The Artisan Poetry of the Romancero

Diego Catalan

The Spaniard who does not know of the existence of the romancero is rare. Some have come to know of it by learned means, through school books and literature classes in high school or even in the university; others because they have listened to folk singers, and still others because they have witnessed its oral transmission as part of local popular culture. But, despite this familiarity, ideas about the romancero continue to prevail today that have little correspondence with its essence. And precisely the most “cultured” people—according to official standards—are the ones who are most confused in their evaluation of the romancero. It is the specialists in Spanish literature who are propagating the most inexact ideas about ballads. Accustomed to examining texts that are both fixed and datable, which printed literature has accustomed us to since Gutenberg’s time, erudite men of letters find it difficult to comprehend the special problems of poems elaborated by traditional “literary artisanship.”

For the majority of students of Spanish literature, the word romancero evokes the Middle Ages (in its final period). Others, more conscious of bibliographical facts, remember that the classic corpus of ballads came to us from the printers of broadsides and of pocket-sized songbooks during the first half of the sixteenth century, and they classify the romancero as an old-fashioned genre during the Renaissance. But both groups, by trying to confine the romancero to a time frame and placing it within the sequential chain of literary products with which the history of literature concerns itself, do not take into account the essential quality of the artistic object being studied: its traditionality. And even if they do not overlook that aspect, they do not understand it.

During the eighties of this century, the richest archive of the romancero is not in any private or public library, but in the
collective memory of singers of *romances* throughout the Spanish-speaking world. Neither the advances achieved by bibliographical research in the second half of this century, nor the accelerated expansion of both a school and a consumer culture at the expense of traditional forms of culture has been able to modify that reality which historians of literature forget about. From the Middle Ages up to today, *romances* continue to be poems that are stored in the memory of custodians of traditional culture and are transmitted by word of mouth (most of the time with musical support) from one generation to another without any need to resort to writing.

The recognition of this fact forces us to redefine the *romancero*. Ballads, as the object of investigation of literary criticism, cannot be enclosed within the chronological limits imposed upon them by histories of literature. Their existence and their value as artistic creations do not depend upon the fact that in the time of Alphonse V, Henry IV, or the Catholic Monarchs they were sung by ladies and gentlemen and served as a pretext for guitarists and court poets to show off their creative abilities; or upon the fact that printers and booksellers of the first two-thirds of the sixteenth century used them for a lucrative editorial business since there existed a broad consumer market for printed matter that was both cheap and easily comprehensible. There is no doubt that these “successes” of the genre have made it possible for us to reconstruct the *romancero* diachronically, since, if they had not come about, we would know nothing about the ballads that were sung such a long time ago (consider the scarcity of evidence in existence today about gypsy songs from only the day before yesterday). Obviously these “successes” have to be the object of study in any historical vision of Spanish history or culture. But its importance does not justify the error of confusing sociological or cultural matters, like the penetration of the *romancero* into certain markets or consumer groups, with the longer-lasting and more essential phenomenon of the creation, transmission, retention, and re-creation of an artistically organized “discourse” by a very great number of “speakers” capable of using the poetic language we call *romancero*. Not to be aware of “literary artisanship” at the end of the twentieth century is as absurd as throwing out of art history architecture without architects or artisan gold and silver work, imagery, and ceramics.

It is necessary, therefore, to rescue the *romancero* from the
hands of critics who close their eyes to the poem/song and who only consider as poets those pedants of former times whose poetry may have taken on interest but not, of course, quality, with the passing of the centuries. The poem/song must not be confused with the sort of document that shows it turned into a written poem, fixed by writing or print and bound by a circumstantial poetics dependent upon a literary fashion belonging to a certain epoch.

Traditional models, whether poetic creations or popular creations in ceramics, in gold work, in architecture, in cuisine, are characterized by being trans-temporal (which does not mean ahistoric), and by having survived throughout the ages. That has been possible thanks to the open character of their structures and thanks to their capacity to adapt themselves to the surroundings in which they are reproduced and re-created. Openness must not be confused with freedom in the creative process, since every artisan, even while innovating, claims above all that he is a faithful transmitter of the cultural inheritance of which he feels himself to be the repository.

