 1971: 68. Birds which awake lovers vary from one tradition to another, for example in a French *refrain* lovers are awakened by the lark:

Il n'est mie jors, saverouze au cors gent;
si m'aït amors, l'aloette nos mant.
(Jeanroy 1904: 68)

Since Antiquity the cock has been considered a special bird. It was described as

a breed designed by nature for the purpose of awakening mortals for their labours and interrupting sleep. They are skilled astronomers, and they mark every three hour period in the daytime with song, go to bed with the sun, and at the fourth camp-watch recall us to our business and our labour [...and] herald the coming day with song. (Pliny: X. xxiv.46).

In Christian symbology 'Christ[...] is the cock who heralds the return of hope to the world through the Resurrection and the vanquishing of sin' (Hawking 1979: 74). See the explanation given by Covarrubias 1611: s.v. Gallo. The motif of the cock crowing in religious lyric was also studied by Hatto 1965: 87-96, and as universal symbol see 787-92. The cock as herald of dawn is a common motif in folktales: it warns of the coming enemy B122.7; it is the ambassador of God A165.2.2.1; and the cock, among other animals, calls the dawn in Africa B755. As the sign of the birth of Christ see B251.1.2.1. See the dawn celebrated as the welcome for the new day in Torner 1966: no. 13.

³³ There is another *alba* where other motifs coincide. The girl who is advising the man to make his departure stealthily, in order to prevent the awakening of the nightingale:

Si os partiéredes al alba,
quedito, pasito, amor,
no espánteis al ruiseñor.
(C 456 B)

The presence of the nightingale indicates a blending of motif that is related to spring songs. Since Antiquity, the nightingale is closely associated with Spring and its singing is compared with the music of the flute. According to Pliny, nightingales

pour out a ceaseless gush of song for fifteen days and nights on end when the buds of the leaves are swelling[...] In the first place there is so loud a voice and so persistent a supply of breath in such a tiny little body; then there is the consummate knowledge of music in a single bird (X.xliii.81-82)

Ora vete, amor, y bete,
cata que amanesce.
(C 454 A)

Ya cantan los gallos,
buen amor, y vete,
cata que amanece.
(C 454 B)³⁴

Anau-vos-en, la mia amor,
anau-vos-en.

Que la gent se va despertant,
e lo gal vos diu en cantant:
'anau-vos-en'.
(C 455)

The parting of the lover caused by the crowing of the cock occurs in some contemporary folksongs:

Já os gallos cantam,
o meu amor, vae-te.³⁵

The nightingale is associated with joy during the Middle Ages and with sadness during Renaissance (Asensio 1957: 249). For other studies about the nightingale see: Lida de Malkiel 1939. The nightingale is associated with May festivities in France. It appears as symbol of false friendship in the *Cancionero de Baena* and in Gil Vicente's *Autos das Fadas* (Asensio 1957: 251). For a study of nightingale symbolism see Hatto 1965: 792-800.

³⁴ This *estribillo* was considered the unique real traditional *alba* by Hawking (1979: 216). See Wilson 1954: 335-348. Cf. C 298, 2218 and see SUPERVIVENCIAS section, 2290. In a translation of the Songs of Songs 2.10 of a romance Bible of the fourteenth century appears the formula 'levántate y vete'. The translation of the passage is as follows:

Respondió mi amigo e díxome: levántate, mi amiga, mi fermosa, e vete, que abre el invierno pasó, la lluvia traspasó y fue. Las flores paresçieron en la tierra e el tiempo del podar llegó e la boz de la tórtola fue oida en nuestra tierra [...] Levántate, mi amiga, e mi fermosa, e vete. (Llamas 1955: 370)

³⁵ J. A Tavares, *Revista Lusitana*, 8 (1903-05), p. 78 quoted by Frenk in C 454 B SUPERVIVENCIAS section. There is an Argentinian song where the cockcrow appears associated with dawn:

Ya cantaron los gallos
ya viene el día
es la hora de darnos
la despedida.
(Carrizo 1945: 746)

There are different superstitions associated with cockcrow depending on the time or number of times that it crows: it has power to dissolve the meetings of the Devil and witches; in Brazil, the midnight crow stands for the girl's elopement from the parental house (Leite de Vasconcellos 1986: 183-87). In

Levántate luego,
 dulce amor, y vete,
 que ya el gallo canta
 y el día amanece.
 (Trapero 1990: 76)³⁶

Cantan os galos pro día,
 meu amor, érguete e vaite;
 ¡cómo me hei erguer, queridiña,
 cómo me hei erguer e deixarte!
 (Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 297)³⁷

Moreover, there are other *coplas* where it is explicit that the cockcrow is the signal for lovers who had spent the night together. Here the illicitness of the encounter is emphasized:

Cantan os galos pro dia
 reló dos enamorados,
 mozos que andades de noite,
 noś vos collan descuidados.
 (Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 316)

El gallo en su gallinero
 se sacude y luego canta,
 el que duerme en cama ajena
 de madrugá se levanta,
 ya tiene la noche hecha
 (Garrido 1992: 261)

In another song, the man who is parting from his lover explains that her rooster woke him up. The use of the onomatopoeia of the cockcrow associates this text with those where the sound of the cockcrow is a euphemism for the woman's genitals. This feature and the jocose tone of the *copla* possibly denote a reading with sexual connotations (see **Cock-crow**):

England the midnight crow is interpreted as an omen (Opie & Tatem 1992: s.v. cock crow).

³⁶ For studies of the dawn and the cock-crow in contemporary Canarian folksongs see Alonso 1985: 133-38.

³⁷ There is another version in Lorenzo Fernández 1958: 57, no. 533 and 216-17.

Debajo de tu ventana
 esta noche me dormí
 y me despertó tu gallo
 cantando el qui-quiri-quí.
 (Llano 1977: no. 448)

Dawn appears in another song where a blending of four motifs occur: the snail formula, the emphasis on the hot sun, the singing of birds that belongs to the spring-song genre, and the awakening of the girl found in the dawn songs.³⁸ Note that the protagonist is a dark-complexioned girl (see **The morenita**):

Caracol,
 cómo pica el sol;
 los pájaros pían.
 Levántate, morena,
 que viene el día.
 (Ledesma 1907: 177)

This song shows a common phenomenon in oral lyrics: the loss of the original meaning creating a blend of motifs that were previously separated (Sokolov 1971: 522). The motif of the snail related to a children's formula is attested by Correas (1627: 369a):

Karakol, karakol, saka los kuernos al sol.

This formula is widespread in Europe. The snail has also been related to sexual meaning, sometimes representing the penis.³⁹ The second motif 'como pica el sol' appears in an old *estribillo*, where the burning power of the sun is compared with the pain caused by love:

³⁸ For the motif of the snail see Torner 1966: no. 53.

³⁹ Alzieu, Jammes & Lissorgues 1975: s.v. caracol. The erotic meaning is present in an old *estribillo*:

Mozuela de la saya de grana
 sácame el caracol de la manga.
 (C 1716)

For the formula of the snail see Vigón 1980: 153. For the erotic meaning of the verb *picar* in traditional lyrics see **Harmful herbs**.

Mucho pica el sol:
 más pica el amor.
 (C 41)

The last two motifs, the singing birds associated with spring songs and the girl who has to get up early in the morning, are also present in old *estribillos*, as I shall demonstrate later. Once we have seen the origin of different motifs, it can be concluded that the sun is the connection between the snail formula, the old *estribillo*, and the dawn.

The motif of the singing of birds announcing daybreak is lost in another text, whereas the awakening of the dark complexioned girl at dawn remains. The second *copla* reveals the woman sleeping in the arms of her lover, an image that already appears in old *estribillos*:⁴⁰

Levántate, morenita,
 levántate, resalada,
 levántate, morenita,
 que ya viene la mañana,
 levántate.

Que ya viene la mañana,
 la mañana va viniendo;
 ¡cómo descansa la niña
 en los brazos de su dueño!

Levántate.

(Torner 1966: no. 134)

More often dawn occurs in serenade songs, where the man is saying goodbye to the

⁴⁰ The motif of the girl sleeping in her lover's arms appears in a pilgrimage song. After the girl got lost in the mountain she woke up at midnight and found herself in her lover's arms:

[A la media noche
 recordé mezquina]
 halléme en los brazos
 del que más quería.

[Halléme en los brazos
 del que más quería]
 pesóme, cuytada,
 desdeque amanecía.

(C 313)

girl because the day has come. It is interesting to note that in the following song the dawn is defined in negative terms: the morning star is lost and the moon has disappeared:

Ya me voy, morena mia,
ya me voy, porqu'amanese;
er lusero s'ha perdío
y la luna no parese.

(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 2934)

The sexual encounter of lovers at dawn does not appear in another serenade song:

Mucho siento separarme,
querida, de tu ventana,
pero no tengo remedio,
porque va viniendo el alba.

(Llano 1977: no. 470)

The motif of the cockcrow as signal of dawn is blended with the universal motif of love insomnia in traditional Hispanic lyrics:⁴¹

Cantan los gallos:
yo no me duermo,
ni tengo sueño.

(C 298)

The sleepless girl who is consumed by love desire, can be traced back in Iberian traditional lyrics to the *kharjas*:

He aquí que mi corazón es un rehén entre tus manos. No demores el que yo bese tus mejillas. Y yo dije mientras el sueño era el contenido de sus ojos.

ñ sy kyd (d) n m kyrđ ġyr klm'
n (n) 'y [kn] šn šw[s]tdrmyr mm'
(Sola-Solé 1973: 18)

⁴¹ See C section Ia 17 except 304D and see ns 430, 657B-D, 1647, 2300, 2320. For the girl who refuses to sleep alone see section Ia 9, and for the girl whose nights seem longer because of the absent lover: 585A,B. (For this motif in *cantigas de amigo* see below.) For love insomnia see Alín 1968: 178-82; Sánchez Romeralo 1969: 66-68. See contemporary examples in Torner 1966: 198 and 81.

Cantó ella a causa de su amor canciones llenas de deseo; acaso le vea a la llegada del alba...

y' mtry 'lrhymh 'r'y dŷ mny'nh
 b wn'bw 'lhğ'ğ lf'ğdy mtr'nh.
 (Sola-Solé 1973: no. 25b)⁴²

The lonely infatuated girl who cannot sleep because of her love desire is also present in the *cantigas de amigo*:

Sen meu amigo manh'eu senlheira,
 e sol non dormen estes olhos meus;
 e, quant'eu posso, peç'a luz a Deus,
 e non mi-a dá per nulha maneira;
 mais, se massese com meu amigo,
 a luz agora seria migo!
 (Nunes 1926: 394)⁴³

In contemporary lyrics the blending of dawn motif and love insomnia has been preserved in Galician areas in an impersonal song:

Canta el gallu, canta el gallu,
 la neña que tién amores;
 tarde o nunca se adormez.
 (Lorenzo Fernández 1958: 26)⁴⁴

⁴² The translations given by Sola-Solé are: 'No se querda ni me quiere decir palabra. No dormiré con el seno abrasado' (18); '¡Oh madre mía no dormiré / veré yo de mañana al bueno (hermoso) Abu-l-Qasim)/ que es como la faz del alba' (25b).

⁴³ See also Nunes 1926: 395, and 405 for the sleepless girl who is waiting for her lover; the insomnia caused by love also appears in no. 296.

⁴⁴ The cock-crow is the signal for starting a duty in contemporary folksongs. Sometimes the cock crows at dawn, other times at midnight:

Cantan os galos pro día,
 meu home, vai traballar;
 eu quedóme pola casa,
 ireiche logo axudar.
 (Rielo Carballo 1980: 125, n. 39)

Levántate, carreteiro,
 bótalle a herba ó gado.
 Inda non é media noite,
 inda non cantou o galo.
 (Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 481)

Another bird associated with lovers in Galician and Portuguese contemporary lyrics is the dove.

2.1.1.3 Dawn and St John's Day

Dawn appears as an important motif for different festivities in old *estribillos*.

A main topos is St John's Eve, which is related to a variety of magic rites that are associated with preventive health and erotic practices, such as the *enramada* and the picking of flowers before sunrise (see **Picking flowers, Face washing, The door**).

The first extant references to St John's Eve appears in a *kharja*:⁴⁵

A una doncella tenida de dedos, que llegó a ser para la belleza su
misma esencia, doncella que llena las miradas (y) que se iluminan los
horizontes a causa de ella, fui a ver un verano y cantó refiriéndose a
mí y a ella misma

albo día este día de día al ansara haq(q)ā
beštirey mio al-mudab(b)ag/wa-nasuq(q)u al-rumha šaq(q)ā
(Sola-Solé 1973: no. 24)⁴⁶

Canta rula, canta rula,
canta rula naquil souto;
;triste chora o que espera
por amores que son doutro!
(Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 350)

Canta rula, canta rula,
canta rula na raiola;
canta rula, canta rula,
que o teu cantar enamora.
(Rico Vereá 1989: 54, no. 8)

⁴⁵There are different rituals associated with St John's Eve and Day, see: Caro Baroja 1979: 185-201; Reid 1935: 401-41. The celebration of the Midsummer festival was one of the most widely diffused and most solemn of all the yearly festivals and it is probable that its origin was an agricultural festival. See Van Gennep 1937-58: I.iv; Sébillot: 1905.

⁴⁶The translation according to Sola-Solé is: 'Albo día (es) el día de esta Sanjuanada, en verdad! Vestiré mi brocado y quebraremos la lanza'. The morning of San Juan associated with the Moorish festivities is a constant motif in the *romancero*. (Raid 1935: 402-403). This is the case in the old ballad of *La pérdida de Antequera*:

La mañana de San Juan,
al tiempo que alboreaba,
gran fiesta hacen los moros
por la vega de Granada.
(Menéndez Pidal 1938: 200)

This motif has been traced and studied by Armistead and Silverman (1965-66: 436-443) in a very interesting article where the authors suggest the *kharja* as the origin of this motif, which has been preserved associated with a variety of themes in the pan-Hispanic *romancero*. One example is the beginning of the *Martirio de Santa Catalina* ballad:

The motif of St John's Eve is frequent in old Castilian *estribillos*. There is a song where the dawn is explicitly associated with this feast:⁴⁷

Despertad, señora mía,
despertad,
porque viene el alba
del señor San Juan.
(C 1084)

Similarly in contemporary lyrics the speaker hurries the girl to wake up, to go and meet her lover, who has given her a bunch of flowers. This custom associated with St John's Eve is widespread in European folksong:

Mañanita de San Juan
madruga, niña, temprano,
a entregar tu corazón
al galán que te echó el ramo.
(Garrido 1992: 168)⁴⁸

La mañana de San Juan al punto que rompe el alba
hacen gran función los moros en la ciudad de Granada.
(Armistead & Silverman 1965-66: 440)

The relevance of this festivity in the calendar is attested by its frequency in ballads as the time when the main action develops, resulting in an 'almost conventional phrase to date the action' (Reid 1935: 402). In this case are the the ballads of the *Infante Arnaldos* and *La misa de amor*:

¡Quién hubiera tal ventura
sobre las aguas del mar,
como hubo el infante Arnaldos
la mañana de San Juan!
(Menéndez Pidal 1938: 185)

Mañanita de San Juan,
mañanita de primor,
cuando damas y galanes
van a oír misa mayor.
(Menéndez Pidal 1938: 187)

In contemporary ballads, the motif of St John's Eve is blended with religious features:

Mañanita de San Juan cuando el sol enarbolaba,
camina la Virgen pura, camina la Virgen santa.
(Catalán & Campa 1991: 273, no. 77)

⁴⁷See Sánchez Romeralo 1969: 78-81.

⁴⁸More often St John is mentioned in lyrics as a date where certain rites associated with wooing are performed: picking flowers or collecting water from a fountain for face washing before the sunrise. For more examples see: Olmeda 1903: 92, ns 42 & 43; 93, ns 44 & 45. And see Garrido 1992: 178. The dawn motif is also associated with the welcoming of a new day in old *estribillos*:

On the basis of what I have demonstrated above, it can be concluded that the dawn as an erotic motif has been preserved from the Middle Ages up to the present day. Dawn is associated with a variety of motifs related to wooing customs in traditional lyrics: cock crowing, love insomnia, spring songs, St John's Eve. The crowing of the cock adapted to *alba* songs is an original feature of old *estribillos* that is preserved in contemporary lyrics.

The *alborada* and *alba* are in male and female voices. However, in contemporary lyrics, the female voice is preserved only in the *alba* versions where the formula 'Ya cantan los gallos' appears.

Dawn associations with rituals can be traced back to the *kharjas*. The most important feast associated with morning erotic practices is St John's Eve in traditional lyrics.

2.1.2 The kiss

The kiss mouth-to-mouth is a main symbol in different Western ceremonies, where its symbolism varies according to the interpretation given by the tradition. This is the case of the kiss of peace, the kiss of vassalage or the healing kiss. The origin of the mouth-to-mouth kiss has been associated with 'a vestigial remainder or a carry over of a primitive habit of eating and thereby assimilating into the self any

Ya viene el alva, la niña,
ya viene el día.
(C 1080)

Ia viene el día
con el alegría;
ia viene el sol
con el resplandor.
(C 1082)

¡Quándo saliréis, alba galana!
¡quándo saliréis, el alva!
(C 1077 A)

object felt to be "good" or desirable' (Perella 1969: 1).

In Castilian *estribillos* the kiss is often seen from a female point of view. The woman in these songs is depicted as married or single, as a lady, nun or peasant.⁴⁹ Frequently, it is the woman who asks the man to kiss her. This contrasts with the depiction of the sin of lust in the Middle Ages, which is illustrated by a couple embracing and kissing, and where the man is the one who is represented as taking the initiative (Perella 1969: 154). The kiss is often associated with the embrace theme. According to Dillard,

The kiss and the embrace of the Castilian *fazaña* were acts with juridical consequences, the latter implying the 'lying together' of the consummated betrothal and the former the betrothal kiss which had traditionally sealed the agreement to marry.⁵⁰

The passage quoted illuminates the following ancient song, where a precocious girl is promising three kisses to a knight when she grows up. The number three is the typical number of plurality in traditional lyrics:

A aquel cavallero, madre,
tres besicos le mandé:
creçeré y dárselos he,
(C 1617)⁵¹

⁴⁹ See Alzieu, Jammes & Lissorgues: 5, 2; 7, 11; 15, 7; 25, 27; 28, 8; 31, 13; 40, 6; 100, 3; 108, 12. The kiss is absent from *cantigas de amigo* where 'no se menciona un beso, ni la boca, ni el color de tez o del pelo' (Asensio 1957: 213).

⁵⁰(Dillard 1984: 58). The kiss as a seal of the marriage contract occurs in Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale*, when Januarie and May go to the garden (2176).

⁵¹ Note that, in this composition, the girl is speaking in the future tense. It may well be worth noticing here that the betrothal was defined in the future tense, 'palabras de futuro', and the marriage was defined in Alfonso X's *Fuero real* as present tense, 'palabras de presente'(Dillard 1984: 60). Bearing in mind the importance of the kiss as proof of betrothal and the future tense used by the girl in her discourse, another possible interpretation is that the girl is engaged to the knight.

The motif of the three kisses, but in this case given by the man, appears in the ballad *La malcasada y el pastor* that has been preserved in Sephardic versions. Here, a man that is passing by gives three kisses to the girl who went to fetch water from the fountain: 'por ahí pasó un caballero, tres besicos me dio' (Sánchez Romeralo 1978: IX, no. 4.6, 296).

In contemporary lyrics there is a more explicit version, which is a *laço de paloteiro*:⁵²

Aquel caballero, madre,
que por mi puerta pasó,
él me quiso y yo le quise
¿cómo le diré que no?
Três besicos no des.
¿quién se los da?
Quién se los dé,
quien se los dé luego.
(Mourinho 1984: 491)

In the first stanza of this song it is clear that the knight and the girl were lovers, mentioning the three kisses as a proof of love. The precocious girl of old Castilian refrains is portrayed disobeying the rules.⁵³

Once more the girl takes the sexual initiative in the following old texts where kissing is seen as a pleasurable game. In one text the girl disobeys her mother's prohibition:

Pues por besarte, Minguillo,
me riñe mi madre a mí,
buélveme presto, carillo,
aquel beso que te di.
(C 1684 B)

This topic has been widely preserved in contemporary lyrics, but from a male point of view, therefore lacking the defiant aspect that the kiss motif had in old traditional lyrics:

⁵² A similar version has been preserved in another *danza de palos* (Sánchez del Barrio 1986: 31). For the kiss in *coplas* with learned influence see Torner 1966: no. 191.

⁵³The passionate girl is portrayed kissing a shy man in old Castilian refrains:

Besábale y enamorábale
la donzella al villanchón,
besábale y enamorábale,
y él metido en un rincón.
(C 1633)

This song is unique because the words have a dactylic stress (Alín 1968: 88).

Poiqu'un beso me diste,
 rabia tu mare,
 toma otra vez tu beso
 pa que no rabie.

(Díez de Revenga Torres 1984: 75, no. 35)

¿Porque un beso me has dado
 riñe tu madre?
 Toma, niña, tu beso
 dile que calle.

(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 2819)⁵⁴

In a contemporary Piedmontese song, the kiss occurs as a euphemism for making love:

Ra biunda Vughera
 pir erba si na va
 ra giornà r'è tantu cauda,
 a l'umbretta a s'è insettà.
 Da là passa d'in giuvo,
 d'in giuvo marinèe:
 u r'ha vista tantu biunda,
 in basin u i ha dunèe.
 Na ven vers a re seira,
 ra biunda ra va a cà,
 r'ha dicc a ra soi mama
 che l'è titta malèe.
 Se ti t'ei maravia
 mi so che màa che l'è:
 adrumma da u siur giudis
 ra farumma giudichèe.
 Ch'u senta an po', siur giudis
 ch'u senta rar razun:
 i m'han basà ra biunda,
 e a vôi sudisfaziuni"
 Sudisfaziun r'è faja
 vostra fija tinira a cà;
 ra va pir le cuntrade
 a fèe l'amur con i suldà"
 Giuvinin cun arrugansa
 u s'è bità parlèe:
 Mi a r'ho basaja ina vota.
 ra voi turna baseè.
 Vi did vui, bel giuvo,
 da vui v'sei cundanà,
 a ista fija fèi ra dotta,
 cumprèi in bel scusà'

⁵⁴For more versions see Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: 689-92.

Se an'ho pagà sinquanta,
na paghirò ben sent;
ajò baà ra biunda,
e mi sun ben cuntent.

(Savona & Straniero 1989: no. 9.3)

Contrasting with this attitude in an old *estribillo* the girl complains about being kissed by a man:

¿Por qué me besó Perico?
¿Por qué me besó el traydor?
(C 1620)

The lack of detail in this brief song does not explain the consequences of being kissed. Thus is not possible to explain if she is lamenting the loss of her virginity or, if, according to the other old refrains, the girl is hiding the truth.

The girl's reaction can be the opposite, as in the following song, where the girl expresses her joy about being kissed by a beekeeper:

Besóme el colmenero,
que a la miel me supo el beso.
(C 1619 A)

The connection between the kiss and the sweetness of honey is a common image in different poets (Perella 1969: 2). Usually it is the mouth of the woman which is described by a pleasant taste, as in Song of Songs (4:11). Furthermore, this motif appears in a *kharja*:

y diciendo -y ellas estaban medio locas cuando aparecieron las perlas de su boca...!

bk'lh 'l'qd dlǵ (m) 'khd b'n b. (š m)
hbyb ǵy 'ndy 'dwn (m) 'mnd kmywn.⁵⁵

Note that, in the old Castilian *estribillo*, it is the woman who describes the man's kiss as sweet.

⁵⁵The translation given by Sola-Solé in modern Spanish is 'Boquita de perlas, dulce como la miel, ven, bésame. Amigo mío, ven a mi lado, a unirte conmigo, amando como en otro día' (1973: no. 43).

2.1.2.1 The forbidden kiss

The motif of the kiss also occurs in songs of adultery. The association of the kiss with adultery appears in the Bible, where the kiss given by a woman to a man is a bold way of greeting given by an adulteress (Proverbs 7:13). In an ancient Castilian song, a married woman asks a little bird about the danger of being kissed:⁵⁶

Dime, paxarito, que estás en el nido,
¿la dama besada pierde marido?
No, la mi señora, si fue en escondido.
(C 1618)

In connection with the woman's precaution, there is a law, where 'por sólo el besado al estraño pierde la muger casada el dote'. This possibly explains the woman's worries.⁵⁷ In another *estribillo*, the woman accepts being kissed in order not to have her hair untied:⁵⁸

Ante me beséys que me destoqueys,
que me tocó mi tía.
(C 1685)

The coif was worn by married and mature women. It is worth noting here that, in medieval Castile, to uncover a married woman was punishable by law with a large fine, because 'the toca was a taboo against which it was forbidden to trespass [...] when a man removed a woman's coif or let down her hair, he assaulted her modesty and exposed her as defenceless and pregnable' (Dillard 1984: 175). Similar laws existed in the Salian Frank legislation, where untying women's hair was proscribed.

⁵⁶ Denying a kiss to her assaulter is a proof of woman's loyalty (Thompson 1955-58: H1556.4.1).

⁵⁷ Covarrubias 1611: s.v. Beso.

⁵⁸ There is a pun in another song, where the girl demands a passionate husband:

Dédesme marido que rretoçe
toda la noche,
que me toque y me destoque
toda la noche.
(C 1724)

The amount of the fine was according to the crime. The highest of them was for untied the hair band of the woman. Apparently, the woman in the previous song is playing with her lover, and, therefore, is not being assaulted. However, once more the woman breaks the law.

The theme of the kiss is also related to the character of a nun. In another ancient song, a woman is asking for a compensation kiss after making love:

Gentil cavallero,
 dédesme hora un beso:
 siquiera por el daño
 que me avéys hecho.
 (C 1682)

The embrace, as I have mentioned earlier, was a euphemism for love-making. In some traditions, embracing is considered taboo. In old *estribillos*, the man is often asking for an embrace:⁵⁹

La moça engañóme:
 pedíle un abraço,
 y ella besóme.
 (C 1621)

Abráçame, Juana, más,
 que no son buenos abraços
 quando no llegan los braços
 a cruçarse por detrás.
 (C 1702)

Moreover, there are two *estribillos* where a woman directly demands to be embraced. The first one is the cow-girl, who promises to embrace a man if he tends her cattle. The second one is a married woman who is, in a jocose text, exhorting her husband to make love to her:

⁵⁹ See Thompson 1955-58: C194.1. Other songs with this motifs are C 1673 A and 1673 B.

Guárdame mis vacas,
 carillejo, por tu fe,
 guárdame mis vacas,
 que yo te abraçaré;
 si no, abraçáme tu a mí,
 que yo te las guardaré.
 (C 1683 B)

¡Abraçáme y rretoçáme,
 marido mío!
 Daros é yo a la mañana
 un camisón linpio.
 (C 1726)

To kiss and to embrace occur in contemporary lyrics, but the male point of view predominates. These motifs are present in a *copla* in which it is stated by a third person that the mill is the church of mice where the lovers go to make love (see **The mill**):

O muíño n-é muíño
 qu' é a capilla dos ratos
 a donde se van a dare
 os bicos eos abrasos.
 (Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: I.ii, no. 215a)

In another song, the man asks a dark-complexioned girl for an embrace and kiss. A dark complexion is often associated with a sexually experienced woman (see **The morenita**):

Morenita, dame un beso,
 dame un abrazo también;
 morenita dame un beso
 que jamás te olvidaré.
 (Llano 1977: no. 35)

The girl in contemporary lyrics is portrayed as shy and cautious:

Ai, dáme, Carmiña,
 un bico pequeno.
 Non cho dou, querido,
 que che teño medo;
 Se no mo dás, Carne,
 eu xa non te quero.
 (Rico Vereá 1989: 66)

In another *copla* the girl refuses to kiss because of his tobacco smell:

Maruxiña, dáme un bico
 que che darei un pataco;
 non quero bicos dos homes
 que me cheiran a tabaco.
 (Rico Vereá 1989: 70)

As has now been established, the kiss, mouth-to-mouth, is sometimes associated with betrothal and wedding ceremonies. In addition, the kiss given by a woman to a man is related to an adulteress in the Bible. In Castilian *estribillos* it is often the woman who asks to be kissed. There are a variety of female characters: a girl, a shepherdess, a nun, a married woman. The girl, who is the speaker in two songs, is depicted as precocious and disobedient towards her mother. The married woman is portrayed as an adulteress. In addition, the kiss motif appears combined with the embrace motif, which was a euphemism for making love. The embrace often occurs in male songs. When the speaker is a woman, she is portrayed as a married woman, asking for an embrace from her husband, or as a shepherdess, who is usually associated with unrestrained sexuality (see **The shepherd**). The evidence shows that these ancient songs celebrate the infringement of the law. Furthermore, in contemporary lyrics, the motif of the kiss and the embrace are preserved predominantly in songs where the speaker is a man, lacking the defiant aspect of women's songs.

2.1.3 Marriage

Marriage is an important theme in traditional lyrics. One noticeable feature is that it is primarily in the female voice. Different attitudes towards this event are expressed by the woman according to her experience.

The woman assertively expresses her feelings and will in old refrains. The female character's rebelliousness contrasts with reality, because marriage was a social

contract and not an individual choice in the Middle Ages (Opitz 1992: 330; Shahar 1983: 223-30). Furthermore, those marriages agreed without parental approval were invalidated by the law (Opitz 1992: 333). The peasant woman had no choice. This custom has not been modified in some agricultural communities, where often marriage presupposes the girl's departure from her family household. The wedding

was considered by the peasant, who lived under natural economy or had not definitely broken with it, as above all an economic necessity. In the large, patriarchal, undivided family the daughter-in-law is a worker who must perform the heaviest tasks [...] It was not outward beauty which was valued in the daughter-in-law, but strength, vigor and health. (Sokolov 1971: 203)⁶⁰

Lamenting the girl's unhappiness caused by marriage was a custom of the wedding ceremony, which simultaneously evoked rites of separation and incorporation, in Van Gennep's terms (1960: 11). This is clear in a Jewish-Spanish wedding song:

No me diga nadie
que buena estoy yo,
que en ca de mi padre
mejor estaba yo.

En ca de mi padre
vestir y calzar,
en ca de mi novio
parir y criar.

(Alvar 1971: no. 48)⁶¹

These quotations shed light on the *malmaridada* motif which, apart from being taken from reality as the woman is yielded to customary law, also belongs to convention.

The songs can be divided into three groups, according to the woman's attitude. In the first group of texts the girl earnestly wants to get married, showing her readiness by referring to her physical complexion or by reference to some outside event sometimes likely, sometimes unlikely to happen. In a second group, there are

⁶⁰The difficult relationship between a woman and her daughter-in-law is well represented in folktales (Thompson 1955-58: Daughter-in-law).

⁶¹ See *The spinner*.

songs where the girl firmly states that she does not want to get married. The third group are the laments of the *malmaridada*, that can be divided into three subgroups: the *malmaridada* songs, the woman who criticizes her husband, and the adultery songs.

2.1.3.1 The girl who wants to be married

The impatient young girl who wants to get married frequently appears in traditional songs. She uses different arguments, excuses and threats in order to compel her parents to accomplish her desire. The girl's first argument is to demonstrate, by pointing at one of her physical features, that she is ready to have a husband:

Madre, quiérome casar,
que ya alcanso el vasar.
(C 199)

Padre mio, casarme quiero,
que a la chimenea llego.
(C 200)

Another common excuse uttered by the eager girl is that she will be too old to get married, emphasising that her hair is getting shorter:

Madre, casadme cedo,
que se me arrufa el pelo
(C 198)

In contemporary Hispanic lyrics, the girl usually compares herself with a fruit or a plant that must be harvested on time in order to bear fruit (see **Fruits and flowers**):

Minha mãe, case-me cedo,
enquanto sou rapariga;
o milho sachado tarde
não dá palha nem dá espiga.
(Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: II, 12)⁶²

⁶²Another interesting example of a girl rushing her mother to arrange her marriage appears in a Galician song:

In medieval and contemporary popular lyrics she often shows her impatience by threatening her father with bringing dishonour to him.⁶³ This theme is considered by Jeanroy as one of the oldest topoi in lyrics (1904: 184; see *C SUPERVIVENCIAS* section):

Si mi padre no me casa,
yo seré escándalo de su casa.
(*C* 206)⁶⁴

The same threat appears in a seventeenth-century French song:

S'ils ne me marient, ils s'en repentiront.
J'apprendray à faire ce que les aultres font
(Jeanroy 1904: 185)

Once more the motif of dishonour occurs in Italian contemporary folksong. Here, the threat is gossip:

Cara mama marideme
se volí che 'l mondo tasa
co sirò fuora de casa tuto el mondo tasarà.
(Lezziero 1961: 85)

The menace of dishonour is replaced with vandalism in a *pliego suelto* of 1571:

La casa he de quemar,
cortijo, tierra y sembrados,
y vendelle los ganados,
huerta y viña y olivar,
hasta que lo vea andar
con bordón y calabaza.⁶⁵

A similar image occurs in a eighteenth-century French song:

Eu queríame casar,
miña mai dice que é cedo;
como ela está casada
non sabe a presa que eu teño.
(Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 1026)

⁶³ The threatening girl was studied by Margit Frenk (1992: 9). The honour notion was studied by Caro Baroja 1964.

⁶⁴ See *SUPERVIVENCIAS* section.

⁶⁵ *Pliegos Cracovia*, 132-34 quoted by Margit Frenk 1992: 9.

Si l'on ne me marie, ah, je ferai ravage,
 je laisseray aller les boeufs parmi les vaches,
 je gateray le beurre et aussi le laitage
 (Jeanroy 1904: 185)

The threat of vandalism also appears in Castilian contemporary versions. However, note that in the following example the rhyme in *-asa* of the old Castilian *estribillo* is preserved:

Madre, si usté no me casa
 para el domingo que viene
 le pego fuego a la casa
 con todo lo que ella tiene.
 (Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 342)

Among the variety of excuses of the young girl are those which include animals or supernatural beings. In old Castilian refrains, the girl persuades her mother that she is in danger of being taken away by an ugly bird:

Madre, casar, casar,
 que çarapico me quiere llevar.
 (C 196)

The explanation of this song is given by Juan de Mal Lara:

Paréceme que esto es un miedo que pone la hija a la madre, que la case. Y pone por delante su liviandad, que a todo viento la hoja se mueve y qualquier hoja la menea, pues un ave que vió entrar en su corral piensa que la ha de hurtar. Çarapico es una ave de marisma, que anda a la orilla del mar muchas vezes.⁶⁶

In contemporary lyrics, the bird has been replaced by a demon, against whom the girl is fighting to prevent being snatched.⁶⁷

⁶⁶Juan de Mal Lara, *Filosofía vulgar*, ed. Antonio Vilanova, 4 vols (Barcelona: 1958-59), II, p. 154, quoted by Louis Combet 1967: 545, n. 96. In the *Libro de Buen Amor* (st. 1014c), the ugliness of the fourth *serrana* is compared with the *çarapico*.

⁶⁷The church identified illicit sex with the Devil and his legion of demons in the Middle Ages. In one of the most popular books in Germany, the *Dialogue of Miracles*, the Cistercian Prior Caesarius of Heisterbach narrated some stories about women who were tempted by the demon to have sex with them. In the confessions women revealed that for a certain number of years they were having illicit sex with a demon in human form (Richards 1991: 41).

Casaime, meu pai, casáime,
 achegaimo o matrimonio,
 que levo as uñas gastadas
 de rañar n-iste demonio.
 (Lis Quibén 1964: 365)

The identity of the demon is perhaps revealed by another comic song:

El demonio son los hombres
 según dicen las mujeres;
 cuantas están deseando
 que el demonio se las lleve.
 (Llano 1977: no. 357)

Another common motif is the girl who anxiously waits for a certain future event. This event, when it happens, has been chosen by her parents as a precondition for her readiness to get married. Often this promise seems to be impossible to achieve. This is the case in several old Castilian *estribillos*, where the speaker is anxiously waiting to see a thistle bearing cherries or parsley growing in live coal:

Prometió mi madre
 de me dar marido
 hasta que el perexil
 estuviese florido.
 (C 202)

Plega a Dios que nazca
 el perexil en el ascua
 (C 203)

¡Quándo, mas quándo
 llevará cerezas el cardo!
 (C 204)

The meaning of this song is illuminated by a contemporary text, where it is explicit that the girl has been told by her mother to wait until the thistle blossoms to get married. Thus, she earnestly demands to know when that day will come.⁶⁸

⁶⁸ According to Pliny there are two kinds of thistles. One of them 'points a purple flower, that quickly turns white and is gone with the wind. [...] it also affects the womb in such a way that male children are engendered. (Pliny XX.xcix). There is a variety of thistle and all of them have a flower, whose blossom period varies according to different species (Press 1991: 272-276).

Dice mi madre
 que no me da marido
 hasta que el cardo
 esté florido.
 Yo digo: ¡Cuándo,
 cuando estará florido
 madre, aquel cardo!

(García Matos 1982: 166, no. 22)

Observe that the wedding date appears as an impossible event in old lyrics, whilst in contemporary songs it is described as probable. The same scheme (*cuando...cuando*) occurs in other texts where the man is the speaker. It is explicit that the expected day is the wedding day, describing some part of the ceremony:

¡Cuándo será el día, cuando
 que vayamos a la iglesia,
 y yo me arrime a tu lado
 y me des tu mano derecha!
 (Trapero 1990: 82)⁶⁹

Another theme is the demanding girl who complains about her future husband's complexion or profession in a group of late *seguidillas*. The girl describes different husbands and their defects, either physical or social:

No me case mi madre
 con hombre grande,
 que me sube en el poyo
 para besarme.
 (C 2359)

⁶⁹This scheme also appears in contemporary Italian songs from Tuscany. The following example is in a female voice:

Fiore di menta.
 Quando verrà quella giornata santa
 che il prete mi dirà: siete contenta?
 allora finirà la smanìa tanta
 finirà la paura e il dolore:
 contenta goderò il mio amore.
 (Warrack 1925: 12, no. 19)

No me case mi madre
con ombre chico,
que le llevo delante
por avanico.

(C 2360)⁷⁰

No me case mi madre
con ombre gordo,
que entrando en la cama
güele a mondongo.

(C 2361)⁷¹

No me case mi madre
con hombre tuerto,
que parece que duerme
y está despierto.

(C 2362)

No me case mi madre
con hombre calvo,
que parece que tengo
la muerte al lado.

(C 2363)

No me case mi madre
con hombre galán,
que se hace la barba
a lo Escarramán.

(C 2364)

No me case mi madre
con estudiante,
porque es corto de bolsa
y largo de talle.

(C 2365)

No me case mi madre
con pastelero
porque pica la carne
en el carnero.

(C 2366)⁷²

⁷⁰See Devoto 1989: 206.

⁷¹For the erotic connotations of *mondongo* see: Alzieu, Jammes & Lissorgues 1975: 106 (as penis) and as feminine genitals Gomarín Guirado 1989: no 154; Whinnom 1981, n. 136 and 51; Pedrosa 1992: 41, n. 2. For the verb *picar* in an erotic sense see **Harmful herbs**.

⁷² For the erotic meaning of 'picar' and 'picar carnero' see Alín 1991: no. 589 and 1020.

In contemporary Hispanic Peninsular lyrics the *seguidilla* preserved is that of the girl who does not want to marry a short man, which is one of the oldest themes of *malmaridada* songs. However, the complete series has been preserved in Jewish-Spanish versions and in Latin-American versions:⁷³

No me case mi madre
con hombre chico
que lo lleve y lo traiga
como abanico.

(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 6092)⁷⁴

This theme occurs in a Galician version, but inverting the meaning of the songs. Now the girl is happy with the short man because she can shake him when she wants. The sexual meaning of shaking in other songs perhaps elucidates the statement of the girl (see **The shaken tree**):

O meu amor é pequeno
pequeniño así o quero,
déitoio comigo na cama
e abáloio cando quero.

(Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 869)

The motif of the short husband is present in jocose contemporary French songs:

Mon père m'a donné un mari,
frère Henri,
que je l'ai perdu dans mon lit,
frère Henri.
J'ai brulé la paillasse d'mon lit,
frère Henri,
j'ai trouvé mon mari rôti,
frère Henri,
sur un assiette je l'ai mis
frère Henri,
les diables des chats me l'ont pris,
frère Henri,
croyant que c'était une souris
frère Henri.

(Puymaigre 1865: 274, no. 22)

⁷³ For more versions see Alín 1992: 24.

⁷⁴ For other versions see: Bouza Brey 1982: 103, no. 187.

In an old comic version, the girl's mother describes possible husbands for her. The girl chooses an abbot because he does not have to work to eat:

*Deus in adjutorium,
adveniand rrenum tum.*

Fija, ¿quiéreste casar?
Madre, non lo he por ál.
Adveniad rrenum tum

Fija, ¿quieres labrador?
Madre, non le quiero, non.
Adveniad [rrenum tum]

Fija, ¿quieres escudero?
Madre, non tiene dinero.
Adveniand [rrenum tum]

Fija, ¿quieres el abad?
Madre, aquése me dad.
Adveniad [rrenum tum]

¿Por qué quieres el abad?
Porque non siembra y á pan.
Adveniad [rrenum tum]
(C 1838)

The preference for a priest who has bread without working appears as a proverb in Correas, *Vocabulario* 590a: 'Hixa, María, ¿con quién te quieres casar? -Con el cura, madre, que no masa i tiene pan.'. This clerical criticism is frequent in traditional lyrics (Frenk 1994: 58). The last stanza may also be a parody of the Gospel of John (4.37-38), when Christ tells his disciples about their evangelical mission:⁷⁵

One sows and another reaps' is true. I sent you to reap what you have not worked for. Others have done the hard work, and you have reaped the benefits of their labour.

The mother who offers different husbands to the daughter appears in Italian and French contemporary songs:

⁷⁵There are different attitudes towards labour in the New Testament. On the one hand, submission to Providence is proposed, because God will feed us (Matthew 6.25-34, Luke 12.27), on the other hand, Paul (Thess 3.10) emphasizes the compulsive aspect of labour.

Mamma mia, m'ha'a maritari.
 Figghia mia, a cu' t' he dari?
 Si ti rugnu 'u muraturi,
 muraturi 'un fa pi tia.
 Sempri va e sempri veni,
 la cazzola 'mmanu teni;
 si cci aferra 'a fantasia.
 Cazzulìa la figghia mia.
 Mamma mia, m'ha'a maritari.
 Figghia mia, a cu' t'he dari?
 Si ti rugnu lu scarparu,
 lu scarparu 'un fa pi tia;
 sempri va e sempri veni,
 sempri 'a furma 'mmanu teni;
 si cci afferra 'a fantasia
 la furmìa la figghia mia.
 Mamma mia, m'ha'a maritari.
 Figghia mia, a cu' t'he dari?
 si ti rugnu 'u piscaturi,
 piscaturi 'un fa pi tia.
 Sempri va e sempri veni,
 sempri 'u rrimu 'mmanu teni;
 si cci aferra 'a fantasia
 la rimia la figghia mia.

(Pitré 1871: II, 98)

In French songs the mother considers different professions and explains the negative aspects of each possible suitor:

Si je la donne une cordonnier,
 il me la f'ra marcher nu-pieds.
 Si je la donne au jardinier,
 il m' la mett'racen espalier.

(Pitré 1871: II, 99)

In other contemporary French songs it is the girl who demands a husband. She enumerates different professions and her objections to each one of them. At the end, she chooses one of her preference. This happy ending contrasts with Italian versions where the mother does not find an adequate suitor for her daughter:

Je viens d'avoir quinze ans passés,
 je voudrais bien me marier,
 me marier pour l'amourette,
 A la verduron, durette!

Je ne veux pas d'un avocat,
il faut lui plisser ses rabats,
ses rabats pour l'amourette,
A la verduron, durette!

Je ne veux pas d'un médecin,
car il se lève trop matin,
trop matin pour l'amourette,
A la verduron, durette!

Je ne veux prendre un marin,
car il me laiss'rait en chemin,
en chemin par l'amourette,
A la verduron, durette!

Mais je veux bien d'un officier,
car il toujours le coeur gai,
le coeur gai pour l'amourette,
A la verduron, durette!

(Bujeaud 1895: I, 86)

2.1.3.2 The 'malmaridada'

The song of the *malmaridada* has been considered as a genre in itself by French critics. According to Jeanroy the origins of this theme can be traced in May celebrations (1904: 85). The *malmaridada* song is a female monologue where she complains about her marriage. Usually she complains about her jealous husband or praises her lover. This topos is common to different Romance languages (Menéndez Pidal 1951: 243; Sánchez Romeralo: 72-74). However, in Spanish traditional lyrics the topos of the *malmaridada* is focused on the woman's feelings (Frenk 1971: 70).

The *malmaridada* topos is widespread in traditional Peninsular lyrics. The songs can be divided into three different groups according to the aspect of marriage underlined in the text. In the first group there are those songs whose theme is the girl who refuses marriage in order to preserve her freedom:

Deixedes-me, mi madre,
andar solteyra,
que despois que for casada
serei sogeyta.

(C 173)

No quiero ser casada,
[sino] libre enamorada.
(C 216)⁷⁶

Dizen que me case yo:
¡no quiero marido, no!
(C 218)

Que no quiero, no, casarme
si el marido á de mandarme.
(C 220)⁷⁷

The girl who wants to remain single is not a common topos in contemporary traditional lyrics but, when this motif occurs, the tone of the text is more a lament than a protest. This is the case in a Portuguese text:

O' vida da minha vida,
vida solteira, rial;
quem me desta vida tira,
faz um pecado mortal.
(Furtado de Mendonça 1913: no. 198)

More often, however, the girl is advised not to get married to avoid unhappiness and pain:

Solteiriña, non te cases,
non déixe-la boa vida;
eu ben sei duhna casada
que chorou ó outro día.
(Rico Vereá 1989: 89)

This motif is found in contemporary French popular songs. Here the girl's mother describes marriage as an unpleasant life, and the girl states in the refrain that she wants to amuse herself while she is single:⁷⁸

⁷⁶The same theme appears in the male voice see C 217.

⁷⁷ Other old songs with this motif are: C 219, 222.

⁷⁸In an old Castilian song, the mother is advising the girl of the miserable life of marriage. Here, this motif is blended with the motif of the abandoned woman:

No querades, fija,
marido tomar
para sospirar.

Quand on marie ses filles
 Il les faut revêtir
 d'un beau cotillon rouge
 pour dire adieu plaisir.
 Pendant que je suis jeune
 laissez-moi divertir.
 (Puymaigre 1865: 248)

The second group are those songs where the young married woman laments her social status and longs for her single life:⁷⁹

¡Madre mía, muriera yo
 y no me casara no!
 (C 229)

Soy casada y vivo en pena
 ¡ojalá fuera soltera!
 (C 228)⁸⁰

This motif is common in Peninsular contemporary lyrics, with some alterations in the girl's approach. The girl explains that, after having been married for a year, she wished that she had remained single:

Fuese mi marido
 a la frontera,
 sola me dexa
 en tierr'ajena.
 (C 221)

For another example with this theme see: C 646 B.

⁷⁹ Lamenting the future life of the young bride is a Russian wedding custom (Sokolov 1971: 215).

⁸⁰ See CORRESPONDENCIAS section. This theme appears in a widespread ballad:

Recién casadita
 y en tierras ajenas:
 con la escoba barre,
 con los ojos riega,
 con la boca dice:
 quién fuera soltera
 y no casadita
 en tierras ajenas.
 (Díaz 1982: 131).

Eu caseime por un ano,
 por saber que vida era
 ¡ó rematiño do ano:
 ¡solteiriña Dios me dera!
 (Rielo Carballo 1980: 310)

Eu caseime por um ano,
 pr'a bê la bida que tinha:
 o ano vai acabar,
 quem me dera solteirinha!
 (Leite de Vasconcellos 1915: no. 148)

The girl's grief is usually emphasized in contemporary folksongs by a comparison made between single and married life. The miserable life of marriage is reflected in the girl's appearance. On the one hand the lack of freedom and happiness is compared with the cutting of her previously long hair, and with not combing her hair, emphasising her loss of attractiveness:

Solteiriña ben estaba,
 que peinaba os meus cabelos,
 y agora que séu casada
 nin os peino, nin os teño.
 (Lis Quibén 1964: 363)

Unhappiness in marriage, on the other hand, is described in terms of her clothes. For example, when the girl was single she had a new skirt, now she only has an old, torn skirt that here does not stand for the loss of her virginity (see **Washing, wringing**):

Caséme, calabacéme,
 mi fortuna fue contraria;
 de soltera, saya nueva,
 de casada, rota y mala.
 (Córdova y Oña 1948-55: III, 96).

The misfortune of the girl is stressed by the expression 'calabacéme', which indicates bad luck. This expression is related to 'dar calabazas' the equivalent of rejecting a lover.⁸¹ The term *kalabazas* denoting refusal occurs already in *Correas* (1627: 702a).

⁸¹This expression is widespread in contemporary Peninsular lyrics, for example the following *coplas*:

Another topos associated with the songs of the *malmaridada* is the old husband, which is considered one of the earliest themes in France (Bec 1977-78: 1, 72). In Hispanic traditional lyrics the impotence of the old man is suggested by an image: he cannot get into the bed. Although it is not present as a song in old Castilian lyrics, this motif occurs in a proverb of Correas's *Vocabulario*:

Mi marido es viexo, ermana, no puede subir a la cama.
(Correas 1627: 553b)

The old husband unable to climb appears in Chaucer in *The Merchant's Tale*. May deceives her old husband Januarie, by climbing a pear tree to make love to her lover Damyan (2330-2415). In contemporary Hispanic lyrics this theme is preserved in comic songs, where the old man can not get into the bed, which is set in a high place by the woman, who wants to make fun of him:

Heime de casar cun vello
pra que me farte de rir,
heille faguer a cama alta
pra que non poida subir.
(Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 1002)

Yo me casé con un viejo,
por hartarme de reir;
le puso la cama en alto
y no se podía subir.
(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 7304)

The shepherd is another character associated with the *malmaridada* in Hispanic traditional lyrics. An old Castilian *estribillo* describes the complaint of a married woman who has to mend her husband's clothes:

Si me distes calabazas,
me las comí con tocino,
mejor quiero calabazas,
que no casarme contigo.
(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 4817)

Rregañar, rregañar,
que se lo tengo de remendar.
(C 1801)⁸²

This *estribillo* is also associated with the ballad *El reguñir, yo regañar* that, according to Menéndez Pidal, was already old in 1600. In the oldest version the object mended by the woman is a doublet, while in other versions it is a haversack. There are sixteen versions of this ballad and in all of them the refrain varies slightly (Sánchez Romeralo 1978: IX, 260). This ballad is sung during the *danza de paloteo* in some areas:

Mi madre me casó a mi
con un pulido pastor.
No quiere que vaya a misa
tampoco a la procesión.
Y quiere que me esté en casa
remendándole el jubón.

El a reñir,
yo a renegar;
no se lo tengo
de remendar.⁸³

In some contemporary *coplas* the bad reputation of the shepherd is preserved. Here, the woman complains about the shepherd's poverty:

Me casé con un pastor
para dormir en buena cama.
Luego vino a resultar
que el colchón no tenía lana.
(Cortés 1914: no. 2948)

Adultery related to the *malmaridada* motif is also present in old Castilian *estribillos*. However, the woman who joyfully betrays her husband with her lover is absent from

⁸²See SUPERVIVENCIAS.

⁸³Sánchez Fraile 1943: no. 126. See other versions Córdova y Oña 1948-55: III, 11; Olmeda 1903: 117, no. 33. For an analysis of this ballad see Frenk 1986.

Hispanic traditional lyrics, contrasting with old French songs.⁸⁴ The appearance of the songs where the woman openly complains about and insults her husband began in the late sixteenth century (Frenk 1992: 11). In an old *estribillo* the *malmaridada* reveals her distress to a knight:

Queredme bien, cavallero:
casada soy, aunque no quiero.
(C 236)

In other songs, adultery is subtly suggested. Once more, happiness is associated with the woman's beauty. In this case the loss of attractiveness does not worry the married woman because she has a secret lover whom she holds in her heart. This motif is also present in France.⁸⁵

⁸⁴Bec 1977-78: I, 70. For example the following anonymous popularizing motet where the woman states her intention of taking a lover, betraying and despising her husband:

Hé Dieu! je n'ai pas mari
du tot a mon gré:
Il n'a cortoisie en li
ne joliveté!

Jone dame est bien traïe,
par la foi que doi a Dé,
qui a vilain est baillie
pour faire sa volenté;
ce fut trop mal devisé.
De mari sui mal païe:
d'ami m'emenderai,
et si m'en savoit mal gré
mon mari, si face amie,
car, voelle ou non, j'amerai!
(Bec 1977-78: II, no. 7)

⁸⁵ The motif of a lover in the heart appears in a French refrain of an *estampie*:

Ai! j'ai,
Duez, j'ai au cuer, j'ai
bones amorettes
qui me tiennent gai.
(Bec 1977-78: II, no. 158)

Another example of this motif appears in a *canço* of Moniot d' Arras. (Bec 1977-78: II, no. 14).

Soy garridilla [y no] pierdo sazón
 por mal maridada:
 tengo marido en mi corazón
 que a mí agrada.
 (C 235)

¿Quién dirá que estoy casada?
 ¿quién dirá que tengo amor?
 Tengo un galán de mi gusto
 que me roba el corazón.
 (Torner 1920: no. 281)

To sum up, the *malmaridada* topos is preserved in contemporary lyrics. Married life is contemplated as a painful and miserable time, which is represented by the girl's loss of attractiveness. The husband is portrayed with physical defects or he is described as poor. There are two characters who represent these two aspects: the old husband and the shepherd. This depiction contrasts with other songs where the shepherd was described as a lustful lover (see **The shepherd**). The adultery song associated with the *malmaridada* does not occur frequently in Hispanic traditional lyrics, contrasting with French tradition. Another noticeable feature is that this topos is predominantly preserved in the female voice in contemporary lyrics.

2.1.3.3 The reluctant novice

Closely related with the motif of the *malmaridada* appears the reluctant novice. The Castilian girl refuses to enter the convent. This differs from the girl of French songs who complains of being a nun against her will:⁸⁶

No quiero ser monja, no,
 que niña namorada so.
 (C 210)

⁸⁶The origin of this theme in France was 'la plainte de la fille cloîtrée malgré elle' (Jeanroy 1904: 190). For old Hispanic songs with this motif see: C 207, 208, 209, 212 A, 212 B, 213, 214. This topos was also studied by: Torner 1966: no 104; Alín 1968: 261-62; Sánchez Romeralo 1969: 77-78; Cummins 1977: 89.

-Meterte quiero yo monja
hija mía y de mi corazón.
-Que no quiero ser monja, no.
(C 211)

The reluctant novice, occurs less often in contemporary lyric songs, where the tone of the texts is more that of a lament than a complaint.⁸⁷

¡Ay! que sí, que sí
¡ay! que no, que no
casadita sí
pero monja no.
(Beltrán Miñana 1982: 221)

On the other hand, the girl who wants to become a nun in order not to become a *malmaridada* is another old motif present in Hispanic and French medieval songs,

⁸⁷In contemporary lyrics there is a song where the girl complains about being a nun. However, the gloss shows that she was happy to be a nun until she met her love.

¡Mal haya mi padre! que no me casó
con aquel muchacho que quería yo.

Desde pequeñita me fui al convento
con mucha alegría y mucho contento.
Pero la alegría pronto se acabó.
¡Mal hay mi padre! que no me casó
con aquel muchacho que quería yo.
(Schindler 1941: no. 75)

See more Catalan versions in Torner 1966: 104; see also Sánchez Romeralo 1969: 77.

In contemporary songs the '*malmonjada*' is frequently preserved in ballads. This is the case of *La monja traidora*, where the woman complains about life in a convent:

¿Quién es la monja traidora
que a maitines se levanta
y ella dice cuando canta:
¿Quién fuera casada ahora?
(Díaz & Díaz Viana 1983: no. 37)

There is a ballad sung by children with this topos:

Yo me quería casar
con un mocito barbero
y mis padres me querían
monjita de monasterio.
(Díaz & Díaz Viana 1983: 134)

According to Entwistle (1939: 134), the motif of the girl made a nun against her will and who complains about her solitude is a recurrent pattern in ballads from southern Europe and England.

although it is an unusual topos in France.⁸⁸ In old Castilian *estribillos* the girl firmly says:

Mongica en religión
me quiero entrar,
por no malmaridar.
(C 215 A)

In contemporary lyrics the girl wants to enter the convent. Often this motif is combined with a prelude of two lines that represents her refusal of sexual life:

Arriba el limón,
abajo la hoja
arriba el limón
que me quiero meter monja
de la religión.
(Calabuig 1987: 136, no. 53)

Arriba la flor
y abajo la hoja.
No vengas, amor,
que me quiero meter
monja de la religión.
(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: II, 67, no. 18)

Lastly, in another contemporary version, the ripe cherry and the green leaf connote the sexual readiness of the girl (see **Fruits and flowers**).⁸⁹ Note that as the song's speaker is not the girl the motif of the frond's rejection is absent. In other words, we know that she is ready to change her status, but we do not know her decision:

Colorada la guinda,
verde la hoja;
si acomoda a la niña,
métete a monja.
(Cortés 1914: no. 4145)

The girl's hesitation is made explicit in another text, where she does not choose between being a nun and getting married:

⁸⁸ For French songs see Jeanroy 1904: 191-92.

⁸⁹The cherry is a symbol of a marriageable girl in Russian songs (Sokolov 1971: 522).

Quisiera y no quisiera
 que son dos cosas;
 quisiera estar casada
 y meterme a monja.
 (Cortés 1914: no. 4509)

In this text, once more the primary negative connotations of the motifs of getting married or being a nun have been lost, resulting in a song without sense.

In conclusion, the old motif of the reluctant novice has been mainly preserved in lyric songs, whereas the *malmonjada* motif appears in narrative songs. The girl who wants to become a nun to avoid marriage does not appear in contemporary songs, where the maiden freely chooses to be a nun. Frequently, this motif is associated with plant symbols, which connote the girl's sexual readiness (the flower, the lemon, the cherry, the green leaf). Her refusal to take a lover is represented by her rejection of the frond.

2.2 Peasant labour

Work songs comprise a large group of texts in traditional lyrics. Their variety reflects a wide spectrum of peasant life of the Middle Ages.⁹⁰ According to Sokolov:

In the vast repertory of lyric songs, in the very first stages of the analysis, it is discovered that various social groups have taken part in the creation of the songs. Here, of course, the first place belongs to the basic agricultural core of the peasantry. But not only the basic stratum of the peasantry [...] created song [...] but also those classes of the rural population who did not find an outlet for their labour in the country, in cultivating the land, but who went away from the village, for long or short periods of time, to do other work, for the seasonal occupations. (Sokolov 1971: 510)

The gender division of work predominates in agricultural communities where, basically, the tasks of production are related to men and the chores of preservation to

⁹⁰This feature contrasts with *kharjas* and *cantigas de amigo*. In the Galician-Portuguese tradition the only job mentioned is the washing of clothes (1957: 214).

women.⁹¹ In the Middle Ages, the main women's tasks were to keep the fire burning, to fetch water, wash clothes, bake, and spin. In town they usually did these domestic tasks for wealthy families. They also performed other jobs, such as selling wine, which was regarded as a task for women of dubious sexual behaviour. Women took part in agricultural labour and some of these jobs were exclusively feminine, such as 'esquilar ovejas, remover y escarbar la tierra del huerto, recoger el lúpulo o segar hierba [que] eran tareas remuneradas mediante jornal' (Opitz 1992: 358). However, other work was done either by men or by women, such as picking fruit and mowing hay, whereas ploughing and sowing were mainly male tasks. Besides, men were in charge of taking the flocks to graze on the mountain (Dillard 1984: 166).⁹² Furthermore, trading and other itinerant jobs were often reserved for men, for example sailors, soldiers, waggoners. In time, the guild system in towns led to more specialized subcultures of trade, that widened the differences between peasants and craftsmen (Burke 1988: 36). There were other jobs done by women without honour in town: procuresses, prostitutes, and sorceresses. They also had their own songs and subculture.⁹³

The work can be divided into rhythmic and arhythmic work. Some work is difficult to accompany with songs because of its nature. This is the case with the

⁹¹Duby 1992: 156; Amt 1993: part IV. In addition there were other groups that formed their own subcultures that could be considered international: soldiers, beggars, and thieves (Burke 1988: 42). There is another group that can be included as an international subculture: the students, although, they can be considered as an intermediary group between higher and lower strata.

⁹²For woman's activities in the countryside see Shahar 1983: 225 and Labarge 1986: 161. For non-agrarian labour see: Iradiel 1986.

⁹³A selection of women's jobs may be seen in Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. The church and the house are the main spaces for woman's activities. Other professions depicted are the tailor woman (no. 117, 148), the midwife (no. 43, 118), the innkeeper (no. 23), the cook (no. 159), the go-between (no. 64), the barmaid (no. 72, 93), the professional mourner (65), and those who were in charge of the silkworm (no. 18) (Chico Picaza 1984: 438).

blacksmith or the sawyer, even though sometimes they sing onomatopoeic expressions that imitate the different rhythms of the labour done, for example in this contemporary song of the stonemason:

Ei, pedra, ei!
 A ou, pedra, ou!
 Ei, anda, ei!
 Ei, manda, ou!
 ei, manda, ei! [...]
 Ei, agarra, ou!
 (Lima Carneiro 1958: 144)

On the other hand other arhythmic labours are accompanied by different songs. Almost all agricultural tasks have their own songs.

In this section I shall analyse those songs whose theme or character is related to a specific kind of work. Furthermore, I have selected characters who are often described as lustful. Therefore, all activities and instruments associated with their work have sexual connotations, in love songs or comic songs.

2.2.1 Women's work

The importance of women as the preservers of custom in agricultural communities has been pointed out by scholars. According to Ganz:

in more modern but similar agricultural communities, women's dancing and working songs did exist both in Germany and on Romance territory in the Middle Ages, and it seems permissible to argue, on the basis of more recent but comparable customs in Russia and elsewhere, that many of them dealt with woman's 'feminine' lot. (1953: 309)

This feminine feature of traditional lyrics constantly occurs in Peninsular songs.

Mixing and baking bread, and spinning were tasks considered exclusively feminine.

The significance of these tasks for agricultural communities is seen in their association with the origin-of-life myths and the primordial great goddess.

Spinning was usually done indoors whereas baking bread was done outside the realm of the house. These tasks show two main aspects of the peasant woman's life.

2.2.1.1 The spinner

Spinning is conventionally associated with women. This is reflected in different traditions where the Great Goddesses are weavers. They weave 'the web of life and spin the thread of fate [Thus all] activities [such] as plaiting, weaving and knotting belong to the fate-governing activity of the woman'.⁹⁴

The fatal qualities of the thread are associated with generating life, represented in the crossing of the threads which is a symbol of the sexual union of lovers (see **Combing hair**).⁹⁵

Spinning and weaving are tasks which are well represented in medieval songs. One example of this is the *Chanson de toile*, where courtly women appear weaving and spinning rich clothes in the prelude. These songs were supposed to be sung by women during their work.⁹⁶ This corresponded to reality. Spinning was considered the main female activity, which was done by peasants and by noble women in the Middle Ages. Heath Dillard suggests that:

neighbours must have gathered together in houses and courtyards to spin and weave. Spinning, a medieval woman's most characteristic activity, was a task women could pick up at almost any time, and they

⁹⁴ Neumann 1970: 227. See Vries *s.v.* Thread and Weaving. Circe is represented spinning in *The Odyssey* (x, 211):

So they stood in the gateway of the fair-tressed goddess, and within they heard Circe singing with sweet voice, as she went to and fro before a great imperishable web, such as is the handiwork of goddesses, finely-woven and beautiful and glorious.

⁹⁵ Neumann 1970: 227. In Classical mythology there are the Parcae and Ariadne who saves Theseus with a thread. Witchcraft and diabolic possession associated with the skein given by Celestina to Melibea were studied by Alan Deyermond (1977). The magical powers of the spinner and the skein are possibly related to superstitions where the spider's web has magical healing power (Opie 1992: *sv* Spider web). The motif of spinning is widespread in folktales (Thompson 1955-58: *s.v.* spinning). It is associated with witches (Thompson 1955-58: G201.1, G282, J51) and with a bride test (H383.2.1).

⁹⁶ Jeanroy 1904: 225. For the origins and features of the weaving songs see Jeanroy 1904: 217-32; Bec 1977-78: 107-19. The origin of this genre was associated with the Annunciation in the apocryphal tradition according to Charles B. Lewis 1922. Méndez Ferrín 1966 demonstrates that Lewis's argument is feeble.

wove perhaps small cloths that could be fabricated on portable devices or, more likely, helped one another on larger projects. (Dillard 1984: 153)⁹⁷

This tradition was preserved in other parts of Europe in the last century. During the long winter nights all the women of the community were gathered together in a house to do their spinning, while 'a chorus of women or individual singers gave vent to their feelings' (Ganz 1953: 307). This custom has been maintained in contemporary Spain:

Las hilanderas mesan el lino o lana de la rueca con los dedos de la mano izquierda, y entre los de la derecha danza el huso que retuerce el naciente hilo, y entonan cantos alusivos al hilado [and] las tejedoras cantan al compás de los golpes rítmicos del peine del telar. (Llano 1977: xxviii)⁹⁸

This passage elucidates the close relationship between spinning and singing performed by a group of women. These meetings were wooing opportunities for young couples in the Slavonic, Baltic, and Germanic world (Hatto 1965: 62). The work was accompanied not only by songs, but also by dances. This is the case in the archaic Canarian *Danza prima* of the *Hilanderas*, where the dancers imitate the spinning movements while they dance (Vidal 1956).

In the *cantigas de amigo*, there is a song where the girl is spinning. The girl is a noble woman who is lamenting her misfortune in love:

Sedia la fremosa seu sirgo torcendo,
a voz manselinha fremoso dizendo
cantigas d'amigo.

Sedia la fremosa seu sirgo lavrando,
sa voz manselinha fremoso cantando
cantigas d'amigo.

⁹⁷ Spinning as one of the major women's labours in the Middle Ages was also studied by Margaret Wade Labarge (1986: 161). For spinning as noblewomen's task, see Amt 1993: 165.

⁹⁸ This custom was preserved in other Spanish areas. (Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: II, 179)

Par Deus de Cruz, dona, sei eu que havedes
amor mui coitado, que tam bem dizedes
cantigas d'amigo;

par Deus de Cruz, dona, sei eu que andades
d'amor mui coitada, que tam bem cantades
cantigas d'amigo.

Avúitor comestes, que adevinhades!⁹⁹

The attitude of the woman in the *cantigas de amigo* contrasts with that of the old *estribillos*, where the woman associates the heavy task of spinning with the miserable life of marriage.

The spinner is a representative core in traditional texts. There is a song where the hard-working woman is compared to the sun. This comparison shows the importance of light imagery in traditional lyrics, which is a feature present in old pagan religions based on the cult of the sun and also in the Bible.¹⁰⁰

Quien hila y tuerce
al sol se le parece.
(C 1157 A)

The woman complains about the heavy task of spinning and she is always resentful of her work; her attitude can be contrasted with that of the baker or the harvester. Spinning is included among the painful tasks of the married woman:

Madre, ¿ké kosa es kasar?
Hixa, hilar, parir y llorar.
(Correas 1627: 546a)

⁹⁹ For an interesting analysis of this song's repetition of sound see Reckert & Macedo 1976: no. 49. The vulture was a bird associated with divinatory customs in Greek and Roman traditions. (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. vautour).

¹⁰⁰ See Alzieu, Jammes & Lissorgues 1975: no. 77. The association of the good with light is present in different religions (see Vries 1976: s.v. Sun). This idea was developed by Plato in the *Republic* (vii. 514a-517a). Le Goff (1980: 76-80) discusses the conception of manual labour as a punishment in the early medieval times. According to this author,

after the eighth century, *labor* and its derivatives and compounds [...] developed a new meaning, centered on the idea of acquisition, profit, and conquest, primarily in a rural context, where the word was connected with pioneering. (Le Goff 1980: 86)

This gloomy aspect of spinning is depicted in contemporary songs:

Jilando amanezco
y jilando oscurezco,
jilando me muero
y allí te espero.
(Trapero 1990: 149)

More often, the spinner is depicted as lazy, drunken and gossippy. These songs, even though they have a female speaker, reflect a male focus (Frenk 1992: 3).

Hilanderera era la aldeana:
más come que gana.
¡Ay, que hilando esta Gila:
más bebe que hila!
(C 1193)

Echámelo todo en vino,
marido mío,
que no en lino.
(C 1583)

Perdí la rueca
y el huso no hallo:
tres días ha
que le ando en el rastro.
(C 1585 A)

Qué non sé filar
ni aspar ni devanar.

Y mercóme mi marido
una arrova de lino,
que los perros y los gatos
en ellos fazían nido.

Qué non sé filar
ni aspar ni devanar.
(C 1907)

El lunes moxo, el martes lavo.
el miércoles cielo, el xueves saco,
el viernes zierno, el sábado maso;
el domingo, que io hilaría,
todos me dizen que no es día.
(C 1909)

¡O, qué trabaxo es hilar
esta negra de la estopa,
que pone negra la boca,
que no se puede hablar!
(C 1908)

In this song, the mouth darkening, as a consequence of spinning, seems to be a parody of the motif of the darkening of the complexion, which is a frequent motif of work songs (see **The baker woman**). For example the following Italian song:

Tucc me dissen che son nera
e l'è el fumm de la caldera,
el mio amor me lo diceva
di non farquel brutt mestee.

Tucc me dissen que son gialda,
l'è ol filôr de la filanda,
quando poi sarò in campagna
i miei color ritornerà.

(Savona & Straniero 1989: 184)

It may well be worth noticing here that the change of colour is associated with sexual experience. However, in this case the damaged complexion of the girl represents her suffering at work (see **The morenita**). The bad reputation of the spinner is preserved in contemporary lyrics:¹⁰¹

El lunes hay que barrer,
el martes hay que fregar
el miércoles al molino
para el jueves amasar,
el viernes hacer colada
para el sábado lavar,
y el domingo, como es fiesta,
no se puede trabajar.
Qué cuándo vas a hilar, hilar, María,
qué cuándo vas a hilar, hilar, hilar,
que cuándo vas a hilar, hilar, María.
-Mañanita de San Juan.

(Torner 1920: no. 272)

¹⁰¹ According to Pliny (XXVII.v) spinning was forbidden on the road and the spindle had to be covered in order to prevent a bad harvest.

Con la rueca en la mano
y el fusu en la faltriguera,
voy pa casa la vecina
a murmurar vida ajena.

(Llano 1977: no. 893)

The spinner's laziness is satirized in other jocose texts, where the character tries to disguise her unfinished work. This motif is common and occurs in other old comic popular songs.¹⁰²

Filo o demo,
que io tres camisas teño.
(C 1906)

Tres camisas tengo agora:
no me llamarán mangaxona.

Una tengo en el telar
i otra tengo dada a hilar
i otra que me hazen agora:
no me llamarán mangaxona.
(C 1894)¹⁰³

The spinner's portrayal can be completed with those songs associated with love. In this group, as I have said earlier, all actions and elements of her trade are associated with courtship. In the following songs, the objects used for spinning are seen as love forfeits when given by the beloved in old and contemporary lyrics:

Mira, Juan, lo que te dixen,
no se te olvide.

¹⁰² See C: 1892 and 1894. This kind of song is included in the *Danzas de palo* of different Peninsular areas (Sánchez del Barrio 1986).

- ¹⁰³The same text has been preserved in contemporary lyrics, where the speaker makes clear that it is a mock song:

A mi me llaman la pendexona,
tres camisas tengo, en broma;
una tengo en el telar,
otra tengo por filar
y otra está filando agora;
¡ya non só tan pendexona!
(Llano 1977: no. 897)

Mira, Juan, lo que te dixe
 en barrio ageno,
 que me cortes una rueca
 de aquel ciruelo.
 De aquel ciruelo te dixe,
 no se te olvide.
 (C 424)¹⁰⁴

Espadilla, granilla,
 pellejo y tajo:
 estas cuatro cosillas
 me dio mi majo.
 Estas cuatro cosillas
 me dio mi majo:
 espadilla, granilla,
 pellejo y tajo.
 (Llovet 1956: 261)

The sexual connotations of weaving and spinning were widespread, permeating objects associated with these activities.¹⁰⁵ Frequently, the instrument connected with sexual meaning is the spindle, which is considered a phallic symbol (Vries 1976: s.v spindle).

In old *estribillos*, the spinner is associated with the erotic symbol of the door. The man's intentions are described by the expression 'haréte la güeca', which is 'la muesca espiral que se hace al uso, a la punta delgada, para que trabe en ella la hebra que se va hilando'.¹⁰⁶ This is closely connected with the motif of the thread entering the needle, which, as Manuel da Costa Fontes has demonstrated, is related to sexual intercourse.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ *Ziruelo*, according to Correas (1627: 673b) 'lo del macho, ierto; del varón'.

- ¹⁰⁵ Combet 1969: 250, n. 38; Alzieu, Jammes & Lissorgues 1975: no. 77 and n., 118, 133.

¹⁰⁶ Alzieu, Jammes & Lissorgues: no. 45; no. 188, 133.

¹⁰⁷ See Manuel da Costa Fontes 1984 and 1985; Thompson 1955-58: J86 and Z186. The sexual meaning of sewing has permeated all the songs with a dressmaker, a shoemaker or a tailor. In old lyrics the shoemaker is seen as a sensual character (Alzieu, Jammes & Lissorgues 1975: no. 76):

-¿Qué hacéis zapatero mocososo?
 -Señora, coso, coso.
 (C 1171 A)

Hilandera de torno,
ábreme, que me torno.
(C 1671)

Hilandera de rrueca,
abréme, haréte la güeca.
(C 1709)

The sexual meaning of perforating the spindle is associated with the lustful abbot.

Here, the excuse of the wire spindle shows the clumsiness or the impotence of the abbot:

Quien tiene el huso de alambre
i se le entuerta
vaya luego a cas del abad,
que le hi, que le he,
que le haga la güeca.
(C 1836)

A contemporary song has a similar meaning. Here, the friar offers the girl a cane:

Un fraile me hizo señas
desde su huerta,
que si quería una caña
para una rueca.
Y yo respondí:
¡no está usted mala caña,
me parece a mí!
(Llano 1977: 138, n. 2)

The spinner is closely associated with the weaver, who is always described as a lustful character in old and contemporary popular lyrics: 'Marikita, ¡i con un pie texes! -I kon el kulo a vezes (Correas 1627: 526a).

Tailors and dressmakers are frequently described as treacherous and lascivious:

Unha pera dúas peras
son as que tén a pereira:
unha pera fixo o xastre
a conta da costureira.
(Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: I.ii, 37, no. 106c)

Costureira non a quero
se ma dam ríome dela
cantos pillos hai na calle
dormen na cama con ela.
(Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: I.ii, 2, 39, no. 113f)

Obscene associations are preserved in contemporary lyrics:

Tejedora, tejedora,
tejedora del buen lienzo,
debajo de tu telar
tengo yo mi pensamiento.
(Llano 1977: no. 909)

The distraction or carelessness of the weaver at her work is explained because she is in love (see **The shepherd**, **The baker woman**):

A tecedeirinha nova
tem o tear e não tece
ou ela anda de amores,
ou tear *le* aborrece.
(Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 252)

Mariquinha tecedeira,
tem o tear à janela;
dá-le o vento, dá-le a chuva,
todo o fiado *le* quebra.
(Pires de Lima 1914: no. 194)

Note that in this song there is an accumulation of symbols. The weaver is sitting at the window, which is a traditional place for courtship. Consequently, the wind and the rain break her skein. Taking into account that the skein is a sexual symbol and the wind and rain are male symbols associated with impregnation (see **Wind**, **Rain**), the only possible symbolic reading of these lines is obvious. In contemporary songs and riddles, weaving is described in terms of love-making, deceiving listeners' expectations (see **The baker woman**):

A senhora tecedeira
leva o ganho na barriga:
quando bota a lançadeira,
perna abaixo perna arriba!
(Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 252)

Tras da porta vi facer
tirar e meter,
darlle a carrilleira
pra ter que comer.
(Gárfer & Fernández 1984: 187)

Subir e baixar,
 meter e sacar
 e darlle á barriga.
 Atendí todos
 que non e picardía.

(Gárfer & Fernández 1984: 187)

To sum up, spinning is one of the oldest feminine tasks which was associated with ritual and magic. The first evidence so far found of a spinning song in Iberian traditional lyrics appears in the *cantigas de amigo*, where a noblewoman is lamenting her sadness while she is spinning silk (see p. 75, above). This delicate scene contrasts with old *estribillos*, where spinning is described as an everyday hard task, associated with bitterness and marriage. However, they coincide in the association of spinning with the lack of pleasure. The spinner is depicted as a lazy, drunken, and gossippy woman. Often, in contemporary lyrics the spinner is associated with the weaver, who is depicted as a lustful character. The spindle, because of its shape, has sexual connotations.

2.2.1.2 The baker woman

Universally the woman is associated with nourishing. In the Middle Ages, eating was associated with man and the preparation of food with woman, for example, in banquets (Bynum 1987: 191). Thus, preparation and distribution of bread was a woman's duty. (Dillard 1984: 159; Pipponier 1992: 408). The woman would mix the dough at home and bake it in the municipal, or landlord's, oven. The payment for this service was a royal levy (money) or a fixed number of loaves; the weight and size were regulated by law. Nevertheless, regulations were often violated by bakers. Therefore, 'numerous towns fined *panaderas* for selling insufficiently baked loaves or wheat bread adulterated with other kinds of flour, but especially for underweight loaves' (Dillard 1984: 159). This explains the following *estribillos*, where the baker is offering her bread:

Galán,
tomá de mi pan.

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

(C 1165 A)

Si queréis un pan de flores
moza gallarda,
si queréis un pan de flores
tomad de mi masa.

Si queréis un pan de flores,
moza dispuesta,
si queréis un pan de flores
tomad de mi cesta.

(C 1166)

The bakery and the oven were public places where women assembled. Thus, they were often the only witnesses who could testify in Court about 'deceptive sales practices, pushing and shoving, or any other disturbance that arose at the place' (Dillard 1984: 151).

The baker woman had a bad reputation associated with treachery and lasciviousness. Furthermore she was associated with the go-between (Combet 1969: 248, n. 33; Vasvari 1983: 319). These features appear to describe the baker woman in an impersonal contemporary song:

Tiene la panadera
tres condiciones
embustera y borracha
y amiga de hombres.

(Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: I.ii, 50, no. 171a)

This portrayal of the baker woman is confirmed by the Arcipreste de Hita in the *coplas* of 'Cruz cruzada panadera' where the close connection between food and sex

is explicit.¹⁰⁸ According to Burke (1975) sexual hunger is described by the line 'quien más de pan de trigo busca, sin seso anda' and the description of love-making is 'comió el pan más duz'. The sexual meaning of bread was studied by Combet (1969: 247) 'le mot *pan* ou *bollo* pouvait recevoir, au XVI siècle, l'acception figurée "organe sexuel féminin" ' and latterly by Vasvari (1983: 321). Furthermore, in the widespread theme of *La dama y el pastor*, one of the offers made by the lady was to invite the shepherd to eat her white bread.¹⁰⁹

Similar sexual connotations of 'eating' and 'white bread' occur in traditional lyrics. In ancient Castilian lyrics, eating represents sexual desire in a text in which the girl complains about her mother's prohibition (see *Animals*):¹¹⁰

Diga mi madre
lo que quisiere,
que quien boca tiene
comer quiere.
(C 148)

Eating bread as a euphemism for love-making is well represented in Mexican contemporary songs:

¹⁰⁸ See other studies of this theme: Zahareas (1963-64: 210-11), who concludes that Juan Ruiz condenses the worlds of physical and spiritual love, remarking that 'one should look for the conscious workmanship applied to his writings and his awareness of it'; Combet (1971) points out the baker woman and the bread's sexual connotations; Molina (1970) interpretes the episode as the development of the Latin proverb 'Per Crucem ad lucem' with feeble arguments; Michalski (1969-70) emphasizes the sexual perspective adopted by the Arcipreste.

¹⁰⁹For the original version of the ballad see Catalán & Lamb 1978: X, 23-24.

¹¹⁰ Eating as a euphemism for sexual intercourse also occurs in French songs:

Mon père avait un champ de pois,
tous les jours m'envoyait y voir;
je mangeai tant de ces bons pois
que j'fus malade au lit neuf mois
(Puymaigre 1881: II, 167)

Conception caused by eating is a common motif: T511. For conception caused by herbs see *Harmful Herbs*.

Mujeres, ¿pa dónde van,
 que aquí yo las voy siguiendo?
 ¡Ay, lástima de ese pan!
 ¿quién se lo estará comiendo?
 (Frenk 1977: no. 5285)

¡Arriba la panadera,
 arriba y a trabajar!
 Como la harina sea buena,
 buenos molletes saldrán!
 (Frenk 1977: no. 5323)

Bread is a basic symbol in wedding songs. There is a proverb in Correas (1627: 557a) where the dark-complexioned girl is advised not to finish the wedding bread:

Morenica, no seas boba,
 no se te acave el pan de la boda
 (C 1566)

The meaning of 'akabarse el pan de boda' is explained by Correas 'Cuando se acabó el placer y ya se sienten cansados, y el trabajo de sustentar casa, y andan en rencilla' (1627: 611). In contemporary wedding songs, the contrast between wheat bread and rye bread represents wealth and pleasurable life on the one hand, and misery on the other hand:¹¹¹

Señor Lorenzo la lleva
 al otro lado del río;
 no la de pan de centeno,
 que ella lo come de trigo.
 (García Matos 1951-60: II, text 414)

In this song occurs a blending of symbolic motifs: eating bread and crossing the river (see *Crossing water*). Nevertheless, the sexual connotations of eating wheat bread are mainly preserved in *coplas* related to the theme of *La dama y el pastor*.

Sometimes, in contemporary versions, the wheat bread is replaced by the good wheat or the good white bread:

¹¹¹ For bread associated with wedding customs see Gutiérrez Macías 1960; Cuevas 1944-45.

Pastor que estás en el monte
 comiendo pan de centeno
 si te casaras conmigo
sí, sí adiós
 comerías trigo bueno

(Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: I.ii, no. 307c)

Pastor que tienes costumbre
 de comer pan de centeno
 si te casaras conmigo
 lo comerías blanco y bueno.

(Sánchez Romeralo 1978: IX, 83)

The sexual meaning of bread also occurs in contemporary songs with the adultery theme. The bread here is described as 'the one that the woman gives to her husband':¹¹²

Dame do teu pan, casada,
 do que das o teu marido.
 O meu marido vai fora,
 lévame as chaves consigo.

(Lis Quibén 1964: 220)

In the previous text, the woman's answer emphasizes the sexual refusal with the motif of the key, which is broadly recognized as a phallic symbol. This song demonstrates the blending of the motif of 'eating white bread' with the motif of 'wedding bread'. Eating wheat bread is also compared with a beautiful married woman in another contemporary song:¹¹³

O pan de trigo, sabe ben,
 ¡dichoso de quen o come!,
 muller bonita casada
 fortuna para seu home.

(Lis Quibén 1964: 220)

¹¹²Note that sometimes the speaker of the song is a man and the bread is not described as white:

Mociquina de Santianes
 que comes pan de centeno,
 si te casaras conmigo,
 comieras pan del bueno.

(Torner 1920: no. 405)

¹¹³ See Alzieu, Jammes & Lissorgues 1975: no. 81, 1 and no. 82, 4.

The earlier compositions evidence the close connection between sex and food in traditional lyrics, and in them, the character of the baker woman is permeated with erotic connotations.¹¹⁴ The *panadera's* lasciviousness is shown in another ancient song, where she proudly states that her beauty and sex appeal are noted by the students of the village:

Que yo, mi madre, yo,
que la flor de la villa m'era yo.

Yvame yo, mi madre,
a vender pan a la villa,
i todos me dezían:
¡Qué panadera tan garrida!
Garrida m'era yo,
que la flor de la villa m'era yo.

Que yo, mi madre, yo,
que la flor de la villa me so.
(C 120 B)

On the basis of all that has been said about bread and the baker, the following ancient song has a symbolic reading:

¿Quien conpra del pan
que a venderse viene?
De balde lo dan
y presçio no tiene.
(C 1397)

In contemporary songs the baker woman is depicted as attractive, but not flirtatious.

Here the baker woman refuses the man's advances:

¹¹⁴ Burke 1975: 18. The importance of this relationship is seen in the taboos which proscribe eating together a man and a woman because there is an 'almost universal preference for solitude while important physiological functions are proceeding' (Crawley 1927: 85). The image of the baker is related to the mill woman: both are considered as lustful characters. This is represented in Pedro Antonio de Alarcon's *El sombrero de tres picos*, where the heroine is described as a beautiful and attractive character. David Hook (1984) analyses the different sources for the story, pointing out the similarities with Chaucer's *The Reeve's Tale*. For Germanic sources of the motif see Armistead and Silverman 1972.

O' minha mae, não me mande
 a vénder pão á cidade,
 que dizem os estudantes:
 que panadeirainha tão grave.
 (Torner 1966: no. 46)

¡Ay, qué panadera!
 ¡Ay, qué panaderilla,
 l'alma me lleva.

Aquella panadera
 que va por allí,
 yo la llamo, la llamo,
 y no quiere venir.

[refrain]
 Aquella panadera
 del pan menudo,
 cuando va por la calle
 menea el culo.

Aquella panadera
 del pan barato,
 yo la llamo, la llamo,
 no quiere trato.
 (Torner 1966: no. 46)

In another contemporary song, the sex appeal of the 'panadera' is stressed by a concurrence of symbols: the hair (see **Hair**), the dark complexion (see below), the oven. The latter, as I have already mentioned, is a public place related to prostitution (see **The morenita**).¹¹⁵ Love-making is related to the oven in contemporary traditional lyrics:

¿Para que quiere el pelo
 la panadera,
 si a la boca del horno
 todo lo quema?
 (Manzano 1988: no. 307)

Eu namoróime de noite
 d'a mais branca panadeira,
 pero co-o fume d'o forno
 foise volvendo morena.
 (Pérez Ballesteros 1979: 84, no. 17)

¹¹⁵ March Bloch, *Die Prostitution*, p. 277 quoted by Neumann 1970: 285.

In these examples, the baker woman's sexual activity is suggested by the transformation of the girl caused by the oven's heat: the lack of hair and the darkening of her complexion.

Bearing in mind the bad reputation of the baker woman, laziness is another feature associated with her in ancient lyrics. In the following song she is reminded to come back to work since, because of her carelessness, her bread is burning. Furthermore, distraction at work frequently indicates love-making, when it is associated with lascivious characters (see **The shepherd**):

Solivia el pan, panadera
solivia el pan, que se quema.
(C 1164)

To judge from what I have demonstrated so far, voluptuousness permeates all themes related to the baker and actions associated with baking. This also includes contemporary riddles, where the process of mixing the bread is compared to sexual intercourse:¹¹⁶

Mari-branca está estendida,
métenlle dúas cuartas
de carne viva;
suda por baixo
e suda per riba.
(o pan na maseira)
(Gárfer & Fernández 1984: 167)

The popularity of this motif is seen in its appearance in religious *coplas*. Here, the Virgin is depicted as a baker woman, which is a common image in Christmas carols, losing all the erotic connotations (see **The Virgin**):

¹¹⁶ Vasvari (1993-94: 102) points out the sexual meaning of baking a doughnut in a New Mexican Spanish riddle.

La virgen panadera
 Y en el portal de Belén
 Ella lo cierne y lo masa
 Y el niño lo va a vender.
 (Schindler 1941: no. 137)

As has now been established, the topic of the baker woman has sexual connotations. In ancient lyrics, eating is associated with sexual desire and bread with sexual intercourse. Bread is also associated with the dark-complexioned girl, and the baker woman is portrayed as flirtatious. In contemporary lyrics, the baker woman appears as a lascivious and treacherous woman (see **The mill**). Wheat bread as a symbol of the woman's genitals generally occurs in the *coplas* with the theme of *La dama y el pastor* and, sometimes, it is associated with songs of adultery. The motif of the baker woman is blended with the motif of the oven. The eroticism of the motif is also seen in riddles about the mixing of bread. The character of the baker woman has similar features to the mill woman, whose appearance is more frequent in contemporary lyrics.

The conclusion that emerges from what I have said is that an archaic motif appearing in old lyrics can be widely preserved in contemporary lyrics, sometimes blended with other symbolic motifs. Furthermore, the evidence shows that female work which implies motion is identified with sexual activity (see **The spinner** and **The mill**). In this case, this sexual connotation is stressed by the universal relation between food processing and eating.

2.2.2 Men's and women's labour

2.2.2.1 The shepherd

In the late Middle Ages shepherds, cowherds and mare keepers were considered part of the village population. However, although they were part of the farming village they took the herds up to the mountains in some communities in

winter, spending between six and nine months. During this long absence they were accompanied by their families, who were in charge of the milking and cheese production.¹¹⁷

The shepherd's isolation contributed to the creation of a particular culture different from that of peasants. They were credited with magical powers and with a special knowledge of the stars (Burke 1988: 33). This relationship with the stars is present in the following *estribillo*:

Estrella boiera
vaite [a] acostar,
que los tus boieritos
se van a zenar.
(C 1132)

Shepherding is a universal way of life so its representation varies according to different traditions. Pastoral life has nourished poetry with a large number of erotic motifs.

The originator of pastoral imagery in Western poetry was Theocritus of Syracuse in his *Epyllia*. The shepherd's life was identified with peace and idleness. This image prevails in the depiction of shepherds up to the present day. Indeed, contemporary farmers complain of the shepherd's pleasurable and simple labour. This is illustrated in contemporary *coplas*, where the shepherd is portrayed as lazy, lustful, and a good singer:¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷Burke 1988: 32; Dillard 1984: 165-66. Taking the cattle to the mountain is a custom preserved in León. The family migrates to a small hut where they stay until the time of the harvest. Then the young people descend from the mountain in order to harvest the fields. I use the term shepherd as equal to *pastor*, the man who tends sheep and goats.

¹¹⁸For the origin of pastoral imagery see: Haight 1950: 92-93; Curtius 1953: 187; Cuddon 1992: sv. Pastoral. Pan was considered a god of the wilderness, the countryside, and the weather only when related to cattle. His emblem was the phallus. Pan's distinctive flute skill was reminiscent 'of the primitive magical practice of endeavouring to control the winds by whistling or by playing on wind-instruments' (Fox 1930: 268).

El oficio del pastor
 es hacer holgazán
 cuando le falta una oveja
 los perros la buscarán.

Reunirse en las consejas
 y folgar con las pastoras
 tocar la flauta de caña
 y el rebaño que nade a solas

El oficio de pastor
 es dormir a pierna suelta.
 cantar romances antiguos
 y guisar la caldereta.

(Manrique 1952: 503)

Songs sung by shepherds have a variety of topoi, indeed, as was pointed out in the previous *coplas*, the shepherds are known for their command of a large repertory of tunes. Furthermore, contemporary Portuguese shepherds use a song to communicate with each other from one mountain to another:

Ó Aidinha,
 queridinha, Maria ou!
 P'ra onde vais amanhã?
 Ora dá-la dou!...

O Aidinha...
 queridinho el, Manoel, ou!
 Vou p'ra ribeira,
 ora dá-la dou!...

E ó ai zinha,
 e eu também vou, e ou!
 Vai tu também,
 ora dá-la dou!...

E ó ai e eiros
 quantos cordeiros tens, e ou?...
 Tenho vinte e quatro,
 ora dá-la dou!...

(Martins 1928: 253)

This dialogue continues until they consider the message is finished. The constant use of onomatopoeic words is similar to other contemporary work songs (see **Peasant labour**).

In traditional lyrics the shepherd's and the shepherdess's most noticeable features are respectively: lust and beauty. However, there other songs, where the shepherd is portrayed as lazy and ignorant.¹¹⁹ Most of the songs where these characters appear are monologues where lovers express their feelings or address the beloved; less often it is a dialogue or a song where a third person is describing a love scene. These songs contrast with *pastorelas* where there is always a lovers' meeting.

The shepherdess's charm, on the one hand, is frequently celebrated by a male speaker and sometimes appears in songs that celebrates the woman beauty. Often, the diminutive is used to refer to her:

¡Biva la gala de la pastorcilla
que al pastor haze penar!
(C 28)¹²⁰

From a male perspective, the shepherdess appears as the cause of the lover's unrest:

Pastora da serra
da serra da Estrella,
perco-me por ella.
(C 69)

Pastorcilla mia,
pues de mí te vas,
¿quándo volverás?
(C 551)

This topos is also present in a *seguidilla* of the sixteenth century, where the young shepherdess is portrayed as a dark-complexioned girl:

¹¹⁹ The character of the shepherd is very common in folktales, but not that of the shepherdess (Thompson 1955-58: shepherd, shepherdess, and shepherds).

¹²⁰ In the same way the farm girl is praised by a male speaker:

¡Qué bonica labradora
matadora!
(C 102)

Bella pastorcilla
de la tez morena,
no miente quien dize
que me days pena.
(C 2314)

From a female point of view, on the other hand, it is the shepherd who agitates her. She complains about having fallen in love with the shepherd because of his beauty ('garrido'):

D'aquel pastor de la sierra
dar quiero querella.

D'aquel pastor tan garrido,
que me robó mi sentido,
dar quiero querella.
(C 634)

The woman's love-affliction occurs blended with the erotic motif 'To see' in the following song (see **Washing**):

Veo las ovejas
orillas del mar,
no veo al pastor
que me haze penar.
(C 567)

The shepherd's seduction or attempted seduction by a woman of higher social rank appears in traditional songs. This motif is associated with the topos of *La dama y el pastor* (see **The baker woman**), which, as has been pointed out by Menéndez Pidal (1953: 339-40), is an inverted pastourelle.¹²¹ The man refuses the girl's invitation:

Llamávalo la donzella,
y dixo el vil:
'Al ganado tengo que ir'.
(C 1634)

A social difference between the woman and the shepherd is possibly suggested in this song. According to Dillard (1984: 62),

¹²¹ See Torner 1966: no. 155. The woman who seduces the shepherd in some contemporary songs and ballads is portrayed as a shepherdess or *serrana*. This happens in a Portuguese version of *La serrana de la Vera* called *Naquela serrinha alta-a serraninha* (Martins 1928: 211).

at many thirteenth-century towns we find the honorific titles *duenna* and *donzella* for the wives and daughters of *caballeros villanos*, those non-noble knights of the urban militia.

Thus, the *donzella* appearing in the previous song may well be the daughter of a rich villein.

The character of the shepherd appears combined with different motifs (see **The kiss**). In the following song, there is a blending of symbolic erotic motifs: the light rain and the dark night, which are associated with love-making (see **Rain, The man at the door**):

Llueve menudico
y haze la noche oscura,
el pastorcillo es nuevo:
no iré segura.

(C 1007)

The last line of this song shows the girl's fear. Bearing in mind that all the elements are related to love-making, it is possible to gather that she is suggesting a sexual encounter. The girl's words have an ambiguous tone between complaint and invitation, thus simultaneously, while revealing her fear, she discloses the erotic meaning of the song. This interpretation is sustained by the following songs where the shepherd is always portrayed as a sensual character by the woman. Note that in the first example her preference for a shepherd rather than for a peasant is emphasized:

Pastorcico nuevo,
de color de amor,
no sois vos, mi vida,
para labrador.

(C 1098)

Pastorcico, amigo,
¿qué avedes, qué?
A la fe, señora,
vuestros amores he.

(C 323)

Pastorcycyco amygo,
 que los amores as,
 que aora moryrás.
 (C 622 B)¹²²

The shepherd is constantly called 'nuevo' indicating his youth. In other songs, the shepherd's lust is emphasized. He is described as luring women at any time of the day or night:

Cata la luna, cata el sol,
 cata los amores del pastor.
 (C 1154)

Pastorcico nuevo,
 ¿quien os desvela,
 que a la media noche
 rondáis la aldea?
 (C 1382)

Waiting is another motif associated with the shepherd. This occurs in one of the best known *estribillos* of the fifteenth century, which has been widely preserved in contemporary lyrics.¹²³

¹²²In another version of this song the character is a farmer:

Labradorcico amigo,
 que los amores has,
 amando morirás.

Nunca vi labrador
 de tales maneras:
 dexa su labrança
 y vasse a las donzellas.
 ¡Quítate d'entr'ellas,
 que te perderás!
 Amando morirás.

Nunca vi labrador
 de tal exercicio,
 que a los del palacio
 quitasse oficio.
 ¡Quítat'esse vicio,
 que te perderás!,
 que amando morirás.
 (C 622 C)

¹²³See C 568 SUPERVIVENCIAS section for different versions.

Aquel pastorcico, madre,
 que no viene
 algo tiene en el campo
 que le duele.
 (C 568 A)

Taking into account his reputation, his mysterious delay is thus most likely to be interpreted as love betrayal, although the explanation given in the last two lines is ambiguous.¹²⁴

Like other tasks, tending the cattle was an opportunity for lovers to meet outside the household. This is illustrated in old *estribillos*. The shepherd's distraction at work is caused by his laziness or lustfulness:

Pastorcico, non te aduermas,
 que mal se rrepastan tus ovejas.
 (C 1152)

Si el pastorcico es nuevo
 y anda namorado,
 si se descuyda y duerme,
 ¿quién guardará el ganado?
 (C 1155)¹²⁵

There is one song where the shepherdess is depicted as distracted from her task by love:

¹²⁴This is confirmed by other versions where it is explicit that a woman is detaining him (see C 568). This song is adapted by Rojas who used it for Melibea to express her anxiety over Calisto's delay (*Celestina*: act 19, 322):

La medianoche es pasada
 y no viene:
 sabed si ay otra amada
 que lo detiene.

Alín (1968: 161-64) studies the process of adaptation and transformation of 'Aquel pastorcico, madre'. He emphasizes that Rojas' version includes for the first time two important elements: the indication of time, and the cause of the lover's delay. For other studies see: Rodríguez Marín 1910: 42-44; Lida de Malkiel (1962: 429-30) explains the relation with Virgil's *Eclogues* and the popular origin of this *estribillo*; B. Marzullo pointed out the close similarities between a poem of Sappho and this *estribillo* (*Studi de poesia eolica* (Firenze: 1958), p. 9, n. 1 quoted by Gangutia (1972: 334); Severin 1993: 322, n. 5.

¹²⁵The 'glosa' of this song has parallels in ballads. See CORRESPONDENCIAS and SUPERVIVENCIAS sections.

Ovexita blanca,
 rrequiere tu piara:
 en ora mala uviste
 pastora enamorada.
 (C 1156 A)

A similar character to the shepherdess is the girl who tends the cows.¹²⁶ In the following song, the naughty shepherdess promises to kiss a man as a reward for tending her cattle (see **The kiss**). Her unrestrained sexuality is equal to that of the baker woman and the weaver:

Guárdame las vacas, carillo
 y besart[e] é.
 Bésame tú a mí,
 que yo te las guardaré
 (C 1683 A)¹²⁷

The erotic meaning of this task is disclosed by another song where the girl expresses her sexual desire by describing something as boiling inside her skirt when she is going to or coming from her labour:

Yéndome y viniendo
 a las mis vacas,
 no sé qué me bulle
 entre las faldas,
 que no puedo andar.
 (C 1645 B)

Bearing in mind the previous songs, the girl's dark complexion in the following text

¹²⁶ To release a cow is a symbol of love-making in an Indian song (see **Cockcrow**). The cow is a universal symbol related to the gods of fertility, and to the dawn goddess. In India the red cow was 'attended by the renewal of sexual desire' (Vries 1976:s.v. cow). Tending the cows as a female job could be related to taboo, in order to prevent bestiality. This was the belief in medieval Sweden where tending the cows was considered a female task and was done only by men during a wife's absence (Liliequist 1991: 416-17).

¹²⁷To tend the cattle of the shepherd appears as a proof of love among the propositions made to him by the lady in some versions of this theme.

Cásate, pastor, conmigo,
 mira que soy bonitilla
 que soy sobrina del cura
 y te guardo las cabritas.
 (Catalán 1978: XI, 83)

has ambiguous connotations. On the one hand, the girl's transformation refers to her sexual experience, as I shall discuss later. On the other hand the lack of attractiveness is caused by her activity (see **The morenita**):

Aunque soi morena,
blanca io nascí:
guardando el ganado
la color perdí.
(C 139)

The man asking the girl where she is working, as an excuse for a meeting with her, is a motif that frequently occurs in love songs (see **Fetching water**). This is the case in the following song where a man asks the shepherdess where her cows are going to graze:

¿Dónde yrán tus vacas, niña?,
¿dónde yrán tus vacas, he?
(C 1149)

After we have studied the eroticism suggested by this task, it is possible to infer in the following song that the speaker's hurry to go to tend the cattle is an excuse to meet her lover:

A las vaquillas, madre,
quíerome ir allá.
(C 1148)¹²⁸

¹²⁸ The 'gloss' of this song seems to dissappoint the audience, which expects an erotic situation, and instead the woman speaks about the meal:

A las vaquillas, madre,
quíerome ir allá.
Tras de aquel teso
está un vaquero;
tiene pan y queso:
¡si me diesse ora d'ello!

In a Scottish song from the island of South Uist in the Hebrides the girl who goes to tend the cattle meets a man:

My love, let me home to my mother,
My love, let me home to my mother,
My love, let me home to my mother,
I had come to seek the milk-cattle.
(Shaw 1955: 171, no. 55)

In contemporary lyrics there is an erotic song where the girl tending the cattle appears:

Nena que gárda-lo gando,
cérrame ben o portelo,
porque o meu becerro ladrón
quere brincar no lameiro.¹²⁹

This song's erotic connotations are stressed by the combination of several motifs: the shepherdess, the gate (see **The door**), the calf and the meadow (see **The meadow**).

Man's genitals designated by a domestic animal already appear in old *estribillos* (see **The dog**). The man is describing sexual intercourse with symbolic terms: his calf entering the girl's gate.

The shepherd's portrayal as a husband is inconsistent. From a female point of view she staunchly expresses her satisfaction with being married to a shepherd:

Por más que me digáys
mi marido es el pastor.
(C 159)

At other times, the woman married to a shepherd is described as a Malmaridada (see **The malmaridada**):¹³⁰

La que tiene el marido pastor
grave es su dolor.
(C 1720)

Some of the previous features are preserved in contemporary lyrics. There are a few songs with a female speaker. Those where the woman seduces the shepherd are related to or derived from the topos of *La dama y el pastor*:

¹²⁹Rico Vereá 1989: 50, no. 11. See Torner 1920: no. 196, 197; Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: I.ii, no. 294 and 294a.

¹³⁰ This refrain is shared by three main traditional genres: ballads, refrains, and proverbs (Sánchez Romeralo 1978: IX, 209, 213-16).

Pastor que andas no monte,
 comendo pan de centeo,
 vente hoxe comigo,
 comerás trigo do meo.
 (Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 616)

The girl's lamenting the loss of her attractiveness as a consequence of her labour is preserved in contemporary texts (see **The morenita**, **The baker woman**, **The spinner**):

Ay de mí que la perdí
 la gracia de cantadora;
 ¡ay de mí que la perdí
 nel monte siendo pastora!
 (Llano 1977: 539)

More often, in contemporary lyrics, the shepherd is described as a sensual character. In this case, as we have seen above, distraction at work is caused by his lustful nature. Note that in the song the shepherd is involved with women of higher rank, ladies:¹³¹

Las ovejuelas, madre, las ovejuelas;
 las ovejuelas, madre, pasan el puente
 y el pastor de las damas bien se divierte.

Las ovejuelas, madre, las ovejuelas;
 las ovejuelas, madre, pasan el río
 y el pastor con las damas entretenido.

Las ovejuelas, madre, las ovejuelas,
 cuando no hay quien las guarde,
 se guardan ellas.
 (Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: 83, II, no. 52)

Las ovejitas, madre,
 pasan el río
 y el pastor con las damas
 entretenido

¹³¹ Torner explains the universality of this topos (1966: no. 130).

¿Quién las cuidará, madre,
 quien las cuidará?
 Que las cuide quien quiera,
 para mí, ya.
 (Torner 1920: no. 255)

There are other songs where the shepherd's suffering is caused by love, where his sadness contrasts with the beauty of the little lamb and the eroticism of the green meadow (see **The meadow and Trees**):

La obejita es blanca
 y er praíto es berde;
 y er pastorsito-que la guarda, mare,
 de peniya muere.
 (Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 5314)

Negative terms are also used to describe the shepherd in more realistic *coplas*. Often his brutality, gluttony, and laziness are remarked upon (see **The malmaridada**):

Los pastores no son hombres
 que son brutos y animales
 hacen sopas en los calderos
 y escuchan misa en los corrales.
 (Olmeda 1903: 131, no. 17)

Las cabras no las cuidé,
 las ovejas no las ví,
 la merendina comila,
 el zurrón lo traigo aquí.
 (Llano 1977: no. 542)

The shepherds' portrait has to be concluded with their appearance in traditional religious songs. Shepherds are present in old and contemporary Christmas carols:

Venid, pastores,
 vamos a Belén,
 a ver la pastora,
 a ver el pastor
 donde mana el bien.
 (C 1314)

Bien vengades, pastores, ¡he!,
 que bien vengades.
 (C 1315)

Al rey de los cielos
que ha nacido ya
venid pastorcitos
venid adorar.

(Manrique 1952: 511)

Shepherds and shepherdesses are constant characters in love songs, where they are depicted as sensual characters. However, in a minority of songs, pastoral labour is not idealized: on the contrary, it is criticized: the girl claims the loss of her attractiveness, and the poverty and brutality of the shepherd is mentioned in some *malmaridada* songs.

The occasional songs where the shepherd or shepherdess is the speaker contrasts with other topoi (see **The baker woman**, **The spinner**). However, there are features in common with other groups of songs: the character is depicted as lustful (see **The miller**, **The baker woman**); distraction at work is explained because the character is in love; the girl's lack of attractiveness is caused by her labour (see **The morenita**, **The baker woman**, **The spinner**).

2.2.3 The harvester

Harvesting was one of the labours performed by women and men together in the Middle Ages (Dillard 1984: 165). Women 'tied the sheaves, separated wheat and chaff and collected hay' (Shahar 1983: 225). The main crop in Castile was grain: 'the most commonly planted grains were wheat, rye, barley and oats. The proportion devoted to each varied from place to place, but wheat was everywhere the major crop' (Vassberg 1984: 201).¹³²

Harvesting was one of the main festivals and is associated with various

¹³²The sickle was the essential tool for cereal harvesting. The first tools were toothed, thus 'the sheaf of grain was grasped in the left hand and cut with a sawing stroke toward the reaper with the right [...] some medieval and considerable early modern evidence from areas as far apart as Scotland and Kiev shows that reaping, specially with a toothed sickle, was often a task of women' (Strayer 1982-89: s.v. Tools, Agricultural: European).

archaic rituals that are similar all over Europe. Some of these rites have special charms and songs.¹³³

The harvest appears as a frequent topos in traditional lyrics. There is a variety of motifs associated with it. Frequently, it is celebrated as a joyful time:

¡Esta sí que es siega famosa!
 ¡Esta sí, que las otras no!
 (C 1120)

More often harvest has been associated with wooing and love-making in old popular *estribillos* and contemporary folksongs. Note that in the old song the lovers are harvesting wheat, while in the contemporary text the man is cutting grass:

¡Qué gentil manada es ésta,
 la Magdalena!

Magdalena y el su amigo
 vanse a segar el trigo,
 más segava que los cinco.
 la Magdalena.
 (C 9)¹³⁴

Segador, siega, siega la yerba buena,
 que en el campo te aguarda la tu morena.
 (Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: II, 117, no. 4)

Mowing and threshing, like other rhythmic works, are symbols of sexual intercourse in traditional songs (Combet 1969: 248). This sexual meaning is present in contemporary folksongs and ballads. The erotic connotations of mowing become explicit in a Galician version of the ballad *La hija bastarda*:

¹³³For rituals associated with the harvest see Frazer 1994: chap. 16-19. The archaic nature of these rituals is suggested by different elements: the absence of specialized performers, the absence of a special place to perform the ceremony, and also by the fact that the ritual is magical not propitiatory and is devoted to spirits not to gods (Frazer 1994: 426).

¹³⁴*Manada* is the period for tying sheaves. The *manada* was also a measure 'aquello que se puede coger con la mano' (Covarrubias, s.v., *manada*). There is a ritual widespread in Europe that it is associated with the last sheaf, which is called the Grandmother or maiden 'and is adorned with flowers, ribbons and a woman's apron'. When it is called the grandmother, 'whoever gets it will be married in the next year, but his or her spouse will be old' (Frazer 1994: 420).

The sickle, as a sharp instrument, has phallic connotations. The number three, the traditional number for plurality, is also associated with the male genitals. The pun with the numbers one, two, and three is made in a *seguidilla* from the sixteenth century, where the door's erotic meaning is clear:¹³⁷

Si la puerta es chiquita
y los tres no caben
entre el uno dentro
y los dos aguarden
(Alzieu, Jammes & Lissorgues: no. 133, 3).

There is a similar text in contemporary folk lyrics. Now the numbers pun refers to the man's garments: cap, trousers, and pouch:

El uno traigo en la gorra,
el dos en el pantalón
y el tres en la faltriquera
(Schindler 1941: no. 363).

Bearing in mind the sexual connotations of harvesting and the phallic symbolism of the sickle, it is possible to infer an erotic meaning in the following *estribillo*:

¡Oh, cuán bien segado habéis,
la segaderuela!
¡Segad paso, no os cortéis,
que la hoz es nueva!
(C 1103)

In the last two lines of this songs the harvester girl is being prevented from cutting herself with the new sickle. This advice is ambiguous. The sexual meaning of cutting is present in two other songs:

¹³⁷ For the door's erotic symbolism see *The door*. The phallic symbolism of the sickle appears in Classical authors (Adams 1982: 24); and in the *Libro de Buen Amor* (st. 114c). In Biblical tradition swinging a sickle is associated with Judgment Day: Joel 3.13 and Revelations 14.14-20. For tabooed iron tools see Frazer 1994: 182-83. Tools, significance in early medieval times was pointed out by Le Goff 1980: 82:

The disappearance or increasing scarcity of raw materials for crafts, of technological apparatus, and of a specialized labor force made tools, particularly the iron parts of tools, rare, hence precious, objects.

¡Pasiquito, no me cortéis!
 ¡Cortado me avéys!
 (C 1688 A)

¡Bonito, passito, no me cortéys!
 ¡Cortado me avéys, cortado me avéys!
 (C 1688 B)¹³⁸

Taking into account the previous examples, it is possible to understand in a symbolic way the *estribillo* 'Oh, cuán bien habéis segado'. In other words, the girl is being advised not to hurt herself while making love, because she is a virgin.

In a contemporary song the erotic meaning of a sharp instrument is clear. The jack-knife, as a sharp instrument, is a phallic symbol, and the herbs are a feminine symbol. Note that the verb used is *picar*, which connotes sexual intercourse (see

Harmful herbs):

Manuel, se é que te marchas,
 deixame unha cousa túa,
 deixame a túa navalla
 para picá la verdura.
 (Rico Vereá 1989: 73, no. 12)

Mowing's eroticism permeates all the elements associated with it. In another song, there is a blending of motifs: the man offers to sharpen (*picar*) the woman's scythe under a tree, which is a lovers' meeting-place (see **The shade of love**):¹³⁹

Segadora, segadora,
 ¿quién te pica la guadaña?
 Me la pica un asturiano
 a la sombra de una rama.

¹³⁸ Cutting stands for love-making in Classical literature (Adams 1982: 147, 149-51).

¹³⁹ The scythe originally was a grass-cutting tool and it was slowly accepted as a harvesting tool in the later Middle Ages. According to Richard C. Hoffman 'the scythe required smooth, stone-free ground for best results, and the mower carried a fine-grained whetstone or a small anvil and hammer to maintain a keen cutting edge' (Strayer 1982-89: s.v. Tools, Agricultural: European).

A la sombra de una rama,
a la sombra de un espino,
si no corta la guadaña,
cojo la piedra y afilo.

(Manzano 1990: I, no. 1092)

As we have seen, *picar* and *cortar* have erotic connotations in traditional love lyrics. Therefore, the ambiguity of these verbs allows different readings. On a symbolical level the girl's answer confirms that she already has a lover, but in the second stanza, the last two lines remain ambiguous. A possible interpretation is that although he was not allowed to have sex with the girl ('si no corta la guadaña') he will enjoy himself alone. The erotic meaning of sharpening the scythe is explained in another Galician version of *La hija bastarda*, where the woman's sexual drive is notorious. After propositioning the harvester to have sex, as we have seen above, she asks him while they are making love:¹⁴⁰

cómo va buen segador
cómo va con mi sembrada
vai mui ben miña señora
vai mui ben mellor me vaia
ya tengo siete mañizas
y ocho con la comenzada
Si llegara usted a las nueve

¹⁴⁰Masturbation was forbidden by the church. In the late Middle Ages male masturbation was considered by St Thomas Aquinas to be among the most serious sins because it deviated from the purpose of sex: procreation (Richards 1994: 32). In old *estribillos* female masturbation appears, and it was also considered a sin. In the important penitential the *Decretum* of Burchard of Worms (d. 1025) female onanism has a more severe penalty than male. The penalty for a woman who had used a dildo was one year of fasting and avoiding sex during certain periods (Richards 1994: 28-30). In one *estribillo* someone advises the girl on how to masturbate herself:

Cuando te toques niña
mira, mira, i ten acuerdo
que te toques de medio a medio.
(C 1654 B)

Another example is the obscene song in which three girls look for *mangas* that can serve as a penis. (Frenk 1987: C 1644 CORRESPONDENCIAS section).

¿Si abrá en este baldrés
mangas para todas tres?
(C 1644)

tendría la paga doblada.
 A las nueve non señora
 que no corta la gadaña.
 Si no corta la gadaña
 coge de la piedra y afila.
 Afiala non senora
 que é d'aceiro mui fina
 e pode ser esbocada'.

(Schubarth & Santamarina: I.ii, 28, no. 62e)

The words used by the harvester to describe the scythe's appearance -fine steel that could be broken- confirms its sexual connotations.)

The heaviness of the task is described in another song that has been preserved in contemporary lyrics, where one of the lovers is resting in the shade:

Estoi a la sonbra
 i estoi sudando:
 ¡que harán mis amores,
 que andan segando!
 (C 1095)

Cuando canta la chicharra
 ¡madre mía, qué calor!
 Estoy a la sombra y sudo:
 que será de mi amante al sol.¹⁴¹

Note that it is in the shade, a lovers' meeting place, where the girl or the young man remembers her or his lover.

From a female point of view, harvesting is also seen as a labour that damages her beauty. In an old *estribillo* her hands are affected by harvesting, and the mention of their delicacy suggests her charm:

Que las manos tengo blandas
 del broslar:
 no nací para segar.
 (C 1097)

Once more, the darkening of the girl's complexion as a consequence of a task is seen

¹⁴¹ García Matos 1951-1960, II text no. 361. See C 1095 SUPERVIVENCIAS section; Cummins 1977: p. 120.

in old Castilian refrains:

No me llaméys 'sega la erva'
sino morena
(C 134)

Blanca me era yo
cuando entré en la siega;
diome el sol, y ya soy morena.
(C 137)

Bearing in mind the sexual association of mowing and harvesting, and that the dark-skinned girl is a symbol, it is possible to conclude that in the previous songs the girl's transformation is simultaneously referring to her work and to her sexual transformation (see **The morenita**).

Harvest songs are universal. They first appear in Peninsular traditional lyrics in old *estribillos*, where harvesting is celebrated as a time for wooing and love-making. To harvest as a rhythmic work connotes sexual intercourse. This erotic sense is preserved in contemporary lyrics. Other elements permeated with sexual connotations are the scythe, the sickle, and the blade, which have phallic symbolism. Moreover, the action of sharpening the scythe connotes onanism. Like other labours, from a female point of view the harvest is also seen in old *estribillos* as the justification of the loss of the girl's attractiveness.

2.3 Conclusions

In the first section of this chapter I have analysed the actions associated with wooing and marriage: Dawn, the kiss, and marriage with the variety of motifs related to it.

In Hispanic traditional lyrics dawn is the time of the lovers' encounter: parting or meeting. This theme is shared by old Peninsular lyrics. Iberian dawn is distinguished from other traditions because of the frequency of the appearance of

alboradas, which in *cantigas* and old *estribillos* are associated with the early rising of the girl who goes to perform a task resulting in a sexual meeting with her lover: this is the case of washing clothes or fetching water. Another relevant feature in old *estribillos* is the appearance of the cock's crow as signal of the lover's departure in the *alba*. This motif appears combined with the motif of love-insomnia. These features have been preserved in contemporary folksongs. The departing of lovers is primarily preserved in serenade songs, in which the speaker is a man. The cock-crow is also associated with the beginning of the daily routine in contemporary folksongs losing its erotic connotations.

Dawn is associated with St John's Day in old and contemporary Hispanic folksongs. This festivity is the time for performing certain rituals associated with wooing and fertility: depositing a garland, a bunch of flowers, or a branch at the girl's door (see **The door**). As a result of constant mentions St John's Eve has often become a convention in lyrics and narrative songs.

The kiss frequently appears in female voice in old *estribillos*. It is associated with different characters: the precocious girl, the rebellious girl, the nun, the lady. It also appears in songs of adultery. The kiss is associated with the embrace that almost always implies sexual intercourse. The girl of old Castilian songs kisses the man. In contemporary lyrics, the man kisses the girl who is afraid -or refuses to be- of being kissed. In Italian songs the kiss is a euphemism for the girl's loss of virginity. In other words, the girl from medieval songs initiates the sexual action and she is not worried about her honour, while in modern folksongs sometimes the girl is portrayed in a cautious or passive role.

Marriage is associated with different topoi: the girl who wants to get married and threatens her parents that she will bring scandal on their house if they do not

arrange a marriage for her, or the girl whose parents promised to marry her when an improbable or impossible event had occurred. These themes have been preserved in contemporary lyrics. They are connected with the demanding girl who enumerates the defects of several husbands. In contemporary lyrics, the motif of rejecting the short husband has been widely preserved; however, sometimes the woman sees this defect as an advantage instead of being an obstacle, since she controls her husband as she pleases.

The *malmaridada* includes the girl who does not want to get married but prefers to enjoy her single life. In the proper songs of *malmaridada*, where the girl complains about marriage, the girl's misfortune is shown in the loss of her attractiveness: she does not have long hair, she does not have new skirts any more. Frequently the worst defects of the husband are his age (very old) and his wealth (he is poor), or a shepherd who mistreats her. Lastly, in old *estribillos* the adultery songs where the *malmaridada* does not complain about her miserable life because she has a lover. This theme is not frequent in contemporary lyrics, although there is a widespread lullaby where the woman is an adulteress.