Each ballad is not a closed fragment of discourse like the poems or stories of non-traditional literature, but a virtual model which is realized successively (and simultaneously in different places) in the form of poetic objects or individual versions that are always different. But the singers, who keep on altering the structure little by little, do not freely create “their” versions (as the oralist critics believe) on the basis of a narrative skeleton; rather they reproduce, albeit with originality, the model they have received with all of its traditional details. The various realizations of a ballad differ among themselves in the same way that changing realizations of the ceramic model botijo, or the culinary model gazpacho, or the model for the rural dwelling masía differ. It is the temporal and spatial difference between the manifestations of the model that makes possible an ever-increasing variety of results. In this way, by means of small innovative acts, either confirmed or corrected by successive singers, the narration keeps on adapting itself, both aesthetically and ethically, to the changing systems of values of the social groups that make use of romances to express their most deep-seated, local, and intimate culture. Thanks to the inherent variability of the romancero transmitted orally, ballads preserve an eternal immediacy for their singers.

This openness, which we can observe today if we are able to
listen to the romancero being sung, is not an exclusively modern phenomenon. It comes from far-off times in which popular culture still had not been submitted to the process of the written word, which, until a little while ago, seemed to us, as people of bookish culture, to be the only way to preserve knowledge, but which, as we are beginning to understand today, only represented one important stage in the storage of mankind’s knowledge. Up until the last several decades, we found ourselves so immersed in a “textualized” world, so accustomed to the consumption of discourse closed by the fixative power of the printed word, that it was difficult for us to recognize the characteristics of open traditional discourse, adaptable, in each memory in which it is stored, to the modifying pressure of personal or group experience. However, the storage and transmission of organized, but not fixed, knowledge throughout the living, human archives constituted by the memories of individuals pertaining to a cultural community is a reality which existed before writing and continued to do so after the fixing of discourse by means of writing. Recently the electronic revolution has come to strip the trans-linguistic (that is, organized in semic units superior to the sentence), structured discourse of its traditional textual closure. Computer terminal screens and print-outs coincide with the voice of the transmitters of oral literature in offering us only transitory or, at most, provisional realizations of memorized discourse. The information stored in electronic memories has lost the textual rigidity characteristic of the written document, making it resemble traditional discourse transmitted from one human memory to another without recourse to writing. Thanks to modern technology, humanistic sciences, traditionally hostile to all knowledge not dignified by littera, are becoming more receptive to the special problems offered by art stored and re-created in human memory. Recently, traditional discourse is attracting the interest of researchers for precisely what it has that is foreign to “literary” (in the most restricted sense of the word) discourse: its variability and its dynamism.

The study of the romancero, like that of other creations of popular culture, demands of us who have been brought up in an official, urban civilization, a great and humble effort of adaptation if we truly want to understand the language that those creations use and not merely collect strange artifacts. On taking upon ourselves, as collectors and readers of romances, the role of receivers or legatees of the messages that those romances express
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without really being so since we are outside the chain of transmission made up of successive bearers of traditional knowledge), our objective should be to try to reproduce, to simulate the recognitory, decodifying activity of the consumer/producers of the romancero. But we must do it fully aware that we are learning a foreign language which, in turn, its speakers use both actively and passively (by speaking it and listening to it) as part of naturally acquired knowledge.

The artisans of oral narrative songs are not depersonalized producers of poetic objects, unaware of the model they are reproducing. When they actualize, by singing or reciting, the virtual structures received from tradition, they do not desemanticize them. The transmission of ballad messages presupposes a knowledge, although not necessarily complete, of the language in which these messages are codified. Even the most impassioned devotees of traditional poetry often fall into the contradiction of considering the bearers of romances to be incapable of fully understanding the meaning of the marvelous creations they are transmitting, as if those creations were waiting for a literary critic in order to acquire all of their meaning. It is true that the experience of collecting ballads reveals at times that an individual singer of a romance does not understand the poem he is transmitting; but should his faulty comprehension not be corrected immediately by the interpretative capacity of other singers, his “error” would generate a variant of the poem that would lead to the elimination of the incomprehensible part.

If in a dynamic structure, an open poem, there survive images, symbols, and messages which the literate reader considers to be outside of the knowledge of the habitual transmitters of the poem, it is because those images, symbols, and messages are understood by a large part of those in whom the tradition reposes; that is, they form an effective part of the poetic vocabulary of the singing community.

In contrast to the natural speakers of the romancero language, we see ourselves obliged to try to learn that language without speaking it, without participating in acts of re-creative transmission, by going to the study of its “grammar,” discovered by means of analyzing written or recorded samples of ballad discourse. Therefore, the importance of the variant in order to achieve a complete reading of the romances. Thanks to the confrontation of the many and varied manifestations that a structure can offer us, we students of the romancero language can
recognize the semantic invariants that lie behind particular motifs and expressions. It is the variation found in the individual versions that enables us to discover the units that are manipulated by the unique poetics of the traditional *romancero*.