Another theme associated with marriage is the reluctant novice. The girl does not want to become a nun, but at the same time there are songs where the girl wants to be a nun to avoid the suffering of marriage. In contemporary lyrics more often the girl states her wish to be a nun, but she does not comment on the negative aspects of marriage.

In the second part of this chapter I have analysed four different peasant chores which are identified with sexual connotations. Tasks are divided into rhythmic and arhythmic labour. Usually rhythmic tasks are those that embody an erotic meaning.

In agricultural societies there is a gender division of labour. In accordance with this I have analysed two exclusively women's labours: spinning and baking; and two chores that can be performed either by men or by women: shepherding and harvesting. These jobs represent different aspects of a farming village. In each, I have studied: depiction of character, the woman's attitude towards her task, the consequences of performing her task, and the sexual connotations related to it.

Descriptions of the tasks of spinning and baking are completely different. While baking is seen as a pleasurable job and is associated with the lovers' encounter, spinning has the opposite features: it is associated with suffering and lack of pleasure. Sometimes in some misogynistic songs both characters are depicted as drunken and gossippy, but while the spinner is depicted as lazy, the baker is described as a whore *-amiga de hombres*. In both labours, the consequences of performing the tasks are shown in the transformation of the woman's demeanour (see **The morenita**). Baking and spinning are associated with sexual intercourse. Sometimes the instruments used to spin are considered as love tokens, and the spindle has phallic connotations. The spinner is closely associated with the weaver, who is invariably portrayed as a lustful woman. Weaving is described in terms of sexual intercourse in contemporary riddles.

The other two characters exhibit two important groups of rural society: the shepherd and the harvester. Shepherd and shepherdess are portrayed as sensual characters. The girl who tends cows is considered to be particularly lustful. At times, the shepherd is depicted as the ideal lover whom the woman wants to seduce, at other times his rudeness and brutality are remarked upon.

The harvest is a task associated with love-making and joy of life. Harvesters are depicted meeting their lovers in the field. The eroticism identified with harvesting

is such that it permeates all actions and elements related to it. Sexual intercourse is described in harvesting terms. There is one riddle-song with puns with numbers that has strong sexual connotations. Sharp instruments used to harvest like the sickle, scythe, and jack-knife connote the phallus.

Darkening of complexion is the main change observed in the girl.¹⁴² Other features also affected are: the darkening of her mouth, the loss of her voice and the harshening of her hands. Note that the part affected is the one essential to her work. At her lack of attractiveness is emphasized: burnt hair. In the same way, the girl's unhappiness is reflected in her appearance. In contemporary songs the *malmaridada* shows her misfortune by complaining about her lack of long hair and her old skirts.

The man is portrayed as sensual when he is portrayed as a shepherd; in other cases his description is reduced to his negative features as a husband. He is the performer of erotic actions such as *cortar* and *segar*, using sharp tools representing the phallus.

¹⁴²For the sexual meaning of the dark complexion (see **The morenita**).

Chapter III

Symbols

3.0 Introduction

Symbolism and brevity are two essential features of traditional lyrics. This concision of the text compels a compression of meaning that is expanded by the use of symbols.

A symbol expresses 'the essential nature of something which is otherwise beyond the reach of ordinary descriptive words because they cannot convey its unique individuality' and 'illuminates an occasion by relating it to something vaster outside itself, to which in some way it belongs' (Bowra 1962: 260, 251). Therefore a symbol provides a maximum meaning in a minimum space. This implies that each word of the poem 'independently of [its] syntactical function acquire an economical *semantic* functionality, denotative and connotative at the same time, and the poem itself gains extra density and depth' (Reckert 1993: 37).¹⁴³

Symbols from a Freudian point of view are 'remnants of the primal unity of experience in the human mind, when discursive reason had not yet made a gulf between material objects and our apprehension of them [...]'.¹⁴⁴ They are indistinguishable from the objects they represent (Dorra 1981: 82; Reckert 1970: 32-33). Sometimes, this combination is so complete 'that properties of the symbolic object easily rub off on to other related objects' (Reckert 1970: 33).

¹⁴³Symbolism has been identified as the main feature of popular language by Joaquín Díaz (1971: 29) and Raúl Dorra (1981: 76). Defining symbol has been a polemical issue among different schools of criticism. I refer to some interesting works: Bousoño 1962; Mircea Eliade 1952; Ducrot & Todorov 1972; Dorra 1981; Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982; Cirlot 1988.

¹⁴⁴ However, for a different point of view, see C.G. Jung 1978: ch. 1.

Symbols are supplied by nature, by ritual and by social convention, but also are constrained by prosody and rhyme (Hatto 1965: 773). Traditional symbols are archaic. They are elements, plants, and animals which are identified with human sexual life.¹⁴⁵ They are also associated with myths of yearly nature renewal whose ultimate aim was life preservation (Blouin 1981: 33).

Traditional symbols are constant and collective (Reckert 1970: 32). This is why only a limited number of them are repeated frequently in a large number of texts. Their repetition in the songs is not fortuitous; on the contrary, 'the body of symbols appearing in folk songs is a language, a code system, and it has to be understood by its users'.¹⁴⁶ Therefore, studying myths and symbols opens the door to a previously hidden world of meaning.¹⁴⁷

Another distinctive feature of traditional lyrics is intertextuality. Traditional symbols are clustered together, illuminating each other. Therefore, studying the symbols of a particular song requires a comprehension of its context (Dorra 1981: 58). In some occasions, however, as Hatto points out:

so concrete is traditional poetic language and so often do parallel situations occur over wide intervals of time and space that (although parallels never meet) the key to one poem may sometimes unlock another, however remote their external circumstances. (Hatto 1965: 65)

¹⁴⁵ Frenk 1993b: 2; Cummins defines traditional symbolism as 'a natural symbolism which illuminates human fertility as an aspect of a wider continuity' (1977: 43).

¹⁴⁶ Frenk 1993b: 21. Battesti-Pelegrin 1985: 56; Lemaire 1987: 51.

¹⁴⁷ Frenk 1993b. The relationship between myth and symbol was accurately described by Bowra:

A myth may even be regarded as a single, long, coherent symbol, in which every detail is worked out to given end, but just as some myths are not symbolical but historical, so symbols may do no more than stress and amplify some elements in myths by drawing attention to their significance. (Bowra: 251).

This link among symbols occurring in different cultures led scholars to suggest that their simultaneous occurrence in different places and periods demonstrates the archetypal nature of symbols.¹⁴⁸ However, there is another hypothesis suggesting that the archaism of some symbols indicates a common origin from a remote past (Deyermond 1979-80; Frenk 1993b). A resolution of the extraordinarily complex problem of the origin of symbolism is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Symbols analysed here belong to a Peninsular tradition, therefore their symbolic meaning has to be interpreted primarily within the limits of this tradition. Nevertheless, I shall refer to marked resemblances found among other European traditions.

During the centuries some symbols have preserved their original meaning, others have suffered changes and have to be updated by the tradition in order to survive, and others have lost their symbolic meaning. This loss 'often explains [...] the blending, the confusion of the meanings of symbols which previously were altogether fixed' (Sokolov: 522).¹⁴⁹ Besides, the frequent use of motifs results in their transformation into a cliché (see **The morenita**).

The contemporary songs studied here can be divided into two groups, according to their textual similarity to the old text: 1) survivals, songs that have an identical text, and 2) topos survival, the songs that have a similar topos but have textual discrepancy. The latter is the group to which I shall refer more often, indicating how the old topos has survived, or not, in contemporary songs.

¹⁴⁸ The archetypal nature of traditional symbols has been indicated by Hatto 1965, Reckert 1970 & 1993.

¹⁴⁹ Díaz (1971: 135-36) describes the causes of deterioration of symbols in contemporary lyrics distinguishing between loss of meaning and a linguistic loss.

Natural elements in traditional songs are associated with the classical *locus amoenus*: trees and flowers in blossom, a green meadow, the river or fountain. However, the brevity of Hispanic traditional songs demands a condensation of meaning, so the presence of natural elements in them is not decorative but essential to the text. There is no time for descriptions in Hispanic tradition. Few adjectives are constantly related to the same elements. Plants are depicted as green (*verde*), in blossom (*florida*), or as fine (*menuda*). The water of the fountain is cold (*frida*) or stirred (*turbia*). The adjectives 'fine' and 'in blossom' in this *lyra minima* frequently suggest love (Frenk 1993b: 15).

I shall start this study with natural elements that are always associated with love. The first element is water, which is the most frequent motif of traditional songs.

3.1 Water

Water is a universal symbol of fertility. It represents the *fons et origo* that precedes all forms of creation. It simultaneously symbolizes destruction and rebirth, and purification.¹⁵⁰ Water symbolism is varied according to different traditions:

Su variación es casi infinita en motivos mágico-religiosos: los filtros fantásticos, el bautismo purificante, la comunión, los baños sagrados, los diluvios catárticos, el sereno como poción de amor y de belleza, los sacrificios a las deidades del agua, y muchos más. (Blouin 1981: 38)

This occurs in Hispanic traditional lyrics where various motifs associated with water confirm its importance as a basic symbol of traditional poetry. Furthermore, according to Margit Frenk:

¹⁵⁰Vries 1976: s.v. water; Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. eau; Cirlot 1988: s.v. agua. For water symbolism in European folklore see Danckert 1976: I, 63-204.

in European folk songs, probably no aspect of natural life ever appears in its literal sense only. We can be almost certain that whenever mention is made, for instance, of a fountain, a brook, a river, or the ocean, its waters will be associated with human fecundity and erotic life, even if these are not explicitly mentioned. (Frenk 1993b: 4)¹⁵¹

In traditional Hispanic lyrics water symbolism is associated with the fountain, the river, and the sea. As generally agreed, these places and the actions related to them, for example 'fetching water', have erotic meaning. The specialisation of these motifs is such that the temperature and appearance of water result in a change at the semantic level.¹⁵²

Symbols associated with water can be divided into three groups according to the place they are related to in traditional songs: the fountain, the river, and the sea.

3.1.1 The fountain

3.1.1.1 Fetching water

The fountain as a lovers' meeting place is part of the universal courtship tradition, and it is an essential element of the classical *locus amoenus*. The fountain is closely associated with the feminine world in traditional lyrics, where often the girl is portrayed fetching water from it.¹⁵³

¹⁵¹According to Alan Deyermond (1989-90: 10) a very different situation is found in the majority of medieval Latin lyrics:

Rivers may be images of mutability, of time's irreversible passing, rather than of sexual power. Fountains may be part of a *locus amoenus*, rather than places where, as in the Galician-Portuguese lyrics of Pero Meogo, stags come down from the mountains to stir up the water. And the frequent images of snow are generally of fallen snow, pure, cold, and still; only occasionally are they of snow that has power to beget a child.

¹⁵²This theme was studied by Gaston Bachelard (1942: 15-27), who classifies water according to its different appearances, showing that each one of these manifestations results in a different meaning.

¹⁵³ The motif of the love fountain has also been studied by Eugenio Asensio (1957: 252-63) who describes the relation between the symbol in traditional lyrics and the ballad *Fonte frida*, indicating its connection with May rituals and superstitions. According to this author, the fountain is 'un símbolo cargado de intrincadas sugerencias en las que domina la idea de renovación y fecundidad' (Asensio 1957: 253). The fountain's eroticism derives from its elementary symbolism, more than its association with lovers' meetings (Asensio 1957: 261). The motif of the meeting of the fountain was especially studied in Pero Meogo's *cantigas* by Méndez Ferrín 1966. For other studies related to this motif in the *cantigas de amigo* see: Crespo 1966, Reckert & Macedo 1976, Deyermond 1979-80; Lemaire 1987.

There are different views about the origin of the meeting at the fountain as a lyrical motif. According to Charles Bertram Lewis its origin is related to the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in the apocryphal Gospels (1922: 174). In contrast, X. L. Méndez Ferrín concludes, after an interesting discussion, that in the motif of the girl at the fountain 'a fonte sería o núcleo original, co seu simbolismo relacionado cos ritos da fecundidade, ao que viría influenciar a dimensión teolóxica cristián e bíblica' (1966: 109). Moreover, as Deyermond points out:

they [the meeting-at-the-fountain lyric motif and its similarities with other traditions] are to be explained (in so far as the practical importance of the fountain in the Biblical world and in the Middle Ages falls short of explanation) by a common, an inevitably remote, folklore origin. (1979-80: 268)

However, I agree with Méndez Ferrín's words 'o motivo literario queda, pois, sin unha última causa que o xustifique, supoñendo que seña precisa unha "causa" pra xustificar unha realidade estética' (Méndez Ferrín 1966: 110).

Fetching water was a female labour during medieval times, when 'springs, fountains and streams of a community supplied townswomen with drinking and cooking water for their households' (Dillard 1984: 150; Shahar 1981: 241). This task was an opportunity for the single girl to be alone without arousing anyone's suspicions.

In old Castilian refrains, the girl's excuse to meet her lover at the fountain is to fetch water.¹⁵⁴ The girl is apparently urged by her mother to perform her task:

For the fountain as a lovers' meeting place see Thompson 1955-58: T35.1. For the motif of the fountain in the *locus amoenus* see Curtius 1953. For the symbolism of the fountain in the otherworld see Patch 1956.

¹⁵⁴ For the motif of fetching water see Sánchez Romeralo 1969: 64; Alín 1968: 201-02; Frenk 1971: 67; Alín 1991: nos 173, 211, 258 and their notes. For the motif of the wound of love see Nunes 1926: 200.

Enbírame mi madre
 por agua a la fonte fría:
 vengo del amor ferida.
 (C 317)

Often, the fountain's water is described as cold (Olinger 1985: 48). According to Blouin (1985: 189), 'la presencia del agua fría, hielo, nieve [...] dentro del contexto de la lírica tradicional creo debe interpretarse[...] cual significante de la situación propicia al amor y fecundidad'.¹⁵⁵ After coming from the fountain she has changed, now she has been hurt by love, in brief, she has had a sexual experience (see *Birds*). On other occasions, the term fountain is eliminated, and only 'going for water' remains. However, here, the girl's complaint seems to be an invitation, because she emphasizes that she is beautiful and alone:¹⁵⁶

Envíame mi madre
 por agua sola:
 ¡mirad a qué hora,
 moza y hermosa!
 (C 315 B)

This interpretation of old refrains is supported by examples of contemporary lyrics where the motif of fetching water from the fountain has only preserved its literal meaning. The girl's excuse of being sent by her mother to fetch water has been lost. For instance, in the following text, where the girl does not want to go for water because she is in love:

Dile que no voy, que no voy, que no vaya;
 dile que no voy a la fuente por agua;
 dile que no voy, porque estoy enamorada.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ However, for another interpretation see Empaytaz (1980: 62) who points out that 'the phrases cold water and cold fountains very often symbolize, in dawn songs, immature or unfulfilled love'.

¹⁵⁶ The girl's sense of being alone, indicating the absence of her lover, is frequent in traditional lyrics see: *Getting lost in the mountain*.

¹⁵⁷ Córdova y Oña 1948-55: III, 79, no. 46; Torner 1920: no. 270.

This is also seen in dialogue form and in male-voice texts. The first example shows a dialogue between the lovers, and in the second one the fountain is explicitly a place for wooing:

‘¿Dónde vas por agua, paloma mía,
dónde vas por agua?’

‘Voy a la ría.’

‘Con la ayuda del agua
verte quería’.

(Torner 1920: no. 283)

Adeus, ó Chafariz Velho,
defronte tens o lagar,
onde as moças vão à
quando querem namorar.

(Crespo 1966: 194)

In Castilian folksongs the motif of the fountain is blended with another motif: ‘to look at the water’, which stands for the danger of falling in love. This occurs in the first two lines of a text, where a man is warning a girl not to look at the water of the fountain:¹⁵⁸

Si vas a la fuente,
no mires el agua,
que los tus amores
son míos zagala.¹⁵⁹

On the basis of the textual evidence, the old traditional lyric motif of the girl fetching water from the fountain is an excuse, which represents the lovers’ meeting.

3.1.1.2 The Broken Pitcher

Another element associated with the fountain is the broken pitcher. In lyrics there is a song where a girl, who has broken her pitcher at the fountain, is throwing the pieces away:

¹⁵⁸ Falling in love by looking at the water is related to the Narcissus myth (Graves 1960: I, no. 85); Thompson 1955-58: T11.4.5.

¹⁵⁹ Sánchez Fraile 1943: 218, no. 103. See another version in Schindler 1941: no. 58.

Quebrara Lianor
 o pote na fonte,
 e deitara os testinhos
 tam lonje
 (C 93)

The pitcher is a universal female symbol that may represent the woman's womb.¹⁶⁰ The broken pitcher 'permite el fluir de la fecundidad' (Blouin 1981: 47). Furthermore, there is a wedding custom in Castile in which a pitcher symbolizes the bride's virginity. According to Méndez at the end of the last century:

después de acordado la noche para concertar el día de la boda, el padre y padrino visten sus mejores galas y van a la casa de la novia 'quienes reciben a los visitantes y les hacen sentar alrededor de una mesa pequeña con un mantel blanco, sobre la cual ponen una torta de pan, un cuchillo y una jarra colocada boca abajo; *si la novia no fuese virgen la jarra ha de ser vieja y rota*' [and after the agreement is made] 'el padre de la novia anuncia el concierto volviendo boca arriba la jarra y llamando a la novia para que eche vino'.¹⁶¹

In addition, these two elements were studied by Alan Deyermond, who points out that 'the fountain represents life-giving sexuality, the broken pitcher (like torn or stained garments) stands for a broken maidenhead' (1979-80: 266). In contemporary lyrics both motifs are preserved. However, the girl does not make up an excuse, instead she explains that she broke her pitcher while she was talking to her lover:

Minha mãe mandou-me à fonte,
 pela hora do calor,
 eu rachei a cantarinha,
 a falar com o meu amor(i).¹⁶²

This scene's eroticism is stressed by the time of the day when the action occurs: the hour of greatest heat. It is worth noting here the way in which the time of the day is

¹⁶⁰ See Vries 1976: s.v. jar, vase; Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. jarre; Cirlot 1988: s.v. jarrón.

¹⁶¹ Quoted by Jambrina Real, González Matellán, & Madrid Martín 1986: 304-05 (my italics).

¹⁶² Mourinho 1984: 145, no. 45. For Galician versions see: Rielo Carballo 1980: 25, no. 42; Rico Vereá 1988: 67, no. 3.

also remarked in the old *estribillo* 'Envíame mi madre / por agua sola'. Thus, indicating time is stressing the girl's purpose.

The broken pitcher is present in another contemporary text in which a parodic dialogue, between mother and daughter, explicitly suggests an erotic interpretation:

Ñã mai, que mo han roto,
 filla, non digas o qué:
 o cantarillo na fonte,
 ñã mai, qué pensaba vosté.
 (Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 1125)

If the previous analysis holds 'Quebrara Leonor / o pote na fonte' could be interpreted as the story of a girl who, after having been deflowered, is trying to conceal the evidence of her sexual transformation.¹⁶³ Furthermore, it is possible to

¹⁶³ In contemporary texts another way of expressing the danger of the loss of chastity is comparing the fragility of glass with the girl's virginity:

Menina, quando for à fonte
 ponha o pé na segurança,
 a honra é como o vidro,
 quem a perde no alcança
 (Crespo 1966: 194)

The meaning conveyed by a broken object represents an irreversible process. The comparison of the virginity to glass is in the *Ancrene Riwe*, an English rule for anchoresses written in the thirteenth century. Virginity is considered as a "precious liquid" carried in a "delicate vessel[...] in brittle glass" (quoted by Atkinson 1983: 137).

In Hispanic traditional lyrics, the broken-glass motif is frequently associated with the end of a love relationship. This theme is found in an old *estribillo*:

Era de vidro y quiebróse:
 para conmigo acabóse.
 (C 687)

This motif is widespread in contemporary *coplas* where it is related to love tokens such as the ring:

No te quiero, no te quiero,
 no te quiero, y acabóse,
 que el amor que te tenía
 era de vidro y rompióse.
 (Nuevo Zarracina 1946: 249)

O anel que tu me deste
 era de vidro, quebrou-se;
 o amor que tu me tinhas
 era pouco, acabou-se.
 (Torner 1966: no. 92)

understand as a proposition of a man to a girl, whose virginity is symbolized by the new pitcher, the following old song:

Pois o cantarico hé novo,
quero ir, mana, comvosco.
(C 467)

In other occasions the motif of the broken pitcher is associated with the prolonged stay of the girl at the fountain, whose symbolic meaning is disclosed by the last line of the quatrain:

Minha filha foi à fonte
moito tarda que non ven;
ou quebroull'o cantariño
ou um rapaz a detem.
(Crespo 1966: 195)

Margarida foi à fonte,
Margarida foi à fonte,
Muito tarda que não vem!
Ou quebrou a cantarinha,
ou se namorou de alguém!
(Mourinho 1984: 145)

Bearing in mind the examples I have quoted earlier, the broken pitcher at the fountain as a symbol for the loss of the girl's virginity has been preserved in contemporary folksongs predominantly from Galician and Portuguese areas.

3.1.1.3 Picking flowers at the fountain

The magical power of water as an impregnating element occurs in an Asturian ritual song associated with St John's Eve, where several motifs are clustered

The broken ring as a symbol of a broken engagement is in Stith Thompson 1955-58: Z 151. In a similar way, the fragility of love is symbolized by the torn wet paper, which is usually associated with the dressmaker topos:

O amor da costureira
era papel e moulose;
agora cousteiriña
o teu amor acabouse.
(Rico Vereá 1989: 26, no. 27)

For the use of the term 'honra' see Caro Baroja 1964.

together, in other words, a symbolic accumulation occurs. The motif of picking flowers in a silk cloth is related to the fountain. The repetition of the refrain after each line and parallelism show the archaism of this text, which belongs to a song called *La salea* (Cea 1978: 17-30):

Vengo de la fuente clara
traigo aquí la flor de la gala.
Cogíla en paños de seda
traigo aquí la flor de la gala.
Cogíla en paños de holanda
traigo aquí la flor de la gala.¹⁶⁴

This song is associated to St John's Day. The first girl who arrives at the fountain before the sun rises 'coge la flor del agua' [...] y queda iniciada, o modernamente se desposa', and the girl who picks 'la flor de la gala, cogida en paños de seda y holanda', proves her virginity prior to the fecundity rites and celebrates her new state after being symbolically deflowered.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴Cea 1978: 27. In another interesting version the girl's genitals are described as an orchard. In this case the key word is orchard, 'huerta', whose erotic meaning I shall study later (see **Fruits and flowers**):

Cipriana tiene una huerta
toda de árboles plantada
Y en medio de aquella huerta
una fuente de agua clara.
(Olmeda 1903: 84, no. 20)

For the motif of a river identified with a vagina see Thompson 1955-58: A933.2.

¹⁶⁵ Cea 1978: 34. For the magic rites in Spain see: Caro Baroja 1979: 249-59. The magic properties of water of St John's morning is also a belief in France (Sébillot 1905: III; Van Gennep 1937-58: I.iv, 1734). This rite appears in a ballad called *La flor del agua*:

Mañanita de San Juan
cuando el agua vaporeaba
bajó la reina del cielo
a lavar sus pies y cara
y después de lavadita
echó bendición al agua:
Bendita sea la hembra
que aquí viniera por agua.
Le oyó la hija del rey
del palacio donde estaba
muy de pronto se vestía,
más de pronto se calzaba,

3.1.1.4 Stirred water

When the lovers meet at the fountain, different states of water are used to connote their feelings. This is the case with stirred water, which has been preserved as a component of the erotic scene. This motif is widespread in Europe, where the girl's prolonged stay at the fountain is excused by the presence of an animal that disturbs the water (Hatto 1965: 85).¹⁶⁶ In the Galician-Portuguese lyric it is usually

cogía cántaros de oro
 porque de plata no halla.
 Buenos días la señora,
 ¿dónde va tan de mañana?
 Como soy hija del rey
 voy a por la flor del agua.
 Para ser hija del rey
 viene poco acompañada.
 Pa qué quiero compañía
 si yo buena la encontrara...
 Como usted la encuentra buena
 la pudiera encontrar mala.
 Dígame usted la señora,
 si he de ser monja o casada.
 Casadita sí, por cierto,
 casadita y muy honrada,
 tres hijos has de tener
 que han de ceñir en campaña,
 y una hija has de tener
 monja para Santa Clara;
 y en teniendo aquella hija
 se te ha de arrancar el alma,
 derechita has de ir al cielo
 en silla de oro sentada.

This ballad shows the syncretism between pagan rites and Christian imagery. According to the interpretation given by Joaquín Díaz:

La virgen sustituye en el caso que nos ocupa, a las hadas o genios, señores de las aguas encantadas que acumulaban en determinadas épocas del año propiedades mágicas. Muchos folkloristas han descrito la creencia, común en amplísimas zonas de España, de que, en la mañana de San Juan, aparecía sobre la superficie de los ríos, estanques y lagos la llamada 'flor del agua', extraña maravilla que hacía feliz a quién tenía la suerte o previsión de cogerla. Muchachas casaderas acudían con el alba a cortar esa flor que les permitiría contraer matrimonio en el curso del año (Díaz & Viana 1983: 17).

Similarities are found between the magical character of the woman in this ballad and Irish myths where the hero's entrance to the other world can be caused by the invitation of a beautiful woman (Gantz 1981: 17).

¹⁶⁶ For stirred water in European folksong see Danckert 1976: I, 165-70. Some examples in French songs were indicated by Méndez Ferrín:

the stag that stirs the water. The stag's phallic symbolism has been studied by scholars.¹⁶⁷ This excuse and its explanation appear in one of Pero Meogo's *cantigas*:

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

Passa seu amigo
que lhi ben quera;
o cervo do monte
a augua volvía
leda dos amores
dos amores leda.

(Nunes 1926: 415)

Tu lui diras, ma belle brune,
que la fontaine était troblée
E que le rosignol sauvage
était dedans pour s'y baigner'

(E. Rolland, *Recueil des chansons populaires*, I, 235 quoted by
Lewis 1922: 170)

-Va, tu lui diras, la fille,
que l'eau y était troblée,
que les canards du village
y ont été barboter.

(E. Rolland, *Recueil des chansons populaires*, II, 130 (quoted by
Jeanroy 1904: 200)

¹⁶⁷ The phallic symbolism of the stag was pointed out by Asensio 1957: 56. Eglá Morales Blouin (1981: 126) also points out that 'el simbolismo del ciervo es uno de los arquetipos más antiguos porque responde a las dos necesidades inmediatas del ser primitivo: el sustento y la reproducción'. She adds that as a result of 'la asociación mitológica del ciervo con la fertilidad en el ciclo estacional, esta imagen ha llegado a tener connotaciones puramente sexuales' (1981: 164). See also Deyermond 1979-80. The origin of stag stirring the fountain water, according to Méndez Ferrín (1966: 107), is:

moi probablemente houbo unha confusión semántica ante o contido pagán e máis bíblico da visión da fonte como lugar de onde naz a vida. A aportación bíblica engadiría un barniz de intelectualismo, de "espiritualidade", á básica visión ancestral. Algún motivo da entrevista da fonte pódenos ilustrar sobre como se produciría a simbiose. O cervo, o reisiñor (animás fálicos ou relacionados co sexo, elemento pagán) turban a iagua da fonte (turbación de orixe bíblico).

The stag that stirred up the water in the cantiga is a 'merely a coded repetition of 'her friend that passed that way' (Reckert 1993: 57). In old Castilian refrains the stag has disappeared and the water is troubled by the 'cervatica'. The explanation given by Asensio is that the stag as a symbol was used to denote the cuckolded husband, thus the term was changed into 'cervatica' in order to make a distinction and to maintain its poetic value (1957: 56-57):

Cerbatica, tan garrida,
no enturbies el agua fría

Cerbatica, tan galana,
no enturbies el agua clara
(C 322)¹⁶⁸

The girl's excuse is lost and the lovers themselves disturb the water during their love-bath in other old songs:

El galán y la galana
ambos buelven ell agua clara.
(C 1)

The symbol of an animal stirring water at the spring is not very common in contemporary Peninsular lyrics. However, traces of this traditional symbol could be seen in Portuguese current songs: for example the appearance of a snake in a Portuguese text, which has archaic features such as parallelism, with an accumulation of symbols:

¹⁶⁸ Stirred water, as a consequence of misfortune, is another motif preserved in contemporary lyrics. Examples are:

Turbias van las aguas, madre,
mas ellas se aclararán '
(C 855 A)

There is a contemporary song with this motif:

Un día arroyuelo,
manabas claro,
y ahora los contratiempos
te han enturbiado
(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 88, no. 65).

As meninas pela horta vão,
 perguntando vão pelo hortelão.
 Ela entrava e ela saía,
 pousa na flor, que na rama não podia.
Toda a água se empolvorizava,
pousa na flor, que na rama não pousava.
Toda a água se empolvorizaria,
pousa na flor, que na rama não podia.
Dentro dela andava uma cobrezinha brava,
pousa na flor, que na rama não pousava.
Dentro dela andava uma cobrezinha viva.
 pousa, na flor, que na rama não podia.
 O perdigão pela manhãzinha,
 pousa na flor, que na rama não podia.
 O perdigão pela madrugada
 pousa na flor, que na rama não pousava.¹⁶⁹

The features of the snake (in my italics) may suggest that its symbolism is not far from the description of the 'cervatica' of ancient Castilian lyrics. Furthermore, the cobra has an important role in Portuguese superstitions, where it is known for being dangerous to men and being friendly to women, who use this reptile in love spells (Leite de Vasconcellos 1986: 178-79). However, the occurrence of several symbols simultaneously obscures the meaning of the text. In another Portuguese song, the motif of the stirred water is blended with the motif of crossing the river (see below). In this case, it is suggested that the troubled water is a hint of the beloved:

Ó da Malva, malveta,
 ó da malva, malveta,
 diz-me tu, ó Malveta
 do corpinho garrido,
 se detrás daquela serra
 lá vai algum rio?
 Ó da Malva, Malveta,
 ó da malva, moreneta!
 Um rio vai, Senhora,
 mas vai empolborido.
 Ó da Malva, Malveta,
 ó da Malva, moreneta!
 Diz-me, tu ó Malveta

¹⁶⁹Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 294. The title of this song, *Lameirinha*, is the name given by Leite de Vasconcellos to the 'tipo de cantigas paralelísticas e de refrão' (1975-79: I, 281).

do corpinho galhardo,
 se detrás daquela serra
 vai algum lago?
 Ó da Malva, Malveta,
 ó da Malva, moreneta!
 Um lago vai senhora,
 não passava o rei
 nem tão-pouco seu cavalo,
 passava-o a Malveta
 nos braços do seu amado.
 Ó da Malva, Malveta,
 ó da Malva, moreneta!
 Nem o passava o rei
 nem tão-pouco seu rossino,
 passava-o a Malveta
 nos braços de seu querido.
 Ó da Malva, Malveta,
 ó da Malva, moreneta!

(Martins 1928: 239-40)

This song shows a complex accumulation of images. On the one hand, there is a woman who is asking another woman if there is a river behind the mountain. The girl answers that there is a river, but it has muddy waters (*empolborido*). Afterwards, without finishing the parallelism, an impersonal speaker states that the river was not crossed by the king's horse, but by the girl (Malva) with her lover.¹⁷⁰ This Portuguese song reminds a contemporary French one, where the excuse is that the queen's horses had troubled the water:

Helás! mon bel ami
 les ch'veaux d'la reine y avaient passé,

¹⁷⁰ A possible explanation of this song is: the questions were made by a man, possibly the king, in an original version. He asks the girl if she has a lover (symbolized by the presence of a river), then the king is rejected by the girl, who has another lover, as is made explicit in the last stanza. There are other songs where the girl asks the boy to cross the river on his horse, which usually has phallic symbolism in love songs:

Ay de mí que me oscurece
 pasar el río no puedo:
 ¡pásame Manuel del alma,
 en tu caballo ligero!

(Llano 1977: no. 530)

See in Llano other songs where the girl or the man is asking for help to cross the river or the mountain because it is raining or is getting dark: nos 531-538.

l'eau y etait troublée,
 mon Dieu,
 l'eau y était troublée'
 (Puymaigre 1865: I, 265)

In contemporary Castilian texts, more often, the speaker explicitly states that water was troubled by the beloved. This motif occurs in a quatrain where the woman complains:

Dice que no me quieres,
 tú me has de querer,
 tú has enturbiado el agua
 tú la has de beber.
 (Olmeda 1903: 51, no. 11):¹⁷¹

In this text the motif of the stirred water represents the deflowered girl. Note the use of drinking water as a euphemism for sexual intercourse. According to Lemaire (1983: 292-93) 'beber el agua fria de una fuente que la creencia popular consideraba sagrada era un rito secular destinado a estimular la fecundidad'. Furthermore, the lovers' meeting at the fountain, to drink cold water before making love, was considered as a promise of fidelity.¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Stirred water as a symbol of the deflowered girl occurs in an Austrian song:

Draußen in Wald
 is a Wasserle trüab,
 hast an andern Buam g'halsn,
 bis nix mehr so liab.

Hast an andern Buam g'halsn,
 bist nix mehr so lieb,
 kannst di hundertmal wasch'n
 rinnt's Wasserle trüab.
 (Danckert: I, 175)

An approximate translation is 'Out in the forest the water is dirty, you embraced a boy, you lost your charm. You can wash yourself a hundred times, the water stamp dirty'(translated by Ursula Leja).

¹⁷² Scudieri-Ruggieri 1943-50. In another old refrain, the girl who goes to the mountains alone is thirsty (see *Getting lost in the mountain*).

Por el montezico sola
 ¿como iré?
 que me fatigava la sed.
 (C 1005 B)

There are other contemporary songs where stirred water has changed its symbolic meaning from a positive to a negative one. This is the case with Castilian songs which describe the lovers' relationship. Opposing clear/stirred water can also stand for a happy relationship (clear) which could be in danger of being troubled (stirred) by women's jealousy:

De tu casa a la mía
va un río claro,
todas las envidiosas
van a enturbiarlo.

(García Matos 1982: 81, melody no. 167)

To summarize, the motif of an animal stirring water has been preserved in Portuguese areas but partially modified, which result in an alteration of the song's meaning. In Castilian areas this motif has different meanings in contemporary folksongs: it symbolizes the girl's deflowering when the lover stirred the water of her fountain, and it represents the deterioration of the lovers' relationship when the water is troubled by other people.

3.1.2 The river

3.1.2.1 Washing of clothes

In traditional lyrics the lovers have met at the river bank since medieval times. The river is the centre of a cluster of erotic symbols. Flowers associated with love and picking flowers or fruits - the erotic meaning of which I shall study later (see **Picking flowers**, **Picking fruits**) - are associated with the river bank.

In a contemporary text the erotic meaning of drinking is clear. The symbols are the fountain, the bunch of flowers, and the thirsty girl:

Fui á fonte beber agua
achei un ramo de flores;
quem o perdeu tinha sêde
quem achéu tinha amores.
(Oliveira 1905: 194)

One of the most frequent motifs related to the river-bank is the girl who is washing clothes. Besides her clothes the girl may appear washing herself (her face because of her dark complexion, her hair), or, as we find in some songs, the lovers wash each other. These motifs are contaminated by the eroticism of water (see Blouin 1981: ch. 12).

The washing motif emphasizes different aspects of the action: the first one is the girl who washes her lover's clothes; and the second is the girl's washing process washing, wringing, and laying out to dry. Washing is, almost universally, a woman's work, and like fetching water, it is used as an excuse for the lovers' encounter:

Mañana yré, conde,
a lavar al río,
allá me tenéis, conde,
a vuestro servicio.
(C 390)

Washing the beloved's clothes is another way of demonstrating sexual intimacy in two old refrains, where the beauty of symbolism can be appreciated:

Cerbatica tan galana,
no enturbies el agua clara,
que he de lavar la delgada
para quien yo me lavé.
(C 322)

A mi puerta la garrida
nasce una fonte frida
donde lavo la mi camisa
y la de aquel que yo más quería
(C 321)

The washing-of-the-shirt motif was studied by Reckert, in his study on the *cantigas de amigo*, who points out that the girl's washing of the beloved's shirt 'connotes magic power over him, and the mingling of them with her own *delgadas* [...] implies a deeper intimacy' (1970: 18). Although Reckert is referring to the *cantigas de*

amigo, this can also apply to old traditional refrains as we have seen in the examples above.

The same symbolism of washing a garment of the beloved has been kept in contemporary lyrics, but instead of the shirt the girl washes her beloved's handkerchief:

Quién te lavó el pañuelo
cariño mío,
quién te lavó el pañuelo
de tu bolsillo;
yo te le lavo,
cariño mío,
yo te le lavo,
vente conmigo.

(Córdova y Oña 1948-55: IV, 132, no. 108)¹⁷³

In another song the intimacy of lovers is made more explicit by the use of symbols such as the cold water, the spreading of the handkerchief on the rosemary (see below), and the dawn (see **Dawn**). Note that this song is in a male voice:

En esta calle vivía
la que me lavó el pañuelo,
me lo lavó en agua fría,
me lo tendió en el romero
al amanecer del día.¹⁷⁴

Washing the beloved's garment as a symbol of sexual intimacy has been preserved in contemporary folksongs, although the garment washed by the girl changes from a shirt to a handkerchief.

¹⁷³ Finding a lady's handkerchief causes men to fall in love: T11.4.5. In France to wash the shirts in the water is used to cure skin illness (Sébillot 1905: 279).

¹⁷⁴ Garrido 1992: 214. There is a version from Burgos (Olmeda 1903: 114, no. 27) where the girl who washes the handkerchief is the fiancée:

La que me lavó el pañuelo,
la que me dio calabazas,
retirate, compañero,
¿Dónde le tienes el amor salada?

3.2.1.1 Washing, wringing, and laying out to dry

The process of washing, wringing and then laying the clothes out to dry, has erotic connotations as well. In some old texts, the object washed by the girl is not specified:

Las tres moricas de allende
¡cómo lavan i tuerzen i tienden
tan bonitamente!
(C 17)¹⁷⁵

This motif is associated with clear erotic symbols: hair (see **Hair**) and wind (see **Wind**). The place where the girl spread her hair or her clothes is important to comprehension of its sexual meaning:¹⁷⁶

Rribericas del río
de Mançanares
tuerce y lava la niña
y enjuga al ayre.
(C. 2278)

In this song the girl spreads the clothes and leaves them exposed to the wind, an erotic symbol (see **Wind**). The motif of the girl's clothes exposed to the wind first

¹⁷⁵In Galician tradition the 'lavandeiras' are women who live in fountains. They are associated with a Breton tradition, in which according to Bouza-Brey 'las lavanderas nocturnas, especies de brujas que, al estar lavando, invitan al transeúnte a retorcerles la ropa, y si lo hace el invitado en el mismo sentido que ellas, y no en el contrario puede darse por perdido'. He gives an example:

Meniña, ti eres o demo
que me andas atentando;
que no río que na fonte
sempre te encontro lavando.
(Bouza Brey 1982: I, 226-27).

The washing woman as a sorceress also appears in French tradition: Sébillot 1905: II, 424-25.

Wringing clothes associated with the lovers meeting occur in a fifteenth century German pastourelle, where the girl, who is washing clothes in the river, waves with her white hand to the knight in order to ask him help to squeeze her laundry. After this the knight proposes to her that they go to the meadow. (Danckert 1976: I, 173).

¹⁷⁶ I disagree with Blouin's interpretation that the girl is washing her hair (1981: 205). The object washed by the girl is not mentioned, but note that the action occurs at the river bank. This usually happens in songs with the clothes-washing motif.

appears in the *cantiga de amigo* of King Dinis, where, indeed, the shirt of the girl is blown away by the wind:¹⁷⁷

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

Levantou-s' a louçãa,
levantou-s' alva,
e vai lavar delgadas,
eno alto:
vai-las lavar alva.

[E] vai lavar camisas;
levantou-s' alva;
o vento lhas desvia
eno alto:
vai-las lavar alva.

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

O vento lhas desvia;
levantou-s' alva;
meteu-'s alva en ira
eno alto:
vai-las lavar alva.

O vento lhas levava
levantou-s' alva:
meteu-s' alva en sanha
eno alto.
vai-las lavar alva.¹⁷⁸

The symbolism of dawn in this song has been studied by several scholars who have suggested that the term *alva* (white, fair) simultaneously refers to the morning and to the girl. Furthermore, this identification of the lover with dawn happens in

¹⁷⁷For the symbolism of this *cantiga* see Nunes 1926: III, 57, 582; Asensio 1957: 72.

¹⁷⁸Nunes 1926: no. 20; Reckert & Macedo 1976: no. 45. For an analysis of the symbols appearing in this *cantiga* see Macedo 1976: 51-60; Reckert 1993: 55.

kharjas and Russian songs (Hatto 1965: 783; Wilson 1965: 307). The eroticism of the scene is stressed by the blending of several motifs: the girl washing, the dawn, the high place and the wind swaying her skirt.

In contemporary folksongs the girl, after washing in the fountain, lays out the clothes on a green meadow (see **The meadow**):

Lava la niña en la fuente,
lava y tiende
tiende la ropa en un prado
en un prado verde.
(Schindler 1941: no. 271)

In another example, the neuter pronoun describes the object washed by the girl, which is a handkerchief in this case. She is at the bridge (see **The morenita**) and spreads it on an orange tree. The green meadow and the orange tree (see **Trees**), as I shall analyse later, are female symbols associated with the lovers' sexual meeting:

En el puente de Alcolea
hay una niña lavando
ella lo lava y lo tuerce
y lo tiende en el naranjo.
(García Matos 1982: 14, no. 30)

The image of the girl washing can be interpreted literally and symbolically. According to Reckert, 'a peculiar expressive advantage of symbolism is its freedom to slip almost imperceptibly from the symbolic to the literal plane of meaning and back again, or alternatively to balance midway between the two' (1970: 36). These brief songs, which adhere to the code of washing and laying out to dry, are definitely taken from reality but on the symbolic plane they express the girl's desire. Thus, the place where the clothes are spread out, which also conveys the girl's erotic readiness, symbolizes that the girl has a lover, as in the motif of the girl who washes her hair (see **Hair**).

Moreover, spreading a handkerchief out in a green meadow appears in a gypsy wedding song, where it clearly has an erotic meaning:¹⁷⁹

En un praíto verde
tendí mi pañuelo;
como salieron, mare, tres rositas
como tres luseros [sic].
(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: 629)

The stains on the handkerchief (roses) are shown by the man as the proof of the deflowering of the girl (see **Picking flowers at the fountain**).¹⁸⁰ A stained garment as a symbol of the girl's deflowering appears in an old song. The girl, to protect herself from her mother, claims that the stains on her shirt were produced by the blackberries:¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹The girl who is washing and spreads out the clothes at the sea-side appears in an ancient ballad named *La lavandera* (*Cancionero de romances impreso en Amberes sin año*, fol. 228, quoted in Rogers 1980: 93):

Yo me levantara, madre, mañanica de Sant Juan;
vide estar una doncella ribericas de la mar;
sola lava y sola tuerce, sola tiende en un rosal;
mientras los paños s'enjugan, dice la niña un cantar:
¿Dó los mis amores, dó los, dónde los iré a buscar?

Here the loneliness of the girl is emphasized by the word 'sola' added to each action of the washing process. The clothes are spread out in a rose bush, which, according to the interpretation in traditional lyrics, is another place related to lovers' meeting. Another interesting feature is that the washing girl is portrayed singing, which is a feature associated with sirens and witches (see above n.).

¹⁸⁰ Demófilo, *Colección de cantes flamencos* (Sevilla: Imp. 'El porvenir', p. 117), quoted by Rodríguez Marín: 629.

¹⁸¹One text that has preserved the same features:

Picóme la zarza en el sombrero,
picóme, tiróme, echóme al suelo.
y no tanto,
si pica la zarza tan alto.
(Schindler 1941: melody no. 603)

In another survival text an alteration of sound has happened: the blackberry, 'zarza', has become a heron, 'garza'.

Picó la garza en el sombrero
la cojo, la tiro y en el suelo;
mentir sí pero no tanto,
que la garza no pica tan alto.
(Sánchez del Barrio 1986: 34)

Decid, hija garrida,
 ¿quién os manchó la camisa?
 Madre, las moras del çarçal.
 Mentir, hija, mas no
 que no pica la çarça tan alto.
 (C 1651)

Another motif related to washing and spreading out to dry on the river bank is that of the girl's torn garment, which has also been interpreted as the girl's deflowering (see **The broken pitcher**). In this case clothes are torn as a result of wringing them:

Rapaza si vas
 ó río a lavar
 non tórza-la roupa
 que a podes rachar.
 (Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: 313b)

This song is illuminated by other contemporary texts, where it is explicit that the skirt or the apron of the girl is torn by the man:

No quiere mi madre
 que vaya al molino,
 porque el molinero
 se mete conmigo.

No quiere mi madre
 que al molino vaya,
 porque el molinero
 me rompe la saya.

No quiere mi madre
 que vaya al molino
 porque el molinero
 me rompe el mandil.
 (Nuevo Zarracina 1946: 118)

Mariquina l'utru dia
 estrenó un mandilín nuevu,
 y rompióul una Ribera
 el díañu d'un habaneru.
 (Torner 1920: no. 354).

No me tires del manto
que me lo rompes
que no tengo marido,
que otro me compre.

(Schindler 1941: no. 461).

This motif also appear in *cantigas de amigo*, where the torn apron is the result of dancing:¹⁸²

Fostes, filha, eno bailar
e rompestes i o brial:
poil-o cervo i ven,
esta fonte seguide-a ben,
poil-o cervo i ven.

(Nunes 1926: 418)¹⁸³

The process of washing, wringing, and laying out to dry clothes has been preserved as an erotic motif in contemporary folksongs. The girl of old *estribillos* laid them out to dry in the wind. In contemporary texts she spreads the clothes in a

¹⁸²Torn garments as a result of lover's passion appear in a *muwashaha*:

Cuando la atrapé a solas y conseguí la saliva de sus dientes dulces, desgarrando sus vestidos a la fuerza, cantó a su madre con desdén.

ēste al-raqī ma(m)ī ēsta al ḥaraka
me ḥamma al-qahra
an nabidu wa-al-falak.

(Solá-Solé 1973: 49)

This symbolism may be relevant to the reading of Melibea's word in *Celestina*:

Holguemos y burlemos de otros mil modos que yo te mostraré; no me destroces ni maltrates como sueles. ¿Qué provecho te trae dañar mis vestiduras? (Act 19: 324)

¹⁸³I thank Vera Castro Lingl for calling my attention to the following ballad, where Lambra complains to her husband that:

Los hijos de Doña Sancha
mal abaldonado me han
que me cortarían las faldas
por vergonzoso lugar

According to Menéndez Pidal (1938: 109), 'la amenaza afrentosa de cortar las faldas "por vergonzoso lugar" was an 'antigua pena de las prostitutas' and he adds 'no sólo fue copiada en otro del Cid, sino que se usaba como frase proverbial, según se ve en el *Tesoro de la lengua* (1611), de Covarrubias, y en el Quijote (1615)'.

green meadow or an orange tree, which are symbols associated with love-making.

There is another symbol for the girls deflowering in contemporary folksongs: the torn skirt. This motif appears in the *cantigas de amigo*, but it is absent from old Castilian refrains.

3.1.2.2 Running water

Another traditional image is running water. There is one old Castilian text where three girls are washing their shirts in running water:

Vi los barcos, madre,
vilos, y no me valen.
Madre, tres moçuelas,
non de aquesta villa,
en aguas corrientes
lavan sus camisas.
Sus camisas, madre.
Vilos, y no me valen.
(C 536 B)

This song has two problems: the dissociation of voice between glosa and estribillo, and the explanation given to the shirt's washing motif. There is no agreement, as yet, among scholars. On the one hand, Paula Olinger (1985: 66) has interpreted this poem as a female-voice text and according to her 'the waters themselves suggest sexuality, and here the fact that they run or flow points to rapid, excited motion'. On the other hand Eglá Morales Blouin (1981: 222) and Jeanne Battesti-Peigrin have interpreted it, in different ways, as a song of frustrated love. Blouin points out that the speaker is a young man who approaches the girls searching for love, but, she adds, 'seguramente el hecho de que estas mozas laven camisas denota que ya tienen amantes'.¹⁸⁴ And according to Jeanne Battesti-Peigrin (1985: 50) this song is said by a 'jeune fille, sans amour, qui envie ses compagnes de "laver, dans l'eau de la

¹⁸⁴ Magdalena Altamirano (1993: 128) arrives at the same conclusion.

rivière, leurs chemises". Contemporary texts add new elements to the discussion, and may help to resolve the disagreement among scholars.

Washing a handkerchief in running water is a superstition practiced by girls to obtain a husband in France (Van Gennep 1937-58: I. iv, 239). This suggests that the meaning of the girls are washing their shirts in the river as a rite to obtain a lover. However, I have not found examples with this motif in contemporary European songs so far.¹⁸⁵

3.1.3 The sea

The third important place associated with lovers is the sea. There are different actions related to it. On the one hand, the sea is associated with the lover's departure.¹⁸⁶ Thus, it is the place of 'l'attente solitaire, de la contemplation passive, de l'inquiétude amoureuse' (Battesti-Pelegrin 1985: 48). There are old songs with this motif. The first is a beautiful song where two motifs are blended: the woman looking at the sea is a *malmaridada*; in the second, the girl is looking at a departing boat (see **Dread of water**):

¹⁸⁵In contemporary traditional lyrics the motif of letting the water run stands for the end of a relationship. There is a song from a girls' ring game:

Quítate del arroyo,
majo, que llueve
deja correr el agua
por donde suele.
(Torner 1920: no. 447)

Si quieres que corra el agua,
quita el tapín a la presa;
morenita, resalada,
¡ay morenita!,
olvidarte no me pesa.
(Torner 1920: no. 495)

¹⁸⁶See Asensio 1957: 43-60; Blouin 1981: 89-96; Cummins 1977: 82-85.

Mirava la mar
 la malcasada
 que mirava la mar
 cómo es ancha y larga.
 (C 241)¹⁸⁷

En el barco le vi andar,
 ribericas de la mar.
 (C 534)

On the other hand, the opposite idea is expressed by Blouin who points out that the sea is also associated with love since this motif can be connected to fertility, which is a primal connotation of the symbol of water (see **The fertile sea**). However, in old traditional Hispanic lyrics there are no songs about the lovers' meeting along the seashore.

In contemporary lyrics the sea has both features. Here I shall study those with erotic connotations. There are different motifs which symbolize the loss of the girl's virginity such as: to get wet, 'marearse', 'ir por naranjas', 'plantar y cortar un clavelar' (Cea 1978: 25).¹⁸⁸ Sometimes the sea is compared to the river, and here it is clear that going to the sea is used as excuse by the girl who wants to meet her lover:

¹⁸⁷The sea as a lonely place is related to the topic of sadness compared to the waves:

Que mis penas parecen olas de la mar
 porque vienen unas quando otras se van
 (C 843 A)

This motif is preserved in contemporary songs:

Las penitas que yo siento,
 son cual las olas del mar:
 unas penitas se vienen,
 y otras penitas se van.
 (Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 5285)

¹⁸⁸ For the courtly symbolism of the sea see Roger Boase 1980.

Vengo del mar, vengo del río,
vengo del mar, busco al dueño mío.
(García Matos 1982: 132, no. 251):¹⁸⁹

In another version, the girl's erotic transformation is conveyed by her dizziness:

Vengo de la mar, marinero,
vengo de la mar, mareada vengo.
(Cea 1978: 29)

This motif is in a male-voice version, where love-making is conveyed by the motion of waves. The latter is an ancient motif found in the *cantigas de amigo* (see **Dread of water**), which represents the sexual passion of the man. In contrast with the old Galician-Portuguese songs - in a female-voice, they are not threatening waves, but sensual ones:

Vente conmigo a la orilla del mar;
verás las olas subir y bajar.
(Torner 1920: no. 465)

3.1.3.1 The Fertile Sea

The sea, universally associated with danger because of its vastness and destructive power, is paradoxically seen as a fertile place in modern traditional lyrics.

Since Antiquity salt was considered a precious spice. Salt was a divine product for Greeks and Romans. Its symbolism varies according to different elements that it is associated with: the salty water of the sea was considered to have healing and fertilizing power; licking salt caused impregnation; and burning salt was used in

¹⁸⁹'Up and down' is another action associated with water. Its connotations do not need further explanations:

Que sube y baja, niña,
que sube y baja,
ya no quiero más agua,
de tu tinaja.
(Córdova y Oña 1948-1955: III, 157, no. 160).

pagan rituals. In contemporary Bulgarian wedding songs to put salt to the dough is to deflower the girl (Danckert 1976: I, 280-83).¹⁹⁰

As we have seen above the sea is a place that is associated with love and fertility. This was pointed out by Blouin when speaking of old Hispanic lyrics: 'el tema del amor y el mar puede sin duda integrarse al ámbito fertilizante del agua. Es una modalidad más del amor junto al agua e incluye las posibilidades simbólicas de cruzar el agua, mojarse, morir' (1981: 96).

In contemporary folksongs, the sea is closely associated with plants. The meaning of this motif is attached to the speaker's gender in the text. When the speaker is a man, sometimes, the sea is a fertile soil where trees and flowers grow.¹⁹¹ In the following texts the carnation is the plant chosen:

En el alta mar
planté un clavelar
y ahora lo vengo de cortar.
(Cea 1978: 27)

The man cuts the plant and picks the flower; this possibly symbolizes the loss of virginity of the girl (see *Trees*).¹⁹² The meaning of this song is illuminated by

¹⁹⁰ For salt symbolism see Vries 1976: *s.v.* salt; Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: *s.v.* sel; Cirlot 1988: *s.v.* sal. For other superstitions associated with salt see Opie & Tatem 1992: *s.v.* salt.

¹⁹¹ See Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 5305. Another topos associated with the sea in most European traditional lyrics is the rock in the middle of the sea (Sébillot 1905: II).

¹⁹² In other examples the fertile sea can be interpreted as a cliché:

En el mar hay una parra
que da las uvas a pares
y allí se van a llorar,
¡ós los que no tienen madre.
(Cortés 1914: no. 4269)

En el mar hay un ciruelo
que da ciruelas de azúcar;
la dama que se las come
hasta los dedos se chupa.
(Cortés 1914: no. 4271)

Sephardic wedding songs, where there are trees growing in a very strange place, between the sea and the sand:

Entre la mar y el río
nos creció un árbol de bembrío.[...]

Entre la mar y la arena,
nos creció un árbol de almendra.
(Alvar 1966: no. 148)

Entre la mar y el río
hay un árbol de bimbrillo

Entre la mar y la arena,
hay un árbol de canela.
(Alvar 1966: no. 158)

These trees grow after the bride has taken the ritual bath, which is a symbol of marriage consummation. This help to explains the association of a tree growing in the sea with erotic actions in the Castilian song 'En el mar planté un clavelar', whose meaning is perhaps the consummation of love.¹⁹³

In contrast, the girl goes in search of oranges, fruit of love (see **Lemons and oranges**), and she does not find them. This is a transparent excuse, which conceals the eroticism of the scene. The girl, however, is aware that this is a made-up excuse. The happy result of the lovers' meeting is made explicit in the last two lines where the girl specifies that the waves make her wet:¹⁹⁴

¹⁹³Note the difference between the image of a fertile sea and the allegory of the tree of love that occurs in other contemporary *coplas*:

Al árbol del amor
dos flores le cogí;
una fue pa mi amor
y otra fue para mí.
(Cortés 1914: no. 97)

¹⁹⁴See Battesti-Pelegrin 1980: 49; Blouin 1981: 71; Cea 1978: 25.

A la mar fui por naranjas
 cosas que la mar no tiene,
 toda vine mojadita
 de olitas que van y vienen.¹⁹⁵

Eu fui ao mar ás laranjas,
 coisa que lá não havia;
 eu fiquei *admirada*
 das ondas que o mar fazia.

Das ondas que o mar fazia
 eu fiquei *admirada*,
 eu foi ao mar ás laranjas
 vim de lá toda molhada.

(Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 266)

To sum up, the symbolic meaning of the sea and plants motif varies according to the speaker. If the speaker is a man, the sea becomes the soil where the plant, a female symbol, grows and is cut by him. If the speaker is a woman, she uses consciously the excuse of picking oranges in the sea to connote the lovers' meeting. In addition, her sexual transformation is conveyed by getting wet (Deyermond 1979-80: 273-75).¹⁹⁶ In both cases the character is returning from the seaside transformed by love. Furthermore, the character's movements seem to be imitating the motion of the waves, which, according to Olinger, 'not only [...] represents the restlessness of passion, but also [...] the joys and sorrows of love' (1985: 8).

3.1.3.2 The dread of water: crossing water and being swept away

The terror of water has been extensively studied by Blouin, who has explained that fear, apart from being associated with fear of sexual intercourse, can also be related to ancient aquatic myths and to sacrifices offered to water gods (1981:

¹⁹⁵ Torner 1920: no. 275; Nuevo Zarracina 1946: 272. See the examples of the lover being identified with waves given by Alan Deyermond (1979-80: 274).

¹⁹⁶ Although there is a variety of symbols there is a codification of them. A good example of this is seen in motifs used to connote the girl's loss of virginity: 'the broken pitcher', 'to get wet', etc.

65-67). There are two motifs that I shall study here: the dread of crossing water and the dread of being swept away by the river's water.¹⁹⁷

3.1.3.2.1 Dread of crossing water

Crossing water generally represents in Indoeuropean religious symbolism the access to the otherworld. In Greek mythology the river was Styx, Acheron or Cocytus, over which Charon carries the shadows of the dead in his boat.¹⁹⁸

The motif of the girl who is afraid of crossing water because she will get wet is present in a delicate old refrain, which has an accumulation of symbols: the door (see **The door**), the fountain (see **The fountain**), and the motif of crossing water without getting wet (see **Clothes washing**):

A mi puerta nasce una fonte:
¿por dó saliré que no me moje?
(C 321)

In this old refrain, the girl is portrayed moments before crossing the threshold of her house and of her virginity (Frenk 1992c: 9). The same fear is felt by another girl, who has to cross the river and does not want her shoes to get wet:

¡Río de Sevilla,
quién te passasse
sin que la mi servilla
se me mojasse!
(C 2352 A)¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁷ For the rites and myths of water from North-Western Spain see Bouza Brey 1982: 125-36; 219-240; for Portugal see Leite de Vasconcelos 1986: 103-124.

¹⁹⁸ Grimal 1986: s.v. Acheron. Graves 1960: I, no. 31. In different Mythologies (Classical, Celtic and Germanic) the river is described as dangerous with torrential water (see Patch 1956). For crossing the river as the entrance to the other world in English and Scottish ballads see Wimberly 1928: 108-120. For transformation caused by crossing water see Thompson 1955-58: D574.

¹⁹⁹ According to Covarrubias *servilla* 'es un calzado de unas çapatillas, de una suela muy a propósito para las moças de servicio; y así tomaron el nombre de siervas, o de las que sirven, porque las demás que no han de andar con tanta desenvoltura traen chapines' (1611: s.v. *servillas*, 935b and *chapín* 432 b). According to Alzieu, Jammes & Lissorgues (1975: 132, n. 10) the meaning of 'Ya en servilla, ya en chapín' is equivalent to 'ya en moza, ya en dama'. See Thompson 1955-58: to wear shoes only when crossing the river F1015.2; going with a dry feet over a river is tabu C833.5.