These considerations are at the base of recent systematic efforts to recover the *romancero* for the cultural history of the Hispanic peoples.

Collection and Creation of Audio Archives

The first and most urgent task that the *romancero* presents to us today is the creation of an audio-visual archive of the Pan-Hispanic ballad, by means of an international effort, which will preserve for tomorrow in organized form the largest number and the most varied manifestations possible of the ballads that are still being sung in the Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, and Judeo-Spanish world. The audio archive should be enriched year after year by means of systematic collecting campaigns (like those organized since 1977 by the Seminario Menéndez Pidal in Spain, and since 1969 by various professors, both local and from afar, in Portugal), as well as by the efforts of individual researchers or groups of scholars dedicated to intensive exploration of a specific branch of the Pan-Hispanic tradition or of ballad lore of a particular district. Although every contribution to knowledge about the *romancero* is welcome, it would behoove specialists to instruct collectors in the “art” of field research if the proliferation of amateur folklorists is not to become a threat to oral tradition. It is necessary to save the *romancero* from the hands of collectors of literary artisanship, who in their indiscriminate evaluation of what is popular or antique, place in the same sack whatever piece turns up, acting not very differently from the way exploitative antiquarians of rural culture act, who are always ready to put up for sale any shapeless pot or rusty nail. The collector must acquire as complete a knowledge as possible of the regional tradition he is attempting to investigate by the preparation of a collector’s manual in which *romances* are duly classified according to their greater or lesser rarity and greater or lesser interest for the reconstruction of the “ballad map” of the Hispanic world. Collectors must compete in knowledge with the native repositories of tradition in order to gain their respect and collaboration and discover the deepest strata of the local corpus of ballads.

It is also necessary for ballad collectors to have a clear idea
of the difference between the orally transmitted romancero viejo and romancero vulgar (the distinction does not matter here) and the romances de ciego or de pliego de cordel (chapbook) distributed in Spain up until a few decades ago by blind singers who sold them with the help of a guide (and in other countries by different kinds of professional singers). The coexistence in the memory of men and women in the small towns in Spain and other Hispanic countries of poems coming from these chapbooks with the open poems of the romancero does not mean that those blind men’s ballads can be considered oral poetry. The editors of romances de ciego who supplied the popular market were not interested in the existence of the oral romancero except in rare cases; nor were they concerned about adjusting their product to the aesthetics or the ethics of the traditional culture expressed by the oral romancero. The rural consumers of chapbooks capable of memorizing the long stories of the blind men have been reproducing them in general without making them their own, respecting the “artificial” language of their verses, keeping the strictly narrative modality (contrary to the dramatic conception of traditional ballads) in which the events are told, and repeating their simplistic moralizations, which are also far removed from the ideological complexity of the oral romancero. Since these romances remain invariable except for the omission of verses and the introduction of lexical and syntactical errors, only the sociological fact of their acceptance, and not their texts, needs to be recorded. Only in those cases in which a chapbook ballad has acquired textual variability and has been enriched and transformed in accord with the re-creative mechanism of poetry that is truly oral will we be able to consider it part of the oral romancero and of traditional culture.

Ballad collecting still holds, even from a thematic point of view, unexpected and extraordinary surprises in store for researchers. In the seventies and eighties romances which nobody had expected to find in the modern oral tradition were discovered in Spain and Portugal. And along with these extraordinary specimens of Hispanic balladry, wonderful new versions of most of the rare romances, the existence of which in modern oral tradition had been attested to since the beginning of exploration in 1825.

The interest in having recourse to the living archive of popular memories does not reduce itself to the always fortuitous possibility that an undocumented or almost undocumented theme might emerge. Because of the open nature of ballad narratives,
tradition will always hold inexhaustible treasures of poetry which have never been fixed in writing or recorded in any one of the regions or places where romances are sung. Alongside of the widely distributed “vulgate” versions of scant variability, there still live and continue to be created regional, district, and village versions with extraordinary personality. It is precisely the variability of these versions that enables us to understand the mechanisms of collective creation, the poetic art of tradition.

Editing the Texts

The study of the romancero poetics requires that we have at our disposal ahead of time complete bodies of versions that have been conveniently transcribed and organized. For audio archives to be useful and manageable, it is necessary that the versions stored in them be edited, whether in conventional printed form or transcribed in an electronic archive that can be reorganized and consulted whenever necessary. During the seventies and eighties we can attest to renewed efforts for making accessible the romancero stored in manuscripts and field tapes.