Why is the girl scared to get her shoes/herself wet? On the one hand crossing water has been identified as one of the symbols of the lovers' sexual meeting (Blouin 1981: 72). On the other hand, according to Sokolov, in Russian folklore crossing the river is a common symbol for marriage (1971: 522). Thus, to cross a river is 'un symbole rituel chargé d'érotisme, lié au renouvellement de la vigueur sexuelle, à l'affirmation du coït et à la promesse de la fécondité' (De Lope 1985: 255). The water in this song may also imply male potency (Hawking 1979: 247). On the basis of what I have said, crossing the water can be understood as a rite of passage, where the getting wet of the girl represents her sexual transformation.²⁰⁰

The water at the girl's door occurs in contemporary lyrics, but the song's focus has changed. Now, the speaker is a man, who claims that there is no bridge for him to cross the river:

¿Cómo quieres que vaya
de noche a verte?
Si a tu puerta hay un río,
¡no tiene puente!²⁰¹

The lack of a bridge to cross the river perhaps suggests the girl's fear or hesitation. In addition to cross the river is a proof of love in Lithuanian songs (Danckert 1976:

²⁰⁰This is related to fertility rites. In a song of the 'fiesta del abeto' celebrated in Lérida on Saint John's day a group of married women surround a Pine and sing a very interesting song where the motif of crossing water appears:

Aquel río tan fresco
que tengo de pasar
el que lleve la guirnalda
nos dé consuelo.

Aquellas capuchas blancas
que hace volar el viento
aquellos galantes donceles
me han robado el seso.

(Caro Baroja 1979: 188-90)

²⁰¹Schindler 1941: no. 324. See also García Matos 1982: 52, no. 113. For the meaning of crossing a bridge see **The red ribbon**.

I, 189). In other contemporary songs, which also have a male focus, the river clearly represents the lover:

Miniña tan bonitiña,
o color, ¿quen che levou?
Pasáche o río de noite:
a auga te mareou.

(Blanco 1992: I, 366, no. 1060)

¿A ónde te has ido, niña?
¿A ónde te has ido
a por agua a la fuente
teniendo río?

(García Matos 1951-60: II, text no. 444)

According to the examples quoted above, the river may stand for the lover and the crossing of it symbolizes sexual transformation and marriage. This sheds light on another old traditional song:

Felipa e Rodrigo
passavam o rio.
Amor, [vayámonos],
vayámonos [ambos].

(C 463)

In this song crossing water stands for, according to Blouin, 'la fuga de la niña con el novio' (1981: 75). In my opinion the meaning of this song is also related to the passage from single to married life. This is illustrated by some examples in contemporary Hispanic folksongs, where, clearly, to cross the river stands for marriage in wedding songs:

Ao passar o ribeirinho,
pus o pé, molhei a meia,
pus o pé, molhei a meia,
pus o pé, molhei a meia!
Não casei na minha terra,
vou casar, em terra alheia,
vou casar, em terra alheia,
vou casar, em terra alheia!

(Mourinho 1984: 201, no. 82)

Note that in this Portuguese text, the motif of crossing the river is blended with the motif of getting a garment wet. Crossing water is blended with the motif of wheat bread in modern Castilian wedding songs (see **The baker woman**).²⁰²

Señor Lorenzo la lleva
al otro lado del río;
no la dé pan de centeno,
que ella lo come de trigo.

(García Matos 1951-60: II, text 414)

Bearing in mind the contemporary folksongs quoted, the following old Castilian refrain, where a woman curses the boat that transported her across the river, can be interpreted as a *malmaridada* complaint (see **The malmaridada**):

Mal haya la barca
que acá me pasó,
que en casa de mi padre
vien m'estava yo.

(C 926)

In contemporary lyrics either the man or the woman crosses the river. This motif is blended with picking the rose that is swayed by the wind in another text, where the man is afraid of getting wet (see **Picking flowers, Wind**):

Tengo de pasar el río
aunque sepa de mojarme,
a cojer aquella rosa
que la bambolea el aire.

(Cortés 1914: no. 4579)

The man's fear of getting wet is perhaps connected with the fact that to cross water represents his change of civil status. In other words, crossing a river indicates a significant change either for a man or a woman in traditional songs.

Dread of crossing water is also associated with the sea. Dangerous waves of love surrounding a girl is the central image of Meendinho's *cantiga*:

²⁰²The girl identified with wheat flour is an image of the bride in Bulgarian wedding songs (Danckert 1976: I, 283).

Sedia-m'eu na ermida de San Simion,
e cercaron-mi as ondas que grandes son:
eu atendend'o meu amigo,
eu atendend'o meu amigo!

Estando na ermida ant'o altar,
[e] cercaron-mi as ondas grandes do mar:
eu atendend'o meu amigo!
eu atendend'o meu amigo!

E cercaron-mi as ondas, que grandes son;
non ei [i] barqueiro, nen remador:
eu atendend'o meu amigo!
eu atendend'o meu amigo!

E cercaron-mi as ondas do alto mar;
non ei [i] barqueiro, nen sei remar:
eu atendend'o meu amigo!
eu atendend'o meu amigo!

Non ei i barqueiro, nen remador,
morrerei fremosa, no mar maior:
eu atendend'o meu amigo!
eu atendend'o meu amigo!

Non ei [i] barqueiro, nen sei remar
morrerei fremosa no alto mar:
eu atendend'o meu amigo!
eu atendend'o meu amigo!²⁰³

The dread of being swept away by the waves of the sea of love has been pointed out
by Reckert:

as ondas, como significado, *causam* o terror da 'fremosa'; como
significante, *significam-no*: isto é, são o correlato objectivo do seu
pânico crescente. Mas a outro nível significam também a paixão
amorosa [...] O seu medo, em si, é ainda mais complexo: medo de se
afogar nas ondas da ria ou nas da própria emoção, por um lado; por
outro, medo de não ter literalmente meio de se esquivar ao ímpeto
amoroso do amigo quando ele afinal chegar; medo também da 'mare
alta' de paixão que, simbolicamente, essa chegada representará
(Reckert & Macedo 1976: 132-33)

The girl is also afraid because there is neither a boatman nor an oarsman, in other
words the lover, to help her to cross the sea of passion.

²⁰³Nunes 1926: no. 252; Reckert & Macedo 1976: no. 22.

This motif of threatening waves does not exist in old Castilian lyric, where the sea is associated with the love boat and with the boatman, the sailor or the oarsman.²⁰⁴ Their origin is difficult to trace. According to Blouin:

aunque no tuviésemos información alguna sobre los mitos y los rituales en los que se arraigan las costumbres que ligan el amor con el agua, el mar y los barcos [...] debe tenerse constantemente en cuenta que lo que más tarde se vuelve adorno y retórica en la canción culta, tiene en lo tradicional vigente veracidad de un pensamiento más arcaico que se enraíza profundamente en la inseparabilidad del agua con la fecundidad (1981: 107).

The sea and the boats are present in old refrains, where the actions associated with the sailor and the boatman are: mooring the boat and crossing the water (either the sea or the river). On the one hand, the boatman appears as a safe way of crossing the river in old refrains:²⁰⁵

En llegando a la barca
dixe al barquero
que me pase el río,
que tengo miedo.
(C 947)

Mooring a boat represents the meeting of lovers, on the other hand:

Allega, morico, allega,
con el varco a la ribera.
(C 946)

The girl's anxious request to the man, to moor the boat to the shore, has the same meaning in contemporary lyrics, but now the boatman becomes a sailor. This character is 'la contrafigura de la mujer junto al agua para el varón' (Blouin 1981: 107). In contemporary songs, the sailor is an important character of the traditional

²⁰⁴ These motifs are also present in courtly lyrics (see Boase 1980: 27-29).

²⁰⁵ The boat is an image of the *cunnius* and the rowing man of the penis in Latin lyrics (see Adams 1982: 167). This erotic meaning also occurs in Castilian lyrics of the Golden Age (Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: 138, 60). The love boat was a common topos in learned literature and ballads from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Hauf & Aguirre: 1969). The boat was used in burial rites in solar religions (Wimberly 1928: 108-120, Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. *barque*; Cirlot 1988: s.v. *nave*).

lyrics from the coastal areas of the North-East of Spain. The girl who is dying of love asks the sailor to moor his boat:

Atraca el barco,
 marinero;
 atraca el barco,
 que me muero.
 Marinerito,
 en el alma te llevo
 retratadito;
 marinero,
 atraca el barco
 que me muero.

(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 264)

In another contemporary folksong the speaker, possibly a man, asks the sailor to moor his boat in order to meet the girl:

Orilla, orilla,
 que esta noche no duerme
 orilla, orilla,
 que esta noche no duerme
 sola la niña, marinero,
 orilla el barco que me muero.

(Torner 1920: no. 304)

Swimming is another action associated with the boat and the boatman. In an old refrain a man asks the boatman to bring his boat nearby because the girl is tired of swimming:

Date prisa, varquero,
 llega acá el varco,
 que se cansa mi niña
 de andar a nado.

(C 948)

The topos of the lovers separated by the sea recalls the story of Hero and Leander, where the lover dies in attempting to cross the sea to meet his beloved.²⁰⁶ The

²⁰⁶ For the theme of Hero and Leander in Spanish literature see Moya del Baño 1966. For the Greek myth see Fox 1930: 202.

sailor invites the girl to get into the boat, which is synonymous with entering the sea, in another *estribillo*:

¿Quién quiere entrar conmigo en el barco?
 ¿Quién quiere entrar conmigo a la mar?
 que soi marinero y sé navegar.
 (C 943)

The sailor's invitation to enter his boat brings in mind the longer versions of the ballad of Count Arnaldos, who lured by the magic song of a sailor is kidnapped:

Allí habló el infante Arnaldos, bien oiréis lo que dirá:
 por tu vida, el marinero, vuelve y repite el cantar.
 Quien mi cantar quiere oír en mi galera ha de entrar.
 (Spitzer 1955: 174)

Seduction by singing and the boat of love as erotic motif are widespread in other ballads and learned literature (Hauf & Aguirre 1969).²⁰⁷ The opposite happens in another old refrain where the man is afraid of going into the water because he cannot swim:

Yo, que no sé nadar, morenica,
 yo, que no sé nadar, moriré.
 (C 967)

The meaning of this text becomes clear in contemporary lyrics, where the two motifs have survived together in an Asturian dance. This is a female-voice version that has preserved the archaic structure:

¿Quién quiere entrar conmigo en el río,
 quién quiere entrar conmigo a nadar?

 Yo que no sé nadar, morenita,
 yo que no sé nadar, entraré.
 Yo que no sé nadar, morenita,
 yo que no sé nadar, moriré.

²⁰⁷ The sailor character originally was a 'demoniac being living in nature' according to Spitzer (1955: 178). For the connections with European ballads see Spitzer 1956; for the connections with Spanish Jewish tradition see Alvar 1971: no. 144.

Quién quiere entrar en el barco barquillo
quien quiere entrar en el barco del mar.²⁰⁸

Note that it is the dark-complexioned girl who invites the man to swim with her in the river. The meaning of the last stanza is not clear. However, in another version, it is the sailor once more who invites the girl to come with him in his boat:

Éstrate en mi barca
linda morenita
éstrate en mi barca
linda morena.
(Cea 1978: 23)

Swimming and entering a boat have been interpreted as a euphemism for love-making. This is confirmed by another refrain where a woman addresses a man. She invites him to enter the boat passing from his bed to her bed:²⁰⁹

De tu cama a la mía
pasa un varquillo
aventúrate y pasa
moreno mío.
(C 2289)

Lastly, in a contemporary text several motifs are clustered together: swimming, the dread of crossing the sea, and the motif of hair that is clearly an erotic symbol (see **Hair**). The dread has disappeared because the lover has crossed the sea of love in the waves of her hair:

Já passei o mar a nado,
nas ondas do teu cabelo,
agora posso dizer:
Já passei o mar sem medo!
(Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 134)

²⁰⁸García Matos 1982: 350; Torner 1966: no. 201.

²⁰⁹Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: nos 142, 47; 119, 7. Roger Boase points out that 'the girl's invitation to come swimming and her partner's fear of drowning have obvious sexual implications'(1980: 28).

3.1.3.2.2 Being swept away by water

There is another motif related to the fear of water, which survives in contemporary lyrics: to be swept away by the water.²¹⁰ There is a song where a river sweeps away the girl's girdle:

Isabel, Isabel,
perdiste la tu faxa:
¡éla por do va!
nadando por el agua!
(C 1694)

The loss of the girl's girdle, an intimate garment, represents her deflowering (see **Picking flowers**). In contemporary folk songs, the river sweeps away the coif or the handkerchief, which are also considered betrothal gifts:

Ay de mí que me lleva la toca el rido
bajateme, por ella, galán querido.

²¹⁰The motif of being swept away by water, in this case rain, occurs in Latin Poetry:

Gaude quod primam
Me turbat graviter
nam vereor nostris
te sors mihi fecit amicam
qui crebro defluit ymber,
hanc vindictas dare culpis.
(Dronke 1965-66: II, no. 424)

This was indicated by Deyermond who points out that the girl has found 'torrents that sweep her away, like a river or the waves of the sea. And a Biblical reminiscence may be present also: the Flood as punishment for sins' (1989-90: 12).

In some old Hispanic refrains the threatening force of water is shown through its power to sweep away the oars:

¡Varquero, varquero!,
¡que se llevan las aguas los remos!
(C 954)

In an Asturian contemporary text the oar is swept away because of navigating at night:

Echa la barca al río,
lindo barquero,
que la barca de Oranda
(por andar de noche)
la lleva el remo.
(Schindler 1941: no. 60)

Ay de mí que me lleva la toca el agua:
 bájateme por ella, galán del alma.
 (Torner 1966: no. 249)

El pañuelo de mi niña,
 que ella lavándole estaba,
 ¡ay, ay, ay, que me lo lleva el río!
 ¡ay, ay, ay, que me lo lleva el agua!
 (Torner 1966: no. 249)

Here the garment's loss possibly indicates that she has a lover. As we have seen earlier, the action of washing a handkerchief in running water is a propitiatory rite to obtain a husband (see **Running water**).

In contemporary lyrics, being swept away by the river is also associated with washing. The girl holds fast to a peculiar stone where she washes clothes to prevent her from being swept away by the powerful green river. The unusual descriptions of the river and the rock indicate a hidden meaning. The girl's fear is based on the fact she is noble, young, modest, single, and not in love:

Fui lavar ao rio verde
 n'uma pedra cristalina;
 rio verde, não me leves,
 que sou fidalga e menina.

Fui lavar ao rio verde
 n'uma pedra esmaltada;
 rio verde, não me leves,
 que sou menina recatada.

Fui lavar ao rio verde
 n'uma pedra preciosa;
 rio verde, não me leves
 que sou menina formosa.

Fui lavar ao rio verde,
 lá me furtaran meu pano:
 quasi não vim para casa
 com temor de meu mano.
 (Braga 1913: II, 57)

Cada vez que voy al río
hallo la piedra mojada.
Río fuerte, no me lleves,
que no estoy enamorada.

(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 185, no. 169)

Estou na beira do río,
nunha pedra buliqueira;
¡ai!, tente, pedriña, tente,
que eu son meniña solteira.

(Rielo Carballo 1980: 70, no. 989)

In these songs male passion is represented by a natural element. According to Deyermond 'the poems which identify love or the lover with an elemental force may be set in a yet wider and more ancient context' (Deyermond 1979-80: 278). The river as a symbol of the lover and his passion is an example of archaic symbols being preserved in contemporary tradition. Here an inexperienced girl is afraid of sexual experience, like the girl of San Simion in Meendinho's *cantiga*.²¹¹ The rock also works as a symbol. It has 'comme première caractere une résistance'.²¹² The rock is described as 'cristalina', 'preciosa', 'mojada', and 'buliqueira', words whose erotic meaning is perceptible; these attributes are also given to the girl.²¹³ Another version seems to play with the feelings of the girl. The structure imitates the swaying of feelings struggling inside the girl: from fear to safety, from safety to fear:

²¹¹ The constant appearance of the rock, to which the girl holds fast, could be associated with an ancient European tradition where a rocking stone was used to prove the fidelity or virginity of a girl. The name given in France was the Virgin's Rock or in England the 'dau-gam', and in Spain it is associated with the cult of the 'Virgen de la Barca' (Bouza-Brey 1982: I, 217).

²¹² Gaston Bachelard 1948: 10, cf. 190-91.

²¹³ The stone represents 'firmness, foundation but when scattered, the opposite'. It is also considered as an emblem of Being. Another meaning that can shed light on the examples quoted above is the stone whirling, that is to say 'a rain making magic, symbolizing the fertilizing marriage of Heaven and Earth' (Vries 1976: s.v. stone). See Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. pierre; Cirlot 1988: s.v. piedra.

Dueño, que te lleva el río,
 dueño, que te lleva el agua,
 dueño, que ya no te lleva,
 dueño, que ya te llevaba.

(García Matos 1951-60: II, text 482)

This illuminates an Asturian text from a dance named *La soberana* where an accumulation of symbols occurs. The loss of virginity of the girl is symbolized by the rose swept away by the river:

La soberana
 llevóme la rosa el río
 llevómela la resaca.²¹⁴

If the previous analysis holds, the contemporary songs may shed light on the meaning of the following old refrain, where the girl wants to cross the river that is sweeping away the lilies:

¡Ay, miña mai!, passaime no río,
 que se levam as agoas os lirios.
 (C 955)

This song's meaning is difficult to grasp. The evidence show that the girl is going to have an erotic experience but is she in danger of losing her virginity or is she prepared for being married?.

Some of the symbols we have seen in this group appear together in another contemporary text in which a girl goes to wash clothes in a muddy river. While she is washing the soap falls into the water, forcing her to hold on to the roses:

Fui a lavar ao río turvo,
 escorregou-me o sabão,
 abracei-me com as rosas
 ficou-me o cheiro na mão.
 (Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 234)

²¹⁴ Cea 1978: 51; Torner: 1920, no. 60 and no. 412.

In the former text the girl made up an excuse for her hands smelling of roses, which on a symbolic level stands for love-making (see **Flowers**).

To sum up, one of the river depictions in traditional lyrics is as force that sweeps away an intimate garment of the girl, the girl or a rose; symbolising the lover and his passion.

3.1.4 Rain

Water is present in traditional lyrics transformed into rain, which is a universal symbol of fertility.²¹⁵ In old Hispanic refrains, it is frequently described by the adjective 'menudica' which usually implies love (Frenk 1993b: 15). Furthermore, the drizzle symbolizing the lover's passion is seen in English and Sephardic traditions. The rain and the dew as a symbol of male passion were studied by Alan Deyermond (1979-80: 273-75). In old Castilian traditional lyric, the rain is associated with the theme of the door, whose erotic connotations I shall study later (see **The door**):²¹⁶

Ábreme, casada, por tu fe;
que llueve menudico,
y mojomé.
(C 341)

The light rain appears related to the dark night, which in old lyrics, usually, is an excuse for love-making in another old refrain:

²¹⁵ For the general symbolism of rain see: Vries 1976: rain; Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: pluie; Cirlot 1988: lluvia.

²¹⁶ For the rain motif in Latin poetry see Deyermond 1989-90. In a medieval anonymous English song (Davies 1963: 291) the light rain is associated with the return of the lover:

Westron winde, when will thou blow,
the smalle raine downe can raine?
Crist, if my love wer in my armis,
and I in my bed againe!

Llueve menudico
y hace la noche oscura,
el pastorcillo es nuevo:
non iré segura.²¹⁷

In this song there is a combination of symbols which emphasize that the girl is in danger: the light rain, the dark night, and a young shepherd, which is a character associated with love. (**The shepherd, Getting lost in the mountain**). In contemporary lyrics there is a similar combination of elements: the light rain, the dark night and the man at the door:²¹⁸

²¹⁷ C 1007, CORRESPONDENCIAS section. The girl of old refrains is sometimes is afraid of a dark night:

No salgáis de noche a caza,
el caballero,
que hace la noche oscura,
y muérome de miedo.
(C 445)

Paradoxically, the dark night seems to be the time for lovers meeting in other old traditional songs:

Si la noche haze oscura,
y tan corto es el camino,
¿cómo no venís, amigo?
(C 573)

The opposite occurs in contemporary lyrics, where a clear night is the time for lovers' meeting:

Esta noche y la pasada
¿cómo no has venido, amor?
estando la noche clara
y el caminito andador.
(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: II, p. 185, n. 7)

²¹⁸ The term *canal* designates a mountain groove where the water is naturally collected. This is clear in another *copla*:

No echen la culpa a Vierru
que Vierru no tien la culpa
que la tienen los veneros
y la canal de la Furvia.
(González Fernández: no. 1)

I thank Luis González Fernández for lending me his unpublished study.

Agua menudita llueve;
 pronto caerán las canales;
 ábreme la puerta, cielo,
 que soy aquel que tú sabes.

(Córdova y Oña 1948-55: III, 120, no. 74)

In another contemporary song is explicit that the rain stands for the semen:²¹⁹

Esta noche va a llover,
 que tiene cerco la luna:
 lloverá si Dios lo quiere
 entre las piernas de alguna.

(Manzano 1982: 170, no. 262)

To sum up, the motif of the light rain is present in contemporary lyrics, preserving its erotic connotations. This symbol occurs associated with the motif of trees (see *Trees*), the dark night, the moon, and the door.

3.1.5 Conclusions:

Water symbolism is largely preserved in contemporary lyrics, where its powerful erotic meaning still emerges. The places for love-making are the same: the fountain, the river, and the sea. The motifs preserved are: the girls going to the fountain to fetch water, and associated with it, the broken pitcher. There is water in front of the girl's door indicating her sexual readiness or a lover. There are different waters: stirred water, running water, and salty water that are related to love-making. Crossing water is dangerous (river or sea) either for the woman or the man. Another erotic motif is the light rain. The main male characters associated with water are: the boatman, and the sailor who is portrayed as the favourite lover.

Different combinations of motifs associated with water appear in contemporary versions: picking the flower of water, the fertile sea, the torn garment while washing. Note that the first two symbols associate water with plants.

²¹⁹ This erotic rain is present in European traditional lyrics from the Netherlands, Germany, Hungary, and Slavic countries (Danckert 1976: I, 118-30).

On the basis of what has been established it is possible to confirm here that a majority of water symbols have preserved their erotic connotations. The appearance of new symbols in modern folksongs reveals that water still is a main element in love imagery.

3.2 Trees, meadow, and herbs

3.2.1 Trees

Since Antiquity trees have been present in learned and popular poetry. Imagery has changed from culture to culture, for example in the case of the Tree of Life or the Tree of Knowledge. Maybe it is the tree's enviable location, between the earth and the sky, or its importance as an economic resource that have helped to make it an important symbol in traditional poetic.²¹⁹ The answer to why some trees have been relevant to some regions and not to others, for instance, the lime tree in German folk songs and the pine tree in Hispanic traditional lyrics, is, as Hatto noted, because of nature, ritual, and social convention, but also for literary reasons such as rhyme and prosody.²²⁰

²¹⁹ The tree as a symbol has many different connotations: 'cosmic life because it connects the three worlds' and 'evergreens are symbols of the eternal spirit'. In addition, there are several motifs, such as 'disappearance into a tree, hiding in a wood, being entwined by a willow-tree, being born from a tree', related to the hieros gamos, the marriage of heaven and earth, with rejuvenation' (Vries 1976: s.v. tree). For different beliefs associated with tree see Cirlot 1988: s.v. árbol; Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. arbre. Furthermore, 'the most ancient Irish alphabet, the Beth-Luis-Nion ('Birch-Rowan-Ash') takes its name from the first tree of a series of trees whose initials form the sequence of its letters' (Graves 1958: 25). Thompson 1955-58: s.v. tree.

²²⁰ The classical *locus amoenus* is depicted by Curtius: 'Homer prefers the more amiable aspects of Nature: a cluster of trees, a grove with springs and lush meadows [...] Here there are fruits of the most various kinds: pomegranates, apples figs, pears, olives, grapes. The trees bear all through the year, for it is always spring and the west wind always blows - the Island of the Phaeacians is indeed a land of faery' (1953: 185). For tree symbolism see: Hatto 1954; Hatto 1965: 773-74; Graves 1958 (for tree symbolism in medieval Welsh poetry and Greek myths); Cirlot s.v. árbol; Blouin 1981: 30, 43, 186, 257, 261; Olinger 1985: 5; Reckert 1970 and 1993.

The shade as an erotic place occurs in the *Libro de Buen Amor*:

In love songs trees and herbs constantly appear in blossom. The most frequent trees in Hispanic traditional lyrics are the poplar, the pine, the olive, the pear, the orange, and the lemon. This variety of species distinguishes old Hispanic traditional lyrics from the *cantigas de amigo*.

3.2.1.1 The shade of love

A lovers' meeting under the shade offered by a tree is a universal love motif. This image occurs in the Song of Songs (2.3), where the beloved is sitting under the shade of the lover, who is compared with an apple tree. Apart from that, the shade is a secretive and desirable place. To be under the tree is also associated with erotic dances of women in the ancient world.²²¹ The motif works as an element of the erotic atmosphere, not as a male or female symbol. In old lyrics among the trees selected was the poplar which is the 'tree of waters', the symbol of fertility:

Como quier que he provado mi signo ser atal,
 en servir a las dueñas punar, e non en ál,
 pero aunque no guste la pera del peral
 en estar a la sombra es plazer comunal. (st. 154)

For the erotic symbolism of the pear see Pears. This motif also appears in Latin lyrics (Dronke 1974-75: 122-23). The life of a person bound to a tree is common to European and African traditions. In Queensland it is customary to plant a tree in order to remember a popular visitor 'Afterwards from observing the state of the tree the natives infer the corresponding state of their absent friend (Frazer 1994: 770-71). This could be associated with the custom of planting a tree in front of the beloved's house on St John's Eve. (Van Gennep 1937-58: I.iv, 1516-17).

²²¹ Dronke 1978: 194. In the *cantigas de amigo* there are two motifs associated with the shade: women's dancing under the hazel in a *cantiga de amigo* of Airas Nunes (Reckert & Macedo 1976: 41) and the loss of the ring under the pine tree (Reckert & Macedo 1976: 11). According to Ria Lemaire (1983: 153) 'Partout en Europe existait l'usage des danses printanières, organisées par les femmes sous les arbres sacrés: tilleul et noisetier en terre germanique, noisetier, olivier ou grenadier dans le domaine roman' and she adds that 's'asseoir sous un arbre sacré -olivier, noisetier, tilleul- symbolisait une initiative que la femme pouvait prendre à l'égard d'un homme avec qui elle désirait avoir des contacts sexuels'. See also Lemaire 1983: 293. For trees with feminine and masculine connotations, see (Hatto 1965: 774). See the *Pervigilium Veneris* 'Tomorrow the lovers' couple in the forest shade' (5) quoted by Wilhelm 1965. Sunshade stands also for protection (Vries 1976: s.v. sunshade). For the symbolism of the sunshade in different traditions see Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. ombre; Cirlot 1988: sombra.

Orillicas del río,
 mis amores ¡é!
 y debajo de los álamos
 me atendé.
 (C 461)²²²

In this song there is a blending of motifs. The eroticism of the lovers' meeting is stressed by the riverbank and the shade. In contemporary Galician folksongs, the lovers' meeting takes place under an orange or an olive tree on a moonlit night.²²³

²²²This motif appears in a *seguidilla* from the seventeenth century:

Alamillos verdes
 del bello soto,
 no deis sombra a mi niña
 si va con otro.
 (C 2299)

The riverbank associated with a lovers' meeting is a common motif in old Hispanic traditional lyrics:

Donde vindes, filha,
 branca e colorida?

De láa venho, madre,
 de ribas de hum río:
 achey meus amores
 em hum rosal florido.
 (C 307)

Ribera de un río
 vi moça virgo,
 niña en cabelo:
 vos me avéys muerto.
 (C 353 B)

²²³Cf. In a contemporary song, the shade of a blossoming tree is the place selected by the girl to sleep when she is alone, without a lover:

Arbolito florido,
 dame tu sombra
 que me persigue el sueño
 cuando estoy sola.
 (Manzano 1982: 255, no. 440)

The girl's sleepiness contrasts with the insomnia universally associated with lovers. This motif is frequent in traditional lyrics: Sánchez Romeralo 1969: 66-67; Torner 1966: no. 81 (see *Dawn*):

Quiero dormir y no puedo
 que el amor me quita el sueño.
 (C 304 B)

À sombra da oliveira
da gusto parrafear;
ten a folla miudiña,
non deixa de dar o luar.

(Rielo Carballo 1980: 49, no. 553)²²⁴

À sombra da laranjeira
é um regalo amar;
tem a folha bem juntinha,
não entra lá o luar.

(Lima Carneiro 1958: 65, no. 11).

In these songs a man describes the tree shade as a protective place, remarking that the tree is leafy (*folla juntinha, miudiña*), thus the light of the moon cannot penetrate it. Apart from being a universal feminine symbol, the moon is associated with the

Não podem dormir meus olhos,
não podem dormir.
(C 302 A)

In contemporary lyrics, this theme is usually expressed as a proverb included in a *quadra* or *copla*. Note that in contemporary songs insomnia is associated with water:

Quem tem amores não dorme
nem de noite nem de dia;
da tantas voltas na cama
como o peixe na agua fria.

(Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 330)

Agua del río corre
y la de fuente remansa;
quien tiene amores no duerme,
quien no los tiene descansa.

(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: II, 61)

For other songs with this motif see Torner 1966: no. 198.

²²⁴ The meeting takes place under an orange tree and love-making is not explicitly named but suggested with the verb *brincar* in a Portuguese ballad:

Debaixo da laranjeira,
debaixo do laranjal,
lá vi estar Claralinda,
com D. Carlos a brincar

(Lima Carneiro 1958: 57)

The erotic connotations of the verb *brincar*, in Spanish *jugar*, were studied by Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: nos 83, 84, 89, 92, 134, 139, 141, 144. For the erotic motif of being 'under the orange tree' see Reckert 1970: 33-34; 1993: 86.

girl's sexual readiness in old Castilian *estribillos* (Frenk 1993b: 4-8) and in contemporary folksongs from Rhineland (Danckert 1976: I, 343).

The lovers' encounter is not always said specifically to occur in the shade of the tree, in other songs it is implied by the expression under the tree, like in the following pilgrimage song:

So ell enzina, so ell enzina
so ell enzina.
(C 313)

The motif of being under the tree appears combined with the motifs of the rain and the dew, which are symbols of impregnation (see **Rain**). These motifs occur in a Portuguese version where lovers are under an orange tree. Frequently, the song is a quatrain, which is 'particularly suited to the making of two-line statement that appear innocently literal until revealed as symbolic by the remaining two lines, which comprise the proper terms of the equation and explain the "real" meaning of the symbolic one' (Reckert 1993: 24):

Debaixo da laranjeira
não chove nem faz orballo;
menina, case comigo,
nã' me dê tanto trabalho.²²⁵

²²⁵ M. J. Delgado, *Subsídios para o Cancioneiro Popular do Baixo Alentejo* (Lisbon: 1955) quoted by Reckert (1993: 86). In a Serbian song from the nineteenth century lovers meet at dawn under an orange tree (Hatto 1965: 626). Another interpretation of this copla was given by Reckert (1993:86), who pointed out that 'Disappointment of the speaker's hopes of Nature as an ally in seduction has perhaps made him resign himself to complying with the norms of society as his only way of getting what he wants'. The dew has magical power on St John's Eve (Caro Baroja 1979: 180). The dew is also considered an essential symbol in dawn songs from different countries It is associated with love-making in: India (180), Bulgaria (157); Lithuania (682, 689, 691); Latvia (695, 699, 700, 702); Hungary (709). For example, the association of woman-dew, whiteness-dew occurs in a Japanese quatrain quoted by Reckert (1993: 27): '[Her] jade stairs grow white [with] dew; / [in the] night [it] already invades [her] silver stockings. / [She] turns away, lets fall [the] crystal screen, / gazes [through] lattice [at the] autumn moon.

In this song the absence of rain and the dew under the olive tree symbolize the girl's hesitation. In other words the lack of water stands for a frustrated sexual encounter.

This occurs in a Galician *copla*:

Debaixo da oliveira
 nin chove nin vai orballo;
 rapaciña, se has de ser miña,
 non me deas máis traballo.
 (Rico Vereá 1989: 66)

The tree-shade symbolism in this *quadra* was interpreted as the protective aspect of marriage:

just as orange blossom shares the properties of the orange, so in the Alentejo the tree itself, and even its shade-though it is said the only shade there comes from the sky-take on the symbolic values usually ascribed to its fruit and flowers, and come to stand for the protective aspect of marriage. (Reckert 1993: 86)

In another modern folk song, where an accumulation of erotic symbols occurs, the sexual meeting under the tree is almost explicit:

Debajo de los laureles
 tiene mi amante la cama
 y cuando se va a dormir
 cuelga el candil de una rama.²²⁶

Firstly, there is the motif of the shade of love that protects the encounter of lovers.

Secondly, the laurel, which does not appear in old traditional lyrics, in Asturias has

²²⁶Vasco 1929: II, 328, no. 3122. There are other contemporary folksongs where the lovers' meeting is under a laurel:

Que se ha quedado dormida
 debajo de los laureles,
 que no la llames que ya no viene,
 que tiene otro que la entretiene.
 (Schindler 1941: no. 37)

No la llames, no la llames
 no la llames, que no viene.
 Se habrá quedado dormida
 debajo de los laureles.
 (Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: II, 94, no. 75)

magic powers, the 'virtud de producir fuego', and 'el zumo de las bayas y hojas tiene fuerza contra veneno, y, sorbido por las narices, descarga maravillosamente el cerebro'. Lastly, the oil lamp is an object associated with fire, which usually represents a phallic element in European folksongs.²²⁷

3.2.1.2 The shaken tree

There is a cryptic old traditional song where the speaker states that the precondition for being loved is that the lover shakes the orange tree (see **Lemons and oranges**):

Se queréys que vos bem queyra,
day un avano à lorangeyra.

(C 1623)

A similar motif occurs in a contemporary Ukrainian wedding song, where the bride is compared with a pear tree that the groom must shake: 'Love her and shake her as a pear tree'.²²⁸ In contemporary Galician and Portuguese songs a girl is associated

²²⁷ See Giner Arivau 'Folklore de Proaza (Asturias)', in *Folklore Español*, 8, pp. 240-41 quoted by Pilar García de Diego 1978: 429. In Greek mythology Daphne was transformed into a laurel when she was pursued by Apollo (Graves 1960: I, no. 21k). The link of poetry with laurel 'is not merely that laurel is an evergreen and thus an emblem of immortality: it is also an intoxicant' (Robert Graves 1958: 55). According to Pliny (XXIII. lxi.84) laurel oil has healing powers. For the dark-complexioned girl see **The Morenita**. Fire as a phallic element was studied by Danckert 1976: I, 233-65 (see **The Door**). There is another song where the sexual meaning of the oil lamp is explicit. Again, the erotic meaning is stressed by an accumulation of symbols (*casabel, morena, manta, candil*), that results in a strongly sexual song:

Yo tengo un casabel
que me costó un real;
y por la noche dice
morena mía, morena mía,
vámono' a acostar.
Vámonos a acostar,
vámonos a dormir,
tú llevarás la manta,
morena mía, morena mía,
y yo el candil.

(Sánchez Fraile 1943: 219, no. 104)

For the erotic symbolism of the little bell see José Manuel Pedrosa (in press c). For the sound of a bell as a symbol of making love see **The Cockcrow**.

²²⁸ This song is part of the lyrics of *Les Noces* of Igor Stravinsky, Deutsche Gramophon, Leonard Bernstein. For the symbolism of the pear tree see: Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. poirier.

with a tree bearing fruit, frequently a pear tree or an apple tree and shaking the tree - imitating the movement of the fruit collectors - stands for making love:²²⁹

Vou-me por aqui abaixo
 como quem não vai a nada:
 abanar uma péreirinha,
 que nunca foi abanada.
 (Lima Carneiro 1958: 175)

Esta noite hei de ir a rúa
 eu i o meu camarada,
 abalar unha pereira
 que nunca foi abalada.
 (Rielo Carballo 1980: 23, no. 2)

In these songs the unshaken pear tree is the virgin girl who is going to be deflowered. This interpretation is confirmed by another example, where a blending of different motifs occurs:

Deixa-te estar, maçãzinha,
 a sombra da macieira;
 se te deixas abanar,
 já não achas quem te queira.

Já não achas quem te queira
 a sombra do alvoredo;
 não te deixas abanar,
 que até no amor há medo!
 (Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 128)

This song shows a complete portrayal of a lovers' meeting in traditional lyric. Firstly, the girl is identified with a red fruit. Secondly, the meeting of lovers is under a tree, and, thirdly, sexual intercourse is described as the man shaking the tree. There is yet

²²⁹See Blouin 1981: 173, n. 13; Pedrosa 1993a: 169-85. Usually the pear tree in ancient lyrics is a male tree, while in contemporary Galician and Portuguese versions is feminine. In other areas the same motif is used to emphasize that she (or he) is not afraid of gossip:

Déjales que digan, digan
 ¿de mí que podrán decir?
 peral que no tiene peras
 no tiene que sacudir.
 (Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: 626, n. 1079).

another interesting feature to note in this song: the fruit simultaneously symbolizes the girl and her virginity.

On the basis of what I have said above, a fruit tree is a female symbol in Iberian traditional lyrics, and the action of shaking is done by the man. Therefore, in the *estribillo* 'Si queréys que vos bem queyra' it is possible that a woman is asking a man to make love to her. However, taking into account that symbols are not unequivocal, the constant association of the orange and orange tree with wedding songs, and the Ukrainian song, perhaps the request made by the girl in the old *estribillo* is associated with marriage (Reckert 1993: 67-86; Hatto 1965: 606).

Related to the shaken tree is the beating of a hazelnut-tree. The hazelnut-tree and its fruit have erotic connotations in traditional lyrics. On the one hand, in an ancient song a girl warns the 'moro' not to knock down the hazelnut-tree, in other words, to leave the fruits on the tree (see below).²³⁰

Deja las avellánicas, moro,
yo me las varearé,
tres y cuatro en un pimpollo
que yo me las varearé.
(C 1109 B)

The shade of a hazelnut tree was considered an erotic and magic place, according to

Dronke:

in a wide range of proverbial expressions going into the hazelnut trees [...] is synonymous with love-making; already in the ancient world sterile women were beaten with hazel twigs to make them fertile, and hazelnuts were given to the bride and the groom on the wedding night. (1978: 194)²³¹

²³⁰ For the hazelnut magic symbolism see Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. noisetier.

²³¹ The topos of 'dancing under the hazelnut tree', which is related to the May celebrations, appears in Galician-Portuguese tradition (González Palencia & Mele 1944: 15). In a *cantiga de amigo* that has been preserved in two versions, one by Joan Zorro and another by Airas Nunes, the dance is performed only by those girls who are in love. Here I quote Joan Zorro's version:

The girl beating a hazelnut is preserved in female and male voices respectively in contemporary versions:

Las avellanitas, madre,
ya me las varearé,
todas cuatro en un pimpollo,
ayúdamelas a coger
(Torner 1966: no. 125)

Las avellanitas, mora,
ya te las varearé,
si quieres que te las caiga
ayúdamelas a coger.
(Schindler 1941: no. 466)

On the other hand, hazelnuts have been identified as a male symbol. The hazelnut stands for testicles in the 'glosa' of the following song, which is a vendor's cry (Alzieu, Jammes & Lissorgues 1975: no. 148):

¡A las avellanas
mozuelas galanas!
¡A las avellánicas
a las avellanas!
(C 1188)

The hazelnut is a love token in modern songs. In the following text, the girl's refusal stands for the rejection of a lover:

Bailemos agora, por Deus, ai velidas
so aquestas avelaneiras frolicas,
e quem fôr velida como nós, velidas,
se amigo amar,
so aquestas avelaneyras frolicas
verrá bailar.

Bailemos agora, por Deus, ai loadas,
so aquestas avelaneiras granadas,
e quem fôr loada como nós, loadas,
se amigo amar,
so aquestas avelaneiras granadas
verrá bailar.
(Nunes 1926: no. 390)

Está mi amante en la esquina,
 con el pañuelo me llama,
 con el corazón le digo:
 no quiero tus avellanas.

(Schindler 1941: no. 43)

In this section I have analysed the motif of knocking down fruit from a tree - usually a pear tree - that has clear sexual connotations in modern folksongs. This perhaps illuminates the meaning of the old cryptic refrain 'Se quereys que vos bem queyra' as an erotic song. In addition, hazelnuts are considered as a love-token in modern folksongs (see **The green ribbon**).

3.2.1.3 Tree bearing fruits

The girl's sexual readiness is identified with a tree bearing fruit, thus to pick the fruit from the tree or plant stands for the girl's loss of virginity in traditional songs. In this group I shall analyse the vine, the orange tree, the olive tree and the cherry tree.

The vine is an important symbol of fertility and love in pagan and Christian imagery. In old Hispanic refrains the vineyard is described as a place for love-making. It is interesting to note that in the Middle Ages the vineyard was a place for prostitution: 'in Dijon, a place was set aside for women's hiring fairs for labour in a vineyard, and some took advantage of the opportunity to solicit' (Rossiaud 1988: 7, n. 8). The vine associated with love occurs in an old refrain:²³²

A la viña, viñadores,
 que sus frutos de amores son.
 (C 1111)

²³² The vine was sacred to the Thracian Dionysus, and to Osiris, and a golden vine was one of the principal ornaments of the Temple of Jerusalem. It is the tree of joy, exhilaration and wrath (Graves 1958: 189). For vine symbolism see José Manuel Pedrosa (in press c). I thank Vera Castro-Lingl for pointing out the relevance of Rossiaud's work to this symbol. For the vineyard and the grove as communal properties in sixteenth century Castile see Vassberg 1984.

On some other occasions, watching over the girl is compared with guarding the vineyard and the grove:

Niña y viña, peral y havar,
malo es de guardar.
(C 314 C)

This comparison is preserved in contemporary folksongs, but now the vine is specifically compared with a beautiful woman:

Non busques muller bonita
nin viña en camino real;
si queres coller o froito
moito tes que madrugar
(Cabanillas 1983: 109, no. 491)²³³

The danger of not taking proper care of the girl (vineyard) is that someone else will profit from her sensual fruits. Note that all the actions associated with planting and cutting have a sexual meaning in the following text:

Yo tenía una biñita,
la poaba y la cababa,
la daba su laborsita,
y otro me la vendimiaba.
(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 5474)

The vine is the girl and the ripe grapes represent her sexual readiness. This is explicit in an obscene text where the grapes stand for the girl's genitalia:

Debajo del mandilín
tienes un racimo de uvas,
con permiso de tu padre
voy a ver si están maduras.
(Gomarín 1991: 54, no. 85)

After the erotic meaning of grapes has been demonstrated we fully understand that the following song refers not only to the fruit:

²³³ For another version see Llano 1977: no. 661.

Tantarantán, que las uvas son verdes,
tantarantán, que ellas madurarán.

(García Matos 1982: text 240, 240)

To sum up, the vine and elements associated with it have sexual connotations in old and contemporary folksongs. They represent the place for love-making (vineyard), the girl (vine, fruit), and the girls' genitals (ripe grapes).

The olive tree frequently occurs in Peninsular traditional lyrics. The olive tree and the olives are essential components of several medicines (Pliny: XXII.xxxiv-xxxvii). In a text a green olive tree appears bearing a dark olive:

Olival, olival verde,
azeitona preta,
quem te colhesse!
(C 254)²³⁴

The last line of this song is illuminated by contemporary texts, where it is explicit that the olive tree is identified with a girl, and the olive with her virginity:

Oliveira bem cortada
sempre parece oliveira,
a mulher que é bem casada
sempre parece solteira.²³⁵

A oliveira se queixa,
(se se queixa, tem razão...)
de le colher a azeitona
e botar a rama ao chão.

(Lima Carneiro 1958: 161)

The first text reveals the olive tree as a female symbol and its being cut as a love-making symbol (see **The harvester**). This can help us to understand the fact that the girl is complaining because after she has been seduced (*colher a azeitona*) by

²³⁴Olival, olivalinho verde! / Oh que tã verde e verde e olival!. (Gascón 1921-22: 282); C 254, SUPERVIVENCIAS section).

²³⁵ Antonio T. Pires, *Cantos populares do Alemtejo recolhidos da tradição oral* (Elvas, 1882) quoted in Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: 782; cf. his no. 6268.

the man she is left alone (*botar a rama ao chã*). Therefore, it is possible to say that in old lyrics the *olival verde* means the young woman and *azeitona preta* her readiness for love from a male point of view. This analysis is supported by other contemporary songs where it is explicit that the a tree bearing fruit stands for the girl who is ready for sexual love, and the fruits of the tree represent her virginity:

Pereira que non tene peras,
 ¿quién ha de ir a riba dela?
 Meniña que no ten honra,
 ¿quién ha de casar con ela?
 (Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 365)

If the previous analysis holds, a green mazzard bearing fruit can be also identified with a young girl ready to love in another old refrain, where once more the green leaves of the tree are related with bearing fruit:

En el guindal verde,
 en el guindal
 en el guindal verde
 guindas ay.
 (C 1119)

In contemporary lyrics there is a similar song where it is specified that the cherries of the green mazzard are not yet ripe:

Tres guinditas en un guindal,
 todas tres sin madurar,
 una en la rama y otra en el pie
 y otra en la rama, jaleaté.²³⁶

Having established that a girl identified with a tree bearing fruit can be seen as a symbol of sexual readiness, and that picking the fruit by the man stands for the

²³⁶Schindler 1941: no. 101, 11. See C 119 SUPERVIVENCIAS section; see another Asturian version in Torner 1920: no 76.

deflowering of the girl, it is possible to understand another old refrain where there is an orange tree which has no fruit yet:²³⁷

Meu naranjedo non ten fruta
mas agora ven:
no me le toque ninguén.

Meu naranjedo florido,
el fruto no l'es venido,
mas agora ven:
no me le toque ninguén.

Meu naranjedo granado,
el su fruto no l'es llegado,
mas agora ven:
[no me le toque ninguén]
(C 263)

In this song the orange tree which does not bear fruit symbolizes the girl who is perhaps not yet sexually prepared for marriage.²³⁸ There is a contemporary song

²³⁷Reckert (1970: 30-31; 1993: 83-84) studies the symbol of the inexperienced girl as an unripe fruit in a contemporary Brazilian poet. A girl of marriageable age is identified with an apple tree in a French song from the fifteenth century:

Au jardin de mon pere un pommier doux y a
Sy très chargé de pommes que tout vient en aval.
Helas, mon joly tamps s'en va!

Sy très chargé de pommes que tout vient en aval.
Demandoit a son pere: 'Quand on les cueillera?'
Helas, mon joly tamps s'en va!
(Parducci 1909: 312, no. 5)

This image appears in contemporary Castilian folksongs:

Paseando por el monte
al pie de una fuente clara,
me encontré con un manzano,
cargadito de manzanas.
(Cortés 1914: no. 4459)

The man is described as an apple tree in the Song of Songs (2.3-5).

²³⁸In contemporary folksongs the girl is compared with an orange (see **Fruits and Flowers**):

from Zamora where it is clear that the orange tree is the girl and the orange her virginity:

Dame la naranja
lindo naranjero
dame la naranja
y te daré el pañuelo.

(Calabuig 1987: 204, no. 116)

The sexual readiness of the girl is conveyed by an orange grove full of fruit, and love-making is symbolized by the man picking fruits from the grove in a contemporary Galician song:

Xa fun a Marín,
xa paséi o mar,
xa quitéi naranxas
do teu naranxal.

(Torner 1966: no. 37)

An accumulation of symbols gives an unusual beauty to this text where the man expresses fulfilled sexual desire, using verbs of motion -fun, paséi, quitéi-. Note that the motif of the sea and the motif of the oranges appear together (see *Crossing water*).²³⁹

Ni eres alta ni eres baja,
eres como yo te quiero,
eres la mejor naranja
que tiene mi naranjero.

(Llano 1977: no. 115)

²³⁹ Ria Lemaire comments on trees found in *Cantigas de amigo*:

Dans les *cantigas* il y a trois arbres seulement: le pin qui dans le folklore européen est associé à la masculinité, en tant que symbole phallique, le noisetier, associé à la féminité, symbole du giron maternel et de la fécondité et le grenadier dont le fruit est la image de la vulve. (1987: 152)

The pine is another frequent tree in Hispanic traditional lyrics. In Hatto's words (1965: 775):

in Iberia the lofty pine was the ideal pattern for all profitable upward thrusting vegetation in the season of spring (as it was also in the cults of Attis and Adonis), and so it was used as a Maypole. It also remained green in winter. In this aspect the pine was no doubt associated with love-making in the open air that went on everywhere with the rites of spring.

3.2.1.4 The bough:

The bough is another motif in which the eroticism of the tree can be seen. Different kinds of bough are associated with St John's Eve erotic rites. It is believed that they have special prophylactic and erotic powers during this celebration (Caro Baroja 1979: 185-201). To go under a branch has the same connotations as going under a tree. According to Lemaire:

s'asseoir sous un *ramo verde* était, comme s'asseoir sous le noisetier, un acte symbolique, par lequel les femmes pouvaient, tout aussi bien que les hommes, prendre des initiatives sexuelles (1987: 155).

The lovers' meeting under a branch occurs in old Hispanic refrains:²⁴⁰

Migallejo está so la rama,
su carilleja Menga le llama.
(C 13)

A well known song all over the Hispanic world is:

Arrimeime a un pino verde
a ver si me consolava;
i o pino como era verde,
ó verme chorar, choraba.

(Rielo Carballo 1980: 36, no. 271). See Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 5515. Cf. versions from Portugal and Latino America in Tomer 1966: no. 36. The universality of the sad lover who contrasts his/ her sadness with the *locus amoenus* and the relationship between this song, Portuguese *cantigas de amigo*, and Japanese tanka were pointed out by Stephen Reckert and Helder Macedo (1976: 193-99).

In another song the request made by the lover has not been granted by the beloved, symbolised by the withering thistle, who has betrayed him/her:

Mal haya quien se enamora
para vivir con dolor,
yo me arrimé a un cardo verde
y se le secó la flor.
(Vasco 1929: 268, no. 2776)

For the motif of the sad lover see Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: 761-62. The use of a tree as a pole in fertility rites occurs in Aristophanes' *Acharnians*, where the complete phallic ceremony is described. This image of the phallic pole also appears in his *Lysistrata* (Haight 1950: 55-59).

²⁴⁰The magic branch was studied by Chevalier & Gheerbrant (1982: s.v. branche) and its equivalence with the garland by Cirlot 1988: s.v. rama.

So la rama, ninha,
so la oliva.
(S 314 bis)

Furthermore, the proof sought for a woman's love is a rose or a branch in another old *estribillo*:

Dame del tu amor, señora,
siquiera una rosa;
dame del tu amor, galana,
siquiera una rama.
(C 417)

A plant as a love token is common in some pagan ceremonies. Depositing a garland at the lover's door or decorating it with branches of different trees is an archaic wooing custom mainly associated with May and St John's Eve (see **The door**).²⁴¹

In Germanic traditions cutting a green branch from a sacred tree:

équivalait dans le droit coutumier des peuples [...] à entrer en possession d'un bien. Dans le domaine de la sexualité c'était l'équivalent de l'eau de source offerte par la jeune fille à l'homme: le don du corps de l'homme à la femme. C'est pourquoi, dans les vieilles chansons allemandes le verb *zweigbrechen* signifie: faire l'amour, commencer à vivre ensemble, se fiancer.²⁴²

The branch in blossom is a love token, which is given by the woman to the man whom she has chosen in a modern folksong:

Si escogiese yo bien se a quién escogería,
a ese caballero su dama se lo quería.
La bella flor, cargadita iba de amor,
la bella rama, de amores iba cargada.
(García Matos 1982: 281, no. 166)

²⁴¹ This custom associated with May and St John's Eve was studied by González Palencia & Mele 1944: 129-32; Torner 1966: no. 193. According to Alvar (1971: 247) to decorate the door or a window with plants is not a Jewish custom, but appears preserved in Judeo-Spanish songs.

²⁴² Danckert 1976: III, 963 trans. by Ria Lemaire 1987: 155. A leafy branch was stacked in the cornfield by Swedish peasants in order to guarantee an abundant crop (Frazer 1994: 87).

The opposite situation, the loss of the girl's sexual appeal, is symbolized in contemporary texts by a withering branch. For instance the following song where the man comes back from watering the girl's rosemary because it is fading (see **Dawn**):²⁴³

Que vengo de regar a mi dama el romero,
que se le va secando la rama
que se le va secando y no grana
mi dama
(García Matos 1951-60: II, text no. 378)

There are other songs where the man has climbed an olive tree and he falls down after he has cut a bough or a rose:

Al olivo subí
por cortar una rama
del olivo caí.
(Schindler 1941: no. 529)

Al olivo, al olivo,
al olivo subí,
pero al coger la rosa
del olivo caí.
(Llano 1977: no. 707)

If the previous analysis holds the olive tree represents the girl, whose deflowering is symbolized by the action of cutting the branch or picking a rose (see **Picking flowers**). There is another version where the girl is identified with an orange, and the loss of her virginity is represented by the fruit taken from the branch (see **Lemons and oranges**):²⁴⁴

²⁴³For the erotic meaning of watering see Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: 279. In some traditions the withering of the tree and the loss of leaves is associated with death (Frazer 1994: 770-71).

²⁴⁴For more examples see Tomer 1966: no. 204. Note that in an Andalusian description of the 'Maya', the head of the girl is described as a golden orange:

¿Quién te cortó, naranjuela,
 quién te cortó de la rama?
 Mal le venga, mal le vaya
 ¿quién te cortó de la rama?

(Díaz Viana & Manzano 1989: no. 66)

The girl symbolized by a tree and its different parts occurs in a contemporary Irish folksong. In this version there is an accumulation of symbols where the different parts of the tree correspond to the girl's body. This symbol occurs in contemporary Italian folksongs. Here, the branch represents the girl.²⁴⁵

Fior della mela,
 E della mela voi siete la rama,
 e del mio cor ne siete la catena.
 (Tigri 1860: 340)

3.2.2 The meadow

The green meadow is another important element of the classical *locus amoenus*. In ancient Castilian *estribillos* the meadow is seen as a pleasurable place for love-making:

Tu cabeza,
 chiquita y bonita
 parese de oro
 una naranjita.

(González Palencia & Mele 1944: 146)

See Lemons and oranges.

²⁴⁵The tree associated with the girl occurs in an Irish contemporary folksong (see **The Shaken Tree, Wind**):

There is growing a tree in the garden,
 with flowers of yellow that shake,
 I lay my cold hand on its branches,
 and feel that my heart must break.

(Hyde 1986: 108)

Hyde's interpretation of the tree is that it was the place where once they exchanged their vows (1986: 108).

Y los dos amados
 ydos se son anbos
 so los verdes prados,
 so la minbrereta
 (C 5B)²⁴⁶

The apparent contradiction of being under the meadow was solved by Frenk (1993b: 15-16). The lovers had made a bed with the grass - a common custom in folk lyrics. Furthermore, the meadow was, in the sixteenth century, a municipal property. It was 'an unusually high-quality pasture. Typically it was a plot of humid land, along the river or in some well watered spot, or it was irrigated land. Grass was allowed to grow in the *prado*, or forage crops were planted there' (Vassberg 1984: 33). This relationship between the meadow and harvest is seen in another old song, where harvesters - who are usually related to love - are described as follows:

Quando ovieron segado
 tománse mano a mano,
 vánse a deleytar al prado.
 La Magdalena
 (C 9)²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ The meadow and the *sierra* motifs and their symbolism in the Middle Ages were studied by Joaquín Casalduero (1953: 17, 18). See Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: no. 6. The meadow of Berceo has 'cuatro fuentes, lleno de flores y de árboles, lleno de pájaros. Queda muy fijo el color verde, la sombra templada; junto al término general de flores tenemos la diversidad de los árboles -milgranos, figueras, peros, manzanedas' (Casalduero 1953: 17). This contrast with the simplicity of the green meadow of traditional poetry.

²⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that the lovers go hand in hand to the meadow. In ancient Castile, 'tomar las manos' stand for: 'kasar el kura; i ser kasados; i por: hazer amigos' (Correas 1627: 737a). This motif is present in contemporary Sephardic wedding songs (Alvar 1971: 283). In the *Romancero* the seducer or seductress takes the hand of the beloved to guide her or him to the bed:

Tomáralo por la mano
 y en el lecho lo ha metido
 (Menéndez Pidal 1938: 52)

Le ha cogido de la mano
 y le ha metido en el camarín.
 sentóla en silla de plata
 con respaldo de marfil;
 bañóle todo su cuerpo
 con agua de toronjil,

This song makes clear that the meadow is the ideal place for love-making. The meadow is also associated with harvesting and threshing, whose sexual connotation have been studied earlier (see **The harvester**):

Este pradico verde
trillémosle y hollémosle.
(C 1105)²⁴⁸

The meadow has similar connotations in contemporary lyrics. In a rather obscene song the meadow grass that the man's cattle is going to graze represent sexual intercourse:

Maruxiña, Maruxiña,
busco herba pró meu gando:
se ti ma dás, Maruxiña,
vou por ela ó teu prado.²⁴⁹

3.2.3 Herbs

The use of herbs with medicinal purposes was not always clearly distinguished from witchcraft in the Middle Ages. Their importance in traditional medicine from medieval times was such that:

en el Concilio de Braga II: año 572 se prohíbe recoger hierbas que son
medicinales, hacer uso de algunas supersticiones o encantamientos,
sino solamente honrar a Dios Creador y Señor de todas las cosas por

hizóle cama de rosa,
cabecera de alhelí
(Menéndez Pidal 1938: 113)

²⁴⁸This song has been excluded from the second anthology of Alín (1991).

²⁴⁹Rico Vereá 1989: 50, no. 8; no. 10. See other versions: Torner 1920, no. 197. For animal symbolism see **Animals**. The meadow is also associated with love-making in the following folksong:

Se te collera no prado,
como te collín máis veces,
habíache de deixar,
herbiña pra nove meses.
(Rico Vereá 1989: 49, no. 13)

medio del credo divino y de la oración dominical. (García de Diego 1978: 426)

Among the dishonoured women was the sorceress or *ervolera* who was severely punished. She helped townswomen with female problems such as contraception or poisoning an unwanted husband (Dillard 1984: 211-12). The witch's stock was ointments, potions, philtres, incantations, amulets, and waxen images. She was associated with carnal lust. According to Richards (1994: 79):²⁵⁰

Witchcraft was essentially low magic, the folk medicine of the local 'wise woman', skilled in herbs and midwifery, but also able to turn her hand to love potions, poisons and abortifacient. It existed in the community, mainly among lower classes and was practiced by individuals not by cults.

Herbs are associated with erotic activities related to pagan rituals in traditional lyrics.

This is seen in an old refrain:

Ervas do amor, ervas,
ervas do amor.
(C 312)

Reeds are one of the species that are frequently named in folksongs. They grow along the riverside, where the lovers meet. In the following old refrain, reeds are blossoming along the riverbank:

Canas do amor, canas,
canas do amor.

Polo longo de um rio
canaival vi florido
Canas do amor.
(C 311)

²⁵⁰ The problem faced by women who practised medicine is exemplified by the case of Jakoba, a woman's Physician from 1312. She was forbidden to treat people by the Parisian Academy (Amt 1993: 109-12). The importance of magic is seen in the Germanic laws that condemn the use of herbs or potions against other people (Amt 1993: 40). For women considered witches see Shahar 1983: 268-80. Among the most common insults were: 'faithless one' (*aleusa*, often for men only), dishonest whore (*puta falsa*) and 'sorceress' or 'poisoner' (*ervolera*) (Dillard 1984: 170). The name given to prostitutes recalls the name of Areusa in *Celestina*.

There are reeds, canes, and clover growing. These plants are associated with St John's Eve rites. They are described as in blossom or with fine leaves:²⁵¹

Junco menudo, junco,
junco menudo.
(C 304 D)

Trébol florido, trébol,
trébol florido.
(C 1249)

They are plants 'luxuriantly growing on humid soil' and symbolize 'abundance, especially of erotic fulfillment'.²⁵² Their eroticism emanates from the fact that they were utilized to make the lovers' bed. In Italian and Portuguese contemporary folksongs, it is explicit that the bed of the lovers is made of plants:

Bella, bellina, se vieni alla vigna,
ti ce l'ho fatta una gentil capanna.
Il letto te l'ho fatto di gramigna,
e le lenzuola di foglia di canna.
In questo letto tutto gentilezza,
vieni, riposerai on dolcezza.
(Savona & Straniero 1989: 468, n. 2)

Oh que lindo lãar vem
para colher a marcela:
apanhá-la e moê-la
e fazer a cama nela.
(Leite de Vasconcellos 1986: 149)

²⁵¹ Reeds are especially collected during St John's Day for lovers to know if their love is reciprocated:

Dizem que me queres bem,
inda o hei-de 'sprimentar:
na noite de S. João
junco vere hei-de cortar.
(Leite de Vasconcellos 1986: 146)

Other superstitions include cutting two pieces from a reed. Each of them represents one lover. They leave the pieces until the next morning when they decide who loves more according to the length of the reed (Leite de Vasconcellos 1986: 146).

²⁵² Danckert 1976 III: 882 trans. by Margit Frenk (1993b: 14-15).

Anda cá, minha menina,
faremos a cama nela.

(Leite de Vasconcellos 1986: 149)

The lover's bed made of leaves from the cane tree appears in a Sanskrit song (eighth to eleventh century) from a woman poet about whom little is known:

He who stole my virginity
is the same man
I am married to
and these are the same
spring nights and
this is the same moment of
the jasmine's opening
with winds just coming of age carrying
the scent of flowers mingled
with pollen from Kadamba trees
to wake desire
in its nakedness
I am no different yet I
long with my heart
for the delicate
love-making back there under
the dense cane trees
by the bank of the river
Narmada in
the Vindhya mountains.

(Deyermond 1990: 147)

In Hispanic contemporary lyrics reeds are a female symbol. Such is the case in a number of Portuguese quatrains whose beginning (often the first two lines) uses the expression 'O minha caninha verde', which stands for the girl:

O minha caninha verde!
O minha verde caninha!
vamos a dar duas voltinhas
da tua porta p'rá minha?²⁵³

²⁵³Lima Carneiro 1958: 93. Cf. Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 111-15.

3.2.3.1 Harmful herbs:

Herbs are the basic element for traditional medicine. Some of them have magic powers during May and St John's festivities (Caro Baroja 1979). There is a common motif where pregnancy is caused by a herb:²⁵⁴

¡Ay, mezquina,
que se me hincó una espina!
¡Desdichada,
que temo quedar preñada!
(C 1650)²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴For conception caused by stepping on a herb see: Gonzalo de Berceo, *Los milagros de Nuestra Señora* (Dutton 1971: III, 21, 159, n. 507; Miguel Garci-Gómez 1989: 9). There is an interesting study by Daniel Devoto, 'Pisó yerva enconada' (1974: 11-46).

²⁵⁵ Pregnancy in contemporary lyrics can also be caused by eating a chestnut or stepping on a herb named 'borraja' which has a phallic shape. The excuse of the girl who has eaten a chestnut is disclosed by her mother's question:

Madre mía toy encinta
Fía mía tarazón;
as castañas que comiste,
¿de qué casteñeiru son?
(Llano 1977: no. 1007)

I have not found this motif in love songs in feminine voice, but instead it appears in a riddle and in a girls' game, as shown in the following examples:

Una mujer me pisó
y por mó de mí parió;
cayó mala la mujé
y con mi fló la curé.
¿qué yerba es?
La borraja
(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 499)

En los palacios del Rey
hay una hierba malvada
aquella que la pisare
se quedaría baldada.
(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: I, 42, no. 26)

For other versions see Devoto 1974; Echavarría Bravo: 404-05, no. 75. This herb has been replaced by a red rose in a girls' game (García Matos 1951-60: I, 88, text no. 158); Cf. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo 1944: X, 105, ns. 39, 40 and 41).

There is a verb that is related to plants and animals in medieval traditional lyrics: *picar*, which has different meanings such as to itch, to smart, to bite, to prick.

In all the songs the verb has sexual connotations:

¿Si pica el cardo, moza, dí
si pica el cardo, di que sí.
(C 1717)

Si pica el cardo, niña en ti
pique o no pique di que sí.
si pica el cardo corredor
pique o no pique, dí que no.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁶García Matos 1982: 340, no. 108 bis; 346, no. 119 bis and p. 331, no. 34 bis. The verb *picar* erotic connotations are frequent in old traditional lyrics:

No sé qué me pica
en el carcañal
que me haze ma
(C 1645 A)

Pícame, Pedro,
que picarte quiero.
(C 1692)

Si me picas, picarte é,
Teresa, déjame estar,
y si es que das en picar,
yo también te picaré.
(C 1693)

Similar sexual connotations are preserved in contemporary lyrics:

Unha mazá mui blanquiña,
picada dun rui señor,
quen a picou que a roia,
que lle levou o millor.
(Rielo Carballo 1980: 52, no. 624)

Canteiriño canta e pica
pica na pedra miúda
pica na muller allea
ioutros lle pican na súa
(Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: no. 376d)

Picou-me una china
no carcaranhal,
pica-me una china,
(e) no puedo andar.
(Mourinho 1984: 501)

According to Pliny the thistle was believed to have powers to heal the womb and to engender a male child (XXII.xli.84).²⁵⁷ To stick or to catch are other actions with an erotic meaning in which plants play an important role. The bramble appears in old and contemporary lyrics as a female symbol:

Más prende amor que la zarza
 más prende y más mata.
 (C 731)

Una zarza me prendió
 una zarza chiquitita;
 no hay cosita que más prenda
 que una muchacha bonita.
 (Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 2033)

In addition to this, there is a Galician song where the girl is symbolized by the sage, which is used on St John's Eve. The sage according to Pilar García Diego (1978:

426):

Se cría en las llanuras áridas: Cataluña, Aragón, Castilla, Andalucía.
 Se le atribuyen muchas virtudes [...] como vulneraria en el uso
 externo, para casarse la mujer con quien quisiere; se usa también en la
 enramada en Francia.²⁵⁸

In contemporary lyrics, the man compares the effect of a green sage with the girl's love:

No me prendas silva verde,
 que no estóu na miña terra,
 nunca silva me predeu
 que me non vingase de ela.
 (Cabanillas 1983: 84, no. 371)

²⁵⁷There is a wide diversity of thistles in Europe and they blossom at different times of the year according to their species (Press, Tebbs, Turland, & Gibbon 1993: 272).

²⁵⁸There are two main species of sage: one grows in dry woodlands and its name is wood sage. It has pale-greenish flowers and blossoms from July to September. The second species is named felty sage and has small white or reddish flowers. It grows in dry open places and blossoms from May to August. The second type is probably the one that is mentioned in the song.

Lastly, there are obscene texts that are a parody of traditional medicine. Thus, the healing powers of herbs are used in parodic songs, where peppermint represents the male genitals:²⁵⁹

Si te duele la cabeza
arrímate a mi cintura,
que tengo una yerbabuena
que todos los males cura.
(Cortés 1914: no. 4560)

The obscenity of this song seems to be based on the belief that mint not only has properties to heal headache, but also provokes lust (Dioscórides: III.xli).

3.2.4 Conclusions:

Symbolism of trees and plants has been present from ancient times until today. The tree shade symbolizes the lovers' meeting, the shaken tree symbolizes the loss of virginity, where the tree - pine, pear, olive, orange, hazel, vine- stands for the girl. The pear tree, in contrast with ancient lyrics, is a female symbol in modern lyrics. The olive tree, when in fruit, can be either a male or a female symbol in modern lyrics, whereas in old refrains it is a female symbol. When a masculine voice speaks of a dark olive, *oliva preta*, this stands for a girl in old refrains, but in its contemporary counterpart, if it is in the plural (*las olivas*), then it can be a symbol for the testicles in Catalan songs.

²⁵⁹ Peppermint appears in Sephardic wedding songs used to decorate the lovers' door:

Ay, m'he levantado un lunes
y un lunes por la mañana,
vi mi puerta ramada
con flores y yerbabuena
(Alvar 1971: 17D)

There are three different species of mint. The peppermint is a subspecies of the watermint. It grows all over Europe and blossoms from July to September (Press, Tebbs, Turland & Gibbon 1991: 222).

Herbs are also present in traditional lyrics. They can cause an itchy feeling or they can prick (*picar*), the result of which is symbolically the loss of virginity. The meadow is a place for love-making. It is associated with reaping and threshing. These actions also suggest love-making. There are combinations of motif, e.g. 'the man's cattle graze in the girl's meadow' that connote sexual intercourse (see **Animals**).

The variety of motifs and the preservation of a major number of them indicates the importance of plant symbols in Hispanic traditional lyrics.

3.3 Fruit and flowers

3.3.1 Lemons and oranges

Plants in folklore are frequently associated with courtship and love divination.²⁶⁰ The most frequent fruits in traditional Hispanic lyrics are citruses. They are symbols of love and are often associated with the female world. In Blouin's words 'los limones[...]como toda fruta citrosa, se consideraban afrodisíacos. Eran parte de los juegos de amor en las celebraciones primaverales'.²⁶¹ Citrus symbolism in Hispanic folk lyric has been specially analysed by Chaves 1933, Reckert (1970 and 1993: 65-89), Frenk (1971: 56), and Devoto (1974b: 415-58). Lemons when opposed to oranges have a negative symbolism:

²⁶⁰ Rodney Higgins 1984: 94. This is seen in rituals associated with St John's Eve. For plants used in courtship customs see Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: 664-65; Sebillot 1905; Van Gennep 1937-58; González Palencia & Mele 1944; Caro Baroja 1979.

²⁶¹ Blouin 1981: 202. Lemons as testicles have been studied by Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: 85. For orange symbolism see: Vries 1976: s.v. oranges; Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: orange. Thompson 1955-58: s.v. orange.

in traditional symbolism there is a consistent association of oranges and lemons respectively with gold and silver (or the white, purity), sun and moon, ripeness and unripeness, fruitfulness and sterility, the acceptance and rejection of love, and ultimately even life and death (Reckert 1970: 27).

However, lemons also stand for girls' breasts or the girl herself in traditional lyrics (Reckert 1993: 78, 82). These contradictory values demonstrate the polysemy of symbols (Reckert 1993: 80). Furthermore, as I shall demonstrate here, the symbolic meaning of lemons and oranges sometimes varied according to the speaker in traditional poetry.

3.3.1.1 The orange game

Offering fruit and playing with it, is a way of wooing. Some old *estribillos* show the lovers throwing oranges, apples, and lemons. This ritual has been present in traditional lyrics from medieval times until today.²⁶² Oranges and apples, described with diminutives, are preferred as projectiles when the game is played by both lovers.

The game is usually initiated by the girl (Reckert (1970: 22):

Que arrojóme la portuguesilla
narangitas de su naranjal,
que arrojómelas y arrojéselas
y bolviómelas a arrojar.
(C 1622 B)

This text has survived in a Spanish sword dance:

Arrojóme la portuguesilla
naranjillas de su naranjal;
arrojómelas y arrojéselas
y volviómelas a arrojar.²⁶³

²⁶² Throwing objects such as flowers, leaves, and stones as a courtship custom is a widespread topic in folklore (Chaves 1933: 285). See José Manuel Pedrosa 1993b: 117, n. 32. The lemon represents love in the Sephardic ballad *Una matica de ruda*: 'nuevo amor es la manzana y el limón'. I thank Hilary Pomeroy for calling my attention to this song from her collection.

²⁶³ Torner 1966: no. 37; Schindler 1941: no. 101, 4; Frenk, C n. 1662 B SUPERVIVENCIAS section.

There is a modern Portuguese song where the man wants to play the *jogo da laranjinha*.²⁶⁴

Esta rua é comprida
no meio apertadinha,
hei-de ir jogar a ela
e jôgo da laranjinha.
(Martins 1928: 257)

The wooing game is also played with apples. H. Gaidoz (1902) explains that throwing an apple as a love token is an ancient custom that was well-known by Greeks and Romans, and it is preserved in contemporary Irish and Welsh folktales.²⁶⁵ According to him, throwing an apple, sometimes a golden one, was an old custom long established before the Aphrodite cult. The love game played with little apples seems to have had a very long tradition as well:

Arrojóme las mançanillas
por encima del verde olivar,
arrojómelas y arrogéselas
y volviómelas a arrojar.
(C 1622 C)

²⁶⁴There are other Portuguese versions where the man throws an orange as a love token, for example:

A tirei c'uma laranja
á menina da janela.
A laranja ficou dentro,
¿a menina quem m'a dera?
(Schindler 1941: text no. 977).

In other versions the ancient beginning has been kept, but the meaning of the text has changed:

Atirei uma laranja
por cima de Braga fora;
adeus Braga, adeus cidade,
adeusinho, vou-me embora.
(Pires de Lima 1914: 306, no. 34)

²⁶⁵In an Irish legend, the wife of King Caiar throws a silver apple to show him her love. Furthermore, until last century in Cork and Kerry 'une jeune fille donne un signe d'amour à un jeune homme en lui lançant une pomme'. In addition, apples were used in witchcraft. According to Gaidoz 'la divination de la pomme, ou par sa pelure ou par ses pépins, que les jeunes filles pratiquent pour savoir si elles seront aimées et si elles trouveront un mari'(1902: 28).

Arrojóme las mançanillas
 por encima del verde olivar,
 arrojómelas y arrogéselas
 y volviómelas a arrojar.
 (C 1622 C)

Cogedme las manzanetillas
 debajo del manzanetar;
 cogédmelas y arrojádmelas y
 volvédmelas a tirar.²⁶⁶

Arrójame las manzanillas
 por debajo del delantal
 arrójamelas, arrójamelas
 y vuélvemelas a arrojar.
 (Crivillé i Bargalló 1986: 634, no. 417)

These songs illustrate how topos replacement works in different versions. The second text, which is almost identical to the old *estribillo*, replaces the topos *por encima del olivar*, with another common topos with similar connotations: *por debajo del manzanetar*. In the third version, the topos has been altered again -now the topos selected is *debajo del delantal*, which has explicit erotic connotations.²⁶⁷ There are varied motifs to convey similar meanings. Symbol replacement occurs as a renewal or an updating of the erotic meaning in the second text, and as a reinforcement of sexual meaning in the third example, whose erotic meaning has been weakened by the passage of time.²⁶⁸

The symbolic topos replacement process is clearly explained by Reckert in his approach to the advantages of symbolism. In this particular case, symbolism:

²⁶⁶ Torner 1966: no. 37. See also Frenk, C no. 1622 C SUPERVIVENCIAS section.

²⁶⁷ See 'vine' (Symbols 3). For high places connoting love-making, see Margaret Van Antwerp 1980: 8.

²⁶⁸ For the importance of analysing the variation of the topoi in traditional songs see Devoto 1955: 89.

The orange game is played by the two lovers who are active participants: they throw and catch. Playing is a way of showing the happy fulfillment of love, which is identified by the colour of the fruit selected: red or gold, which according to Danckert (1976: I, 420) can be interchangeable in folk lyrics.²⁶⁹

3.3.1.1.1 Throwing a Lemon

In contemporary lyrics the game has undergone a slight alteration. A lemon is used as a projectile. When the lemon is thrown by the girl it seems that the request made by the man is rejected:

D'aquella janella alta
me atiravam um limão;
a casca deu-me no peito,
o summo no coração.
(Torner 1966: no. 37)

De tu ventana a la mía
me tirastes un limón,
y el limón me dio en el pecho
y el agrio en el corazón.²⁷⁰

In the following *coplas* although the man knows that the 'morena' threw a lemon, he is sure that his love can change the girl's opinion:

²⁶⁹ The personification of the orange is common in riddles:

Cien damas en un castillo
todas visten de amarillo
(Robe 1963: 140).

This riddle is widespread in Hispanic countries: Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 462; Vidal, Folklore, n. 112, p. 431 (Latin-American versions). Another example is a Portuguese *quadra*:

Oliveira do pé d'ouro
deita os raminhos de prata,
tomar amores não custa,
deixá-los é que mata.
(Martins 1928: 263)

²⁷⁰ Díez de Revenga Torres 1984: no. 229; also see Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 2293.

Me tiraste un limón
me distes en los dientes
todo lo vence el amor
morena reluciente.

Me tiraste un limón
me distes en la cara
todo lo vence el amor
morena resalada.²⁷¹

The negative aspect of the lemon can also be appreciated in the following Galician song where the man makes his love request explicit:

Vente comigo, rapaza,
deixa queda-lo limón;
durmirás na miña cama,
de par do meu corazón.
(Rico Vereá 1989: 62, no. 12)

On the other hand, throwing a lemon, when done by the man, means not a refusal but a love proposal. Thus the lemon has a positive meaning, associated with green colour:²⁷²

Yo tiré un limón al alto
por ver si coloreaba,
subió verde y bajó verde,
mi esperanza se aumentaba.
(Vasco 1929: 301, no. 759)²⁷³

²⁷¹ Capdevielle 1969: 131. For different versions see Torner 1966: no. 37; Torner 1920: no. 368.

²⁷² Throwing a lemon is also an ancient custom in India, where the man offers a lemon when proposing (Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: 664).

²⁷³ There is another version where the meaning is the opposite. The green lemon stands for the sadness of the lover (Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 5287):

El limón que me tirastes
a mi puerta se paró;
no fue limón, que fue clavo
que me clavó el corazón.
(Torner 1966: no. 37).

Tiré un limón en el aire,
 por ver si coloreaba,
 subió verde y bajó verde,
 mi querer nunca se acaba.
 (Llano 1977: no. 116)

In Portuguese and Galician *coplas* the lemon is a love token when related to the door motif (see *The door*). This motif describes courtship:

Atirei o limão redondo
 à tua porta parou;
 quando o limão te quer bem
 que fará quem o deitou?
 (Chaves 1933: 289)

Botei un limón correndo,
 na túa porta parou;
 cando o limón ten amores,
 tal fará quen o botou.
 (Rico Vereá 1989: 48, no. 2)²⁷⁴

Throwing a lemon as a masculine love token is confirmed by the following Castilian song, which has the girl's point of view as its focus:

Que con el limonito verde
 que con la verde limonada,
 que con el limonito verde
 tú me traes engañada ¡y olé!
 (Torner 1920: no. 63)

In a song whose symbolic meaning was studied by Reckert the lemon and orange appear together, where the orange stands for love and the lemon for denial. The comparison is emphasized by the high and low places (Reckert 1970: 25; 1993: 72):

Arriba e abaixo, non,
 onde se dá a laranxa
 tamén se dá o limón
 (Rico Vereá 1989: 48)²⁷⁵

²⁷⁴Schindler 1941: no. 281

²⁷⁵ See also Pérez Ballesteros 1979: no. 62; Lorenzo Fernández 1973: 36, no. 133.

To sum up, this motif shows the different meanings that a traditional symbol embodies depending on the context. It has been demonstrated that when the lemon is thrown by the girl it symbolizes rejection, stressing the lemon's bitterness. Throwing a lemon by a man represents courtship, thus green colour is associated with hope. This motif is related to the lemon thrown at the girl's door. There is still another meaning: the lemon has negative connotations when it is opposed to the orange. This demonstrates that traditional symbols must be interpreted according to the context.

3.3.1.2 The split orange as a love token

The split orange when sent by the man stands for true love.²⁷⁶ In traditional songs apples and oranges have the same symbolic significance. In an old *estribillo* the lover sends golden apples as to the girl.²⁷⁷ Furthermore, to emphasise the love message the apples are made of gold, and the best of them is split:

E se ponerei la mano en vós
garrido amor?

Um amigo que eu havia
maçanas d'ouro m'envia.
Garrido amor.

Um amigo que eu amava
maçanas d'ouro me manda.
Garrido amor.

²⁷⁶ This symbol may be related to the myth narrated by Plato in the *Symposium's* dialogue (Stewart 1905: 401).

²⁷⁷ Gaidoz 1902: 5-12. According to Luís Chaves 'as lendas populares de maravilhas de príncipes e princesas, encantados de amor, amiúdan as virtudes das maçãs. Maçãs de ouro, "maçanicas" de ouro, maçãs de prata, constituem escrínios de mistérios mágicos' (1933: 291). Golden apples as a love token are preserved in Morocco:

Un amor que yo tenia
manzanitas de oro el me vendía,
cuatro y cinco en una espiga,
la mejorcita dellas para mi amiga.

A. Larrea Palacín, *La canción popular en el tiempo de los Reyes Católicos*, p. 43 quoted by Asensio 1957: 215. For magic golden apples see Wimberly 1928: 312.

Maçanas d'ouro m'envia:
 a melhor era partida.
 Garrido amor.
 (C 382)

The split citrus as a symbol of true love is also a recurrent theme in Portuguese modern lyric:

Tenho na minha algibeira
 uma laranja partida
 para dar ao meu amor
 que anda de beíça caida.²⁷⁸

A túa porta sentei
 a comer unha laranxa
 e no medio lle atopei
 un ramo da túa esperanza.²⁷⁹

Toma, niña, esta naranja
 que la he cogido del huerto
 no la partas con navaja
 que está mi corazón adentro.
 (Echevarría Bravo 1951: no. 139)

The man who prevents the girl from cutting the orange that he is offering as a love token, is on a symbolic warning her not to reject his love. In addition oranges and lemons are used in sorcery, where the custom is to cut or hurt the fruit that symbolizes the victim's heart (Leach 1950: s.v. lemon, orange). Oranges and apples are usually described as 'golden fruit':

²⁷⁸ *Cancioneiro de Entre Douro e Mondego*, no. 412 quoted in Torner 1966: no. 37. See a similar version in Pérez Ballesteros 1886: I, no. 1296.

²⁷⁹ Rielo Carballo 1980: 42, no. 404. Two oranges are the love token in another contemporary version, where the speaker complains about their being covered with mould:

Deste-me duas laranjas
 em signal do teu amor;
 gardeais n'uma gabeta
 cobriram-se de bolor.
 (Torner 1966: no. 37).

Tenho una laranja d'oiro
 ao canto do meu baú
 para dar ao meu amor:
 prouvera a Deus sejas tu.²⁸⁰

Atirei c'uma maçã douro
 ao castelo de Palmela,
 matei uma Palmeloa,
 que estava de centinela.
 (Chaves 1933: 291)

Another example is a riddle that describes the orange tree, the oranges, and the orange blossom using precious materials:

Tronco de bronze,
 hojas de esmeralda
 fruto de oro,
 flores de plata.
 (Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 461)

The custom of sending a fruit as a love token is also present in Italian folklore. The fruit selected are apples as well as oranges:

M'è stato regalato tre naranze,
 drento ghe scrite tre parole:
 una diseva: *Ohimé, quanto mi ami!*
 l'atra diseva: *Da gelosia mi moro!*
 l'atra diseva: *Anima terena!*
 ma no tegnir amanti a la catena.²⁸¹

M'è stato dato un pomo lavorato,
 ed io per pegno gli ho dato il mio core
 Intorno gli era inargentato,
 in mezzo ei era scritto due parole.
 (Tigri 1860: no. 321)

Mi mannasti un pummidu mozzicatu,
 e io pri canciu ti mandai lu cori;
 ed era tuttu d'oru arraccamatu,
 dintra cc'eranu scritti tri paroli;

²⁸⁰M. J. Delgado, *Subsidios para o Cancioneiro Popular do Baixo Alentejo* (Lisbon: 1955) quoted by Reckert 1993: 69.

²⁸¹ Angelo Dalmedico, *Canti del popolo veneziano* (Venezia: 1857: 129) quoted by Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: 665.

l'autru chi pri tia st'arma nni mori;
 unnu diceva *corí*, e l'autru *ciatu*,
 nu 'mporta ca m'aviti bbandunatu;
 sempri siti chiavuzza di stu cori.
 (Pitré 1871: no. 242)

To sum up, sending apples and oranges symbolizes true love in traditional lyrics.

Sometimes fruits are described as golden which stresses the intensity of the sender's feeling.

3.3.1.3 The girl as a fruit

The orange is the fruit of love; perhaps its beautiful colour, perfume, and flavour have helped it to become a common symbol to represent the maiden in contemporary lyrics (Reckert 1970: 30):

Tanto limão, tanta lima,
 tanta laranja no chão;
 mas, ó ai, lari-lo-lela,
 tanta laranja no chão.

Tanta menita bonita,
 nenhuma na minha mão;
 mas, ó ai, lari-lo-lela,
 nenhuma na minha mão.²⁸²

Apart from oranges other fruits symbolize the girl: apples, pears, and olives. The feature emphasized is the ripeness of the fruit associated with the girl's readiness for love:

²⁸² Lima Carneiro 1958: 113. The same version is present in Castile:

Tanta naranja de china,
 tanto limón por pelar,
 tanta niña retrechera
 como hay en este lugar.
 (Vasco 1929: 358, no. 5511)

An orange symbolises the head of a woman in Arabic and Sephardic traditions. (Alvar 1971: 164).

Manzanita colorada
 ¿cómo no te caes al suelo?
 toda mi vida he andado
 por alcanzarte y no puedo.
 (Hergueta 1989: 90)

Chamácheme pera dura
 pera dura n'hei de ser;
 anque de madura caia
 para ti n'hei de caer.²⁸³

A Portuguese ballad from Vinhais, where the girl shouts to the man that raped her, exemplifies this topic:

Não sou figo da figueira
 que m'estejas a apalpar,
 nem maçã, da maçieira
 que m'estejas a encongalhar.
 (Martins 1928: 216)²⁸⁴

In modern folksongs the girl is identified with apples, lemons, oranges, limes, pears, and figs. Their ripeness or unripeness indicates her degree of sexual readiness and her acceptance or refusal of love.

3.3.1.3.1 Lemons as a girl's bosom

Lemons are also associated with the girl's bosom in modern lyrics. This motif appears in Greek folksongs:

Os meus peitos são limões,
 o meu corpo limoeiro,
 os meus braços são grilhões,
 onde tu 'stás prisioneiro.
 (Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 348)²⁸⁵

²⁸³Rielo Carballo 1980: 29, no. 120, & 32, no. 196.

²⁸⁴To pick the apple ('collir la poma') or the fig ('collir la figa') connotes sexual intercourse in Catalan. Vinyoles 1989: s.v. Collir.

²⁸⁵Reckert 1970: 55 n. 38. There are a few examples where oranges stands for the girl's bosom:

Lo que tapa tu pañuelo,
no son limas ni limones,
que son dos peñitas blancas,
que roban los corazones.

(García Matos 1982: 250, text no. 89)

Another contemporary song shows how the orange is identified as a female symbol and the lemon as a male symbol:

A laranxa foi á fonte,
o limón foi atrás de ela;
a laranxa bebeu auga,
o limón ficou sen ela.²⁸⁶

Moreover, the association love-citrus is also present in sententious *coplas*, where the orange is identified with two aspects of love: happiness and unhappiness which are compared with the acidity of fruit.²⁸⁷

El amor y la naranja
se parecen infinito
en que por dulces que sean,
de agrios tienen su poquito.

(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: 664)

¿Qué tienes en ese pecho
que tanto gusto me da?
Dos naranjas coloradas;
mete la mano y verás.
(Cortés 1914: no. 3081)

The symbolism of the orange as woman's breasts is present in the contemporary novel, for example the recent book of Carlos Fuentes, *El naranjo* (Madrid: Alfaguara Hispánica, 1993).

²⁸⁶Lorenzo Fernández 1973: 35, no. 119, and nos 117, 120, and see notes for versions from all over Spain.

²⁸⁷This motif appears in Sappho's poems:

Once again limb-loosening Love makes me trembling
the bitter-sweet, irresistible creature.
(Campbell 1982: 130)

A similar image is also used in Lucretius (IV: 1134) when he is describing the effects of love in the beloved. The sweet bitterness of love is a common image among Classical writers (Brown 1987: 265, s.v. *amari*).

3.3.2 Picking fruits

The topos of 'picking fruit' is closely related to the 'picking flowers', and both bring about similar consequences. According to Reckert 'picking of fruit or flowers is invariably symbolic in this kind of poetry, so the compensation or *prenda* exacted is always at the same time a love-token or *prenda de amor*'.²⁸⁸

The action of picking lemons can be performed by either the man or the woman in old *estribillos*. In one old text the virgin girl is picking lemons at the riverbank to offer them to her lover:

Por las riberas del río
limones coge la virgo.
Quiérome yr allá,
por mirar al ruyseñor
cómo cantavá.

Limonos cogía la virgo
para dar al su amigo.
Quiérome yr allá,
para ver al ruyseñor
cómo cantavá.

Para dar al su amigo
en un sombrero de sirgo.
Quiérome yr allá,
para ver al ruyseñor
cómo cantavá.

(C 8)

In this song several motifs occur together: the river bank (see **River**), the nightingale (see **Dawn**), the virgin girl and the lover. All the elements are clustered together to create a complete love scene. Here picking fruit connotes the lovers' sexual meeting. In another song picking fruits done by women is associated with the three *moricas*

²⁸⁸Reckert 1970: 44; 1993: 115. In the Middle Ages harvesting and picking fruits were tasks done by men and women (Dillard 1984: 164-65).

who want to pick apples and olives, both fruits associated with love. In this case the women realize that there are no fruits left on the tree, thus they are not going to meet a lover.²⁸⁹

Tres morillas tan garridas
yvan a coger olivas
y hallánvalas cogidas [...]

Tres moricas tan loçanas
yvan a coger mañanas
[y cogidas las hallavan]
(C 16B)

Another version of this text has been preserved in contemporary lyrics, in which the girls are not morillas, but Marias and Joanas:²⁹⁰

As meninas todas, tres Marias,
foram-se a colher as andrinas.

As meninas todas, tres Joanas,
foram-se a colher as maçanas.

²⁸⁹For picking olives see Salomon 1965: 592.

²⁹⁰Moreover, disappointment in love can be caused by fruit's unripeness which represents the lover's unreadiness to fulfill the girl's request. This is a topic that is expressed with other symbols such as flowers, trees (see **The harvester, Trees**):

Ay, Maruxina, tú fusti a los prunos;
fusti temprano no estaban maduros.
(Torner 1966: no. 253)

In another contemporary text sexual intercourse is symbolised by eating fruits:

Por comerme una breba
berde y sin gusto,
m'ha yebao la Justisia
sien reales justos
eso l'espera
ar que de novhe anda
comiendo brebas.
(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: 5462)

For conception caused by eating fruit or flower see Thompson 1955-58: T511. For proverbs where the girl is compared to a fruit see **Pears**

Quando lá chigaram, acharam-nas colhidas,
quando lá chigaram, acharam-nas talhadas.²⁹¹

The hidden meaning of picking olives is revealed by a contemporary song, where the girl makes explicit that she has been invited to pick olives and she was given a golden ring of engagement:

A coger aceitunas
me han convidado
mira que anillo de oro
me han regalado.

(García Matos 1982: 100, melody no. 199)

In another old song, a man is picking lemons in a nun's orchard. Here the situation is inverted. In contrast with other songs it is the man who picks fruits and enters the grove, consequently, the abbess requires him to surrender a love forfeit in the refrain. According to the gloss this song can be inserted in the group of songs where trespass in an orchard results in sexual intercourse (see **The kiss**):

Venía el caballero,
venía de Sevilla
en huerta de monjas
limones cogía,
y la priora
prendas le pedía
'siquiera por el daño
que me avéys hecho'
(C 1682)²⁹²

²⁹¹ Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 284. See the article by José Manuel Pedrosa y Margit Frenk (in press c). And see another survival version in C 16 B, SUPERVIVENCIAS and S 16 B SUPERVIVENCIAS.

²⁹² The interpretation of this glosa is difficult because of its ambiguity. According to (Reckert 1993: 115):

'Huerta de monjas', for one thing, means both the convent orchard and one of *jeunes nonnes en fleurs*. At the same time it Hopkins's 'Heaven-Haven': the timeless Eden rediscovered, the enchanted garden of innocence-*hortus conclusus*- where the *caballero* has trespassed.

In the Middle Ages, the man who seduced a girl had to give her as payment different garments such as the coif and girdle in Castile:

Picking lemons as a sexual action is clear in the song. Furthermore, in modern songs picking (*coger*) or collecting (*cortar*), when done by the man, represent the girl's deflowering (**The harvester**):

Ay que vengo, que vengo
que vengo de la limonera
vengo de coger limas
más dulce que la canela.
(Schindler 1941: no. 259)

Here the fruit collected is described by the man as a sweet lime. This paradoxical description indicates that he is alluding to the symbolic picking of fruit, in other words, to the lovers' meeting.²⁹³

In contemporary traditional lyrics the orchard is another place where the girl's entrance is seen as a transgression, as a sexually provocative action.²⁹⁴ However, the motif of asking for 'prendas' does not appear:

Aquella morena del delantal
la ha cogido el guarda
en el olivar

It was pointed out as a notable benefaction that serving wenches and transients of the town, having no family 'rights' to endowment, were to be given gifts by their seducers instead: a dress, girdle, slippers and the esteemed *ioca*. (Dillard 1984: 189)

²⁹³For the sweetness of a lemon representing love see Reckert 1993: 82, 84.

²⁹⁴At other times the orchard is a female symbol (see **The Meadow**). The erotic meaning of orchard and parsley is in a text where symbolism has been brushed aside by the male voice, to the extent that eroticism has been turned into crude pornography:

Si me das el perejil
que tienes en el tu huerto
yo te daré la choriza,
que esta noche mato el puerco.
(Gomarín 1991: 55, no. 90)

Perdóneme, guarda,
suele decir,
porque estas olivas
me gustan a mí.

(Manzano 1982: 155, no. 231)

Yo no voy sola, madre,
a la huerta,
que el hortelano,
cierra la puerta,
cierra la puerta
y va detrás de mí.
Yo no voy sola,
madre, al jardín.

(Manzano 1982: 162, no. 246)

Another modern folksong, where condensation has possibly distorted the meaning, makes it explicit that the girl is going to the olive grove with her lover:

No voy sola, no voy sola,
al jardín del Olivar,
no voy sola, no voy sola,
que mi amor me va acompañar.
(Torner 1920: no. 386)²⁹⁵

In a Catalan song an olive tree bearing fruit represents successful love:²⁹⁶

Hi ha olivers que fan olives,
hi ha oliver que no en fa;
totes les noies boniques
s'assemblen al capellà.
(Amades 1982: no. 1500)

²⁹⁵Trespassing in someone else's garden always has sexual consequences. This is represented by the shoes that get wet (**Dread of water**):

¡Ay por entrar, por entrar y por salir,
¡ay!, por entrar, por entrar en tu jardín
Por entrar en tu jardín
me mojé las zapatillas,
por ni te pisar las flores
que tienes a las orillas.
(Torner 1920: no. 307)

²⁹⁶In Catalan 'olive' stands for testicles (Vinyoles i Vidal 1989: s.v. oliva).

There is a comparison between the first two lines and the last two. Here the olive tree conveys bearing olives stands for the man success in love.

To sum up, picking fruits as a symbol of sexual intercourse has been preserved in modern lyrics, where the girl is portrayed picking olives or apples in an orchard or garden. Furthermore, the girl picking olives and meeting her lover in the grove is also associated with her engagement. Another motif is an olive tree, bearing fruit as a symbol of being successful in love and lack of fruit being interpreted as the opposite.

3.3.2.1 Pears

The girl associated with the orchard is in the Song of Songs, where the Beloved's pureness is identified with a locked up orchard (4.12). In an Arabic poem of Qasmuna Bint Isma'il Al-Yahhudi from the twelfth century, we find the image of the girl as a garden full of fruits that the man has to harvest:

Veo un vergel adonde ya ha llegado
el tiempo de la cosecha,
mas no veo jardinero
que extienda hacia sus frutos una mano.
Pasa la juventud, perdiéndose,
y sólo queda algo que no quiero nombrar.
(Garulo 1986: 123)

The pear, also, is another fruit associated with orchard trespassing in old *estribillos*.

The girl, who has entered the man's orchard, has taken three pears and as a punishment she is asked by the man to give the forfeit of true love:²⁹⁷

²⁹⁷Margaret Van Antwerp (1978-79) analyses some folk motifs such as the lovers' meeting under the olive tree and pays special attention to the trespass upon a 'huerto ajeno', which can be done either by a woman or a man. For the orchard as a sexual metaphor in *Celestina* see Jean-Paul Lecertua 1978-79: 105-138. The medical properties of the pear are described by Dioscorides (I.lxxxv, Gunther 1959). For the symbolism of the pear see Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. Poirier. For the pear motif in folklore see Pedrosa 1993a 169-185. There are some proverbs in Correas (1627), where the girl is identified with the pear: 'La buena moza es como la pera zumosa, ke komiéndola da gana de otra' (190b); 'Echárselo para peras [Esta frase estrañamente se toma en desonesta parte]' (156a).

Entrastes, mi señora,
 en el huerto ageno,
 cogistes tres pericas
 del peral del medio:
 dexaredes la prenda
 de amor verdadero.
 (C 1664 C)²⁹⁸

The three pears are considered as a love token (Reckert 1993: 70).²⁹⁹ The number three is the traditional number for plurality (Parducci 1909: 317). In contemporary lyrics, the motif of the *estribillo* just quoted has been obscured:

De un peral, peralito,
 tres prendas cogí;
 una le di a mi amante,
 las dos para mí
 (Vasco 1929: 371, no. 1157)

The meaning of this song is illuminated by other contemporary texts where it is clear that the pear is the girl's virginity or love:

Coge la pera que está en el árbol,
 que es de mi amante y la ha dejado.
 (Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: II, 300)

Vengo de la romería,
 no traigo más que una pera,
 para ti la traigo, majo,
 para ti la traigo entera.
 (Llano 1977: no. 108)

²⁹⁸In a modern song is explicit that the fruit represents male genitals:

Dijo una chusca:
 En mi casa hay un árbol
 que echa esa fruta.-
 Dijo otra entonces:
 En mi casa los tienen
 todos los hombres
 (Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 7339)

²⁹⁹However, for a different interpretation see Polak (1972: 312) who points out that in this text 'la poire semble bien signifier l'adultère'.

Note that in the pilgrimage song the pear offered by the girl is described as complete, which contrasts with songs where the lover sends a split fruit as a love token.³⁰⁰

The erotic meaning of the pear related to the man is also seen in the *Libro de Buen Amor*. The frustrated love is expressed by the Arcipreste with the image of not eating the pear from the tree (not making love), even though he ends the stanza asserting that to be in the shade is also pleasurable (see **The shade of love**:

pero aunque omne non goste la pera del peral
en estar a la sombra es plazer comunal.³⁰¹

This is described in a modern folksong, but there is no more specification about the tree bearing fruit. Thus, while some stay under the shade, others harvest the fruit of love:

A la sombra de un árbol
se sientan muchos,
unos cojen la sombra
y otros el fruto.

(Vasco 1929: III, 54, no. 3808)

In this section I have analysed the motif of picking the pear from a tree as a symbol of sexual intercourse. This motif in contemporary folksongs simultaneously symbolizes the love of the girl, the girl, and her virginity.

³⁰⁰ The girl is represented by different fruits in contemporary lyrics:

Manjaricão da janela
colhido ás manadinhas
regar-te eu e colher te outro,
que penas serão as minhas.

(Martins 1928: 262)

³⁰¹ For the symbolism of the pear in the *Libro de Buen Amor* see: Gybbon-Monypenny 1988: no. 140. The sexual meaning of 'eating a pear' in the *Libro* in was studied by Gail Phillips 1983: 43; 98, n. 29; & 144. For conception caused by eating see Thompson T511. For eating associated with sexual intercourse see **The baker woman**.

2.2.3 Picking flowers

Flower blossoms are the symbol *par excellence* of love. Their importance is seen in their constant appearance in traditional songs, usually in wooing and wedding songs.³⁰² Spring-time, and more importantly the month of May, is frequently described with flowers.³⁰³ The lovers' meeting-place is usually described as a fertile setting where flowers grow:

Rribericas del rrío, madre,
flores d'amor nasçen.
(C 310)

In an old *estribillo*, the girl who picks flowers is identified with the girl who is in love:

¿Cuál es la niña
que coge las flores
si no tiene amores?
(C 10)³⁰⁴

³⁰² See Margit Frenk 1971: 56; Alan Deyermond 1979-80.

³⁰³ For the symbolism of flowers related to courtship customs see Maple 1980. For flowers associated with May festivities see González Palencia & Mele 1944: 7. For the symbol of flowers in general see: Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: *s.v.* fleur; Cirlot 1988: *s.v.* flor. The flower may stand for the girl's virginity or male genitals in lyrics from the Golden Age (Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: nos 7, 4; 119, 12; and as male genitals 80, n. 48)

³⁰⁴ Torner 1966: no. 18. The meaning of picking flowers is explicit in modern folksongs, where the speaker is a woman:

Mi marido es un buen Juan
que hago la cama y le acuesto,
y yo me voy con un fraile
a cortar flores a un huerto.
(Cortés 1914: no. 2978)

Qué traidores son los hombres
que fingen falsos amores
y abandonan el jardín
después de coger las flores.
(Llano 1977: no. 364)

Picking flowers is related to St John's Eve, when the girls go to pick flowers early in the morning because they have magical powers that prevent illness and assure them a lover.³⁰⁵

La mañana de San Juan, mozas,
vamos a coger rosas.
(C 1243 A)

The rose was differentiated from other flowers in medieval lyric, and this distinction has been preserved in traditional songs (Lida de Malkiel 1971: 138). The mention of the rose stresses the girl's high regard for her virginity or love. This can be seen in the following song, where there is an accumulation of symbols, *floreecer la rosa*, *agua fría*, *dos horas antes del día*, *insomnio de amor*:

No pueden dormir mis ojos,
no pueden dormir.
Y soñava yo, mi madre,
dos oras antes del día,
que me florecía la rosa,
el lyino so el agua frida.
No pueden dormir.
(C 302 C)³⁰⁶

³⁰⁵For Portuguese St John's Eve traditions see José Leite de Vasconcellos 1986: 140-63; see Noël Salomon 1965: 645-43 for this theme in the Golden Age *comedia*. Picking flowers with magical powers, especially fern, on St John's Eve is a Russian tradition (Sokolov 1971: 197). The trefoil is also known for its magical power:

A coger el trébole y el trébole y el trébole
a coger el trébole los mis amores van;
a coger el trébole la noche de San Juan.
(Torner 1920: no. 385)

For another version of this song see Schindler 1941: nos 6 & 291. For the magical properties of flowers on St John's Eve see Caro Baroja 1979: ch. 23 & 24. According to Dioscorides, the trefoil (III.cxi) has magic properties. Plucking a flower causes the conception of Ares (Fox 1930: 190); Thompson 1955-58: T532.1.1. For the symbolism of the rose in general: Vries 1976: *s.v.* rose; Chevalier & Gheerbrant: *s.v.* rose; Cirlot 1988: *s.v.* rosa.

³⁰⁶For the discussion of this text see: José María Alín (1968: no. 83; 1991: no. 173), John Gornall 1987-88. All of them agree that instead of 'lyino' it should read 'vino'. For the interpretation of Frenk see C 302 C, TEXTO. See also Stephen Reckert (1993: 46). In a contemporary parallelistic song the same

The picking of a rose occurs in an old refrain where several symbols are combined: getting up early in the morning, picking flowers (entering the vineyard), encountering

motif of early morning (*dos horas antes del día*) is found, but the meaning of the rose has changed slightly, and now represents the girl:

A buscar vengo una rosa,
que no hay cosa más hermosa.

A buscar vengo una rosa
dos horas antes del día,
que no hay cosa más hermosa
y fulana...se decía.

Y fulana se decía
a buscar vengo una rosa,
dos horas antes del alba,
que no hay cosa más hermosa
y fulana se llamaba.

Y fulana se llamaba
a buscar vengo una rosa
que no hay cosa más hermosa.

(García Redondo 1985: no. 11)

The rose can again be seen working as the symbol of the girl in Asturian tradition, where the girl's sexual transformation is indicated by the transformation of the rose:

Que con el sueño de la mañana
te estás quedando, rosa temprana.
Que con el sueño del mediodía
te estás quedando, rosa encendida.
(Cea 1978: 29)

The contrast white/red is emphasised by the opposition day /night, and ultimately by purity/passion. It is important not to forget that the *serrana* has been known as a passionate character ever since the Middle Ages:

Eres como la rosa de Alejandría,
serrana, de Alejandría,
colorada de noche
y blanca de día.
(Schindler 1941: no. 319)

'Rosa de Alejandría' is a well-known epithet in contemporary songs. Perhaps this attribute originated in the supposition that the rose was brought to the West by Alexander (Leach: s.v. rose).

the guard who asks the girl to surrender a forfeit. The blending of these motifs suggests the sexual encounter of lovers.³⁰⁷

Levánteme, ¡o, madre!,
mañanica frida,
fuy cortar la rosa,
la rosa florida.
Malo es de guardar.

Viñadero malo
prenda me pedía,
dile yo un cordone,
dile mi camisa.
Malo es de guardar.

Levánteme, ¡o, madre!
mañanica clara,
fui cortar la rosa,
la rosa granada.
Malo es de guardar.

Viñadero malo
prenda me demanda
yo dile una [cinta]
my [cordón le daba]
Malo es de guardar
(C 314C)

In this context, the motif of picking the rose in blossom stands for the loss of the girl's virginity. Note that here the lover is depicted as the guardian of the vineyard and the transgression is punished by asking for a love forfeit: the girl's garments.

In sixteenth-century Castile the vineyard was a communal property, and usually had a guard to prevent illegal harvesting. If he captured the transgressor, the guard had the right to ask for a fine (*prendas*) (Vassberg 1984: 71-76). Thus the

³⁰⁷ Getting up early in the morning, entering a garden and picking flowers as a prelude with erotic meaning have been studied by Pierre Bec in different French medieval genres and in French traditional songs (1980: 250-99). They were originally separated motifs, which by the fifteenth century were permanently blended. Frequently, they precede the topos of sending a garland to the lover. They contrast with Hispanic traditional songs, where this prelude precedes the encounter with the guard of the place, who asks the girl for a love forfeit.

typical love prelude is blended with customary law. Furthermore, picking a rose early in the morning during spring when its perfume is stronger was suggested by Pliny (XXI. xxviii).

The motif of picking the rose as a symbol of the loss of the girl's virginity has been preserved in contemporary folksongs but in another context. Now the man is seen as the gardener who picks the rose, which is a common motif of European folk songs. The motifs of the early morning and the danger of transgression have disappeared:

Ar pié de rosar estube
y entre mis manos la rama
Rosa, si no te cogí,
fué porque no me dio gana.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁸Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 5463. There is another version where the content of this song is made explicit:

Ni er Padre Santo de Roma
jisiera lo que yo he jecho:
dormir contigo una noche
y no tocarte tu cuerpo.
-Si a mi cuerpo no tocastes,
fue porque no te dio gana:
ebajo'r rosá dormistes;
rosa tubistes por cama.
(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 2732)

There is another similar text:

Al pie del jardín, madre,
al pie del jardín fui
a coger una rosa,
pero no la cogí.
(Torner 1920: no. 395)

For other versions with this topos see Torner 1966: no. 18. There is a contemporary Galician text, in which the girl warns her lover to pick the rose but without shaking the rosebush.

O amor que ha de ser meu
ha de ter a mau lixeira,
ha de coller unha rosa
sin abalar a roseira.
(Rielo Carballo 1980: 67, no. 926)

On the basis of what has been established, the girl can be identified with a natural element. In this case, she is a rosebush. Thus it is clear that in this song the man is stating that he has not deflowered her. This motif is used differently in a Middle English text:³⁰⁹

Al night by the rose, rose,
al nist by the rose, I lay;
durste I nought the rose steele
and yet I bar the flour away.³¹⁰

This is a very interesting case, because it demonstrates that some traditional images are not circumscribed to one country. Therefore, the preservation in contemporary lyrics of themes that come from medieval texts demonstrates the intertextuality of traditional motifs.³¹¹

3.3.3.1 Masculine and feminine flowers

In wedding songs the rose stands for a female and the iris or the carnation for a male, emphasising the feminine and masculine qualities:³¹²

This song perhaps could be interpreted as girl's warning her lover to be careful with her.

³⁰⁹A similar image appears in a French ballad, where the girl is identified with the rosebush and the rose is her virginity:

Que sert d'être auprès du rosier
sans en pouvoir cueillir la rose?

(Jewett 1913, 98-100, quoted by Blouin 1981: 61).

³¹⁰James J. Wilhelm 1972: no. 213. I thank Prof. Alan Deyermond for drawing my attention to this song.

³¹¹This does not exclude the possibility of a code of symbols inside a certain tradition, on the contrary the question arises of a possible combination of universal and local motifs occurring in the same tradition and preserved until today.

³¹² This feature was also pointed out by Blouin 1981: 134, n. 16.

Esposo y esposa
son clavel y rosa.
(C 1408)

In contemporary wedding songs, not only the bride and the groom are identified with the rose and the carnation respectively, but also the maid of honour and the best man, and members of the family of the newlyweds, in a refrain with paralellism:

A la gala de la rosa bella,
a la gala del galán que la lleva.
A la gala de la bella rosa,
a la gala del galán que la goza.
(Sánchez Fraile 1943: 195)

La madrina es una rosa
y el padrino es un clavel;
y la novia es un espejo
el novio se mira en él.
(Torner 1966: no. 6)

Llena va la calle
de rosas y lirios;
llena va la calle
de primas y primos.
Llena va la calle
de lirios y rosas
llena va la calle
de mozos y mozas.
(Torner 1966: no. 123)³¹³

This equation rose/female and carnation or lily/ male, is widespread in love songs in Castile and Portugal:³¹⁴

³¹³There is a French text with this symbol: 'Vive la rose et le lilas!' (Bujeaud: 266). The flower's association with the bride and the groom occurs in a widespread modern song:

Mira novia pa' la mesa
y en ella verás un lirio
que a la puerta de la iglesia
te lo dieron por marido.
(Torner 1966: no. 123)

See the same version but in masculine voice, Sánchez Fraile 1943: 212-13.

³¹⁴The rose is not always red. When opposed to the carnation, it changes colour to white, symbolising the girl's purity and the man's passion:

La rosa va por el agua,
la dijo el lirio:
deja el cántaro, rosa,
vente conmigo.

(Olmeda 1903: 113, no. 24)

O'rosa, jámais consintas
que o cravo te ponha a mão;
porque a rosa enxovalhada
perde toda a estimação.

(Oliveira 1905: 188)

Occasionally, the identification of the rose with the girl and the carnation with the man is lost in contemporary examples, because all the flowers later became female symbols:

Das dúas que andan no baile
calquera podo escolher:
una perce unha rosa,
outra perce un craviel.

(Rielo Carballo 1980: 240)

There is an old refrain where someone states the preference for a lily or a pink:

Buenas eran las azucenas
mas las clavellinas eran más buenas.

(C 1256)

The meaning of this song is illuminated by contemporary texts where differentiation of flower colour, such as white opposed to pink, seems to symbolize the man's preference for a certain type of woman:

Despierta, clavelina,
del dulce sueño
que en la ronda de mozos
viene tu dueño.

(Schindler 1941: no. 106)

Cravo roxo, minha senhora,
Rosa Branca, venha aqui.
(Martins 1928: 224)

Me gustan por lo blancas
 las azucenas,
 y las rosas pajizas por lo morenas.
 ¡Viva la novia,
 que es de todas las flores
 la más hermosa!

(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 343)

Flower symbolism is mainly preserved in wedding songs, where the bride and the groom (or their relatives) are portrayed as different kinds of flowers. This specialization does not appear in other love-songs where all flowers are female symbols in modern contemporary lyrics.

3.3.3.2 The flower's smell

The eroticism of flowers is such that their smell is also permeated by sensual symbolism. The intensity of a rose's smell indicates the girl's beauty and her virginity:

Quanto más chiquitica,
 madre, la rosa,
 quanto más chiquitica,
 más olorosa.

(C 1260)³¹⁵

³¹⁵The smell of flowers cause pregnancy (Wimberly 1928: 123). In the Song of Songs (III.6, IV.10, VII.8) the smell of the lover and the beloved appear as a sensual feature. Other modern songs with this topos are:

No sé lo que tiene
 la yerbagüena de tu güertesito,
 que tan bien me güele.

(Llovet 1956: 53)

A tomillo y romero
 me hueles, niña,
 como vengo del campo,
 no es maravilla.

(Llovet 1956: 53)

A la flor de la violeta
 mezclada con el jazmín,
 a eso me huele tu cuerpo,
 cuando estoy cerca de ti:

(Llovet 1956: 53)

The smell of the carnation picked by the girl is celebrated by the man with the use of 'segat' (harvesting), erotic connotations are added to the motif of picking flowers in the second stanza:

En clavell, si.m ajut Déu,
tan velles olors aveu!

En clavell vert y florit
ma señora.us á collit.
tan velles olors haveu!

En clavell vert y granat
ma señora.us ha [s]egat.
tan velles olors haveu!
(C 1263)

The smell is related to erotic symbols like picking flowers or to the rose that is usually associated with love. The sexual connotations of this motif are more explicit in contemporary texts:

Rosa branca, desmaiada,
onde deixaste o cheiro?
Deixei-o lá no jardim,
á sombra do limoeiro:

For the scent of a flower as a symbol of making love see Devoto 1955: 288. The meaning of the old *estribillo* is disclosed by a modern text:

Mientras la flor más chiquitica,
más fino tiene el olor;
por eso estoy yo queriendo
A una chiquitica flor.

(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 1398)

In one Cantabrian version of the ballad of *Gerinaldo*, he uses as an excuse for his lack of colour the intense scent of a flower:

¿Dónde vienes, Gerinaldo,
con color tan desvaído?
Una flor de las más fuertes
me puso descolorido.

(Bouza Brey 1982: 145)

á sombra do limoeiro,
 ao pé da rosa encarnada.
 Onde deixaste o cheiro,
 rosa branca, desmaiada?³¹⁶

En tu jardín entré,
 pedí una hermosa flor,
 pero la jardinera
 no me la dio de olor.
 No me la dio de olor,
 no me la quiso dar;
 ¡preciso tiene el gusto
 de verme a mí penar!
 (Torner 1920: no. 399)

The scent of a flower in these songs is identified with the girl's virginity. The smell of flowers hinting at the presence of the beloved woman, appears in modern folksongs, where it is related to other female erotic symbols such as the door (see **The door**), and the dark-complexioned girl (see **The morenita**), in contemporary lyrics. Here the flower's scent is associated with the beloved's sexual appeal in another modern folksong:

¡Ay! qué olor me ha venido- a la violeta
 si será mi morena- que está en la puerta.
 ¡Ay! qué olor me ha venido- a rosa fina,
 si será mi morena- que está en la esquina.
 (Capdevielle 1969: 27)³¹⁷

3.3.3 The Bunch of Flowers

In contemporary lyrics, the beloved represented by a bunch of flowers is a widespread motif. Frequently, this symbol designates the woman, as in the following song where an accumulation of motifs is present:

³¹⁶ Reckert & Macedo 1976: 118, and cf. pp. 114-18 where this theme is related to the motif of the torn skirt.

³¹⁷ For a similar version but in female voice see Llovet 1956: 53.

De un olivo a la sombra
te pedí amores;
me los 'distes' con besos
ramo de flores.

(Aragónés 1973: 103)

In this text, it is clear that it is a man who asks for love under the olive tree. The bunch of flowers may also stand for the virginity of the girl in another modern text (see note 172 above)³¹⁸. The lover thirst and the fountain stress the eroticism of the scene. The association of drinking water with fecundity is a widespread motif (Alvar 1971: 290). In a wedding song the symbol stands for the bride and the groom, but this time the diminutive *ramito* is used:

Ya se sienten las cucharas
y también los tenedores,
ya se sientan a comer
los dos ramitos de flores.

(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 330, no. 321)

A bunch of flowers is another symbol representing the beloved -either the man or the woman- in modern folksongs. This symbol is probably related to wooing customs where the man deposits flowers or garlands at the girl's door (see **The Door**).

3.3.4 Conclusions:

The erotic meaning of citruses has been preserved: the orange game, throwing a lemon, picking fruits and flowers. Throwing a lemon and picking fruits are examples of symbols multiple meaning. These motifs have different connotations if done by the girl or by the man. If done by the girl picking fruits is a love proposal while if done by the man it represents the girl's loss of virginity. This paradoxical opposition of meaning reveals a code whose ultimate meaning has not been revealed yet.

³¹⁸The motif of being thirsty is common to other Indo-European traditions such as Indian, Bulgarian, and French (Blouin 1981: 61). See **Animals**.

Love-making is represented by picking flowers in traditional songs. The symbolism of flowers is preserved in modern folksongs. The rose is a female symbol, which is distinguished from other species. However, in contemporary lyrics there is a variety of flowers: lily, carnation, pink. The carnation stands for the man in wedding songs when it is opposed to the rose. However, flowers represent the woman in other modern love folksongs. The scent of a flower represents the sex appeal of the beloved, the girl's virginity, and her genitals. In modern folk lyric the bunch of flowers designates the man or the woman in wedding songs and this motif usually represents the woman in love songs.

3.4 The wind, the mountain, and the moon:

3.4.1. The wind

Wind is an elemental symbol which changes its meaning according to different traditions. It may represent the divine breath, the soul, or the world-support. In folk lyrics, the wind is related to love: it sways the girl's hair, opens the skirt or shirt of the girl, or it is the messenger of the lover. In this section I shall analyse the wind's erotic symbolism related to plants.³¹⁹

³¹⁹Deyermond 1979-80: 276-78; Frenk 1993b: 9-12. See also: Blouin 1981: 56-57; Cummins 1977: 64-68; Olinger 1985: Chap. 1; Reckert & Macedo 1976: 57, 63, 75, 162, 170, 206-10; Reckert 1993: 57-58. Wind as a messenger is preserved in contemporary lyrics (Torner 1966: no. 183). This motif has been studied by J. M. d'Heur (1972: 93-104) and Vicente Beltrán Pepi6 (1984: 20-25). Vries 1976: *s.v.* wind; Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: *s.v.* vent; Cirlot 1988: *s.v.* viento.

The dangerous sexual wind of desire is evoked by a man in an old traditional song:

¡Agora viniessa un viento
que me echasse acullá dentro!

Agora viniessa un viento
tan bueno como querría,
que me echasse acullá dentro,
en faldas de mi amiga,
y me hiziesse tan contento,

3.4.1.1 The Wind and the Plants

The tree, the branches, and the flowers are swayed (*menea, banbonea*) by the wind in traditional lyrics. This is 'one of the devices of positive magic: it represents the rise and the growth of vegetation' (Sokolov 1971: 197). Wind agitation is also considered a vanity and instability symbol (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. vent). In old Castilian refrains, the wind sways flowers or tree-leaves:³²⁰

Tres hojas en el arbolé
meneavansé.
(C 977)

La zarzuela, madre,
¡cómo la menea el aire!
(C 978)

The swaying of the poplar leaves is associated with love-making in a well known *estribillo*:

De los álamos vengo, madre,
de ver cómo los menea el ayre.

que me echasse acullá dentro.
(C 255)

This image of a violent sexual force occurs in a contemporary folksong, where the girl is prevented from going to the harvest because the wind will lift her skirt:

Mira Maruxiña
non vaias, non vaias
mira vén o aire
levántach'a saia.
(Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: I.ii, no. 268)

³²⁰The wind swaying plants has been preserved in contemporary versions widespread in Spain.

A la de la zarzuela, madre,
cómo el aire la bambonea.
A la de la zarzuela, madre,
como la bambonea el aire.

(Ledesma 1907: 53, no. 18, see also Manuel García Matos 1982: no. 10)

Tres hojas en el arbolé
dábales el aire
meneabansé.
(Schindler 1941: no. 465)

De los álamos de Sevilla,
de ver a mi linda amiga.
de ver cómo los menea el ayre.
De los álamos vengo, madre,
de ver cómo los menea el ayre.
(C 309 B)

The grove is a place for love-making (see *Trees*), as is made explicit in the second line of the glosa. The wind swaying the poplars leaves may stand for the girl's excitement (Frenk 1993b: 9). Poplars are also related to the encounter of lovers at dawn in Serbian songs:

Oh, poplar, my lover
fell asleep early today;
oh, poplar, my lover
has not yet slept his fill;
oh, poplar spread your branches on every side,
let not the dawn break!³²¹

In contemporary lyrics it is the girl who comes from an olive grove - usually a lovers' meeting place in Hispanic modern folksongs - and meets her lover:

Me vine sola de los olivarillos
tú que sí, yo que no, piénsalo,
de los olivarillos me vine sola.
Me vine sola,
me encontré con mi amante;
(Martínez Ruiz 1956: 536)

In contemporary lyrics, the girl's sexual appeal and beauty are sometimes described using the image of a green orange tree swayed by the wind:

Cuando te pones, morena,
en la puerta de la calle,
pareces naranjo verde
que lo bambolea el aire.
(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 1517)

This song sheds light on the previous old *estribillo*, where 'de ver como menea las hojas el aire' perhaps is equivalent with 'de ver a mi linda amiga'.

³²¹ This song was collected by Branislav Krstić (Hatto 1965: 613). Furthermore, the poplar stands for a girl or young woman in Russian folksongs (Hatto 1965: 773).

In another contemporary song, where there is a conjunction of several symbols, the wind is transformed into a hostile force, which shakes an olive tree on the mountain. The symbolic meaning is deciphered by the remaining two lines of the equation:³²²

A oliveira da serra
de ventos é combatida;
é como moça solteira:
de amores é perseguida.

(Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 302)

Note that in this song men are described as a violent action, which contrasts with the wind swaying green leaves of old Castilian lyrics. The wind is a hostile force which blows away the leaves of an orange tree that is a symbol of the girl in traditional lyrics:

Minha laranjeira verde
porque estás tão desfolhada?
Foi do vento desta noite,
sereno da madrugada.³²³

The girl's answer disguises the loss of her virginity. In another contemporary folksong it is possible to grasp that a tree without leaves stands for the loss of a girl's sex appeal or sorrow (Frenk 1993b: 20):

³²²The first two lines are a very common opening formula in Galician and Portuguese contemporary folksongs.

³²³S. Romero, *Cantos populares do Brasil*, ed. Câmara Cascudo (Rio de Janeiro, 1954), II, no. 614 quoted by Reckert 1993: 95. The leaf topos associated with wooing is in the following contemporary versions:

La hoja en el pino
qué alta qué estás,
qué remenudita,
¿quién la cogerá?
(Aragonés 1973: 51)

O cravo tem vinte fôlhas
e a rosa tem vinte e uma;
anda' o cravo em demanda
por a rosa ter mais de uma.
(Martins 1928: 259)

Limoeiro da calçada
já não pode dar limões,
que lhe caíram as folhas
p'ra render corações.

(Chaves 1933: 287)³²⁴

This motif appears in a Scottish folksong where a man who has been abandoned by a woman sings: 'I am here like a leafless tree thrown behind a wall; the support that was at my side has gone; 'tis God who made the sea flow and ebb'(Shaw 1955: 120).

The same hostile wind sweeps away the grass of a meadow, where a girl is prevented from entering (*ir a la hierba*):

Maruxa, me din,
non vaias á herba
que ven o vento
e toda cha leva.³²⁵

To sweep away the grass has similar connotations to tearing off the leaves from a tree: the girl is in danger of losing her virginity.³²⁶

³²⁴ Tearing leaves from a tree is related to birds: see **Peacock and Partridge**. The loss of leaves conveying sorrow occurs in Russian folksongs (Sokolov 1971: 522).

³²⁵ Rielo Carballo 1976: no. 202; Rielo Carballo 1980: 24, no. 19.

³²⁶ There is another plant that is swayed by the wind: the rose in bloom. Here the wind is turning one of the rose's leaves. Bearing in mind the rose's love symbolism and that of the wind, the following *estribillo* can be interpreted as a love song:

Florida estava lá rosa,
que o vento le volvíala folla.
(C 1259)

Leaves, like flowers or fruits of a tree, are symbols of fertility (see **Fruits and Flowers**). According to Hatto, 'in many parts of Europe maidens danced in a magic ring round a tree that had burst into leaf as a means of charming it and the summer which it betokened, so that summer should stay'(1965: 776). There are similar images in contemporary lyrics:

Verde, verde está
la hoja de la noguera
verde, verde está,
el aire la llevará.
(Schindler 1941: no. 449)

It can be deduced from what I have mentioned above, that when the wind is associated with plants in love songs, the wind is a male symbol and the plant is a female one. The motif of the wind which sways the trees or leaves is used to stress the girl's beauty or her excitement. However, the wind is transformed into a hostile force in other contemporary songs, where love-making is seen as a dangerous and violent action.

3.4.2 The mountain

3.4.2.1 The mountain as the lovers' meeting place

The top of the mountain is another place associated with love-making in traditional lyrics (Reckert 1993: 88; Frenk 1993b: 8). According to Danckert this is a common European topos in folk songs.³²⁷ The mountain is described as 'monte', 'montiña', 'montezico' and 'alta serra' in old traditional refrains. The meaning of 'monte' and 'montaña' in old Castilian and old Portuguese was 'arbolado o matorral de un terreno inculto [...]'. Después se distinguió entre monte alto y monte bajo, con tendencia a preferir el último' (Corominas 1954-57: s.v. monte).³²⁸ In traditional lyrics the forest is sometimes described as a fertile location, and it is described as a dangerous place at other times:

[the mountain] est le lieu où les croyances populaires situent l'existence de tels [supernatural] personnages. Elle est, depuis la plus haute antiquité, un lieu sacré (comme la forêt ou la source) où vivent dieux et demidieux, et tous les monstres et démons qui les accompagnent. Les croyances populaires médiévales ne sont pas très éloignées des croyances antiques. (De Lope 1984: 136)

The mountain is associated with running water, wild animals and with human and animal crying that symbolises the lover calling her beloved and sexual passion:

³²⁷ Danckert 1976: III, 375 trans. by Frenk 1993b: 16.

³²⁸ Here I shall use as a translation of *monte* the term forest, because it seems more appropriate for the context. And I shall translate *sierra* and *montaña* as mountain.

Gritos davan en aquella sierra:
¡ay, madre!, quiérome ir a ella.

En aquella sierra erguida
gritos davan a Catalina.
¡Ay, madre!, quiérom'ir a ella!
(C 191)

The cries of desire occur in another old *estribillo*:

A serra es alta,
o amor hé grande:
se nos ouvirane?
(C 73)

Sometimes, the cries coming from the mountain are identified by the conceited girl as a voice that is calling her:³²⁹

En aquella sierra erguida
-cuydo que me llaman a mí-
llaman a la más garrida:
que cuydo que me llaman a mí.
(C 190 C)

The mountain is usually shown as an ideal landscape for love-making, which is stressed by the presence of water and the balm that has been contaminated by the eroticism of citruses (Reckert 1993: 88):³³⁰

Aquellas sierras, madre,
altas son de subir;
corrían los caños,
davan en un torongil.
(C 72 C)

³²⁹The motif of the narcissistic girl who thinks that her love is calling her is present in other old *estribillos*: C 190 A, B; 176. This feature of the girl is ridiculed in another old song from Correas 1627:

La donzella,
no la llaman,
y viénese ella.
(C 1745)

³³⁰ Medical uses of balm were indicated by Dioscorides (III.cxviii). It was useful against scorpion stings and for curing dog bites.

Mountain citruses with love connotations are found in French folk songs, where the man invites the girl to go under an orange tree:

La-haut sur la montagne,
un oranger il y a.
Allons-y, ma compagne,
nous déjeunerons là.
(Puymaigre 1865: 360)

The fertile mountain occurs in a contemporary Portuguese song, where the elements are snow and running water. The mountain is described by the speaker as a hidden place where nobody may disturb lovers:

Oh alta serra da neve,
onde a água sobe e desce;
quem me dera ter amores
onde ninguém o soubesse.
(Pires de Lima 1962: 143)

The sensual mountain is also a place where lovers complain about their emotional misfortune. The girl is depicted as a withering garden, which is watered by the tears of the man.

The abandoned lovers seeking the forest as a place to lament their misfortune is a common topos in medieval literature (Kessel Brown 1990):

No meio daquele monte
'stá um jardim a secar;
os meus olhos se avinturo
a dar auga p'rò regar.
(Lima Carneiro 1958: 168)

To sum up, the mountain is a place for the lovers' meeting, which is frequently seen as a fertile place in old Hispanic lyrics. In contemporary lyrics, the lovers lament their love betrayal in the fruitful mountain (Frenk 1993b: 7).

3.4.2.1.1 Getting lost in the mountain

The danger of love is often symbolized by the fear of a threatening place in traditional lyrics (Torner 1966: no. 271). Danger of love, as was established earlier,

is also symbolized in traditional lyrics by the girl's fear of drowning. In the mountain the girl who wanders alone is in danger of getting lost:

Por el montecico sola,
sola por el monte.
(C 1004)

Por el montezillo sola
¿como yré?
¡ay Dios, ¿si me perderé?
(C 1005 A)

In a pilgrimage song the girl meets her lover as a result of getting lost in the forest.

The girl who loses her way in the forest falls asleep under a tree and wakes up in her lover's arms:

Por ir más devota,
fuy sin compañía;
tomé otro camino,
dexé el que tenía.
[So ell enzina]

[Tomé otro camino
dexé el que tenía]
halléme perdida
en una montiña.
[So ell enzina]

[Halléme perdida
en una montiña],
echéme a dormir
al pie d'ell enzina.
[So ell enzina]

[Echéme a dormir
al pie d'ell enzina];
a la media noche
recordé, mezquina.
[So ell enzina]

[A la media noche
recordé, mezquina],
halléme en los braços
del que más quería.
[So ell enzina]
(C 313)

The symbolic meaning of getting lost in the forest occurs in contemporary versions.

Here a naughty student is prevented from seducing a girl who goes to the forest alone:

Ay, estudiante pillo pillo
 ay, pillo deja la niña
 ay aunque va por el monte
 [n]el monte no va perdida.

(Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: I.ii, 74, no. 303)

The man who gets lost in the mountain asks the girl for protection. His request often has sexual meaning:

¡Ay, de mí! perdí el camino
 en esta triste montaña,
 déxame meté'l rebañu,
 por Dios, en la to cabaña.

Entre la espesa nublina,
 ¡ay de mí! perdí el camino;
 déxame pasar la noche
 en la cabaña contigo.

(Torner 1920: no. 184)

This topos appears in the Sierra episodes in the *Libro de Buen Amor*. The Arcipreste loses his way in the mountain before meeting the *serranas* and his encounters are always associated with sexual activities (st. 950-1042). Furthermore, this motif has been interpreted by Monique de Lope as a rite of passage:

L'importance particulière donnée à l'élément sexuel met sur un plan d'égalité, dans le voyage à la *Sierra*, deux types d'accès que l'on sait contrôlés par les rites initiatiques: accès au royaume des morts, pour une morte provisoire dont on renaîtra prêt à entrer dans la vie sociale des adultes; accès à la femme, conditionné par ce nouveau statut social. (1984: 203-04)

This sheds light on the importance of the mountain and forest as places where the love-making occurs. The fear of losing the way in the mountain or forest is equivalent to the fear of drowning. Both motifs emphasize the danger of being in love.

3.4.2.2 The Rock

Another element related to the mountain is the rock, which in ancient lyrics is associated with the female world (Torner 1966: no. 271):

En la peña, sobre la peña
duerme la niña y sueña.
(C 19)

The rock has been contaminated by the eroticism of the mountain and the forest. In an old text the lovers' meeting is suggested in an original way:

En aquella peña, en aquella,
que no caben en ella.
(C 984)

The rock is also a place for the lovers' meeting in a contemporary French folksong.

In this case the girl finds the shepherd who proposes to marry her:

Là-haut, là-haut, sur ces rochettes,
j'ai rencontré mon berger.
I' m' di-sait: belle maitres,
veux tu pas te marier.
(Bujeaud 1895: I, 58)

The same erotic meaning of the rock is preserved in the ballad of the *Serrana de la Vera*, where she is described in these terms:

Cuando tiene gana de agua,
se bajaba a la arroyuela
cuando tiene gana de hombres,
se sube a las altas peñas.
(Díaz Viana & Manzano 1989: 72, no. 34)

Her description is similar to that of the *serranas* in the *Libro de Buen Amor*: a woman with animal features who just wants to satisfy her primal needs. There is another ancient text where the rock is described as a place where flowers grow:

Alta estaba la peña,
naçe la malva en ella.

Alta estava la peña,
 riberas del río,
 nace la malva en ella
 y el trévol florido.
 Y el trévol florido:
 nace la malva en ella.
 (C 71)

Although it has been agreed that this song has symbolic connotations, scholarly interpretation differs. For Gerald Brenan 'the mallow represents a girl looking out from her inaccessible upper window and the clover, her younger sister' (1951: 122). Nevertheless, most scholars agree that the song refers to the encounter of the lovers, where, according to Margit Frenk, 'the masculine flowering trefoil meets the feminine mallow' (1993b: 17).³³¹

3.4.3 The Moon

The moon is an important symbol in traditional songs. Its meaning varies according to the symbols with which it is associated. The rising moon has been considered since antiquity as a symbol of life.³³² In Portugal moon exposure is thought to prevent illness and to extend life (Leite de Vasconcellos 1986: 56-61).

The rising moon appears in an old song where a girl exhorts her lover to run away with her:³³³

³³¹Margaret Van Antwerp explains that in this text 'human presences are suppressed, leaving 'la malva' and 'el trébol florido' to function wordlessly as feminine and masculine symbols, respectively' (1980: 9, n. 21). See Olinger 1985: 152; Reckert (1993: 90).

³³² Pliny II: 102; Opie & Tatem 1992: s.v. moon. For the moon's general symbolism: Vries 1976: s.v. moon; Chevalier Gheerbrant 1982: lune; Cirlot, s.v. Luna.

³³³There is another song where the moon appears:

¡Ay, luna que reluzes,
 toda la noche me alumbres!

¡Ay! luna atán bella,
 alúmbresme a la sierra
 por do vaya y venga.
 ¡Toda la noche m'lumbres!

(C 1072 B)

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

Caballero aventurero,
salga la luna por entero
salga la luna y vámonos luego.
(C 459)

The sexual symbolism of the moon in this song was studied by Margit Frenk (1993b: 5-6), who concludes that the rising moon represents the sexual readiness of the girl and the sexual union of the lovers, emphasizing the symbol in relation to German wedding songs and St John's Eve.³³⁴ According to Gubernatis: 'Nous savons que l'époque de la pleine lune (qui est un symbole phallique) était regardée comme le moment le plus propice pour les mariages.'³³⁵ In addition 'los términos de luminosidad constituyen palabras claves del motivo de elogio de toda la literatura medieval' (Kantor 1983: 409). In contemporary Castilian and Portuguese songs the rising moon also occurs in wedding songs, preserving its symbolic meaning:

Sal, casada de la iglesia, vuelve el corazón a Dios,
pide a la Virgen María que te eche la bendición.

Ahora sale la luna que toda la calle alumbra;
ahora sale la luna que alumbra toda la calle
(Manzano 1990: I, no. 932)

A similar image occurs in a Portuguese song from Sri Lanka, where the moon appears at the window when the bride and the groom exchange rings:

Bunito lumara nona, banda de janela
noiva cum sua noiva nona, ja trukka anela.³³⁶

³³⁴The rising moon represents the girl of marriageable age and it is a wedding star in songs from the Rhineland (Danckert 1976: I, 243).

³³⁵ Gubernatis, *Myth. zoolog.*, 2, p. 220, quoted by Leite de Vasconcellos 1986: 58, n. 28.

³³⁶The translation given by Jackson (1991: 624) is:

Moon light has come out, in front of the window
The bride and her groom, have exchanged rings.

The rising moon has preserved its erotic connotations in a French popular song associated with St John's Eve:³³⁷

Voici la Saint Jean,
la grande journée,
où tous les amants
vont à l'assemblée.

Mignone allons voir
Si la lune est levée.

Le mien n'y est point,
j'en suis assurée,
il est dans les champs
là-bas à la rée.

Mignone allons voir
Si la lune est levée.

Il est dans les champs
là-bas à la rée.
la figure au vent,
chev'lur dépeignée.

Mignone allons voir
Si la lune est levée.

La figure au vent,
chev'lur dépeignée
Le mien est à Paris
chercher ma livrée.

Mignone allons voir
Si la lune est levée.

Le mien est à Paris
chercher ma livrée.
Que t'apport'ra-t-i;
mignonn' tant aimée?

Mignone allons voir
Si la lune est levée.

³³⁷ Margit Frenk (1993b: 5) quotes another version.

Que t'apport'ra-t-i;
 mignonn' tant aimée?
 Il doit m'apporter
 un' ceintur' dorée.

Mignone allons voir
 Si la lune est levée.

Il doit m'apporter
 un' ceintur' dorée.
 une alliance d'or
 et sa foi jurée.

Mignone allons voir
 Si la lune est levée.

(Bujeaud 1895: I, 187)

In this song the rising moon is associated with wooing, represented by the girl waiting with her hair loose against the wind, and marriage, that is represented by the golden girdle and the golden ring.

3.4.3.1 The rising moon and the sunset

The rising moon is associated with the sunset in another old text where there is an accumulation of symbols: the moon rises above the olive grove and the sun sets (all in the same stanza):

En los olivares
 de junto a Usuna
 púsoseme el sol,
 salióme la luna.
 (C 1073)³³⁸

This song has been interpreted as 'the meeting of the girl and her boyfriend and [the] starting [of] their life together' (Frenk 1993b: 7). There is another old refrain in

³³⁸ In another old *estribillo* the sunset is the time for the lovers' meeting:

Allá se me ponga el sol
 donde tengo el amor.
 (C 65 A)

feminine voice, where the girl is complaining because, 'with the moon shining, the girl may have been alone, without a lover' (Frenk 1993b: 7):

Púsoseme el sol
salióme la luna:
más me valiera, madre,
ver la noche oscura.
(C 1074)

The sunset and the rising of the moon occur in a contemporary pilgrimage song, where, once more, the symbolic motif is related to the lovers' encounter:

¿Dónde vas, amor mío,
dónde vas, dónde?
cuando sale la luna
y el sol se pone?
(Córdova y Oña 1948-55: III, 129, no. 97)

In another contemporary song the rising moon is associated with the sunrise and the motif of the picking of flowers. The concurrence of these symbols stresses the favourable aspect of the meeting of the lovers:

Esta noche con la luna
y mañana con el sol,
he de ir a coger flores
a la huerta de mi amor.
(Córdova y Oña 1948-55: III, 161)

Note that the lovers meet night and day. This modification perhaps suggests that the speaker's happiness is associated with luminosity or that the original symbolism is lost. The moon is also associated with the girl in contemporary lyrics:

La luna se va, se va;
déjela usted que se vaya;
la luna que a mí me alumbra
está en aquella ventana.
(Llovet 1956: 234)

In another contemporary song, the moon stands for the girl and the bright star for her lover. The girl's grief is stressed by being portrayed walking alone in a lemon-grove.³³⁹

La luna va caminando
 por entre los limoneros
 y va llorando sus penas
 porque no encuentra el lucero
 (Trapero 1990: 138)

As we have seen above the rising moon as a symbol is predominantly associated with a woman's sexual readiness and love-making. This symbolic meaning is preserved in contemporary wedding songs. In other contemporary songs the moon is identified with the girl.

3.4.4. Conclusion:

To sum up, in this section we have been dealing with other important natural symbols such as wind, mountain, forest, rock, and the moon. The wind is mainly a male symbol the actions of which affect female elements like plants (trees, flowers, and herbs). The mountain and forest are places for lovers. The symbols related to them are water, almost always in motion, and plants. Furthermore, the lovers' meeting is paradoxically conveyed by the motif of getting lost. The rock is contaminated by the eroticism of the mountain, and represents a love-making place. Finally, the rising moon represents the girl's sexual readiness, love-making and marriage, preserving this symbolism in contemporary wedding songs.

³³⁹ The moon symbolizing the girl, a dark-complexioned woman, is found in old songs:

La luna de la sierra
 linda es y morena
 (C 1071).

The first line is the nickname of a character in a play by Luis Vélez de Guevara, 'but it may well have been part of an old folk song' (Frenk 1993b: 8).

3.5. Animals

In old Hispanic traditional lyrics there are images taken from the animal world sometimes preserved in contemporary lyrics.³⁴⁰ According to the Jungian interpretation animals represent the instinctive part of the human being (Franz 1978: 220). This confirms the possibility of using animal imagery to attain a sexual meaning. However, this does not always help to explain the meaning of animal symbolism in traditional lyrics.³⁴¹ In Hispanic traditional songs, animal imagery can be classified into two groups: wild and domestic. The first group includes the peacock and the partridge; the second one the dove, the dog, and the rooster.

The use of animal imagery has a close connection with the motifs of wedding poetry, which according to Sokolov 'is the reason that there is such an easy transition of the ceremonial wedding songs into the broad channel of non ceremonial lyric' (1971: 515).

3.5.1 Birds

Birds have a remarkable role in love poetry. This predominant position, according to Hatto, 'is due to their parading and courtship in spring' (1965: 780).³⁴²

³⁴⁰There are a few images of animals in the *cantigas de amigo*; their symbolism was studied by Ria Lemaire (1987: 133).

³⁴¹Animal imagery describing male or female genitals seem to be a custom that has a long tradition. This is seen in the *Kamasutra* where the genitals according to their appearance are symbolised by different animals (Burton & Arbuthnot 1993: 127).

³⁴²Birds are considered symbols of spirituality and communication. They were originally associated with fish and considered a phallic symbol (Vries 1976: s.v. bird; Chevalier & Gheerbrant 192: s.v. oiseaux; Cirlot 1988: pájaro). For birds as messengers in traditional lyrics see **Dawn** and for birds as advisers to the woman in love see **The kiss**. In contemporary lyrics there are a great variety of birds, some of which have been studied by Torner 1966: no. 62. For birds in Mexican songs see Frenk (in press a). For different motifs associated with birds see Thompson 1955-58: s.v. birds.

Birds are associated with the hunting motif. This topos has lost some of its features in popular lyrics. A similar situation occurs in Hispanic ballads, according to Rogers:

The contracted form of the love-hunt does not achieve its effect through the intellectual exercise that was the basis of the original allegory, but through a subconscious transfer of the characteristics of the hunt to the courtship. (1980: 19)

In old *estribillos* the man is symbolized by the hunter or a bird of prey and the woman by the heron:

Si tantos monteros
la garça combaten
¡por Dios, que la maten!
(C 514)

Halcón que se atreve
con garça guerrera
peligros espera.
(C 516)³⁴³

The kind of birds has changed in contemporary lyrics, where the dove and the partridge are symbols of the woman and the man is usually represented by a hunter or less often by a bird of prey:³⁴⁴

Paloma, que vas herida
de la mano de un mal cazador;
no levantes tanto el vuelo,
que en el aire las mata mi amor.
(Córdova y Oña 1948-55: II, 269, no. 8)

³⁴³It is worth noting here that in medieval times the term 'heron' was used to describe a prostitute, as was pointed out by Jacques Rossiaud:

every young male living in the town above the poverty level owed it to himself to join the great band of the *gars* ('the boys') who gave chase to *la garce* (one of many terms for a whore). That was how one became known as an *homme joyeux* (a real man, 'one of the boys') whereas a *fille joyeuse* meant a prostitute. (1988: 25)

Garza was the term which describes a young beautiful woman inclined to love who was described as the best lover by Teodor (*La historia de la donzella Teodor: ein spanische Volksbuch arabischer Ursprungs*, ed. Walter Mettman (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1962), pp. 143-46, quoted by Lacarra 1993: 26.

³⁴⁴For more songs with this motif see Torner 1966: no. 178. For the general symbolism of the hunter see: Cirlot 1988: s.v. cazador. For the symbolism of hunting: Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. chasse.

A'lerta pombinha, álerta,
qu'anda o caçador na serra:
tra ãa espingrada d'ouro,
one põe ponto não erra.

(Leite de Vasconcellos 1915: no. 71)

Se eu fora cazador
e tivera unha escopeta
cazaría una perdiz
de esas que gastan peinetas.

(Lorenzo Fernández 1973: no. 2128)

Perdiz, ao alto! Ao alto!
que anda caçador na serra:
que el'tem um cano de prata,
aonde aponta não erra!

(Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 219)

Eres paloma torcaz
que anda por los olivares,
y yo soy el alcotán
que me muero por tu sangre.

(García Matos 1951-60: II, no. 110)

Note that in these songs it is made explicit that the speaker is referring to the hunting of love. Furthermore, this motif often occurs in songs with a male or a third person speaker.

Doves, partridges, peacocks, and the cock have been preserved in contemporary songs. I shall describe in this section their similitude and differences with their medieval counterparts.

3.5.1.1 Peacock and partridge

The peacock and the partridge are equivalent images in traditional lyrics. According to Rowland 'for centuries the partridge not only continued to be the symbol of incontinent lust but had further bad habits assigned to it'.³⁴⁵ This bird

³⁴⁵Rowland 1978: 124. For example the partridge's erotic symbolism in the song of Florencia Pinar whose meaning was studied by Alan Deyermond 1983: 45-48.

was associated with the Aphrodite cult.³⁴⁶ It is also associated with threshing dances. Its features are lasciviousness, cunning, and betrayal of its own kind. This description also fits the peacock. However, the only feature remarked upon in traditional lyrics is that partridge and peacock are associated with love.³⁴⁷

The heron is associated with wounds of love. It is portrayed alone and crying:³⁴⁸

Mal ferida va la garza,
sola va y gritos daba.
(C 512 B)

The peahen, instead, is depicted calling a young peacock in the mountain:

³⁴⁶Aphrodite has many Oriental and Asian affinities. The sparrow and partridge, as well as the goose, were her sacred birds. The partridge and the goose were sacrificed to her. (Armstrong 1958: 47).

³⁴⁷The Hen-partridge's lasciviousness is described by Pliny:

Hen partridges in fact deceive even their own mates, because these in intemperance of their lust break the hens' eggs so that they may not kept away by sitting on them [...] and in no other creature is concupiscence so active. If the hens stand facing the cocks they become pregnant[...] Even the draught of air from cocks flying over them, and often merely the sound of cock crowing, makes them conceive. (X.li. 100-02)

Isidore of Seville confirms the partridge's unfavourable description:

La perdiz recibe tal nombre por el sonido de su voz. Es un ave falza e inmundada, pues el macho monta al macho y se olvida de su propio sexo, empujado por la lujuria.
(XII.vii.63)

For partridge symbolism see: Vries 1976: s.v. partridge; Chevalier & Gheerbrant: s.v. perdrix; Cirlot 1988: perdiz.

The peacock is another important symbol. According to Pliny: 'the male peacock breaks eggs, out of desire for the female sitting on them; consequently the hen bird lays at night, and in hiding or when perching on a high place' (X.li.161). For the peacock's general symbolism see: Vries 1976: s.v. peacock; Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. paon; Cirlot 1988: s.v. pavo real. For the symbolism of the partridge and the peacock in dawn songs see Hatto 1965. The partridge symbolising the girl appears in Greek (266, 268) and Latvian (695) contemporary folk songs. The peacock frequently appears in dawn-song imagery from Germanic areas, Yugoslav (wedding songs), Bulgarian, Indian (wedding songs), and Greece (35, 39, 40, 141, 151, 179, 180, 269, 463, 614, 624, 641, 646, 651, 810).

³⁴⁸For the origin of animal cries see Thompson: A2425; Cirlot 1988: Garza.

Bozes dava la pava,
 i en aquel monte;
 el pavón era nuevo
 i no la responde.
 (C 505)³⁴⁹

When associated with the motif of crying the peahen and female partridge represent the woman. The peahen is calling a young male who does not answer her call. In other words, as has been pointed out by Margit Frenk the girl (peahen) 'anxiously calls her male companion, but being young and inexperienced, he does not answer'.³⁵⁰ This happens in an Indian traditional wedding song where an accumulation of symbols occurs; the woman is symbolized by the cattle:

Get up, boy, get up,
 release the brown cattle.

³⁴⁹There is a singing partridge in a [...] Chinese song; she sings to find a male companion. In Granet's French translation of the I-Ching: "et la perdrix qui fait son chant [...] / perdrix cherche un male en chantant". This, says Danckert (1976: III, 200-02), is the symbolic disguise of a girl looking for a husband.' (Frenk 1993b: 19, n. 29). The motif of crying is associated with the girl's sexual desire in ancient and contemporary lyrics. This motif appears in ancient lyric associated with the heron and the dark-complexioned girl:

Gritos daba la morenica
 sola en l'olivar,
 que los ramos hace temblar'
 (S 499 A)

Crying caused by love betrayal occurs in Italian contemporary folksongs:

La monachela la va ne l'orto,
 la va ne l'orto
 la va gridando con gran dolor
 perché tradita dal primo amor.
 (Radole 1965: no. 101).

Note that these previous texts the dark-complexioned girl and the nun are crying in a grove, which as we have seen is a place for love making (see **Picking Fruits and Picking Flowers**). Crying was the way that a woman who has being raped could denounce her attacker:

a victim of assault in the countryside was to run directly to the justice before she went home. An immediate outcry was imperative if her complaint was to be taken seriously.
 (Dillard 1984: 182)

³⁵⁰ in press a: 19. It is worth noting here that Deyermond (1983:47) comments that 'Pinar's adaptation of the image [of hunting] seems to reflect a traditional Spanish method of trapping female partridges. A male partridge is placed in a cage and taken to the area where the birds live. The females are attracted to the cage by his mating calls and are captured'.

Wait mother, mother, let the peacocks cry
 let the cock crow
 let the dew fall
 and then I will loose the cattle.³⁵¹

This song's symbolic meaning was interpreted by A. L. Basham:

a boy wishes to make love (let the peacock cry, let the cock crow, let the dew fall), to a girl (the brown cattle) at dawn (when the real cattle should be released) before he will let her go (Hatto 1965: 180).

In contemporary lyrics, the peacock is replaced by a peahen, which is not crying any more. Now the meaning of her call appears translated into human language.

However, the call has retained its sexual purpose.³⁵²

A perdís anda no monte
 e o perdigón no valado;
 a perdís anda decindo:
 'ven aquí, meu namorado'
 (Rico Vereá 1989: 60, no. 4)

³⁵¹ W. G. Archer, *The Blue Grove*, n. 134 in 'Indian' (Hatto: 180).

³⁵² There is one contemporary version in a Sephardic wedding song:

La pava, la pava, por aquel monte.
 El pavón es rojo, bien le responde.
 (Alvar 1966: 147, no. 161)

The partridge appears in a proverb whose meaning is difficult to grasp. The partridge's song is heard at dawn:

Cantó al alva la perdiz:
 más le valiera dormir.
 (C 517)

This song may be associated with the partridge-hunting method mentioned by Deyermond (1983: 47) (see n.). There is a contemporary song where, once more, the she-partridge sings at dawn and her song is answered by the male partridge:

Al salir el sol
 cantó la perdiz
 y el macho le dice
 vente por aquí,
 vente por aquí
 vente por allá,
 pa tomar el sol
 hay que madrugar.
 (Díaz 1982: 82, no. 18)

For another version see Llano 1977: 233.

In contemporary lyrics, the peahen and the female partridge stand for the haughty, experienced and, in a certain way, dangerous woman:

Tiene el andar de pava
y el meneo de perdiz
el pico de enganchadora:
no me has de enganchar a mí.
(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 309)

Wild birds are also associated with plant motifs. In an ancient song a male peacock is depicted as tearing away the leaves of an olive tree:

Oliveyra nam tem folha:
o pavão la levou toda.
(C 506)

The olive tree, as we have seen, is a well known symbol of the woman (see **The Olive Tree**). The motif of tearing the leaves of a tree occurs in contemporary lyrics (see **Wind**):

Arrimeim'a un alcipreste,
cinco follas lle chimpei
cinco sentidos qu'eu teño,
en ti mal os empreñei.³⁵³

Assubi ao limoeiro,
cinco folhas lhe tirei;
cinco sentidos que eu tinha
todos em ti empreguei.³⁵⁴

This motif appear in a contemporary Portuguese version where the male partridge eating herbs is compared with a single young man:

³⁵³Blanco 1992: I, no. 2120. As we have seen above the verb *arrimar* has strong erotic meanings. The erotic connotations of *arrimarse* were also studied by Jammes, Alzieu, & Lissorgues (1975: no. 99, 46).

³⁵⁴Chaves 1933: 289. The verb to climb *subir* the tree has erotic connotations in the following Portuguese *quadra*:

Pereira que non ten peras,
¿quén ha de ir a riba dela?
Meniña que non ten honra,
¿quén ha de casar con ela?
(Lima Carneiro 1958: 175)

O perdigão anda no monte,
 come da erva que quer;
 é como o rapaz solteiro
 enquanto não tem mulher.³⁵⁵

In both texts, the action done by the male bird, eating or tearing, stands for 'the male possession of a beloved woman' (Frenk 1993b: 20). In European folklore the peacock is portrayed as a phallic bird and is related to the grass in a Bosnian children's song: 'The peacock grazes / the grass grows: / my peacock!'.³⁵⁶ The grazing bird eating the growing grass is an erotic image. Another example of this motif is a Croatian song, where they ask the Lord 'that it rain, that the grass sprout, / that the peacock graze in it and his feathers grow, / so that the suitors adorn themselves with them'.³⁵⁷

The action of plucking feathers has similar erotic connotations. This motif is found in *Celestina*. In one of the meetings between Calisto and Melibea, Calisto says while he is tearing off her clothes: 'Señora, el que quiere comer el ave quita primero las plumas'.³⁵⁸ Margaret Sleeman (1981: 328) points out that in 'Aberdeenshire at the end of last century, a woman who has *lost a feather from her wing* was one who had lost her virginity'. In the South of Spain there is an expression 'pelar la pava' (to pluck a peahen), which is synonymous with courtship and love-making.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁵ Leite de Vasconcellos 1975-79: I, 324 & 293-94.

³⁵⁶ Danckert 1976: IV, 1321, trans. by Frenk 1993b: 20.

³⁵⁷ Danckert 1976: II, 604, trans. by Frenk 1993b: 20.

³⁵⁸ *La Celestina* (Act 19, 324). This expression was studied by Alan Deyermond, who points out that Calisto treats Melibea like as an object of consumption; he comments the close relationship between eating and sexuality (1985: 295). See Louise Vasvari 1993-94; Julio Caro Baroja 1979: 127.

³⁵⁹ Henry R. Lang (1887: 251) explains that 'pelar la pava' or the German expression 'nicht viel federlesens machen' are associated with wasting time in banal things.

¿Cómo te va con la pluma
de la verde pava?
Bien la pelavas,
que llegaba la pluma
donde yo estaba.

(Torner 1920: no. 420)

The consequences of plucking a peahen's feather are made explicit in another contemporary text:³⁶⁰

Naide pela la paba
porque está bisto
que de *pelar la paba*
salen pabitos.

(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: 692)

To sum up, the peahen and partridge are wild animals whose habitat is the mountain, and, thus their characterization sometimes is contaminated with erotic connotations.

3.5.1.2. The crowing of the cock

The rooster is closely related to love divination and witchcraft. It may stand for fertility, lust, and adultery. The cock is a well-known male symbol in European folk traditions (Hatto 1965: 778-79). In contemporary Hispanic lyrics the cock represents the young man:³⁶¹

O galo que canta ben
gústalles ás galiñas,
e o mozo que ben canta
gústalles ás rapaciñas.

(Rielo Carballo 1980: 65, no. 890)

³⁶⁰There is another song where male peacock that lost a feather is in distress:

Perdigão perdeo a pena:
não há mal que lhe não venha.
(C 511)

Losing a feather is possibly associated with bad luck in this text.

³⁶¹For the general symbolism of the cock see: Vries 1976: s.v. cock; Chevalier and Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. cocq; Cirlot 1988: s.v. gallo. The St Martin's Day custom of killing a black cock finds parallels in Germany where a sheep, goose, or fowl was slaughtered and its blood sprinkled in the house (Armstrong 1958: 28). The cocks appear frequently in Portuguese superstitions (Leite de Vasconcellos 1986: 183-87). For the erotic connotations of the cock see Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues (1975: 197, no. 97).

The cock crowing to announce the arrival of dawn is the time when the lovers' meeting has just started or is coming to an end as they leave each other company (see **Dawn**). The cock-crow's erotic connotation has been pointed out by Alzieu, Jammes, and Lissorgues:

además de la impresión de despertar alegre que sugiere el canto del gallo, es de advertir que, para designar el sexo, masculino o femenino, se solían emplear, entre otros eufemismos, voces fónicamente expresivas y de significado inicial muy impreciso, tales como diganduj o dinguilindón. (1975: 95)³⁶²

These erotic connotations are suggested in the following old *estribillo* where the mother's and the daughter's sexual distress are explained with the verb 'to eat' which has the same erotic connotations as the verb 'to itch':

Madre, la mi madre,
que me come el quiquiriquí.
Ráscatele, hija, y calla,
que también me come a mí.
(C 1653)

In contemporary lyrics this motif is preserved in masculine and feminine voices. The verb to eat is substituted by to itch, which can also mean to prick or to sting (see

Harmful herbs):

Madre mía, casemé
que me pica el chiribí.
Si te pica, arrascale
que también me pica a mí.³⁶³

¿Dónde tienes el kikirikí,
que anoche te lo ví
y ahora no te lo hallo?

(García Matos 1982: 69, 143 melody)

³⁶² See in Francisco Delicado, *La lozana andaluza* (1950: 54), the dialogue between the Lozana and Rampín, where he says: '- por ver si soy capón, me dejéis desciros dos palabras con el diguilindón'. The cock crow is also associated with midnight and sunset in proverbs. (Lang 1887: 240-41).

³⁶³ Gomarín 1991: no. 17. For more versions see José María Alín 1992.

Although the onomatopoeia used is not exactly the cock-crow a similar sound with the vowel 'i' predominates. The use of the onomatopoeia as a euphemism for genitals is a common poetic device in contemporary lyrics.³⁶⁴

3.5.1.3 The Dove

The dove is 'one of the most elemental sky-heaven symbols' and usually stands for purity and innocence, the opposite of the partridge. It is the symbol of Fertility, soul, love, and divination.³⁶⁵ The dove represents the girl in old *estribillos*:³⁶⁶

³⁶⁴The use of onomatopoeic words to designate genitals is widespread in contemporary lyrics. It is worth noting that most of the time they preserve the Spanish 'i' sound. For example, an Ecuadorian *copla* edited by Paulo Carvalho Neto (1975: 71) features a girl that has the same problem as the girl in the ancient *copla*. In this song instead of the cock-crowing the sound used to describe the girl's sexual organ is *tililín*:

A las muchachas de este tiempo
les gusta tocar rondín,
aún no tienen catorce
ya les pica el tililín.
(Carvalho Neto 1975: 71)

Male genitals in another Ecuadorian song appear as 'murquinchí'. In a Galician version, the woman that cuckolds her husband uses as a pretext not to make love with him that she is having her period, named in the *estribillo* as 'chingui lingui lín'

co meu chingui lingui lin
co meu chinguilin andaba.
(Schubarth & Santamarina: I.ii, no. 238b)

The use of onomatopoeic words to suggest those actions or organs related to sexuality seems to be a poetic device which has become generally used since the Middle Ages. The use of 'i' perhaps is related to the Spanish diminutive. The stress is always on the last syllable and, in contemporary lyrics, it is usually linked to the nasal sound 'n'. Furthermore, in France the word 'biribi' stand for the vagina and 'turlututu' for the penis (Guiraud 1978).

³⁶⁵Rowland 1978: s.v. dove. For the general symbolism of dove see Vries 1976: s.v. dove; Chevalier and Gheerbrant 1982: pigeon; Cirlot 1988: paloma. According to Pliny:

However pigeons actually possess a certain sense of vanity[...] it is observed that they flap their wings in the sky and trace a variety of lines. During this display they expose themselves to the hawk [...] The highwayman hawk watches concealed in foliage, and seizes the exultant pigeon in the very act of showing off. (X.lii.107)

³⁶⁶In old refrains the male dove, 'palomo', appears in a few versions:

No son todas palomas
las que están en el montón:

Palombas si amigos amades,
no riñades.

(C 414)

Caballero, donde entresti,
buena palomba seguesti.

(Torner 1920: no. 142)

This motif is preserved in contemporary lyrics, where the girl symbolized by the dove is frequent in courting (*ronda*) songs and wedding songs:

Por esta calli a lo largu
hay un gavián perdidu
que dici que ha de sacar
la paloma de su nidu.³⁶⁷

d'ellas palominos son.
(C 2012)

In contrast the male dove frequently represents the suitor in contemporary wedding songs:

La paloma está en su casa,
abrigadita y caliente;
y el palomo está en la esquina,
dando diente contra diente.

(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: II, 273)

³⁶⁷Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: II, 295, no. 14. In old traditional lyrics the man is usually symbolized by the sparrow-hawk:

Gaviam, gaviam branco,
vai ferido e vai boando.

(C 510)

Gavilán, que andáis de noche,
¿qué viento corre?

(C 2084)

There are some examples in contemporary lyrics:

La del gavián y el galán,
la del gavián.

(García Matos 1982: 215, text 11)

For 'rondar la calle' as symbol of making love see Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues (1975: 274, no. 134). For the magic symbolism of *rondar* see Armistead 1974. The sparrow-hawk appears in Portuguese formulae to protect cattle:

¡Caballero, donde entraste,
buena paloma sacaste!
Caballero, donde entraste,
¡buena paloma sacaste!
(Cuevas 1944-45: 568)

In contemporary lyrics 'a rapariga ingénua que acabará por cair em armadillas amorossas é milheiriña, pombinha e rolinha' (Verdelho 1982: 144). For instance, note the following songs where an accumulation of symbols occurs: the 'meadow' and 'bathing'. The meaning of the song is revealed in the last stanza:

Una palomita blanca
como la nieve,
ayer tarde bajó al prado:
bañarse quiere.
Leva las alas doradas,
cara de leche,
lleva las alas doradas
cara de leche
ojos de olivo.
No bajas, paloma al prado
vente conmigo.
no bajas paloma al prado
que no te olvido.
(Torner 1920: no. 111)

Arrima,
non podo arrimar;
palomiña branca
ó teu palomar.³⁶⁸

Gavião do Diabo,
não me entres no meu gado,
nem no negro, nem no branco,
nem no que anda misturado.
(Leite de Vasconcellos 1986: 194)

³⁶⁸ Rico Vereá 1989: 73, no. 4. *Arrimada* has erotic connotations (Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: 203, n. 99). One example is the following version from Guadalajara:

Al hombre que se arrima
dale reveses;
porque luego del arrimo
son nueve meses.
(Aragonés 1973: 119)

The dove's repetitive and widespread use in contemporary oral poetry has resulted in a loss of symbolic meaning, and has turned it into a metaphor and sometimes into a cliché. This feature stands in contrast with other symbols where polysemy always exists.³⁶⁹

3.5.1.4 Birds symbolising genitals

Another interesting image is a bird, whose gender is masculine, that appears as a symbol of a girl's genitalia in songs with strong sexual connotations. There is an old *estribillo* where a thrush stands for the genitals of the woman:

Seis reales dan por el tordo de Juana:
seis por el pico y seis por la lana.
(C 1741)

This was a common image in Castile and according to an anonymous commentator on Góngora: 'la parte pudenda de la mujer se llama *pájaro*, bien lo dice el común modo de hablar en Castilla, donde también suele llamarse pollo.' (Jammes 1959: 19).

This image occurs in contemporary lyrics, where the cock represents the woman's genitals. In the following text, there is an accumulation of symbols: the rain and tiled roof and the rooster:

Maripepa ten un galo
entre as tellas do tellado;
o galo de Maripepa
cando chove está mollado.
(Rico Vereá 1989: 73, no. 14)

³⁶⁹In contemporary lyrics of the Iberian Peninsula the woman is identified with the lark:

Va una calandria,
por un prado frondoso
va una calandria,
de flor en flor picando
desconsolada.
(García Matos 1951-60: II, no. 457)

This contrasts with modern Mexican folklore where birds often do not have a symbolic meaning (Frenk in press a: 17).

It is worth noting here that in both traditions the strong sexual connotations of the song are stressed with a misogynist overtone.³⁷⁰ However, the bird or little bird usually stands for the male genitals:

O meu paxariño, nenas,
voa n-o voso arboredo,
correndo de pola en pola
brinca n'a pola d'o medio.

(Pérez Ballesteros 1979: II, 31, no. 33)

O cura ten un paxaro,
non sei que paxaro é;
aló pola media noite
o paxaro está dó pé.

(Rico Vereá 1989: 29, no. 30)

3.5.2 Mammals

3.5.2.1 The Dog

Domesticated animals, often the dog, are present at the household realm. The dog is considered a feminine or a masculine symbol. It is frequently associated with earth, water and moon. The dog has a sexual meaning when it is associated with fire (Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: s.v. chien). In addition Rowland comments that a dog in a cradle is a fertility symbol in a 'folk ritual of presenting newlyweds'. This

³⁷⁰ There is a similar version, but in this case the nest of Maripepa gets wet:

Maripepa ten un niño
entre as tellas do tellado,
o niño de Maripepa
cando chove está mollado.

(Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 644)

The nest's erotic symbolism is explicit in another modern song where sexual intercourse is described as the bird going into a nest:

Ti tes un niño dun merlo
e eu teño un merliño;
o merlo que eu teño, nena,
moi bo era pró teu niño.

(Rico Vereá 1988: 55, no. 29)

The nest was an erotic symbol in Roman times 'O ninho entre os romanos era un símbolo erótico: qualquer dos namorados dava ninho ao outro (Leite de Vasconcelos 1975-79: I, 158). In the previous song the replacement of the term *galo* by nest proves that the rooster is working as a symbol of the *cunnius*.

custom is in a nineteenth century nursery rhyme in which a girl takes her father's greyhound and lays it in a cradle.³⁷¹

The dog is associated with the motif of the guard in an old gloss. The girl's sexual experience is disguised by the release of the dogs which flanked her bed:

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

Una madre que a mí criara
mucho me quiso mal me guardara:
a los pies de mi cama los canes atara,
atólos ella, yo los desatara,
y metiera, madre, al que más amaba:
No seré yo frayla.

(C 213)

Loosing her dogs has been interpreted by Frenk as 'el brío sexual de la muchacha' (Frenk 1993a: 152-54). This differs from other songs where, frequently, the girl ties her dog up in order to prevent her lover being bitten.³⁷²

³⁷¹ The lullaby was collected by Opie (1951: no. 18) who points out in a note that this song is very old:

A girl in the army
she longed for a baby,
she took her father's greyhound
and laid it in the cradle.
Lullaby, Baby Bow Wow,
Long legs hast thou,
and wasn't it for thy cold snout
I would kiss thee now, now.

The greyhound is associated with the cult of Saint Guinefort and has been studied by Jean-Claude Schmitt 1983. The dog is a frequent motif in folktales. It is associated with a variety of motifs (Thompson 1958: dog). The only one related to sex is the woman who bears a dog (T554.2).

³⁷² A bite stands for a love-mark or violent love-making (Vries: *s.v.* bite). The motif of the *vagina dentata* is in Stith Thompson *Motif Index*: A1313.3.1, F547.1.1, & K1222. Lucretius (IV: 1180-85) describing lovers' passion mentions the biting kiss: 'They tightly press what they have sought and cause bodily pain, and often drive their teeth into little lips and give crushing kisses'.

Ten tu perro, Teresa,
 ten tu perro, que no me muerda.
 (C 1669)³⁷³

In France the expression *avoir du chien* denotes a woman whose 'eyes, demeanor, and general aspect were sexy'.³⁷⁴ This motif is preserved in contemporary lyrics where the man complains about the girl's dog:³⁷⁵

Anda bete, que no quiero
 borber a tu casa más,
 porque tienes un perrito,
 no sé si me morderá.³⁷⁶

In another *copla* is clear that the girl has to restrain her dog from biting the man:

O meu amor, se tu queres,
 Qu'eu á cama te vá a vê:
 tem lá mão do teu cãozinho
 que me não venha morder.
 (Leite de Vasconcellos 1915: no. 35)

The former songs show that tying a dog up in contemporary lyrics represent simultaneously the woman who prepares herself for love-making and refrains her sexual drive.³⁷⁷

³⁷³ There is another old Castilian refrain with this motif:

Perricos de mi señora
 no me mordades agora.
 (C 1670)

³⁷⁴ *Vocabula Amatoria* (1896) quoted by Beryl Rowland (1974: 65).

³⁷⁵ The same motif appears in a contemporary Scottish song collected and translated by Margaret Fay Shaw. In this song a girl is waiting for her lover and she offers to tie up the dog, thus he can get into the house: 'My love is the courtier. Last night you slept at my back. Will you come to-night, or shall I expect you? Shall I close the outer door? Shall I do that, or shall I tie up the dog for you?' (1955: 219, no. 84).

³⁷⁶ Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 4771. There is a Mexican expression which undoubtedly refers to the same kind of dogs studied here: 'echar los perros', as Frenk (1993b) pointed out. This colloquialism is used for wooing.

³⁷⁷ There are some versions where the woman is called bitch, which, as in English, has negative connotations. According to a Portuguese dictionary 'cadela' 'é epíteto injurioso aplicado á mulher mal comportada' (Oscar de Pratt 1913: s.v. cadela). In a Galician version a woman claims to a lover:

Another image is a little dog, which in old Castilian refrains stands for the male genitals:³⁷⁸

¿Quién compra un perrito, damas,
que es muy barato y de falda?
(S 17423 bis)

The little dog has similar connotations in contemporary lyrics:

Eu tenho um cãozinho
chamado pivete;
debaixo do rabo,
tem um ramalhete.
(Lima Carneiro 1958: 102, no. 39)

To sum up, the woman's genitalia are described with an aggressive image of a biting dog, whereas the man's genitals are described as a docile little dog.³⁷⁹

3.5.3 Conclusions:

Animal symbolism preserved in contemporary lyrics is scarce. There are only a few motifs that have been preserved since the Middle Ages, even though animals are used in almost all the popular genres: games, riddles, wedding songs, work-songs, etcetera. However, it is in wedding songs or courting songs that animal imagery is most frequent.

Chamácheme cadelinha
e non mordín a ninguén;
e se chamo a tua porta
é porque te quero ben.
(Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 88).

In the above song, note that the woman does a male action such as knocking on the man's door.

³⁷⁸ Other images to designate the penis are a small and inoffensive toy, and a nice little rabbit:

¿Ay quien me compra un juguete,
que ni yere, ni mata, ni pica, ni muerde?
(C 1743);

Tal conejuelo y tal conexito,
dizen las damas: '¡Ay Dios, qué bonito!'
(C 1742).

³⁷⁹ This contrasts with other traditional descriptions of genitalia, as in the Kamasutra where the man's genitals are identified with 'bull, horse' and the woman's sexual organs with 'deer, mare'.

Animals appear associated with hunting, where there is a consistent feature preserved: the man is described as a hunter or a bird of prey, and the woman is represented as the prey. The latter, originally represented by the heron, is now symbolised by the partridge (or peahen) and the dove.

The dove as a symbol of the girl is one of most common motifs in contemporary lyrics. The widespread use of this symbol has resulted in a loss of meaning and it has become a cliché.

The peacock and the partridge have retained a similar meaning. The image of a frustrated love affair is associated with the unanswered cries of a female partridge or peahen. Love-making is symbolized by the male counterpart of these birds 'tearing leaves' or eating plants.

Another symbol preserved is the cock-crow which stands for the female genitals and it has to be included in the group of texts where onomatopoeic words are used to designate a woman's genitalia. In contemporary lyrics a bird designates both male and female genitalia in Galician areas.

The dog is the most frequent animal related to the household realm appearing in traditional lyrics. It has been preserved as a female and a male symbol. The woman's sexual drive is described as a biting dog whereas the man's genitals are described as a docile little dog.

In all the symbols analysed here there are always a passive principle and an active principle working together, which are expressed with the image of docile and aggressive animals. This can be seen in ancient lyrics where most of the images related to the woman are those of aggressive animals, for instance the biting dog and the crying peacock. In other words the woman is associated with the active principle.

3.6 The *morenita*

One of the main features of old traditional lyrics is that the woman has a voice.

Moreover, most of the time it is the single girl who frankly expresses her dreams of freedom and desires.

As in primitive cultures, the most important change in a woman's existence was her initiation into the sexual life and it is just this meaningful moment that the girl in traditional lyrics celebrates in all its aspects.

From the point of view of sexuality, the girl is the opposite character to the married woman: she is not yet sexually controlled by man, while marriage was imposed on the wife with the consequence of:

reducción de su existencia a una vida al lado de un hombre para atender sus intereses y necesidades, en el control de la sexualidad y del cuerpo femeninos y en la formación psíquica de la esposa, a la que se considera una extraña.
(Opitz 1992: 330)

Taking this quotation into account, it is understandable that any unmarried girl was a socially subversive element. Indeed, the main problems began when a single girl had had sexual experience outside marriage and, therefore, had broken the rules. Through time this girl has become the main character of popular lyrics and she is the one that I shall study : the 'morenita'.³⁸⁰

The *morena* is one of the most important characters in European traditional lyrics preserved from medieval times until today. The presence of the dark-

³⁸⁰ The experience of love is perceived differently in the *romancero*, as Carlos Alvar (1982: 146) pointed out:

la lírica tradicional vive de forma más libre el amor; sólo preocupa el momento de felicidad pasajera, cuyo recuerdo constituye la base del pensamiento de la doncella. Por el contrario, en el Romancero viejo de carácter tradicional parece que la tendencia lleva hacia un planteamiento moral - no siempre consciente - de las relaciones amorosas.

complexioned girl in popular lyrics has been explained, in some scholars' opinion, as a paradigm of peasant beauty opposed to that of its courtly counterpart, fair-haired and with a pale complexion.³⁸¹ Other important studies, such as those of Blouin, Olinger, Frenk, and Danckert show that the *morena* can also be a symbol.³⁸² Danckert has demonstrated that dark colour as a woman's attribute (*Schwarzbraun*) indicates her sexual availability (1976: I, 404). Therefore the *morena* (*Braunmeydelein*) is the girl who has had sexual experience.³⁸³

The same meaning can be found in ancient Hispanic traditional lyrics where the dark girl is

el prototipo por excelencia de las protagonistas femeninas: es la que ha logrado la vida sexual a la que aspiran las muchachas doncellas y la que, consciente de su plenitud vital, osa enfrentarse, alegre, juguetonamente, a las normas sociales. (Frenk 1993a: 155)

It is important to insist once more that accepting the girl's dark complexion as a symbol is not to deny that it can also have a literal meaning or that it can even have become a word void of any meaning, a cliché, in contemporary folksongs. I shall return to this point later.

³⁸¹For the *morena* topos see Lorenzo Fernández 1973: 218-19; Torner 1966: no. 157. Skin is associated with birth and revival ideas (Cirlot 1988: 363). In addition, skin colours are related to 'el temperamento y el atractivo de un individuo, además de la posible duración de su vida' (Soons 1989: 75). For the importance and symbolism of the care and colour of the skin see Busquets i Molas 1977: ch. 9. For a change of colour because of a broken taboo see Thompson 1955-58: C.985.1. In Classical literature the motif of the dark-complexioned woman is present. Lucretius, *De rerum natura* (IV.1160-70), describes how the lover, who is blinded by love, does not realize his beloved's faults. He mentions as an example the dark-complexioned girl who is called by her lover 'honey coloured'. In his commentary to this passage Brown (1987: 283) analyses this motif in Classical authors and he points out that 'dark complexion in women was considered inferior to pale[...]and darker complexions are often excused or euphemized in erotic literature'.

³⁸²For the *morena* as paradigm of peasant beauty: Wardropper 1960: 415; Romeralo 1969: 58-59; Cummins 1977: 99-102; Gornall 1986. And for her as an erotic symbol see: Danckert 1976: I, 450; Olinger 1985: 119-69; Frenk 1993b: 9; Reckert 1993: 56, n. 39.

³⁸³The Ndembu, an African tribe of northwestern Zambia, associates darkness with sexual passion (Turner 1986: 73).

3.6.1 The *morenita* and soil

The human complexion plays an important role in primitive rituals throughout time and, according to Alan Soons (1989: 73), this has happened because of the comparison established between the renewal properties of the human epidermis and those of the fertile earth's surface. The earth is an element that 'devours, swallows up (the grave, the womb) and at the same time an element of birth, of renewal (the maternal breasts)' (Bakhtin 1984: 21). Likewise, Danckert (1976: I, 405) concludes that the symbolic *terra mater*'s colour was probably related to the woman as her human image.

There are, in old traditional lyrics, a series of songs in which dark girls are compared with the earth in terms of colour and fertility. A proverb found in Correas's *Vocabulario* states that 'La tierra *morena*, buen pan lleva; la blanca cardillos y *ravia mala*' (197b). The same idea is used by the girl in an old Castilian refrain to defend her dark colour:

Aunque soy *morena*
no soy de olvidar,
que la tierra negra
pan blanco suele dar.
(C 140)

Some centuries later, the same comparison is maintained, but in modern lyrics the element compared is the wheat (see **The Baker Woman**), a product of earth, that is dark, whereas bread is white:

Chamáchesme *moreniña*,
moreniña, tanto, tanto;
tamén o trigo é *moreno*,
e mais fai molete branco.³⁸⁴

In other songs the fertile aspect of the dark-complexioned girl is stressed through a

³⁸⁴Rico Vereá 1989: 43, no. 1. See C CORRESPONDENCIAS section.

man praising her because she is as desirable as the black soil is for the farmer:

Eres *morena*, y por eso
no te faltarán amores,
que la tierra *morenita*
la aprecian los labradores.³⁸⁵

Morena tiene que ser
la tierra para ser buena,
y la mujer para el hombre
también ha de ser *morena*.³⁸⁶

A dark complexion is recognized in men's compliments as a sign of beauty:

Morenica, no desprecies
tu color *morena*:
que aquésa es la color buena.
(C 145 B)

In modern lyrics the same remark is made to the girl by a masculine voice, but the

³⁸⁵ Schindler 1941: 118 (text). Another Galician version is:

Chamáchesme *moreniña*,
morena como "la tierra",
tamén o era *miña* nai
e meu pai casou con ela
(Rielo Carballo 1980: 40, no. 359).

³⁸⁶ Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 1406. There is an Italian contemporary folksong with this comparison:

Tutti mi dicono che son nera nera:
la terra nera se mena il buon grano

(Alessandro D'Ancona, *La poesia popolare italiana* (Livorno: Franc. Vigo, 1878, p. 181) quoted by Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: 638; see there nos 1404-32). A similar comparison is applied to men in other contemporary texts:

Es mi amante *morenito*
como er *triguito* tremés,
que jace 'r pan escurito,
gustosito de comer.
(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 1434)

This change of point of view seems to be a parody of the female version:

Yo nací blanco y diré
la causa de ser *moreno*:
estoy adorando a un sol
y con sus rayos me quemo.
(Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 1572).

elements used here to stress the positive view of the girl's dark complexion are silver - both as a precious metal and as a symbol of whiteness - and the use of the courtly topic where the woman's love symbolically kills the man:

No desprecies lo moreno,
que vale más que la plata;
porque morenita es
la prenda que a mí mata.³⁸⁷

A dark-complexioned farm girl is the paradigm of beauty for another man:

Morenita la quiero
y labradora,
cuánto más morenita
más me enamora.
(Vasco 1929: 142, no. 2069)

3.6.2 The *morenita* and marriage

The problem faced by the dark girl is to get married because, even if she is more desirable than a fair one, she has broken the rules. The attitude of some men coincides with that of the Ndembu men in Zambia, where it is said that 'Women with very black skins are [...] very desirable as mistresses, though not as wives' (Turner 1986: 73). This dilemma is present in old *estribillos*, as is shown in the following song:³⁸⁸

Las blancas se casan
las *morenas*, no;
buen día me á venido,
que blanca me soi.
(C 144)

³⁸⁷ Rodríguez Marín 1882: no. 1417. There is another version of this *copla*, where the motif of the *morena* is blended with the learned motif of the killing power of love over the lover:

Amarillo es el oro
blanca la plata
morenita es la dama
que a mí me mata.
(Echevarría Bravo 1951: 234).

³⁸⁸ Changing skin symbolises the change of social status in short traditional narrative, for example in the tale of the Frog king or frog boy where 'se produce el fenómeno del cambio definitivo de piel en el momento de efectuarse el matrimonio' (Soons 1989: 76). For another version see Rielo Carballo 1980: 54, no. 647.

In a contemporary Catalan version this problem of preference for pale or dark complexion is present, but now the girl is happy because being *morena* prevents her from marrying:

Aquest any casen les blanques
i les que tenen bon dot,
Déu me do bona ventura,
jo que tan *morena* sóc.
(Amades 1982: no. 1461)

This paradoxical *copla* is the result of the blending of two different motifs: on the one hand the *morena* who is proud of her complexion, and the motif of the marriage, on the other hand. Nevertheless, in a similar modern song the problem is the opposite: fair girls are those who find it difficult to get married:

Ses atletes morenes
tenen un mirar estrany:
se'n casen més en un dia
que de blanques en un any.
(Amades 1982: no. 4339)

This series seems to culminate in a folksong where the man explicitly states his preference for experienced girls:

Eres branca como a neve,
eu queríate *morena*;
en canto nos casemos
dous años de lareira.
(Cabanillas 1983: no. 765)

The equation of fair=virgin and *morena*=sexually experienced girl becomes more explicit in male-voice songs. On the other hand, there is a text where a transposition of elements has occurred: the girl is compared with dark bread as opposed to the whiteness of flour. The order of elements seems to have affected the level of meaning - now the song is used to despise the girl because of the darkness of her skin (see *The baker woman*):

O que casa con *morena*
 leva la vida amargurada,
 rilla no pan dō centeo
 habendo fariña branca.³⁸⁹

3.6.3 The *morenita* and her excuses

The symbolic reading of *morena* can be understood in another group of *coplas*, where the girl needs to justify her colour. Often in old Castilian refrains, her excuses are based on erotic symbols such as the wind and the sun which 'simbolizan la sexualidad masculina; la sierra, sitio y símbolo de unión amorosa; la siega, que connota relaciones sexuales; el río del amor' (Frenk 1993a: 152). Note, for example, the following songs, where the girl's dark complexion is caused by the wind or by her labour (see **The baker woman, The spinner, The shepherd, The harvester**):³⁹⁰

Con el ayre de la sierra
 tornéme morena.
 (C 135)

Por el río del amor, madre,
 que yo blanca me era, blanca,
 y quemóme el ayre.
 (C 136)

Aunque soi morena,
 blanca yo nací:
 guardando el ganado
 la color perdí.
 (C 139)

Blanca me era yo
 cuando entré en la siega;
 dióme el sol, y ya soy morena.
 (C 137)

Some of these excuses have been preserved in contemporary folk songs. Exposure to

³⁸⁹ Cabanillas 1983: no. 762. The meaning of this song is related to a Castilian proverb: 'La tierra y la hembra quien no la ara en balde la siembra' (Correas 1627: 197b).

³⁹⁰ However for another point of view see Wardropper 1960: 417.

the sun is one of the girl's main justifications where sometimes, as in the second example, the use of the verb 'to adore' suggests that the sun is the beloved:

Chamáchesme moreniña,
 chamáchesme moreneira,
 chamáchesme moreniña,
 eche do sol que me queima.³⁹¹

Ven acá que che diréi
 a causa de ser morena,
 estou adorando o sol
 e cos seus raios me queima
 (Lis Quibén 1964: 209)³⁹²

After understanding the danger of the sun of love we can grasp the meaning of the following song, where the girl is afraid of going out because of the dangerous sun. The contrast between white and dark is now represented by the moon and the sun (see **The moon**):

Que con la luna, madre,
 que con la luna iré;
 que con el sol no puedo,
 porque me quemaré;
 que de mañana yo madrugaré.³⁹³

³⁹¹Lorenzo Fernández 1973: 615. The girl's excuse of being tanned by the sunshine is found in modern Italian folksongs.

Fiorin di more,
 son morellina, e son di naturale,
 son morellina, che m'a tinto il sole.
 (Tigri 1860: 332)

This text has a contradiction: in line 2 the girl's complexion is natural; in line 3 she states that her dark complexion was caused by the sunshine.

³⁹² There is the same version in a male voice, which seems to be a parody of the female-voice text:

Yo nací blanco y diré
 la causa de ser moreno
 estoy abrasando a un sol
 y con sus rayos me quemo.
 (Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 1572).

³⁹³ Córdova y Oña 1948-55: III, 145, no. 134. There is a similar Italian folksong:

Per i campi mi no vado,
 ma perchè divento mora,

Unlike the previous song, the girl now braves the dangerous burning sun. Is she already a *morena*? or is she confident about being a dark complexioned farmer girl?

Isabelita me llamo,
soy hija de un labrador,
aunque voy y vengo al campo,
no le tengo miedo al sol.³⁹⁴

Other symbolic motifs related to the burning sun are those of the baker and the oven, which, as has been shown by Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues, also have an erotic meaning. The song series related to the baker shows an interesting colour phenomenon. In these texts, to the dichotomy between black and white, a new colour has been added, red, which is represented by the oven's fire.

Colorada estáis, nuestra ama.
Vengo del horno i dióme la llama.
(C 1589)

Eu namoreime de noite
dunha branca panadeira
pero co fume do forno
foise trocando morena.³⁹⁵

The triad of white, black, and red is used in many initiation rites. The elements

ma mi go i siori che me adora
che i m'ama e mi vol ben.
(Radole 1965: no. 137)

³⁹⁴Díaz Viana & Manzano 1989: 20, no. 5. See another version in Torner 1920: no. 398.

³⁹⁵Cabanillas 1983: no. 761. There is another version where a dark-complexioned man appears:

Estoy enamoradita
de un muchacho panadero,
que con el calor del horno
se va quedando moreno.
(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 162).

symbolized are water, earth, and fire. The last one in this case is symbolized by the well-known erotic symbol: the oven.³⁹⁶

In another contemporary version, once more the girl loses her paleness as a consequence of her work. Here darkness is caused by charcoal, which, according to Danckert (1976: I, 391), on a symbolic plane is related to the red colour or to fire:

¿Cómo quieres que tenga
la cara blanca
si soy carbonerita
de Salamanca?³⁹⁷

Dust is another excuse for the girl's dark complexion. She complains about being called *morena* by her beloved to whom she will demonstrate, on Sunday, her authentic rosy complexion:

Chamáchesme moreniña
e éche do polvo da eira;
xa me vera-lo domingo
coma a guinda na guindeira.³⁹⁸

The *morena* girl's defiant attitude towards social rules is also preserved in contemporary lyrics. She is aware of her complexion but she does not care about the others because she has a lover or because she knows that she is free to choose one:

Aunque soy morenica y prieta,
¿a mí que se me da?
que amor tengo que ~~em~~ servirá.
(C 130)

³⁹⁶ For example in Zambia the colours of rites of initiation are black, red, and white. (Turner 1986: 68). The colour red is also associated with Fairies in Celtic tradition (Cross 1914-15: 595, n. 3).

³⁹⁷ Córdova y Oña 1948-55: 71, no. 26; Torner 1920: no. 256; and for versions in male voice see Lorenzo Fernández 1973: 219.

³⁹⁸ Rico Vereá 1989: 48, no. 4. This *copla* is very well known in Galicia and Portugal. For other versions see Lorenzo Fernández 1973: 616; Cabanillas 1983: no. 760; Leite de Vasconcellos: I, 521; Lima Cameiro 1958: 112.

Morenita me llaman, madre,
 desde el día en que nací;
 y [al] galán que me ronda la puerta
 blanca y rubia le parecí.
 (C 131)

Aunque soy morenita
 mi amor me quiere,
 lo mismo que si fuera
 como la nieve.
 (Echevarría Bravo 1951: II, 65)

No soy bonita que espante,
 ni fea que cause horror
 tengo un moreno agraciado
 y así me quiere mi amor.³⁹⁹

The *morena* behaves bravely towards men who remark on her condition. Without a symbolic reading it cannot be understood why the girl should worry about other people's gossip after having been accused of being a *morena*:

Chamácheme moreniña
 á vista de tanta xente,
 i agora vaimos quedar
 moreniña para sempre.⁴⁰⁰

The girl since medieval times has looked for solutions to her darkness. Washing her face is another common symbol in traditional love lyrics. In ancient poems she washes her face with almond water. Adding the green almond essence to the water emphasizes the water's fertility powers, as has been noted by Blouin (1981: 201-02; Frenk 1993a: 155). This contradictory solution for darkness becomes clear when reading Pliny: 'a decoction of roots of the bitter almond clears the complexion of spots and makes it of a more cheerful colour' (XXIII.lxxv. 144). This illuminates the girl's solution to her darkness in an old Castilian refrain:

³⁹⁹Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: no. 1435; see also no. 1436.

⁴⁰⁰Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 961. For another version see Lorenzo Fernández 1973: 62, no. 613.

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

(C 133)

The clue to full understanding of this song may well be given by other *estribillos*.

The motif of face-washing is a symbol of sexual love, for example when the lovers wash each other's faces in a clear fountain:

En la fuente de agua clara
con sus manos lavan la cara.
Él a ella y ella a él
[lavan la niña y el donzel]

(C 2)

In another old *estribillo*, the girl who does not have a lover complains about washing her face with sadness instead of using the lemon water of the married woman. Note that lemons were a well known aphrodisiac (Blouin 1981: 202):

¿Con qué la lavaré
la flor de mi cara?
¿Con qué la lavaré,
que bivo malpenada?

Lávanse las casadas
con agua de limones,
lávome yo, cuitada,
con ansias y dolores.

¿Con qué la lavaré,
que bivo malpenada?

(C 589 B)

Face-washing with lemon water is preserved in contemporary lyrics as a symbol of being in love:

Con el agua de limón,
con la verde limonada,
con el agua de limón
mi amor se lava la cara.⁴⁰¹

⁴⁰¹ C 589 B CORRESPONDENCIAS section.

Bearing these texts in mind it can be seen that in the old *estribillo* 'Aunque soy morenica un poco' the girl, who washes her face with green almond water, is stating that, although she has a dark complexion, she has a lover. However, in another contemporary popular song a *morena* wants to wash her face in order to lighten her complexion:

Déjame pasar
 que voy en busca de agua serena
 para lavarme la cara
 que dicen que soy morena:
 déjame pasar, dueño mío, déjame.⁴⁰²

The water used by the dark-complexioned girl is *agua serena*, water collected at dawn, a symbol of fertility which has healing powers. In this case, the water is seen as a possibility for removing her reputation as a *morena*. In other words the water is

⁴⁰²Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 128, no. 95. The motif of the girl washing her face is widespread in different regions of the Peninsula:

Deixame pasar que vou
 a buscar augua serena,
 que quero lavar a cara;
 ¡Dícenme que soy morena!
 (Pérez Ballesteros 1886: 152, no. 30).

Vaite lavar, moreniña,
 vaite lavar no rio ben,
 porque esí tan moreniña
 non te vai querer ninguén
 (Lorenzo Fernández 1973: 160, no. 2459)

For other versions see Lorenzo Fernández 1973: no. 2457. In another Galician song, the dark-complexioned girl threatens the white girl. Note that the verb 'to drink' is associated with love (see **The fountain**):

Chamáscheme moreniña,
 branquiña, vaite a lavar;
 onde as morenas beben,
 branquiña ¿que vés buscar?
 (Rico Vereá 1989: 70, no. 10).

In a Galician version the dark-complexioned girl boasts about her sensuality in the last two lines: 'dous amores que eu teño / inda chos podo emprestar' (Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 375).

seen as element of purification, though losing its aphrodisiac power (Caro Baroja 1979: 177-82).

3.6.4 The *morenita* under the shade of love:

As we have seen, there are songs where an accumulation of symbolic topics occurs. In modern popular lyrics the *morena* is in the shade, in a dark place, under the bridge of the road, which is the modern equivalent of the lovers' meeting-place under the tree or meadow, waiting for her lover:

Debajo del puente
 hay una morena
 esperando por su amante
 que viene de Cartagena.
 (Torner 1920: no. 383)

Once it is understood that under the bridge is an erotic place, the meaning of this song where the *morena* is shown in distress is revealed:

Debajo del puente
 de la carretera,
 debajo del puente
 llora una morena.
 No llora porque la olviden,
 que llora porque la quieran.
 (Díaz Viana & Manzano 1989: 41, no. 19)

Contemporary lyrics can be useful to clarify the meaning of an old text. This is a sad love song where symbolic elements have an erotic connotation. As we have seen above, when an accumulation of symbols happens in a song, it is to stress its sexual meaning:

Gritos daba la morenica
 sola en l'olivar,
 que los ramos hace tembla

Morenica cuerpo garrido
 gritos daba so el verde olivo,
 sola en l'olivar,
 que los ramos hace temblar.
 (Frenk 1993b: 18, n. 27.)

The cries of the *morena* are heard, without an explanation being offered for them (see **The mountain, Animals**). The song's ambiguity reveals the possibility of the *morena* being alone where she had been before with her lover. Thus, after we have seen contemporary versions, it may well be concluded that she is crying out of desire. In other words, the beauty of the place contrasts with the sadness of the girl (see **The mountain**). This also occurs in another version, where several elements are replaced in order to make the girl's sadness explicit. The first change in the gloss is that the character is not a *morenica*, but a girl (*niña*). Secondly, the girl's crying (*gritos*) is replaced by cries of pain (*llorava*) because her lover has been killed:

Gritos dava la morenica
so el olibar,
que las ramas haze temblar.

La niña cuerpo garrido,
llorava su muerto amigo
so el olibar,
que las ramas haze temblar.⁴⁰³
(C 499)

The explicitness of the 'glosa', in order to disclose the sense of the *estribillo*, suggests the possibility of learned intervention.⁴⁰⁴

In contemporary lyrics, once more, an accumulation of symbols occurs in one song where the erotic symbol of the oil lamp (*candil*) is added to topics such as the *morenita* and combing her hair (*peinar*) that are preserved in medieval lyrics. If one makes a symbolic reading, the *morenita*'s answer becomes almost explicit: she is getting ready to see her lover (see **The door**):

⁴⁰³The meaning of this song can be understood in another way. The erotic meaning of the *estribillo* contrasts with the sad situation described in the gloss. Thus, the listener's expectations are deceived by the contrast between gloss and refrain. I thank Professor Ian Macpherson for this helpful suggestion.

⁴⁰⁴For an interesting analysis of the process of adoption and adaptation of a motif see Alín 1968: 161-64.

¿Dónde vas, morenita?
 ¿Dónde tengo que ir?
 A peinarme los rizos
 a la luz del candil.

(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 158)

In a beautiful contemporary Portuguese song with archaic echoes an accumulation of symbols occurs once more. The text lists almost all of the symbolic places and there is an underlying comparison between the dusky colour of the river's troubled water and the dark colour of the girl that appears in the estribillo (see *Stirred water*). I quote the last stanza in which it is explicit that the girl is with her lover:

¡Ó da Malva, Malveta,
 ó da Malva, moreneta!

Nem o passava o rei
 nem tão pouco o seu russino,
 passava-o a Malveta
 nos braços do seu querido.

¡Ó da Malva, Malveta,
 ó da Malva, moreneta!
 (Martins 1928: 239)

3.6.5 *Morena* as a result of bad luck and sorcery

Dark colour can also be as a result of bad luck in traditional lyrics where the negative aspect of darkness is shown. In ancient lyrics this is differentiated by the use of the term *negra* when dark colour is caused by bad luck or sorcery:

Duelos me hizieron negra,
 que yo blanca me era.
 (C 142 A)

Hadas malas me fizieron negra,
 que yo blanca me era.
 (C 142 B)

In contrast, in contemporary songs this differentiation is lost, thus the term *morena* also connotes misfortune:⁴⁰⁵

Morena soy de nacido,
¡mal haya mi poca suerte!
Si hay alguno que me mate,
yo le perdono la muerte,
morena.

(Díaz Viana & Manzano 1989: 66, no. 30)

Finally, through the centuries, the *morena* may sometimes become a word empty of meaning: a cliché. This phenomenon is very common in contemporary lyrics, while in old texts it is less frequent:

En San Vicente
y en San Vicente
allí tengo la novia
de quince a veinte.
Ole, ole, ole, *morena*,
de quince a veinte.

(Córdova y Oña 1948-55: IV, 125, no. 87)

3.6.3 Conclusions:

The *morena*, connoting sexual experience, survives in modern traditional lyrics. Attitudes toward darkness are either appreciative or, less often, critical. In feminine-voice texts there appears either the girl who defies social conventions and is sure about herself, or the girl who knows that she cannot return to her previous state and is afraid of the social consequences of her behaviour. From the male point of view the praise of the *morena* predominates, even though men display an ambivalent attitude.

The comparison in most cases is made through a white-dark opposition.

Elements that represent purity are silver, water, and the moon, while those related to

⁴⁰⁵ According to Alan Soons the black skin 'evidencia, en cuentos europeos, el poder maléfico. Es el caso de la bruja en alguna de las múltiples versiones de "Las tres naranjas". Ese color puede desaparecer, sin embargo cuando se deshace el encantamiento, como en el cuento polaco de "la princesa negra"' (Soons 1989: 76).

darkness and redness stand for passion or love such as the sun, the oven, or the oil lamp. The only exception is the earth, used to denote fertility.⁴⁰⁶ All these elements coincide in the *morena*. She is fertile like the earth and she is a subversive element in society because she owns her sexuality. She has irremediably broken two barriers: the biological - she has changed from a girl to a woman - and the social - she has had sexual experience outside marriage.

3.7 Hair and Ribbon

3.7.1 Hair

The symbol of hair is universally related to human sexuality. Hair is associated with magic superstitions, for example it is a main ingredient of love potions, and it has an important place as a love token. Human hair was used as a medicine to prevent illness (Pliny: XXVIII.vii. 21).⁴⁰⁷

In early Peninsular lyrics hair is related to the woman, representing her sexual appeal and civil status. The motif of hair and the actions related to it are permeated by eroticism: 'A ideia subjacente a todas as referências ao cabelo na lírica tradicional é a do seu poder afrodisíaco' (Reckert & Macedo 1976: 170).

The importance of the ribbon as a love token can be explained by Crawley, who points out that in a primitive way of thought 'the donning of another's dress is more than a token of the new position: it completes identity by communicating the qualities of the original owner' (1927: 251). Margaret Sleeman concludes that motifs

⁴⁰⁶ White with black and red are the predominant colours in English folklore (Hutchings 1991).

⁴⁰⁷ See Margaret Sleeman 1981. For hair symbolism and magic custom, Vries 1976: s.v. hair; Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: Cheveux; Cirlot 1988: cabello. For superstitions associated with hair Opie & Tatem 1992: s.v. hair.

such as washing, combing, and unbinding are related to the girl's smarten herself up to meet her lover.⁴⁰⁸

3.7.1.1 Long hair

Long hair is associated with the girl's single status or is a symbol of her virginity. Hair is closely associated with the change of social status. Moreover, the author explains that ethnographic studies present evidence that in ritual situations long hair stands for unrestrained sexuality, short hair, partially shaved hair, or tightly bound hair stands for restricted sexuality, and a close shaven head for celibacy (Leach 1967: 77-107). However, in Germanic societies the punishment for the woman who violated chastity was cutting her hair and she was 'banished from her husband's house and village'.⁴⁰⁹

There were different punishments and fines for the untying of a woman's hair to a woman (Dillard 1984: 175). In Germanic law it was a punishable offence to unbind the hair of the woman. The amount of the fine depended on the status of the woman and how the action was committed. If her veil fell to the ground the fine was lower than if the unbound hair touched her shoulder (Amt 1993: 43).

In old Hispanic lyrics the virgin girl is designated by 'niña en cabello' (Covarrubias 1611: *s.v.* cabellos). Frequently, this motif is accompanied by 'killing of love' which stresses the sexual appeal of a virgin girl, who is fully aware of her charm.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁸1981: 323. For hair symbolism in traditional lyrics see: Torner 1966: no. 44; Sánchez Romeralo 1969: 60-61; Cummins 1977: 45; Beltrán Pepió 1984: 16; Olinger 1985: 22-25. The close relation between witchcraft and love tokens was studied by Alan Deyermond 1977.

⁴⁰⁹Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. 17 quoted by Clifford Davison 1975: 454. To have the hair cut was a condition for entering a monastery (Amt: 237).

⁴¹⁰In old lyrics there are other songs where the girl is seen enjoying her own sensuality (Frenk 1993b: 12-13). For instance when the hair is in contact with another element like water or wind:

Son tan lindos mis cabellos
que a cien mil mato con ellos.
(C 126)

The sex appeal of a virgin girl is praised by a man in another old refrain with a male focus:⁴¹¹

Vos me avéis muerto,
niña en cabello,
vos me avéis muerto.
(C 353 A)

Contemporary lyrics have preserved the image of the single woman as a long-haired girl whose hair reaches the waist, which means she is ready to marry. This motif is present in songs with female and male voices. When a woman is speaking the motif stresses her sexual readiness, thus her change of social status. This motif is in the following contemporary texts:

Agora que me vai dando
o pelo pol-a cintura,
xa pode saber meu pai
que agora xa non sou sua.
(Lis Quibén 1964: 364)

En llegándome el pelo a la cintura
ya le he dicho a mi madre
sí, vizcaíno mío,
que yo soy tuya.
(Córdoba y Oña 1948-1955: III, 132, no. 103)

Airezillo en los mis cabellos,
i aire en ellos.
(C 974)

Estos mis cabellos, madre,
dos a dos se los lleva el ayre.
(C 975)

⁴¹¹The sexual appeal of long hair as a symbol of virginity is seen in Calisto's description of Melibea hair 'su longura hasta el postrero asiento de sus pies' (*Celestina*: Act I, 100). It is interesting to note here the contrast with the description of the *serranas* made by the Arcipreste in the *Libro de Buen Amor*. He mentions the hair only in the description of the fourth *serrana* who has 'cabellos chicos' (st. 1008-20). Differences between the *serrana* portrait and the ideal beauty of the woman (st. 441-48) were studied by María Rosa Lida de Malkiel 1973: 174.

The long-hair motif is combined with the combing of hair stressing the virginity (honour) and single status of the girl in other Galician versions:

Rapaciña, peina o pelo,
non te fagas priguiceira;
pelo largo é a honra
dunha rapaza solteira.

(Rielo Carballo 1980: no. 988)

Peina, meniña, o cabelo,
e non seas perguiseira,
que o cabelo é a honra
dunha meniña solteira.

(Blanco 1992: I, 301, no. 754)

3.7.1.2 Hair loose and hair cut

Hair is the main feature of the woman described in early Peninsular lyrics. Actions exerted on it reveal the girl's self eroticism, her preparation for a love meeting, and her sexual experience which is expressed in different ways depending on the speaker of the song. Sometimes, in old refrains the image used is that of the loose hair of the girl, who apparently does not know what it got tangled with. According to Reckert this motif is related to an ancient Germanic custom that a married girl has to bind her hair (Reckert & Macedo 1976: 107). The same custom appears in Northern Spain (Torner 1966: no. 43). In old poems the girl complains about her unbound hair:

Soltáronse mis cabelos,
madre mía:
¡ay!, ¿con qué me los prendería?
(C 279)

The meaning of this complaint can be understood as the excuse of a girl who has seen her lover. In addition, the verb to tangle related to the consequences of love is also present in other motifs such as plants (see **Harmful herbs**). At times, the girl

remarks upon her condition: she does not have long hair any more, but she keeps her charm. In another words, even though she is not a virgin she is attractive:⁴¹²

No tengo cabellos, madre,
mas tengo bonico donayre.

No tengo cabellos, madre,
que me lleguen a la cinta,
mas tengo bonico donayre,
con que mato a quien me mira.
Mato a quien me mira, madre,
con mi bonico donayre.

(C 124)

In contemporary wedding songs the girl's sexual transformation is explicitly described using an accumulation of symbols. She was single and had her long hair, now she has become a prisoner under her husband's shade, in other words; it might be interpreted as her sexuality now being restrained by her husband. This image occurs in the Song of Songs; where the beloved is sitting under the shade of the lover, who is identified with an apple tree (2.3):

Ayer estabas soltera
con el cabello tendido
y ahora estás prisionera
a la sombra del marido.⁴¹³

In another song the girl explains why her hair cannot remain long. It can be interpreted in the same way. Her excuse is that it is being cut on the other side of the river, which in other songs is a symbol of marriage (see **Crossing water**):⁴¹⁴

⁴¹² A similar complaint made by a girl who is already experienced is the 'Aunque soy morenica/ no se me da nada' quoted above (see **The morenita**).

⁴¹³ Torner 1920: 202. This is a *copla* of a wedding song that is sung at the bride's arrival at the in-laws' house. This *copla* refers to the old custom that consists of putting woman's hair up after getting married (Torner 1966: no. 44).

⁴¹⁴ The erotic connotation of 'trasquiloiñar', to shear, is the same as that of to cut: sexual intercourse (see **The Harvester**).

¿Como quieres que teña
 cabelo longo e tendido,
 si mo están trasquiloñando
 da outra banda do río?

(Lis Quibén 1964: 364)

In other images where the lovers' intimacy is described by the girl's suitor, the erotic meaning of this symbol is preserved but the attitude of the speaker has changed:

Toda la noche
 me tienes atado
 con los tus cabellos,
 cabellitos rubios
 que me dan consuelo.

(Schindler 1941: no. 306)

In male-voice cases the hair seems to describe the sexual appeal of the beloved. Sometimes, the man describes the sexual encounter and the girl's hair gives solace to him. The hair is described by the man as being like the sea. This accumulation of symbols shows a combination of two motifs with clearly erotic connotations and reveals the lovers' intimacy:

En el mar de tu pelo
 navega el peine,
 con las ondas que hace,
 mi amor se duerme.

(Trapero 1991: 80)

Trazes cabelo atado,
 pelas costas, ao comprido
 nas ondas so teu cabelo
 anda o meu amor escondido.

(Pires de Lima 1962: 35)

3.7.1.3 Under the hair's shade

The motif of the shade as an erotic place is associated with hair. The symbolic meaning of sleeping under the shade of the lover's hair as 'entrega de la virginidad' has been studied by Alín (1991: nos 74 & 255):

A sombra de mis cabellos
se adurmió
¿si le recordaré yo?
(C 453)

Note that in the ancient version the words are said from the girl's point of view, but in contemporary lyrics the speaker of the text can be either a woman or a man:

A la sombra del cabello
de mi dama dormí un sueño.⁴¹⁵

A la selombra de mi cabello
un galán se ancostó;
se lo deajo, muere en pena,
y de pena muero yo.⁴¹⁶

A sombra dos teus cabelos
vão-se embora as amarguras;
bemdito seja o milagre
das tuas tranças escuras.
(Pires de Lima 1962: 159)

3.7.1.4 Hair combing and washing

There are two important actions related to the hair: washing and combing. These motifs have generally been accepted as symbols of preparation for love-making. Hairdressing is one of the most important features of the *rites de passage* (Leach 1967: 103).

In old lyrics hair washing is, as in the *cantigas de amigo*, related to ritual baths and to preparation for the lovers' meeting (Reckert & Macedo 1976: 106-07).

Furthermore, according to Blouin the washing of the hair:

significa exponer la virginidad a la influencia fecundadora del agua y, por tanto, dejar de ser virgen. Por analogía, todo acicalamiento del cabello, sea lavándolo, exponiéndolo al viento, o peinándolo, demuestra un segundo sentido de preparación para el amor,

⁴¹⁵ Torner 1966: no. 11. See José Pérez Vidal 1948 and C 453, SUPERVIVENCIAS section.

⁴¹⁶ Mourinho 1984: 491. See S 453, SUPERVIVENCIAS.

participación de un encuentro erótico y aceptación de las consecuencias. (1981: 205)

This motif rarely appears in traditional versions, while hair combing is widely preserved in contemporary lyrics. This motif is also preserved in ballads.⁴¹⁷

According to Alin: 'peinarse los cabellos, peinarse para alguno, venía a significar destinarle su amor' (1968: 707).

Hair washing is described in the same way as the washing of the clothes in traditional lyrics. The erotic connotations of washing and the place for laying out to dry are seen in different songs. There is an *estribillo* where a nun after washing her hair exposes it to the ice, which, as Blouin points out, is a symbol of virginity (1981: 191). Laying the nun's hair on the ice represent her lack of a lover (Reckert & Macedo 1976: 122):

¡Cómo lo tuerce i lava
la monjita el su cabello!
¡Cómo lo tuerce i lava;
luego lo tiende al hielo!
(C 18)

This motif is not frequent in contemporary lyrics. In a Portuguese version the girl washes her hair with *verbena* water, which has aphrodisiac attributes (Dioscorides: I. cvii), contrasting her long hair with her sadness. In this way she emphasises the absence of a lover:

Lavei o meu cabelo
cô'a água da verbena,
o cabelo cresce, cresce,
e a minh'alma 'stá em pena.
(Martins 1928: 259)

Hair combing is another motif closely related to the girl's sexuality. The girl who combs her hair is in a process of transformation: (1) combing her hair is a

⁴¹⁷ Rogers 1980: 90 and chapter 5, where she studies different connotations of hair combing in European ballads.

preparation for love-making, but (2) when the action is done by her lover, it might stand for sexual intercourse. There is a difference between the two actions. The first one shows the girl before meeting her lover, whereas the second one shows her after being with him. These two aspects of the motif appear in ancient lyrics:⁴¹⁸

- 1) Peynarme quiero yo, madre,
 porque sé
 que a mis amores veré.
 (C 277)

Pues que me sacan a desposar
quiérome peinar.
(C 278)

- 2) Peynadita traygo mi greña,
 peynadita la traygo y buena.

La mi greña, madre mía,
peyne de marfil solía
peynármela cada día;
y agora por mano agena
peynadita la traygo y buena.
(C 125)

Combing is preserved in contemporary songs as a symbol with erotic connotations, but frequently the point of view has changed from a female to a male focus or to a third person, whose gender is unknown. The meaning of the motif is disclosed in the last two lines of the following text:

¿Para qué quieres el pelo
si no lo sabes peinar?
¿Para qué quieres amores,
si no lo sabes guardar?
(Schindler 1941: no. 432)

Si supiera que peinabas
para mi la cabellera,
yo te diera peines de oro
y una cintita de seda.
(Llano 1977: no. 20)

⁴¹⁸ For the erotic symbolism of hair see Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: no. 97. While combing in traditional lyrics is exclusively a woman's act, in ballads it appears in a few cases as a man's action in vows of renunciation and this might be interpreted as a 'vow of chastity' (Rogers 1980: 106, 108).

Woman's hair's exposure to a natural element stresses the eroticism of washing or combing in traditional lyrics. This is explicit in an old Castilian refrain where the girl exposes her hair to the sun as preparation for meeting her lover:⁴¹⁹

Por un pagesito
del corregidor
colgaré io, mi madre,
los cabellos al sol.
(C 276 A)

Similarly, in contemporary lyrics two motifs appear clustered together: hair combing and its exposure to a natural element. Now the text has a male focus. The girl combs her hair under the moon, the sun or the night's dew or near the trees or herbs, all of which are erotic symbols in traditional poetry:

A la luna se peina
la moza mia,
a la luna se peina,
y al sol se mira.
(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: IV, 113, no. 54)

Al aire y al sol
y al rocío de la noche
se peina mi amor;
y al aire
(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: IV, 193)

A los rayos del sol se peina mi amor;
se viste y se calza del mismo color.
(Torner 1966: no. 249)

The girl also combs her hair under a lemon tree or near the balm. This shows that 'the gravitational field of such a cluster of symbols as the citrus complex is powerful enough to draw into its orbit even something as remotely connected with it as the herb *toronjil*' (Reckert 1993: 88). This motif is widespread in Hispanic ballads:

⁴¹⁹ The motif of combing hair under the sun also appears in a ballad, *La doncella guerrera* where she hears her father's complaint while she is combing her hair under the sun: 'bien lo oia la mediana que peinándose está al sol' (Catalan & Campa 1991: I, 91).

Moza que te estás peinando
 baixo de ese limoeiro:
 ese pelo que che cae
 dámo a min por diñeiro.
 (Blanco 1992: I, 395, no. 1198)

Claveyinas en marzo,
 rosas en abril,
 tu eres la que te peinas
 junto al taronjil.
 (García Matos 1982: 292, text 189 B)

The girl does not comb her hair when she rejects a lover in old traditional lyrics:

Cavallero, andá con Dios,
 que soys falso enamorado.
 No me peyno para vos,
 ni tengo de vos cuydado.
 (C 714)

In contemporary lyrics frustrated love is also symbolised by the girl who rejects the comb or does not comb her hair. The song is from the girl's perspective:

Solteiriña ben estaba,
 que peinaba os meus cabelos,
 y agora que seu casada
 nin os peino, nin os teño.
 (Lis Quibén 1964: 363)

Que dame el peine
 y el escarpidor
 para peinar el pelo
 de mi dulce amor.
 El mi pelo ya está peinado
 pero no con los peines
 que tú me has dao.
 (Torner 1920: no. 384)

This motif occurs in parodic songs. There is an old *estribillo* in which both aspects are mixed: the custom of combing the hair on St John's Eve to prevent lice, and the erotic connotations of this action:⁴²⁰

⁴²⁰ Julio Caro Baroja 1979. The action of lousing instead of combing appears in early ballads (Rogers 1980: 104-05).

Mi reina,
¿qué tanto á que no se peina?
Mi galán,
desde San Xuán.
(C 1916)

The hair is also offered to saints in order to get their favour. The girl's desire to have a suitor will be completed when, as stated in the last line, the man throws small stones at her. This is related to the motifs of the orange game and the man who throws a lemon (see **The orange game, throwing a lemon**):

A la Bígen de los Reyes
er cabeyo l'ofresí
porque te vorvieras loco
tiraras piedras por mí.⁴²¹

3.7.2 The ribbon

The hair ribbon and the coif are considered taboo in the Middle Ages, because they represent a woman's status. To untie the hair of a woman or the coif were severely penalized by law (see **The kiss**).⁴²²

⁴²¹Rodríguez Marin 1882-83: no. 2617. There is a Portuguese *quadra* where throwing pebbles is identified as a symbol of wooing:

Não me atires con pedrinhas,
estou a lavar a louçó;
atira-me con beijinhos,
coisa que a mamã não oiça.
(Pires de Lima 1962: 42).

This motif appears in the Portuguese ballad 'Indo eu por' i abaixo'

O rei'stava na varanda
e a rainha no quintal,
atirando um ao outro
com pedrinhas de cristal.
(Martins 1928: 222)

⁴²²Covarrubias *Tesoro*, s.v. 'cinta'. Also see Alín 1991: no. 206 and 386; Reckert & Macedo 1976: 216-18.

The ribbon as a love forfeit is a constant motif in ancient lyrics. The ribbon and girdle are described by the same word, 'cordón', in Galician and Spanish. They frequently, appear as love forfeit in the *cantigas de amigo* of Guilhade, Portocarreiro, Gonçaleanes, Pero Meogo, and King Dinis. They are described as made of gold thread or silk.⁴²³

It is worth noticing here that weaving thread was already associated with sexual intercourse (see **The Spinner**). Sometimes the man asks the girl to weave a girdle or at other times the girl is seen braiding her hair. Giving a ribbon or a girdle is closely associated with sympathetic magic. In Reckert's words:⁴²⁴

behind symbolism lies the shadow of sympathetic magic: the lingering subconscious belief, born of semantic confusion, that if phenomena are not really separable, and a symbol *is* the thing symbolized, then control over one is also control over the other. (Reckert 1993: 116)

The ribbon showing that someone is in love is a frequent motif in old *estribillos*:

Hum galán traye da cinta na gorra,
diz que lla deu la sua senhora.
(C 24)

Esta cinta es de amor toda:
quien me la dio ¿para que me la toma?
(C 635)

In contemporary lyrics the ribbon has preserved similar connotations:

A cinta de namorar,
a cinta namoradeira,
a cinta de namorar
téñoa na faltriqueira.
(Rielo Carballo 1980: 44, no. 438)

¿Quién te ha dado la cinta,
dorado clavel?
¿Quién te ha dado la cinta,
ramito de flores,
quisiera saber?

⁴²³Reckert & Macedo 1976: nos 6 girdle, 10 (silk ribbon), 12 (girdle), 16 (gold ribbon), 46 (girdle).

⁴²⁴The close relationship between the girdle, the chain, and thread with witchcraft was pointed out by Alan Deyermond (1977a)

¿Quién te ha dado esta cinta
bordada de amor?
que da vuelta a tu pelo
y arriba una flor.

(García Matos 1982: 252, text 99)

The ribbon is also a love token in contemporary Scottish tradition:

Ó ho, the ribbons, the ribbons, the ribbons,
Ó ho, the ribbons that the red-haired laddie gave to me.
(Shaw 1955: 194, no. 68)

The most frequent colours are of ribbons: green, red, and golden.⁴²⁵ Different colours correspond to different traditions. I divide the songs into three groups according to the colour of the ribbon/girdle: (1) green, (2) red, and (3) golden.

3.7.2.1 The green ribbon

The green girdle is in an ancient song, where the meaning of giving a girdle can be understood by the complaint made by the man:⁴²⁶

Por un cordonzillo verde
no quiero io perderme.
(C 676)

There is a contemporary Portuguese version where the green girdle appears and the man's complaint is made more explicit:

Mal o haja o cordão verde
d'amores hei-de eu perder
Nem pelo cordão verde
da sedinha lavada
perdera-o minha dama
passeando por la praia
Mal o haja o cordão verde
da sedinha torcida
perdera-o minha dama

⁴²⁵ Tomer (1966: no. 82) quotes some versions where there is a blue ribbon. In a Ukrainian song (Stravinsky, *Les Noces*) the bridesmaid sings:

I comb and plait it, I comb it and bind up her hair,
with a ribbon of bright red, twine it with a ribbon blue.

⁴²⁶ The magic power of Melibea's girdle over Calisto was studied by Deyermond (1977a: 7-9).

passeando pela vila.
 Darme o cordão cavaleiro
 pelo amor da tua vida.
 Ele disse que lo não dava
 sem co êle dormir.

(Mourinho 1984: 67)

In contemporary lyrics, the green ribbon is a love-token associated with harvesting customs in Asturias. According to Llano (1977: xxx):

Los mozos de antaño, cuando regresaban de la siega de los campos castellanos, traían para sus novias cordones verdes para apretar la cotilla; este recuerdo lo tenían las mozas en gran estima como prenda de amor:

Mucho me gusta lo verde,
 sobre todo los gordones
 que vinieron de la siega
 forradinos con amores.

In other areas of Spain the green ribbon also is seen as a symbol of engagement:

Esta niña que baila
 mírale el moño;
 si tiene cinta verde
 ya tiene novio.

(Schindler 1941: text no. 211)

Cintilla verde
 laboreada,
 cómo la revolea
 la enamorada.
 La pone al cuello,
 la vuelve a quitar
 como si ella fuera
 la flor del lugar.⁴²⁷

Cinta verde no sombreiro
 i amarela no calzón,
 cinta verde no sombreiro
 lévaia calquera fozón.

(Rielo Carballo 1980: 45, no. 467)

⁴²⁷César Morán, *Poesía popular salmantina* (Salamanca, 1924), quoted by Torner 1966: no. 82.

Dísterme una cinta verde,
tan verde como la rama,
la cinta la traigo al cuello
y a ti te traigo en el alma.
(Llano 1977: no. 64)

3.7.2.2 The red ribbon

The red ribbon is associated with wedding customs. Frequently, the colour is described either red or scarlet. The first image of a red ribbon associated with lovers is the description of the lips of the beloved as a scarlet ribbon (Song of Songs 4.3). There is another tradition in the Middle Ages, where the purple girdle or cord appears in the wedding rite:

During the veiling the priest placed a white and purple cord over the shoulders of the couple. Isidore called this the yoke of matrimony, and it symbolized the indissoluble union, its colour standing for the chastity and the blood of procreation. (Dillard 1984: 63)

Furthermore, a scarlet coif and scarlet girdle appear in contemporary Jewish-Spanish wedding songs (Alvar 1971: no 17). On the basis of what I have said the red or scarlet ribbon belongs to wedding ritual. This ribbon is also associated with magical healing powers and as protection against evil forces.⁴²⁸

In old Castilian traditional lyrics the red ribbon appears in a version where the man meets the girl at dawn. The girl is dressed with golden shoes and red hose:⁴²⁹

⁴²⁸In the Bible a scarlet cord in a window of a prostitute's house is the signal that prevents murder (Joshua 2.21). In England in 1314 the smallpox is cured with a red cloth. It is also believed that a red ribbon heals rheumatism and nose bleeding and protects from lunacy and witchcraft (Opie & Tamen 1992: sv Red thread).

⁴²⁹In the *Libro de Buen Amor* one serrana - a lustful character is dressed in red (997fg), and in the last *cantica* a serrana asks the Arcipreste for a red ribbon (1035ab) as a wedding present, adding:

Con aquestas joyas
quiero que lo oyas-
serás bien venido;
serás mi marido,
e yo tu velada.
(st 1038)

¿Dó va la niña
 tan de mañana,
 chapinito dorado,
 cinta encarnada,
 chapinito de oro,
 calça encarnada?
 (C 77)

In a contemporary version with archaic structure a man asks a girl for a red or yellow silken girdle, which is a symbol of marriage. Note that the woman has to weave the girdle. This action stands for sexual intercourse (see **The spinner**):

Hazme un cordón, doncella,
 aunque yo ponga la seda.

Hazme un cordón, doncella,
 que sea de hilo torcido.
 Aunque yo ponga la seda,
 encarnado o amarillo.

Encarnado o amarillo,
 hazme un cordón, doncella,
 aunque yo ponga la seda.

Dame tu cordón, doncella,
 que sea de hilo doblado.
 Hazme un cordón, doncella,
 aunque yo ponga la seda.

(Díaz Viana & Manzano 1989: 171)

The silk ribbon appears in other areas of the Iberian Peninsula. The precious material emphasises the favourable feelings of the speaker towards the beloved:

Aquel estudiante, madre, lleva la cinta morada,
 ¡como la vuela el aire, como lo revoleaba!
 Aquel estudiante, madre, lleva la cinta de seda!
 ¡cómo la vuela el aire, cómo el aire la vuela!
 (Manzano 1988: no. 585)

The red ribbon associated with hair binding is another symbol of engagement.⁴³⁰ In a contemporary version it is clear that the red ribbon is given by the lover, and the girl specifies that she is going to bind her hair with it:

Hei-de atar o meu cabelo
e viral-o para traz
com uma fitinha vermelha
que me deu o meu rapaz.⁴³¹

In other contemporary songs the red ribbon is combined with a gold ring, which is a symbol of love union in a large number of traditions. The golden ring sealed betrothals and marriage in Middle Ages:

Isidore had explicitly favoured not more than one betrothal ring placed on the bride's left fourth finger which, he knew from Macrobius, possessed a vein leading straight to the heart. To Isidore the ring symbolized one love shared. (Dillard 1984: 59)

In contemporary lyrics the red ribbon is also associated with the motif of crossing the bridge. In some versions, there is an accumulation of symbols similar to those of the old song. There is the dawn -'muy de mañana'-, and the objects found under the bridge- the gold ring and the red ribbon, both considered as symbols of engagement in medieval Castilian law:

Pasé la puente de hierro,
paséla muy de mañana,
encontré un anillo de oro,
con una cinta encarnada.
(Torner 1920: no. 205)⁴³²

⁴³⁰ Braga 1913: II, 453. See the Ukrainian wedding in *Les Noces* of Stravinsky, where the bride says: 'Plait my hair and bind it with ribbon red'.

⁴³¹ Braga 1913: II, 453. See also Torner 1966: no. 82.

⁴³² Similar elements are found in another contemporary version: the gold ring and the red ribbon under a place for washing:

Debaixo do lavadoiro,
onde María lavaba,
hai un anillo de ouro
nunha maza colorada.
(Rico Vereá 1989: 31, no. 1).

To cross a bridge is the entrance to the otherworld. Sometimes heroes had to cross an iron bridge that became fine like a blade according to the sins committed (Patch 1956). The lover builds a steel bridge in English ballads (Wimberly 1928: 115). In contemporary Galician songs a man encounters his fiancée, who is represented by the golden ring and the red ribbon:

Pasei a Ponte do Burgo,
paseina do madrugada,
topei un anillo d'ouro
cunha cinta colorada.

(Blanco 1992: I, 300, no. 766)

3.7.2.3 The golden ribbon

The golden ribbon occurs in an old *estribillo* the theme of which is adultery.

The married woman complains about her husband taking away the golden ribbon given to her by her lover:⁴³³

Y la mi cinta dorada
¿por qué me la tomó
quien no me la dio?

La mi cinta de oro fino
diómela mi lindo amigo,
tomómela mi marido.
¿Por qué me la tomó
quien no me la dió?

La mi cinta de oro claro
diómela mi lindo amado,
tomómela mi velado,
¿Por qué me la tomó
quien no me la dio?

(C 237)⁴³⁴

⁴³³ The golden ribbon appears in a girls' game named 'De Francia vengo señores': '-A la cinta, cinta de oro, / a la cinta de laurel. // -Ni por oro ni por plata / ni por punta de alfiler.' (García Matos 1951-60: I, 130B).

⁴³⁴In France, giving a 'golden belt' was a wedding custom. According to Bujeaud (1865: 188):

Anciennement le fiancé mettait toujours une ceinture dorée dans le trousseau qu'il offrait à sa fiancée et cette ceinture était appelée à jouer un nouveau rôle à la mort du mari. La veuve

In contemporary lyrics the golden ribbon is also a love token. In the following version, a dark-complexioned girl gives the golden ribbon to a man:

La cinta me la ha dado,
morena, mi amor;
me la ha dado dorada,
con una lazada
y en medio una flor.

(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: II, 288, no. 2)

In old Castilian *estribillos* the ribbon and the girdle also are love forfeits given or taken by the lovers. They are amid the love forfeits that the girl has to surrender as a consequence of trespassing in an orchard, a grove, or a vineyard:

Viñadero malo
prenda me pedía,
dile yo un cordone,
dile mi camisa.

(C 314 C)

Moreover, the girl loses a ring when crossing a bridge in another modern folksong:⁴³⁵

Al pasar por el puente
de Santa Clara
se me cayó el anillo
dentro del agua.⁴³⁶

This song contrasts with other contemporary versions (see above) in which the lover finds under the bridge a red ribbon and a golden ring which stand for his fiancée.

The loss of a forfeit is also related to other places that represent love-making. In a Portuguese song we are explicitly told that the girl loses her green girdle that was

pouvait faire acte de renonciation à la succession de son mari de trois manières. La première de ces façons s'observait au temps que la veuve, après que le corps de son mari était inhumé, jetait sa ceinture, sa bourse et ses clefs sur la fosse, dont elle demandait acte à un notaire.

⁴³⁵This symbol appears in a *cantiga de amigo* (Reckert & Macedo 1976: 90) but the meaning differs from the contemporary version. Here the girl is complaining about the loss of the ring, which symbolizes a broken engagement.

⁴³⁶ Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: I, 60, no. 49. Usually the opening lines are 'Al pasar el arroyo / de Santa Clara' (Olmeda 1903: 35, no. 16; García Matos 1951-60: text no. 135 (cf. no. 360); Frenk 1977: IV, no. 8789); for the same beginning in old refrains see C 2382 & 2383).

found by a knight passing by, who conditions the returning of the garment with love-making. The man is rejected by the girl:

Eu perdi o cordão verde
além naquela ramada
achara-o um cavaleiro
cavaleeiro [sic] d'além d'ála;
Ele disse que não mo dava
Se eu com ele não folgara,
se por un cordão verde
eu hei-de andar errada.
(Mourinho 1984: 67)

The lost forfeit is a ribbon in other contemporary versions, which implies the loose hair of the girl. The loss occurs after the girl goes up and down a hill or in the mill.

These places and the rhythmic actions reveal the sexual connotation of this action:

O subila i-o baixala
a costa de carracedo,
o subila i-o baixala
perdin a cinta do pelo.
(Lis Quibén 1964: 364)

Fun ó muíño a Braña
nin muín nin muíñei
perdín a cinta do pelo
eso fui o que ganeie.
(Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: I.ii, 53
no. 191b)

3.7.3 Conclusions:

Hair is a symbol of woman's sexual appeal in Hispanic traditional lyrics. Long hair stands for the girl's virginity, and single status. The combing of hair is preserved as a symbol of preparation for meeting her lover, and when combing is done by the man it stands for love-making. The girl's rejection of a lover is symbolised by not combing her hair and by rejecting the man's comb.⁴³⁷ In contemporary lyrics the hair is also associated with sea images; perhaps this is the

⁴³⁷ In contrast with Torner's opinion I have not found songs with the literal expression 'niña en cabelo' (Cf. Torner 1966: no. 43).

blending of a learned and a popular motif. Furthermore, the ribbon and the girdle preserve their importance as love tokens. The ribbon's colours are green, red, and golden. The loss of a love token - girdle, ribbon or ring - sometimes stands for the loss of the virginity of the girl.

3.8 The Virgin and the female symbols

Religious songs are another interesting area of traditional lyrics where the concurrence and influence between popular and learned cultures is manifested.

The use of profane themes, applied to religious subjects, was a common poetic device in medieval Europe. *Contrafacta* were widespread in Spain where, according to Bruce W. Wardropper, 'la lírica religiosa es predominantemente popular'.⁴³⁸ The use of the term *a lo divino* was explained by John Crosbie (1989: 12):

the term *a lo divino* [...] had expanded its range of meaning[...]That is to say, up to about 1580 the words *a lo divino* were consistently used to indicate that the text to which they referred was a direct imitation of a pre-existing secular text; after 1580, they were more and more commonly used simply to indicate that the content of the text so termed was religious rather than profane.

In this study, the songs considered as *contrafacta* are an imitation of a secular text, which has to be very widespread in order to be identified as such. This 'se convierte en un detalle de no pequeña importancia a la hora de fijar su grado de difusión popular' (Pedrosa 1992: 43). Therefore, the appearance of erotic symbols in religious songs is evidence of their acknowledgment by the people. This is the case with traditional songs where symbols related to the woman are applied to the Virgin Mary.⁴³⁹ According to the imagery occurring in the texts, popular songs dedicated

⁴³⁸Wardropper 1958: 153. Alín 1968: 130-37.

⁴³⁹The praise of the Virgin Mary, using images which were adopted from learned erotic poetry, and later adapted to lyrics with religious purpose, is seen in the *Loores* of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X 'which were designed in the first place to translate the metaphor of the solicitant of a divine

to Mary can be arranged into five groups. The first one consists of those songs where the Virgin is identified with plants imagery. This is a feature shared by ancient and contemporary traditions. Usually, the rose is the flower which describes Mary, who is portrayed as the rose that the wind does not shrivel:

Debaxo de la peña nace
la rosa que no quema el ayre.
(C 1353)

In this song, the wind, which frequently symbolises male sexual passion, cannot damage the virginal condition of Mary (see **The wind**).

The terms rose/flower were common in Middle Ages in praising the Virgin. This motif is widespread in European countries.⁴⁴⁰ In contemporary songs these terms occur in a hyperbole to praise the Virgin Mary:⁴⁴¹

guerdon at the mercy of the most exalted of all ladies, his *Senhor das senhores*' (Snow 1979: 315). In a similar way, popular the erotic imagery of popular lyrics is used in religious songs.

⁴⁴⁰ Spitzer 1950. The use of this expression by the Arcipreste de Hita was pointed out by Maria Rosa Lida de Malkiel (1971: 138-39).

⁴⁴¹In the Iberian Peninsula, they used to sing the love sacraments or love commandments and the 'dibujo de la maya', where a description of the girl is given. The following Portuguese version of the sacraments is particularly interesting because of the use of flowers:

Se queres ouvir, cristão,
os mandamentos cantados
sperta s'estás dormindo,
que são já começados.
O primeiro desta rosa
é um fermoso jardim [...]
O terceiro desta rosa
que são as violetas;
são as flores mais belas
que santificam as festas.
O quarto desta rosa
é o lirio que fica bem[...]
Um craveiro florido
fica no quinto lugar[...]
O sexto significa
a flor do gira-sol
O sétimo desta rosa
é a flor margarida'

(Martins 1928: 170-71)

¡Rosa de rosas!
 ¡Flor de flores!
 ¡Virgen de Virgen!
 ¡Amor de amores!

(Schindler 1941: no. 263)

This text is a version of the *estribillo* used by Alfonso X in *cantiga* 10:

Rosas das rosas e Fror das froes,
 Dona das donas, Sennor das sennores.

In another old refrain, the cloak of the Virgin is compared with the green colour of plants or with precious spices such as the cinnamon:

Del color de hoja-regalo
 de la azucena
 lleva el manto la Virgen-regalo
 de la Cabeza.
 (C 1355)

This motif is preserved in contemporary lyrics, where the Virgins cloak is described bearing different colours depending on the depiction of the Virgin mentioned in the song:

Del color de la hoja
 del verde limón
 tiene un manto la Virgen
 de la Consolación.
 (Vasco 1929: I, 96, no. 441)

A la Virgen del Carmen
 le han hecho un manto
 del color de canela,
 azul y blanco.
 (García Matos 1951-60: I, text no. 150)⁴⁴²

The Virgin Mary is frequently associated with the colour green. Here is compared with the vine and lemon leaves (see **Trees**):

⁴⁴²Another Portuguese version is:

A Senhora de Assunção
 tem um manto veludo
 que lh'o trouxeram os estudantes
 quando vinham do estudo.
 (Martins 1928: 154)

Pampanitas verdes,
 hojas de limón,
 la Virgen María,
 Madre del Señor.

(Larrea Palacín 1955: 112, no. 45)

This song illustrates another interesting coincidence of a pagan image with Christian imagery. The image of the green tendril occurs in an old *estribillo*:

Pámpano verde, rrazimo alvar,
 ¿quién vido dueñas a tal ora andar?
 Enzinueco entr'ellas
 entre las donzellas.

(C 22)

This song is attested in trial documents from the seventeenth century, where it was considered a song sung by witches. Other versions have survived associated with witchcraft in the Canaries:

Pímpano verde
 racimo de moras,
 ¿quién ha visto andar
 damas a estas horas?
 Nosotras que semos
 dueñas y señoras.

(Jiménez Sánchez 1955: 14)

It is worth noting here that the unripe fruit and the green plant were associated with the favourite drink of witches during their sabbath, known as *potage verte* in Basque and Navarrese traditions (Pedrosa: in press a).

Another topos frequently applied to the Virgin is a *morena*. There is a series of coplas where the Virgin Mary in some of her depictions is seen as a *morena*. These black virgins are related to cults of fertility that have deep roots in ancient times. The use of dark colour in a Christian symbol is an example of how traditional lyrics adopted pre-Christian imagery.⁴⁴³

⁴⁴³For further explanation of the Black Virgin see: Danckert 1976: I, 400; Begg 1985: ch. 5; Olinger 1985: 159-60. Other examples in Catalonia:

Yo me soy la morenita
yo me soy la morená.
(C 1360)

The element that appears related to the Virgin is the sun as a symbol of Christ, which conveys the idea that 'Christ is the Sun who rises to end the night that has dominated the world':⁴⁴⁴

Morenica me adoran
cielos y tierra,
que del sol de mis brazos
estoy morena.
(C 1363)

Yo me era morenica,
y quemóme el sol:
¡ay, mi Dios, que me abraso
y muero de amor!
(C 1361)

Cuando el sol se hacía
era yo morenica,
y antes deÍ que el sol fuera
era yo morena.
(C 1362)

¡Que y andar, andar,
morená, por el aire,
que y andar, andar,
morenita, andar!
(C 1355)

The cult of the black Virgin has been preserved in contemporary lyrics, but now the Virgin, even though she is still a 'morena', is praised as the best *serrana*, or by other epithets:

companys meus, qur m'hi dieu?
També n'era moreneta
la Verge Mare de Déu.
(Amades 1982: no. 1335).

⁴⁴⁴ Wilson 1965: 317.

La mejor serranita
que hay en la sierra,
es la Virgen de Francia
aunque es morena.
(Torner 1966: no. 122)

La Virgen de los Valles
la morenita
entre cuevas y valles
tiene la ermita.
(Hergueta 1934: 194)

Quien la llevará a la sierra, morenita?
quien la llevará a la sierra, morena?
(Schindler 1941: no. 461)

Ande, ande, ande,
la marimorena,
ande, ande, ande,
que es la Nochebuena
(García Matos 1951-60: vol 1, texto no. 2)

In contemporary lyrics, the symbol of the hair, which, as we have seen has sexual connotations, is present in the Virgin's portrait. Here, the Virgin Mary's incredibly long hair reaches the sky and she makes a chain out of it. Her long hair stresses her virginity (see **Hair**)

La Virgen María
su pelo tendió,
hizo una cadena
y al cielo llegó.
(García Matos 1951-60, text no. 9)⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴⁵The motif of combing hair is adapted to a popular ballad where the Virgin Mary appears combing her hair under a palm tree. This motif in love songs symbolises the woman's preparation to see her lover. Here, the Virgin meets Joseph:

La virgen se está peinando,
a la sombra de una palmera
pasó allí José
la dice de esta manera.

Díaz 1982: I, no. 5. see other versions in: García Matos 1951-60: I, 36 and II, 138; Echavarrría Bravo 1951: 440; Gil 1951: II, 51. This song is a typical ballad's beginning, where a woman is depicted performing an action in a place displaying all the elements associated with the erotic meeting, where a man passing by meets her. This is the case in *La infantina*. The Virgin Mary combing her hair has the same features of supernatural beings, for instance in *La romera*, according to Rogers (1980: 95):

the king is taken with a finely dressed pilgrim who passes through town; his search party finds her combing her hair with gold and silver combs in a poplar grove - a motif

In another group of songs the Virgin is washing and spreading out the clothes on the rosemary, which is an erotic symbol (see **Washing**). In the following Christmas carol, the erotic elements of the scene are interpreted literally:

La virgen está lavando
y en el romero tendiendo,
los angelitos cantando
y el agua clara corriendo.
(Trapero 1990: 176)

To sum up, in traditional religious lyrics erotic symbols when adopted and adapted to praise the Virgin Mary lose their sexual connotation. Symbols which are often associated with the female world are: the rose, the dark complexion, the long hair, and the washing and laying out motif. There are others associated with the welcoming of spring and witchcraft. Learned tradition has also influenced traditional lyrics. This is demonstrated in the preservation of the hyperbole used by Alfonso X.

3.9 Other Spaces

Until now we were dealing with symbols taken from Nature, from the exterior world, where elements are not controlled by man. In this section I shall analyse motifs that represent elements made by man: the house door, the mill, and the castle, whose erotic connotations are widespread in traditional lyrics. These symbols work in the same way as those taken from Nature, and often they appear combined with them.

The house, the mill, and the castle were the three main places -apart from church- where peasant women and men in the Middle Ages did their daily activities.

which combines feminine attraction and the mysterious power of a fairy:

La han encontrado debajo de una alameda,
con peines de oro y plata los sus cabellos los peina

Both the forest setting and her activity are an appropriate preparation for the imminent transition from the human, everyday, world to the supernatural and marvelous: The pilgrim reveals that she is the mother of god.

These spaces provide shelter, food, and protection. The house was the centre of private life, where the greater part of women's tasks were performed (see *The Spinner*). The mill was one of the public places where women and men interacted without this interaction being considered dishonourable (see below). The castle, on the other hand, was the centre of political life and wealth.

In Hispanic traditional lyrics the private space represents the feminine, whereas the public one stands for a lovers' meeting place. However, the motif of the castle, borrowed from learned lyrics and adapted to popular songs, needs to be considered separately.

3.9.1 The private space: the door.

The house door has been used in different literary traditions to represent a variety of ideas. The door represents:

the integrity of family life, [...] the hospitality of the house, or [...] the violation of hospitality from without or from within: the door opened, the door closed.⁴⁴⁶

In rituals and festivals the house door has a noticeable place. Some of these rituals were (and are) associated with wooing. In Classical times there was the custom of the beloved's leaving garlands of flowers at the girl's door. Magic rites for attracting the lover were performed at the door.⁴⁴⁷ Similar customs are preserved in Spain, where the day before St John's Eve the man leaves a branch or a bunch of flowers at the door of the girl whom he loves or whom he considers beautiful. The same day

⁴⁴⁶ Haight 1950: 147; Different meanings of doors were studied by Deyermond & Hook 1979 in the *Cantar de Mio Cid*. The house as a metaphor for *cunnius* was studied by Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: nos 81 & 138.

⁴⁴⁷ These rites appear in Theocritus Idyll II and in other Classical poets (Haight 1950: 99-100). Another example is an *exclusus amator* who leaves garlands and gifts at his beloved's door in Lucretius (IV.1175-80).

the men deposit a different kind of garland in front of the house door of ugly girls. These customs reveal a language of the flowers and plants, that is explicit in the following song:

Por apero te quiero
 pino te estimo;
 peral te quiero más;
 álamo te amo.
 Jara haragana.
 Adelfa gitana.⁴⁴⁸

Decorating the door with branches and flowers was so common that it was associated with any festival in Castile (Covarrubias 1611: s.v. enramar). The origin of this kind of celebration is archaic and was possibly related to prophylactic magic (Caro Baroja 1979: 186-202, 295). This tradition is represented in old and contemporary Peninsular popular lyrics related to May, and to St John's Eve:

Si queréis que os enrame la puerta,
 vida mía de mi corazón,
 si queréis que os enrame la puerta,
 vuestros amores míos son.
 (C 1248)

Si quieres que a tu puerta te enrame
 prenda mía de mi corazón,
 si quieres que a tu puerta enrame
 tus amores míos son.
 (Tejero Cobos 1990: 59)

The house door is an important space that is related to different magical and ritual traditions. The variety of superstitions associated with the house door is endless. Some interesting English superstitions illustrate the heterogeneity of these customs. The back door is associated with death and misfortune, while the front door is associated with fertility and life. Moreover, the bride has to leave the door open during the church ceremony, otherwise she will be unlucky (Opie 1992: s.v. Door).

⁴⁴⁸Caro Baroja 1979: 185; this custom is preserved in France associated with May. The night of 30 April the man deposits a garland at the house of the girl. The plants used for the garland depend on the girl's beauty. Van Gennep 1937-58: I.i, 241 ; I.iv, 1518.

3.9.1.1. The door opened

3.9.1.1.1 The girl opening the door

The house door is an erotic motif in literary traditions. In Classical literature it persistently appears as a symbol which 'first and foremost is the symbol of sex-love, for the door of maidenhood, which must be forced' (Haight 1950: 147). This sexual meaning of the door occurs in a number of Latin authors (Adams 1982: s.v. door). According to Isidore of Seville (VIII.xi.69), the vulva was the 'puerta del vientre, porque recibe el semen, o porque de ella procede el feto' (XI.i.137).⁴⁴⁹

In old Peninsular lyrics, the house door has preserved this erotic meaning. The house corresponds to the girl's body and the door is the entrance it. This motif first occurs in *kharjas*, it is absent from the *cantigas de amigo*, and it reappears in old Castilian *estribillos* as a persistent motif, associated with wooing and love-making.⁴⁵⁰ Opening the door was considered as 'dar entrada i okasión para otro tal'in Correas' *Vocabulario* (611b).

⁴⁴⁹For the door's sexual meaning in Castilian lyrics of the Golden Age see Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: nos 81, 28; 133, 3; 129, n. 28, 29.

⁴⁵⁰In Galician contemporary Lyrics to pass by the door of the beloved is a cliché:

Pasei pol-a tua porta
e mire pol-o furado
(Bouza Brey 1982: II, 77)

Pasei pela tua porta
pedite agua e non ma deche
Pasei pela tua porta
a esquina me encostei
(Bouza Brey 1982: II, 77)

There are other songs with this cliché from Asturias:

Cuando paso por tu puerta
llevo las medias caídas,
pa que no diga tu padre
que te prendo con las ligas.
(Llano 1977: no. 325)

It is also related to the cliché 'Cuando paso por tu calle' (see Llano 1977: no. 326). For other wooing customs related to the door see Pedrosa 1993b.

From a female point of view, the opening of the door is often blended with the waiting motif.⁴⁵¹ These motifs first occur in the *kharjas*, where the girl is excited because her lover is at the threshold:

Un día a su puerta acecha un cervatillo y golpea con cierta violencia. Desde la habitación en donde ella estaba, levantó la voz y, apoyándose en su madre, (dijo): 'no puedo contenerme...

kfr'm.mḥ
myw 'lḥbyb 'št'dy'nh.⁴⁵²

The girl explains that she is not strong enough to reject her lover in the *muwashasha*, a motif that reappears in ballads (see below). The lover's presence revealed by knocking at the door is preserved in old *estribillos*, where the girl's eagerness is revealed by the enthusiastic tone of the last two lines:

⁴⁵¹ The door is associated with the fountain (see **Dread of water**) and with oranges and lemons (see **The girl as a fruit**). It is interesting to contrast this with Classical Greek songs where the window is the place associated with prostitution and adultery (Gangutia 1972: 378-80). In Correas (1627: 559a) there is a proverb that condemns the girl's behaviour: 'Moza ventanera o puta o pederá'. This theme has been preserved in contemporary lyrics:

Quítate de esa ventana
no seas tan ventanera
que la cuba de buen vino
no necesita bandera.
(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 235)

The opening line has become a cliché present in parodies of serenade and pilgrimage song:

Quítate de esa ventana
cara de limón podrido;
que pareces el demonio
cuando está loco perdido.
(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 235)

See also: Rodríguez Marín 1882-83: nos 7134-40.

⁴⁵² According to Sola-Solé (1973: no. 39; Stern 1964: no. 14) the translation of this *kharja* in Spanish is: 'Qué haré, madre, mi amigo (es) está a la puerta'. Aristophanes has a specific vocabulary related to doors, and one of his frequent expressions is knocking at the door (Haight 1950: 76).

Llaman a la puerta,
 y espero yo a mi amor:
 ¡que todas las aldabadas
 me dan en el corazón!
 (C 292)

Note the efficacy of this poetic image: the sound of the door-knocker is compared to the beating heart of the girl. In a few lines, the song describes the girl's feelings that approach their climax before the end of an anxious wait, before her deflowering (see **Dread of water**).

The woman may be portrayed with her door opened waiting for her lover to come:

Buscad, buen amor,
 con qué me falaguedes,
 ¡que mal enojada me tenedes!

Anoche, amor,
 os estuve aguardando,
 la puerta abierta,
 candelas quemando,
 y vos, buen amor,
 con otra holgando.
 ¡Que mal enojada me tenedes!
 (C 661)

The opened door, in this song, underlines the sexual experience of the woman. She has already opened her body to her lover. The burning candles show her excitement and also the absent lover. In contemporary lyrics the motif of the door is also associated with waiting and the lighting of candles:⁴⁵³

⁴⁵³ Candles or lamps are closely associated with the sexual union of the lovers. In contemporary folksongs from Lithuania lighting the candle means burning with love (Danckert 1976: I: 259). In a Greek epigram when the lovers make love they extinguish the flame of the lamp. Philodemus, the poet, orders his maid to close the door and leave the lovers alone. Then he addresses his beloved and the bed:

At last, sweet Xantho, you and I!
 and Oh, dear Bed, the lovers' friend,
 know Aphrodite's rites are nigh.
 I quench the lamp. Love's flame burns high.
 (Haight 1950: 109)

In old Spanish ballads the opening of the door is associated with the blowing out of the candle when one of the lovers is deceived by the other. In the ballad of *La bella Melisenda*, Melisenda opens the door with

Toda la noche aguardando
 con el velón encendido
 teniendo la noche clara,
 teniendo claro el camino.
 Amor, amor,
 ¿cómo no has venido?
 Amor, amor,
 porque no he podido.
 (Manzano 1982: no. 750)

There is another text with this motif but from a male point of view:

Toda la noche me tienes
 con el candil encendido,
 morenita, ¿cómo no has venido?
 (Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: II, 229, no. 66)

The girl's consent for making love is represented by unlocking the door, disobeying her father's orders, and leaving it open for her lover (see **The dog**):⁴⁵⁴

the help of magic and then extinguishes the torches, before seducing the count:

Las puertas halló cerradas,
 no encontró por donde entrar;
 con arte de encantamiento
 ábre las de par en par;
 siete antorchas que allí arden
 todas las fuera apagar.
 (Menéndez Pidal 1938: 88-89)

These motifs - the woman who seduces the man, extinguishes the candles, and gets into his bed - are common in *chansons de geste* (Menéndez Pidal 1938: 90). The opposite situation occurs in the ballad of *La amiga de Bernal Francés*, where the girl prepares herself to open the door and the man blows out the oil lamp:

Alzó sábanas de Holanda,
 cubrióse de un mantellín;
 tomó candil de oro en mano
 y la puerta bajó abrir.
 Al entreabrir de la puerta
 él dio un soplo en el candil.
 (Menéndez Pidal 1938: 112-13)

For the sexual meaning (penis or *cunnus*) of the candle and candlestick in France see Guiraud 1978 s.v. chandell, chandelier, lanterne. The candle is a symbol for the penis in Spanish songs from the Golden Age (Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: 97, 131).

⁴⁵⁴Custody of the door in Peninsular traditional lyrics contrasts with Germanic customs, where collective wooing was allowed by parents at night. They permitted:

their marriageable daughters to leave doors and windows open [...] or even by providing them with a private stairway at their rooms, as in the overlapping area of Slovenia; or by allowing them at the first sign of spring to move their beds to the outhouse or above

Si mi padre me manda
 cerrar la puerta
 doy vueltas a la llave
 y queda abierta.

(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 236)

The lovers are described arranging a meeting in the following contemporary song, where the girl's sexual availability is represented by the symbolic locking of the door with an olive sprig:

¿Qué cuándo quieres que vaya a verte?
 Ven a verme, ven a verme, dueño mío;
 tengo la puerta trancada con una ram d'olivo
 ¿Qué cuando quieres que vaya a verte?

(Torner 1920: no. 189)

The door can be opened by the wind in contemporary lyrics. This traditional image occurs in the following song, where the girl's doors are opened by the wind:⁴⁵⁵

Estando sola, solita,
 me abrió las puertas el aire,
 creyendo que era mi amor
 que venía a consolarme.

(Manzano 1988: no. 382)

The wind as a male symbol appears frequently in traditional lyrics (see *Wind*). The image of the wind opening the girl's door as an excuse for hidden love-making often occurs in contemporary traditional and learned lyrics. The first two lines of the quatrain belong to a happy love meeting. However, at the same time that the girl reveals her disappointment, she discloses the symbolic meaning of the wind and her thoughts.⁴⁵⁶

the cattle-stall, as in Northern Scandinavia. (Hatto 1965: 60)

⁴⁵⁵See Thompson 1955-58: T524 conception from wind.

⁴⁵⁶This image occurs in Mexican coplas:

Tu madre tiene la culpa, *Llorona*,
 por dejar la puerta abierta,
 el viento por empujarla
 y tú por quedarte quieta.

(Frenk 1977: II, no. 404)

Sometimes the woman cannot open the door. The woman rejects her lover in another old *estribillo*. However, her resigned tone indicates that something -or someone- else is forcing her to do it:

Caballero, bien podéys iros,
que en verdad no puedo abriros.
(C 698)

In a contemporary lullaby, the reason that stops the woman from opening the door to her lover is perhaps disclosed:

Si el padre del niño
no hubiera venido
t'abriría la puerta
dormiría contigo.
(Díaz Viana & Manzano 1989: 13, no. 1)

To sum up, the door stands for the entrance to the woman's body in traditional lyrics. The woman's opening or closing of the door stands for acceptance or rejection of sexual intercourse. Sometimes in old lyrics the lover is at her door and we are witnesses to the girl's agitation before the meeting with her lover. At other times, the open door represents the girl who already has a lover, and her sexual desire is represented by leaving the door open. If the lover does not arrive, the frustration of the woman is explicit in old *estribillos*. The opened door can be replaced by the girl unlocking her door for her lover, or locking it with a sprig of olive in modern lyrics. The excitement and impatience of the girl is described by the image of her door opened by the wind, which, as a universal male symbol, also represents the lover. Lastly, the woman may refuse to open the door; this is associated with songs of adultery.

Deyermond (1979-80: 276) studies this image of the wind opening the door in different traditions. This image also occurs in García Lorca's *Romancero gitano: Preciosa y el aire* (1978: 227).

Bearing in mind these features, we can conclude that the woman is often depicted as willing to open her door, her body, to the man. In those songs where the woman rejects the lover, her tone suggests that she is forced to keep the door closed.

3.9.1.1.2 The man at the door

The man asking his beloved to open her door is a motif that can be traced back to Antiquity. The man or the woman at the door of their beloved pleading to enter, the *paraclausithyron*, is considered a folk genre of Classical times.⁴⁵⁷

The lover at the door of his beloved, waiting outside on a rainy and cold night, occurs in the Song of Songs (5.2):

Ego dormio, et cor meum vigilat. Vox dilecti mei pulsantis: aperi mihi soror mea, amica mea, columba mea, imaculata mea:
quia caput meum plenum est rore, et cincini mei guttis noctium.

The *exclusus amator*, is a frequent topos in Classical literature. It appears associated with dark night and rain in a Greek epigram by Asclepiades. The man is waiting all night at his beloved's door and his garments get wet:

The night is long. It is raining
the Pleiades rise and set.
yet back and forth by her door-way
I pace, my garments wet.
(Haight 1950: 109)⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁷ A. Körte, *Hellenistic Poetry*, trans. J. Hammer & M. Hadas (New York: 1929), quoted by Haight 1950: 95.

⁴⁵⁸ Another example is from Horace, *Odes* (III.10). This is a lover's complaint. The man is outside her door suffering the cold wind and the rain. The lover's desperation culminates with these last lines:

Non hoc semper erit liminis aut aquae
caelestis patiens latus.

The translation is 'Not for ever will my body endure thy threshold or the rain of heaven'. In the translation given by Haight (1950:127), the meaning differs slightly:

Not always will my body bear to lie
on threshold cold beneath the rainy sky.

For rain with fertility powers in folktales see Thompson 1955-58: T522 falling rain causes impregnation, and T512.7 dew causes impregnation.

The dark night and the light rain that is associated with impregnation are related to the motif of the *exclusus amator*, in old *estribillos* (see **The Mountain, The Rain**). These motifs often appear in adultery songs. The man in old *estribillos* asks the married woman to open the door because the night is dark or because it is raining (see **The rain**):⁴⁵⁹

Ábreme, casada,
que la noche es oscura,
que no perderás nada,
por el abertura.
(C 1710)⁴⁶⁰

⁴⁵⁹ Similar erotic connotations of the door motif occur in the *Libro de Buen Amor*. According to Gail Phillips (1983: 143): 'The conquest of the lady is described in terms of opening doors [...], the door commonly signifying not just the female, but more precisely the vulva'. The expressions where a door has erotic connotations are: 'de grado abres las puertas'(386c), 'cras te dará la puerta quien te oy çierra el postigo' (573b), '¿yo entrar cómo puedo, do non sé tal portillo?'(1343b), 'que mucha buena puerta / me fue después çerrada, que antes me era abierta'(1519cd). The close association of food and sex, and of darkness and evil are present in Thompson 1955-58: A15861 Origin of custom of no eating in the dark; devil eats from plates; a nun is tempted in sinning with a man who tells her God can not see things that happen in the dark, V465.1.2.2; and T331.4 No place is secret enough for fornication.

⁴⁶⁰ There are other songs where the man can be considered an *exclusus amator*. Here the door is not mentioned but the man asks the girl for protection. The man who goes to the mountain and is caught in bad weather usually asks the shepherdess for shelter (see Torner 1966: no. 43).

Dame acojyda, pastora,
por tu byda, en esa syera:
¡ay, qu'ell amor me destyera!
(C 990)

In contemporary lyrics this motif is related to traveller's songs:

¡Ay de mí, que me oscurece
a la salida del monte!
Penosina de la aldea,
dame posada esta noche.
(Torner 1920: no. 1)

In an Argentinian version several motifs are blended: the dark night and getting lost. Here the intentions of the man are revealed in the last two lines.

La noché está muy oscura;
si me voy me perderé:
deme permiso esa niña,
en sus brazos dormiré.
(Torner 1966: no. 43)

Note the obscene connotations of the last two lines of this song. In a similar indecent tone, the man at the door promises the girl a reward if she opens her door. Here the expression 'dar botín cerrado' stands for sexual intercourse (Correas 1627: 679b):

Abríme, Menguilla,
 abríme, y te daré
 botín cerrado
 que te rrepique en el pie.
 (C 1707 A)⁴⁶¹

The motif of the light rain and the man at the door is preserved in contemporary lyrics. In a Galician song, the lover identifies himself as the one whom the girl is expecting. As in the old *estribillos*, the rain is the excuse for the man to enter the house (see **The shade of a tree**):

Chove agua miudiña
 e arroia nos canales;
 ábreme a porta, neniña,
 que son aquel que tu sabes
 (Rico Vereá 1988: 67, no. 4)

In a Portuguese *quadra* the motif of the opening of the door is lost, and has been replaced by the man's direct proposition of taking refuge in the girl's bed:

Esta noite há-de chover
 uma água miudinha
 onde me hei-de recolher?
 na tua cama, menina.
 (Mourinho 1984: 206, no. 86)

Other contemporary versions preserve the *exclusus amator* motif, but the lover is shivering because of cold instead of being under the light rain. Here, as in the Greek epigram, the lover tries to move the woman's feelings by lamenting his suffering:

⁴⁶¹See also Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: no. 47, line 3 and note.

Ábreme la puerta, niña,
 ábreme la puerta, Olvido,
 que estoy tiri tiritando
 titiritando de frio.

(Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: II, 199)

The man at the door without the motif of the rain occurs in songs where the lover's sexual drive is explicit. Furthermore, he threatens the girl that he will come up and enter by the roof. In other words, he is going to force her:⁴⁶²

Ábreme a porta, rapaza;
 se non, vou polo tellado,
 que quero ir acabar
 o que teño comenzado.

(Rico Vereá 1989: 66, no. 2)

The motif of the man at the door occurs in old ballads, where it is clear that the woman's opening of the door stands for love-making associated with seduction. The case of the *Mora, moraima* is interesting because the scene is narrated from a woman's point of view. Here the man flatters her, identifying himself as a Moor. His excuse is that he has killed a man and the officers of the law are following him, thus if she does not open her door he will die:

Yo me era mora Moraima
 morilla de un bel catar;
 cristiano vino a mi puerta,
 cuitada por me engañar.

⁴⁶²The suitor's impatience is seen in another song.

Si te vas [a] alguna huerta,
 o [a] alguna fuente cierta,
 ¡ay! no me cierres la puerta,
 porque vea como estás.
 Díme a cuáles baños vas.

(C 1700 B)

Spying on a woman in a bath-house was forbidden in sixteenth-century Castile:

Certainly men were expected to avoid the place when women were using it, and they were heavily fined for sneaking into the building or peeping through the windows when women were there. Equally serious was stealing the clothes of a woman bather, provided she was not a prostitute. (Dillard 1984: 152)

For the door associated with animals see **The Shepherd**.

Hablóme en algarabía,
 como aquel que la bien sabe:
 'Abrásme la puerta, mora,
 si Alá te guarde de mal.'
 '¿cómo te abriré, mezquina,
 que no sé quién te serás?'
 'Yo soy el moro Mazote,
 hermano de la tu madre,
 que un cristiano dejó muerto,
 tras mí venía el alcalde;
 si no me abres tú, mi vida,
 aquí me verás matar.'
 Cuando esto oí, cuitada,
 comencéme a levantar;
 vistiérame una almejía,
 no hallando mi brial,
 fuerame para la puerta
 y abríla de par en par.

(Menéndez Pidal 1938: 209)

At first sight the interpretation of the ballad is that Moraima was flattered and abused.⁴⁶³ It is interesting to contrast these images with traditional lyrics imagery, where the woman does not appear opening the door. In traditional lyric the woman is depicted as follows: she is waiting for her lover (who is sometimes knocking at her

⁴⁶³Paying attention to some of the features such as the vanity of the girl whose beauty is praised, the dialogue maintained with the man from the bed, the light dress that she wears and the expression *mi vida* used by the man suggest another explanation, according to J. M. Aguirre (1972: 55): 'el romance deviene traición amorosa, y las palabras de Moraima en invención, apoyada en hechos reales trastocados, como excusa y lamento por no haber sabido guardar mejor su virtud'. There are other opinions about this ballad. Louise Mirrer Singer (1984-85) points out this ballad as a pro-Christian text, emphasising that the girl's was identified as an enemy by the audience. However, a different opinion is given by Wright (1991: 75-78), who explains that the audience sympathized with the girl. There are other examples of ballads where the woman is portrayed opening her door represent love-making. In *Gerineldo* there is no deceit:

Abráisme, la mi señora
 abráisme cuerpo garrido.
 Quién a mi estancia se atreve,
 quien llama así a mi postigo?
 (Menéndez Pidal 1938: 59)

Another example is the ballad of *La amiga de Bernal Francés*, where the husband deceives his adulteress wife:

Sola me estoy en mi cama
 namorando mi cojín;
 quién será ese caballero
 que a mi puerta dice 'abrid'?
 (Menéndez Pidal 1938: 124)

door); she is waiting for her lover and leaves the door open for him; the man creates an excuse to ask her to open the door; and lastly she refuses to open the door.

To sum up, the door motif is an archaic symbol preserved in contemporary traditional lyrics. The door has sexual connotations, representing simultaneously the rejection or acceptance of the lover, sexual intercourse, and the girl's virginity. From a female point of view, it is associated with the waiting motif. From a male point of view, this motif is associated with the dark night, the light rain, and the cold.⁴⁶⁴

3.9.2 The mill

The water-mill was an important place in medieval towns and villages, because of its role in the community's economic life. The mill was one of the places where women and men could meet.⁴⁶⁵

⁴⁶⁴There is another place in contemporary lyrics that is identified with the girl: a high window. In a text where an enumeration is made, the woman is clearly compared to a high window and a snowflake:

¡Oh qué ventana tan alta!
 ¡oh qué copito de nieve!
 ¡oh qué chica tan bonita!
 ¡dichoso aquel que se la lleve!
 (Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 343)

In another song snow and window appear in a clear comparison established between the opening lines and the last two lines, where the explanation is given:

Qué lástima de ventana
 que está tapando la nieve;
 que lástima de gitana,
 que ese chulo se la lleve.
 (Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 344)

In Portuguese versions the window is made of pine, an important tree for love symbolism, which here stands for the girl:

Janela de pau de pinho,
 qu'a meu respeito t'abriste;
 torna-t'a cerrar, janela,
 disfarça que não me viste.
 (Martins 1928: 256)

⁴⁶⁵ Dillard 1984: 151. The mill's economic importance and its multiple uses in the Middle Ages are described in Strayer 1982-89: s.v. Mill. In England, the miller is believed to have magic powers (Opie & Tatem 1992: s.v. miller).

The motif of the erotic mill can be traced back to Classical mythology where the great mother-goddesses were identified with the mill (Rowland 1969: 70). The mill has long been around as a symbol, and all the actions and characters related to it have been contaminated with erotic connotations. The mill associated with love was a common theme in Spanish Golden Age drama (Salomon 1965: 581-88).⁴⁶⁶

In old *estribillos* and contemporary folksongs the mill is a place for love-making. All characters and actions related to it are permeated by this eroticism.⁴⁶⁷ To grind ('moler'), as a rhythmic activity, designates love-making (Combet 1969: 250, n. 38):

Las dos ermanas
que al molino van,
como son bonitas,
luego las molerán.
(C 1676)

María a miña María
muito ben t'hei de querer
cando vou ó teu muíño
siempre me deixas moere.
ai le le la ai le lo la.
(Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: I.ii, no. 147c)

Once we are aware of the sexual meaning of grinding, it is possible to understand another image of the mill in old *estribillos*: the mill that cannot grind, where the mill is identified with the genitals:

Muele, molinico,
molinico del amor.
Que no puedo, moler non.
(C 1680)

⁴⁶⁶In addition, wind-mill and water-mill 'used to signify a woman without any but personal endowments', *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue by Captain Francis Grose*, ed. Eric Partridge (London: 1931), p. 67, quoted by Rowland 1969: 75.

⁴⁶⁷Different authors have pointed out the motif of the mill's erotic connotations: Torner 1966: no. 28; Cummins 1977: 87. This topos is also present in French songs, Frenk 1971: 71. The archaism of this topos was pointed out by Alín 1991: no. 698.

Solié que andava el molinó,
solié que andava, y agora no.
(C 1681)

The sense of this song is illuminated by contemporary folksongs where the mill has similar connotations. Note the predominance of a humorous and obscene tone in the following songs:(García Matos 1951-60: I, text no. 9)⁴⁶⁸

Yo caséme con un vieyu
por facei el chocolate,
y ahora resulta que
el molinillo no bate.⁴⁶⁹

Tengo un molino que muele
azúcar, canela y clavo;
lo que mi chiquilla tiene.
(Paláu 1900: 33)

3.9.2.1 The Miller and the Mill Woman

The miller and the mill woman are described as sensual characters. This motif is

⁴⁶⁸The motif of combing hair is adapted to a popular ballad where the Virgin Mary appears combing her hair under a palm tree. This motif in love songs symbolises the woman's preparation to see her lover. Here, the Virgin meets Joseph:

La virgen se está peinando,
a la sombra de una palmera
pasó por allí José
la dice de esta manera

Díaz 1982: I, 35, no. 5. See other versions in: García Matos 1951-60: I, 36 and II, 138; Echavarría Bravo 1951: 440; Gil 1951: II, 51. This song is a typical ballad's beginning, where a woman is depicted performing an action in a place displaying all the elements associated with the erotic meeting, where a man passing by meets her. This is the case in *La infantina*. The Virgin Mary combing her hair has the same features of supernatural beings, for instance in *La romera* where, according to Rogers (1980: 95):

the king is taken with a finely dressed pilgrim who passes through town; his search party finds her combing her hair with gold and silver combs in a poplar grove - a motif which combines feminine attraction and the mysterious power of a fairy:

La han encontrado peinando debajo e una alameda,
con peines de oro y plata los sus cabellos los peina.

Both the forest setting and her activity are an appropriate preparation for the imminent transition from the human, everyday, world to the supernatural and marvelous: the pilgrim reveals that she is the mother of God.

⁴⁶⁹Nuevo Zarracina 1946: 121. See Meré 1952: 152. In Mexico there is an *albur*, a phrase with hidden sexual meaning, that says: 'Si como las [buttocks] mueve, las bate / ¡Ay! ¡qué rico chocolate!' (oral tradition).

often used by Chaucer. It appears in the prologue of *The Wife of Bath's Tale*, in which after she has narrated how she deceives her husbands, she quotes the proverb 'Whoso that first to mille comth, first grynt' (line 389) that has obvious sexual connotations. The motif of the mill also occurs in *The Reeve's Tale*, in which the whole story is set in a mill, and the miller is deceived by two students who seduce his daughter and wife (Benson 1988). The miller portrayed as an ardent lover occurs in the following old *estribillo*. Note that the miller's sensuality is described by the verb 'to grind':

Molinero sois, amor,
y sois moledor.
(C 1677 A)⁴⁷⁰

In contemporary folksongs, the miller is also portrayed as a good lover. He is sometimes depicted as a treacherous and sensuous lover with a lovely voice: *sab un cantar que namora*:⁴⁷¹

O muíño moi e moi
non bota a fariña fóra
o ladrón do moineiro
sab'un cantar que namora.
(Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: I.ii, no.
137a)

At other times, the girl aspires to be the miller's beloved. Note that the first two lines of the *copla*, mentioning the rosemary blossom under the mill, are the prelude that announces the girl's love desire, rhyming the second and fourth lines (see **The shade of a tree, flowers**):

Debajo del molino
nació el romero,
¡quién fuera enamorada
del molinero!
(Llano 1977: no. 820)

⁴⁷⁰ Alin 1991: 582.

⁴⁷¹ For the association of singing with seduction see **Crossing Water**.

The sensuality of the *molinera* is described in the following Galician version, where the man clearly explains what had happened in the mill:

Esta noite fui al molino
no perdí la caminada,
dormí con la molinera
y molí lo que llevaba.
(Llano 1977: no. 825)

Esta noite fun ó muíño
nin muín nin muiñeie
deiteime ca muiñeira
eso foi o qu'eu ghaneie.⁴⁷²

Moreover, the bad reputation of the mill woman is widespread in Peninsular lyrics. This character, the beautiful and flirtatious mill woman, is the protagonist in Pedro Antonio de Alarcón's *El sombrero de tres picos*.⁴⁷³ In contemporary folksongs, she is depicted as a treacherous and careless woman, who adorns herself using stolen money (see **The baker woman**):

Gasta la molinera
ricos corales
con la harina que roba
de los costales.
¡Ay, molinera,
dale a la rueda
con aire, que muele!
(Olmeda 1903: 111, no. 18)

⁴⁷²Schubarth & Santamarina: I.ii, 53, no. 191d. The mill also symbolises the girl in the following song where the man is boasting of his sensual night:

Esta noite fun á rolda
e rolei siete moíños
e enghanei sete rapazas
e encarghei sete meniños.
(Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: I.ii, 56, no. 210)

⁴⁷³According to Pedro Antonio de Alarcón the ballad *La molinera y el corregidor* inspired his work: see the study of David Hook 1984; and for Germanic antecedents of the ballad see the article of Samuel G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman 1972. The woman compared with mill occurs in the *Libro de Buen Amor* (st. 472-73).

The mill's eroticism is such that the daughter of the mill woman is also described as a sensual woman:

O muíño foula foula
o vento lle fai a moa
a filla da muiñeira
tén un andar que namora.⁴⁷⁴

The eroticism of the miller is stressed by the blending of different motifs. In an old *estribillo* the miller prevents the girl from making love:

¡Abaté, abaté!
que soy molinerillo
y la enharinaré.
(C 1678 A)

Bearing in mind the sexual connotations of grinding and the lustful character of the miller, throwing flour is also contaminated by their eroticism.⁴⁷⁵ Throwing flour at each other was a custom of lads and lasses associated with Carnival. In folktales throwing flour to the betrothed girl is a ritual of engagement.⁴⁷⁶ Furthermore, an obscene sonnet from 1627 illuminates flour's sexual connotations:

⁴⁷⁴Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: I.ii, no. 137. There is a fifteenth-century English song where the miller's daughter is portrayed as a woman who dedicates herself to sexual pleasure:

In Aprell and in May,
when hartes be all mery,
Besse Bunting, the millaris may,
withe lippes so red as chery,
she cast in hir remembrance
to passe hir time in daliance
and to levè hir thought driery.
Right womanly arayd
in a peticote of whit,
she was nothing dismayd-
hir countenance was full light.
(Davies 1963: no. 113).

⁴⁷⁵See Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: nos 80 and 111. Here they stress the erotic connotations of the verb *cerner* (to sift) as sexual intercourse and semen. This combination of motifs was very common in Golden Age drama (Salomon 1965: 581).

⁴⁷⁶Henrique Cock, *Relación del viaje hecho por Felipe II en 1585*, ed. A. Morel-Fatio & R. Villa, p. 38, quoted by Salomon (1965: 581). Throwing flour at the girl by an intermediary is a symbol of engagement (Thompson 1955-58: T61.4.3).

Señora, quite allá su dinganduj,
 que ya saqué mi harina de su troj,
 porque ha dado más veces que un reloj
 y está más estrujada que el oruj.

(Alzieu, Jammes, & Lissorgues 1975: no.
 111)

This motif occurs in contemporary songs, where the subject who performs the action can be either a woman or a man. In addition the appearance of the foot, treading on or raising a foot, stressed the eroticism of the motif:

Levanta, morena,
 la punta del pie,
 que soy molinero,
 y te enharinaré,
 te enharinaré
 te enharinaré
 levanta, morena,
 la punta del pie.

(Manzano 1982: no. 342)⁴⁷⁷

In another version the mother of the girl prevents her from going to the mill because the miller tried to tear her skirt, which, as I have demonstrated above, represents the girl's deflowering (see **Washing**):

Miña mai non quere
 qu'eu vaia ó muíño
 porqu'o muiñeiro
 rebrinca connigo
 rebrinca rebrinca
 volv'a rebrincar
 unha saia nova
 me quixo raxar.

(Schubarth & Santamarina 1984: I.ii, no. 209a)

⁴⁷⁷There is a similar text in woman's voice. Here the woman is rejecting the man's advances. The motif of throwing flour has been replaced by words that have a similar sound but their meaning is distorted:

Apártese usté no le trie un pie,
 que soy moli-molinera
 de la farinarinaré.

(Torner 1920: no. 273)

Note that the verb used is *rebrincar*, which in Galician and Portuguese lyrics stands for playing sexual games (see *The shade of a tree*):

To recapitulate, the motif of the mill of love has been widely preserved in modern European literature.⁴⁷⁸ In Hispanic traditional lyrics the mill has preserved its eroticism, permeating all the characters and actions associated with it. As we have seen earlier the mill stands for a place for love-making and the genitals (male or female). Sexual intercourse is represented by grinding and throwing flour; the loss of the girl's virginity is symbolised by the torn skirt.

9.3 The castle

There are some courtly motifs which were adopted by traditional lyrics, such as the siege of love. The lover as a warrior appears in Ovid (Haight 1950: 136-137). According to Cornelius (1930: 13) 'the conception of the body as an edifice is very ancient, but not the castle of the body'.⁴⁷⁹ The origin of the

⁴⁷⁸ The motif of the mill woman meeting a knight is common in contemporary French songs (Puymaigre 1865: 40 and n.) Note that the mill here is a boat mill, which were common in France (Strayer 1982-89: s.v. mill):

-Permet-moi, belle meunière,
de traverser la rivière,
de passer par ton moulin,
Car j'ai perdu mon chemin.

Presque la journée entière,
j'ai parcouru les bruyères,
mes chasseurs son égarés,
je n'ai pu les retrouver.

⁴⁷⁹ Tomer 1966: no. 55; Frenk 1971: 69. The castle is a symbol of 'safety from intrusion (also as a house) and spiritual watchful power' (Vries 1976: s.v. castle). For the general symbolism of the castle see Chevalier & Gheerbrant 1982: chateau; Cirlot 1988: castillo. For the description of the development of war techniques in the Middle Ages see Strayer 1982-1989: s.v. Castle. According to Cornelius:

The development of the castle allegory presents an interesting parallel between literature and social conditions. Before the twelfth century, so far as we find the *castellum* figuring in allegory, we find its part interchangeable with that of other edifices; in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, although the castle may still appear in allegory without itself being allegorically treated, it gains significance from the

allegory of the besieged castle is connected with the battle of vices and virtues, which can be traced in Latin texts as far as the fourth century (Cornelius 1930: 58).

In old *estribillos* the castle is associated with love and the siege of love:

No puedo apartarme
de los amores, madre,
¡no puedo apartarme!

María y Rodrigo
arman un castillo.
De los amores, madre,
[no puedo apartarme].
(C 247 B)⁴⁸⁰

¡Castillo, dáteme, date!
si no, yo dart'é combate!
(C 405 B)

The allegory of the castle of love is not often preserved in contemporary lyrics. In one song the girl compares her father's custody to the guardianship of a castle:

¡Mi padre me pone guardia,
como si yo juá castillo!
Y por mas guardias que me ponga,
me voy a salir contigo.⁴⁸¹

commanding position of the real castle in actual life. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the castle was the center of social life. No story or romance of the Middle Ages could possibly be written without its castles: no more could allegory, mirroring life in abstraction, dispense with the most important social institution of the time. (1930: 13)

The body as an edifice appears in the Bible: Corinthians 5.1 (earthly house) ; Job 4.19 (house of clay).

⁴⁸⁰According to Devoto this castle stands for the allegory of the love-castle (1955: 288).

⁴⁸¹Díez de Revenga Torres 1984: 109, no. 157. A similar version, but from the man's point of view:

Tu madre te pone guardias
como si fueras castillo,
ni guardia ni centinela,
me tengo de casar contigo
quiera tu mare o no quiera.
(Garrido 1992: 87)

The allegory of the castle occurs in English folksongs (Sajavaara 1972):

At the top of the mountain where my love's castle stands,
'tis all overbuilt with ivory to the bottom of the stand,
fine arches and fine porches and a diamond stone so bright,

The girl - identified as a castle of beauty - is compared with a castle that the man wants to conquer, representing the siege of love:

Castillito de hermosura,
 muchos te darán combate;
 ahora te lo doy yo:
 date, castillito, date.
 (Torner 1966: no. 55)

At other times, castle symbolism becomes more complex. Here the wall's description is added to the image of the castle:

Ay, qué castillo,
 ay, qué muralla, no,
 no puedo menos de pasarla;
 si no la paso y la atravieso,
 en el castillo me quedo preso.
 (Córdoba y Oña 1948-55: III, 285, no. 265)

To disclose the meaning of this song it is useful to quote another example where it is made explicit that wall and castle represent fidelity:

Firme está una muralla,
 firme un castillo,
 firme están mis amores
 siempre, amor mío.
 (Manrique 1954: 174)

There is another text where the castle is devastated:

¿Cómo quieres, castillo,
 que te levante?
 si te hallo caído
 por todas partes.
 (García Matos 1982: no. 80, 35)

it's a pilot for a sailor on a dark stormy night.

The origin of this allegory is associated with spring festivals that 'consisted of attacks by gentlemen on castles defended by ladies. The festivals are known to have been common in some parts of Switzerland as late as the nineteenth century, and they had been an institution as early as the thirteenth. Similar conventions are traceable in Italy, France, Germany, and England' (Sajavaara 1972: 400). For the castle in other traditions see Thompson 1955-58: s.v. castle.

Bearing in mind that the castle in one song represents the girl, and in other song its massed structure and firm walls the lover's fidelity, the interpretation of this song is ambiguous, thus there is not a clear answer. The ruinous castle perhaps represents the girl who has lost her honour or it may stand for love betrayal.

To sum up, the castle belongs to the series of motifs taken from learned literature and adapted to traditional songs. Its symbolic meaning is difficult to grasp. It is related to the siege of love. The lovers building a castle represent love-making. This motif has been maintained in contemporary lyrics where the castle perhaps represents the girl guarded by her father, or the lover's faithfulness, and the castle's destruction may symbolise the girl's dishonour or love betrayal.

3.9.3 Conclusions:

Apart from symbols taken from the natural surroundings in traditional lyrics there are also symbols that belong to the world created by man. We have seen that in traditional lyrics the body - or part of the body - is represented by the symbols of the house, the mill, and the castle.

The woman is associated with the private space and the lovers by the public one in old *estribillos* and contemporary folksongs. The door has retained its symbolic meaning as the entrance to the girl's body.

A second group is represented by the mill motif, which stands for the lovers' meeting place and for male and female genitals. The erotic strength of the mill is such, that all the characters related to it - the miller, the mill woman, the miller's daughter - have erotic attributes.

The image of the castle is associated with different motifs. In the siege of love the girl is symbolised by the castle. The other two motifs seem to refer to

abstract concepts: faithfulness of the lover and the girl's dishonour.

On the basis of what it has been established several symbols has been taken from the man realm in traditional lyrics. They are often combined with natural symbols stressing their eroticism. They symbolise the body or a part of the body of the woman (e.g. door) or the man (e.g. mill). This shows that all the elements that appear traditional lyrics becomes essential elements of the love scene.

3.10 Conclusions:

The primary conclusion that emerges from the songs studied here is that symbolism has been preserved as a poetic device in contemporary traditional lyrics.

The symbols representing nature are occupy most of this study. I have analysed the main natural symbols and organized them according to the frequency with which they appear in the songs: water; trees; fruits and flowers; the wind, the mountain and the moon; and images related to animals.

Another main group of symbols are those associated with the woman. The most significant are her dark-complexion and hair. Some of these symbols were adapted to religious songs, and were used to describe the Virgin Mary, losing their erotic connotations.

A third group of symbols are those associated with human constructs: the door, the mill, and the castle. From this group, the mill and the door - still prominent in every day life - have been widely preserved in modern lyrics. The castle, no longer familiar in life, become less frequent as a symbol.

Symbols present in traditional lyrics can be sorted into three groups according to their preservation. Firstly, the symbols that exclusively occur in old traditional lyrics. Secondly, those that have been preserved in contemporary lyrics. Some of these symbols have been adapted to new realities and have been replaced by similar

images. Thirdly, the symbols restricted to modern folksongs (lemons as the girl's bosom). In this group there is the possibility that some of the symbols are archaic, through we do not have any text to prove it so far.

1. **Lost symbols:** only in old traditional songs
e.g.: Heron, Stag.

2. **Preserved:** identical meaning=identical image
e.g.: broken pitcher, orange tree, etc

2.1 **Replaced:** same meaning=slightly different image
e.g.: washing beloved's shirt,
washing beloved's handkerchief

3. **New symbols:** only in contemporary lyrics
e.g: lemons as girl's bosom

Few symbols belong to the first group, and they are mainly represented by animal images. The majority of the symbolic motifs analysed here belongs to the second group (see tables). The third group is a significant minority showing that symbolism is not only inherited from old tradition, but also exists as a poetic device in contemporary folk songs. Some interesting examples are the sea and the fountain described as a fertile soil where fruits and flowers grow, and the woman or the man picks them (Picking a flower at the fountain, going for oranges to the sea, cutting plants from the sea).

A number of symbols constantly appearing in this selection are associated with St John's Eve and May rituals. This links Peninsular songs with other European traditions. Other sources that can be identified are those adoptions and adaptations from learned sources (the hunting motif, the castle). Some other motifs correspond to social customs (giving a red ribbon as symbol of betrothal or the mill woman's treacherousness).

The intertextuality of traditional symbolism is seen in the occurrence of the same images in other European - medieval and contemporary - traditions. This is the

case with the darkening of the girl caused by her work or the man who picks a rose.

The other main feature I have mentioned is that symbols conform to a code. Nature and man's realm are used to convey the same situation: the lovers' encounter and the girl's loss of her virginity. The lovers are transformed into elements: the girl's sexual readiness is identified with a rising moon or with a tree whose green leaves are swayed by the wind, whereas the man is converted into a river sweeping away the girl or her garment.

The main character is the woman, and the majority of symbols are associated with her (see table). The character of the single girl predominates over the married woman in old and contemporary lyrics. A major difference is that her voice is quieter in the latter. The central topos is the virginity of the girl. Its importance is revealed in the variety of images to connote the instant of her transformation from girl to a woman. Furthermore, several symbols simultaneously represent the girl and her virginity (table: symbols of the girl).

The man is seen mainly through the woman's perspective in old traditional love songs. He rarely speaks about his own sexuality, his central theme is the woman. In contemporary lyrics he has a louder voice. Thus, symbols that appeared in female voice often occur now in male voice. This change of perspective affects the meaning of the song. In old traditional lyrics when the girl loses her virginity there is no moral judgment over it. The opposite occurs in contemporary lyrics: often the man or a third person speaks about the girl's honour and the danger of losing it.

The brevity of traditional lyrics does not allow extended descriptions. In contemporary lyrics there are a few adjectives maintained that are associated with plants: green, in blossom, and fine. The water is sometimes described as stirred, sometimes as cold. More often there are no adjectives. The girl is beautiful (*garrida*),

or she has beautiful complexion, or dark complexion. Usually, her beauty is described by comparisons.

There are a few verbs that connote several erotic actions, depending on the context. The verb *picar*, when it is related to plants, stands for to prick, but when it is associated with the cock-crow, it simultaneously has the literal meaning of itching and the woman's sexual drive. There are verbs that are frequently associated with the man: the case of the wind that *lleva las hierbas* and the river that *lleva* the rose or the man who *lleva la mujer* or the woman who asks the man to be taken away.

In all these categories of symbol we see preservation, adaptation, and - to a lesser extent - innovation as we move from old to contemporary traditional song.

3.10.1 Tables

I have distinguished two kind of symbols, those that are an image of an object or element, (e.g. a rose, the broken pitcher) and those that describe actions (e.g. picking flowers, entering a garden). There is a first group of tables dedicated to the girl: table 1.1 shows symbolic actions connoting the loss of her virginity, table 1.2 shows the symbols (objects) that describe the girl and her virginity and deflowering, and 1.3 shows actions that connote the girls wooing and preparation before meeting her lover.

The second group is dedicated to the man. The table 2.1 indicates the actions done by the man, the table 2.2 the symbols representing the man. In a third group I have included two tables showing the places where the lovers meet (3.1) and actions performed either by women or by men (3.2). All of them are organized in three columns: the left column indicates the topos that the action or object is related to, the middle column corresponds to old traditional lyrics, and the right column to contemporary lyrics.

Table 1. The girl

Girl's Actions	Early Peninsular lyrics	Contemporary lyrics
water	fetching water	fetching water
	broken pitcher	broken pitcher
washing clothes Washing, wringing, laying out to dry	washing beloved's shirt wind	washing beloved's handkerchief green meadow orange tree
dread of water	fountain at the door crossing river getting wet	river at the door getting wet sea waves
fruit	throwing fruit, oranges and apples	throwing oranges, lemons, apples
	trespassing in grove, orchard picking fruits	trespassing in grove, garden, orchard picking fruits in sea picking flowers at the fountain
washing hair	washing hair (ice)	washing hair
combing hair	combing hair (sun, wind)	combing hair (sun, wind, dew)
hair	loose hair	cut hair
mountain	getting lost mountain/forest	getting lost in the mountain.
picking flowers	picking flowers	picking flowers
picking fruits	olive, apples	olive, apple, oranges

Table 1.2 Symbols of the girl

Symbols of the girl, her genitals and her virginity.	Early Peninsular lyrics	Contemporary
shirt/ skirt	stained shirt (torn apron: <i>cantigas de amigo</i>)	stained handkerchief torn skirt
Plants swayed by wind	poplar swayed by wind (girl's beauty, excitement)	orange tree swayed by wind. (girl's beauty)
Tree bearing fruits	orange tree olive tree	orange tree, lemon tree, olive tree, pear tree, fig tree, pine tree, laurel tree
Fruit	olive	olive, apple, orange, pear, fig, lemon (bosom)
Flower	rose, rose in blossom, (girl, maidenhead, <i>cunnius</i>)	rose, carnation, pink.
Nice smelling flower (<i>cunnius</i>)	nice smelling flower	nice smelling flower
Bunch of flowers		bunch of flowers (woman, maidenhead)
Bough		bough (woman, her love)
Crying wild female bird	heron peahen	partridge
dove	dove	dove
cock crowing	cock crowing	cock crowing
bird (brown)= (<i>cunnius</i>)	thrush	cock
dark complexion (sexually experienced)	dark complexion	dark complexion
long hair (virginity, young girl)	long hair	long hair
loose hair	loose hair (broken maidenhead)	cut hair (broken maidenhead)
moon	rising moon (sexual readiness)	moon (girl)
door (maidenhead)	door	door gate
mill	mill (genitals)	mill (genitals)
castle	castle, tower (girl)	castle (girl's beauty, girl)

Table 2.2 The girl's action

girl's actions connoting her broken maiden head	Early Peninsular lyrics	Contemporary lyric
water	broken pitcher getting wet crossing river garment swept away by water	broken pitcher getting wet crossing river rose, ribbon swept away by water
plants	the shaken tree	the shaken tree
	picking the flower in blossom	picking the flower of water
	picking fruits	picking fruits
animals	tending cows	
the body	dark complexion loose hair	dark complexion cut hair
garments	stained shirt (<i>torn skirt: cantigas de amigo</i>)	stained handkerchief torn skirt
the house	door opened	door opened

2.3 The girl's action

Other actions	Early Peninsular Lyrics	contemporary lyrics
water	washing shirt (having a lover)	washing a handkerchief (having a lover)
	washing, wringing, and laying out to dry in the wind (<i>cantigas de amigo</i>) (lovers' meeting)	washing, wringing, and laying out to dry in a green meadow, orange tree, rosemary (love making)
	crossing river (marriage, love- making)	crossing river (marriage, love- making)
	combing hair washing and drying hair (and dry (sun, wind, ice) (preparing herself)	combing hair washing hair (with verbena) (preparing herself)
animal	tending cattle	

Table 4.1 Lovers' meeting places

Lovers' meeting places	Early Peninsular lyrics	contemporary lyrics
water	fountain river bank seashore	fountain river bank seashore
plant	orchard/ grove meadow under a tree	orchard/ garden/ grove meadow under a tree, under a bridge
mountain	mountain rock	mountain rock
other spaces	house (door) mill	house (door) mill

Table 3. The man

man actions	Early Peninsular lyrics	Modern lyrics
water	crossing river, sea	crossing river
plant		cutting tree, plant, ploughing
fruits	throwing fruits picking lemon	throwing fruits picking apples, pears, olives,
	guarding a grove, vineyard	guarding a grove, garden, vineyard
mountain and forest (<i>monte</i>)	getting lost in the mountain	getting lost in the mountain
the house	man at the girl's door	man at the girl's door

Table 3.1 The symbols of the man

symbols of man and his genitals	Early Peninsular lyrics	Modern songs
water	river sea waves (<i>cantigas de amigo</i>)	river sea waves
wind	wind swaying green tree- leaves	wind (blowing down a tree, tearing tree's leaves off)
bird of prey	hawk	sparrow-hawk
bird	peacock partridge	bird (little) phallus
wild bird		(different species) partridge (male)
little dog	little dog (phallus)	little dog (phallus)
sharp instrument	sickle (phallus)	sickle scythe jackknife (phallus)

Table 4.2 Man and woman's actions

Man's and Woman's actions	Early Peninsular lyrics	Contemporary folksongs
water	crossing the river (marriage, proof of love)	crossing the river
fruits	picking fruits	picking fruits
	throwing oranges, apples	throwing oranges, apples, pebbles
flower	picking flowers	
	entering a garden and asking for a forfeit	entering a garden, a grove
mountain		getting lost in the mountain
mill	grinding	grinding

Conclusions

In this study I hope to have demonstrated that the preservation of erotic motifs and symbols shows the close relationship between old traditional lyrics and their modern counterparts.

Some of the songs in my selection of texts are extant texts that have been preserved almost unchanged for centuries, whereas other songs, while retaining their old topoi were adapted many times to conform with their new immediate realities.

Three significant aspects of old traditional songs have been emphasized in this work: the female voice, symbolism, and the relationship with other European folk traditions.

I have divided this study into two chapters. The first chapter was dedicated to topoi related to wooing, marriage, and peasant labour, indicating some aspects of the main character of these lyrics: the young unmarried girl.

In the first part of this chapter I studied those topoi related to wooing: dawn and the kiss, showing that the former has been predominantly preserved in its *alba* form in contemporary lyrics. One noticeable feature revealed in this chapter is the song's change of perspective from female to male speaker, resulting in a modification of the tone of the text. Then, I examined how sexual initiative changed from the woman of old traditional refrains to the man in contemporary folksongs, while the association of marriage with unhappiness is mainly preserved in the female voice.

In the second part of this first chapter, I studied songs related to four representative labours of a rural and semirural society: spinning, baking, shepherding, and harvesting, emphasizing the relationship of some of these images to medieval customs and law. The girl's transformation caused by work is by means of her physical aspect. On some occasions this transformation is symbolic and refers to the girl's sexual experience when associated with erotic symbols (e.g. dark complexion caused by being near the oven); and on other occasions it takes its literal meaning (e.g. darkening of the mouth caused by spinning). This topos is shared by different European traditions.

In the second chapter, I studied a number of symbols that have been preserved in contemporary folksongs, showing the archaism of contemporary lyrics and confirming the authenticity of their medieval counterparts. A survival feature of

old traditional style is the use of symbolism, giving sexual connotations to elements of nature. For example, we have seen lovers' meetings at the fountain, the riverbank or the seashore, the meadow, the mountain, or under a tree; love-making described as picking fruits or flowers; the broken pitcher or a stained shirt representing the loss of the virginity of the girl.

Some attention has also been given to those symbols attached to archaic and magic rituals of wooing (e.g. depositing a garland at the lover's door), old customs of courting (e.g. red ribbon as a token); others have been shown their association with ancient pagan festivities to celebrate the girl's deflowering (picking the flower at the fountain) or superstitious beliefs about the way to obtain a husband (e.g. washing a garment in running water). There are other symbols that have been adapted to new realities (e.g. the meeting of the lovers under a road bridge). Some attention has also been given to symbols occurring only in contemporary lyrics (e.g. lemons as the girl's bosom). Furthermore, it was shown that some symbols are common to other European folksong traditions and that they occur in learned sources, confirming the intertextuality of Hispanic traditional lyrics.

Another interesting feature revealed in this study is that being in love is identified with distraction from labour. The male shepherd loses his cattle, the woman at the fountain breaks her pitcher.

Lastly, it has been demonstrated that religious adaptations of love songs have persisted until today. Here, symbols related to women, which appear with erotic connotations in love songs, are used to describe the Virgin, therefore losing their symbolic meaning except when they referring to the virginity of a girl (e.g. long hair).

On the basis of what I have established, it is clear that the main theme of old traditional lyrics is sex, and it is expressed in a variety of images taken from nature and convention. Secondly, symbols occurring in medieval traditional lyrics are archaic. Thirdly, they conform to a code, which often has been preserved through centuries but on some occasions has been adapted to new realities in contemporary songs. Another important feature that becomes clear is that the aim of the woman of traditional songs cannot simply be restricted to getting married or preserving her virginity.

Some differences between old and contemporary songs were indicated in this study. First, in the latter, symbolism has become more explicit, which explains why contemporary songs often shed light on old texts; secondly, the change of gender of the speaker manifested in the loss of the predominance of the female voice has resulted in a masculinization of the discourse; and thirdly, there is a tendency to describing abstract concepts.

The appearance of similar images in different lyrics from various places and times could indicate the possibility of a multiple origin. There are however, symbols such as the lovers' meeting at the fountain whose frequent presence in related lyrics may imply, as has been pointed out, a common remote Indo-European origin.¹ Both hypotheses, however, must be approached with some caution, because of the sheer mass of evidence which should be examined to prove or disprove them.

I hope to have shown the importance of carrying out comparative studies of traditional lyrics which reveal to us the powerful stream of oral tradition. This study is an attempt to disclose the cryptic meaning of songs from a remote past and to confirm the importance of a popular culture that has been living at the margins of written literature.

Traditional lyrics offer many areas for future research. In the first place, from a comparative approach new monographic studies are needed to show the preservation or loss of medieval traditions in contemporary song, indicating the poetic devices inherited and recently acquired. This could shed light on the problem of the origins of these lyrics and reveal the existence of different traditional schools.

The folksong's intertextuality also opens varied possibilities for new investigations. Contacts between medieval traditional lyrics and learned literature have been suggested by different scholars, but we need studies which analyse this relationship in depth in the Hispanic tradition.

Another important field for future research is to trace the history of each different image and song separately; this may help us to understand the complex process of oral transmission and change in lyrics. These studies could lead to the creation of an index of lyrical symbolic motifs.

¹Deyermond 1979-8: 283; Frenk 1993c: 22.

The study of traditional songs' language provides the critic with yet another area for analysis, where it is important to study the use of the different verbal tenses of this *lyra minima*.

Throughout this study traditional lyrics reveal two tendencies, tradition and renovation, demonstrating a search for the expression of new realities while preserving old poetic devices. Symbolism reveals to us what traditional poetry has treasured for centuries.

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Abbreviations:

<i>AnM</i>	<i>Anuario Musical</i>
<i>BF</i>	<i>Boletim de Filologia</i>
<i>BH</i>	<i>Bulletin Hispanique</i>
<i>BHS</i>	<i>Bulletin of Hispanic Studies</i>
<i>BRAE</i>	<i>Boletín de la Real Academia Española</i>
<i>C</i>	<i>La Corónica</i>
<i>CN</i>	<i>Cultura Neolatina</i>
<i>CSIC</i>	<i>Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas</i>
<i>HR</i>	<i>Hispanic Review</i>
<i>In</i>	<i>Insula</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JHP</i>	<i>Journal of Hispanic Philology</i>
<i>MLN</i>	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>NRFH</i>	<i>Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica</i>
<i>PhQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
<i>PS</i>	<i>Portuguese Studies</i>
<i>R</i>	<i>Romania</i>
<i>RDTP</i>	<i>Revista de Dialectología y Tradiciones Populares</i>
<i>RFE</i>	<i>Revista de Filología Española</i>
<i>RLu</i>	<i>Revista Lusitana</i>
<i>RO</i>	<i>Revista de Occidente</i>

RPh

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Corrigenda:

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ERRATAS:

- p. 8: for Macedo 1976 see Reckert & Macedo 1976.
- p. 13, n. 10: for Dutton 1975 read Dutton 1965.
- p. 9, 67, 77: for Frenk 1992 read Frenk in press b.
- p. 23: for Costa Fontes see Fontes, M. da Costa.
- p. 53, n. 65: for Frenk 1992 read Frenk 1992c.
- p. 54, n. 66: for Combet 1967 see Correias, Gonzalo, 1627.
- p. 62: for Furtado Mendonça see Medonça, Maria Luisa Furtado de .
- p. 72, n. 93: Chico Picaza 1984 read Chico Picaza 1986.
- p. 75: for Vidal 1956 see Pérez Vidal, José, 1956.
- p. 85, n. 109: for Catalán & Lamb see Catalán et al, 1978.
- p. 89: for Manzano 1988 read Manzano 1982.
- p. 93: for Manrique 1952: 503 read Manrique 1954: 173.
- p. 98: for Severin 1993 see Rojas, Fernando de, 1987.
- p. 207, n. 287: for Lucretius see Brown 1987.
- p. 215: for Gybbon-Monypenny see Arcipreste de Hita.
- p. 245, n. 341: for Burton & Arbuthnot see Archer 1993.