Since 1957 the Seminario Menéndez Pidal has been publishing in the Romancero tradicional de las lenguas hispánicas all known data related to each romance being studied, including every version, old or modern, available at the moment of publication. But the complexity and slowness of the task has brought about the simultaneous adoption on the part of the Seminario itself of other models for the publication of romances, like the Fuentes para el estudio del romancero (Sources for the Study of the Romancero) in its several series: Sefardí, Luso-brasileira, Ultramarina, etc., and the application of computers, creating an Archivo Internacional Electrónico del Romancero (AIER), with its corresponding series of publications.

Outside of the domain of the Seminario Menéndez Pidal, the publication of ballad collections, fruit of systematic field expeditions, either individual or collective, has also taken on in recent years a very hopeful rhythm.

Description of the Poetics of the Romancero

The third activity that poems transmitted from memory to memory demand from students of balladry is the description of their poetic language, of the characteristics of their art. This task,
no less fundamental than collecting and publishing oral manifestations, requires a thorough understanding of the significative complexity of ballad stories. Not an easy task, as I have proven by personal experience. Although from childhood I had been a reader of romances, it was only on trying to analyze systematically and exhaustively corpus after corpus of romances for the Catálogo general descriptivo del romancero (CGR), in company with a group of collaborators (especially J. A. Cid, B. Mariscal, F. Salazar, A. Valenciano, and S. Robertson),13 I became aware of how simplistic are our readings as men of letters of traditional romances and the richness and significative depth of most traditional structures. The existence in the multiple manifestations of a romance of expressive variants at each level of semantic articulation makes it possible to recognize the invariables that hide behind them, and thus assures that our analyses are not misguided. Variation enables us to discover in the dramatized poetic narratives of the romancero a plurality of structured semantic levels that occupy the ground between the purely linguistic signs, whose highest level of integration is the sentence, and the primary semantic structures manifested through them, structures emulating the social, economic, and ideological systems of the referent (and, in that respect, the possible object of extra-semiological disciplines).

Figurative Language

The first level of poetic articulation is made up of a discourse which actualizes content or plot. Within the corpus of a romance, the same plot segment can and usually does manifest itself in different versions with discourse that varies as much in mode as in the figurative units of which it is composed.

For example, the monorhymed octosyllabic version (unique today) of El caballo robado from Lumbrales (Salamanca) and the Catalan and Sephardic strophic and hexasyllabic versions all contain the same story:

| En los palacios del rey | In the king’s palaces |
| faltara el mejor caballo. | the best horse was missing. |
| El rey le pregunta al conde: | The king asks the count: |
| —¿Eres tú el que lo ha robado? | “Are you the one who stole him?” |
| (Salamanca) | |
| Al palau del rey | In the king’s palace |
| hi falta un caballo. | a horse is missing. |
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rey dice al comte
si l’havia hurtado.
(Catalonia)

El rey lo mandó prender,
tres cadenas va arrastrando,
y las otras dos las manos.
(Salamanca)

N’agafan al comte
i l’encarcelaron,
manillas a las manos.
(Catalonia)

Ataron al conde
al pie de una torre,
su cuerpo en prisiones.
(Morocco)

Arrimóse el conde
al pie de una torre,
sus pies en cadenas,
su cuerpo en prisiones.
(Eastern Sephardic)

—Carpintero, carpintero,
di por qué repicas tanto.
—Estoy haciendo la horca
para un conde ajusticiado.
—Hazla bien alta y derecha,
y no quiero que los perros
me coman por los zancajos.
(Salamanca)

—Carpintero noble,
¿per qui son las forcas?
—Per vos son, el comte,
per vostra persona.
—Feu que sean altas,
altas y espayosas,
no coman los perros
de mis carnes dolças.
(Catalonia)

The king asks the count
if he had stolen him.

In the king’s house
a horse disappeared,
they said that the count
had stolen him.

The king ordered him detained,
he is dragging three chains,
one fetters his legs
and the other two his hands.

They seize the count
and they put him in prison,
with fetters on his feet,
handcuffs on his hands.

They tied the count
at the foot of a tower,
a chain around his neck,
his body in shackles.

The count rested against
the foot of a tower,
his feet in chains,
his body in shackles.

“Carpenter, carpenter,
say why you are pounding so.”
“I am making a gallows
for a condemned count.”
“Make it tall and straight,
for I am the sentenced one,
and I don’t want the dogs
to nibble on my heels.”

“Noble carpenter,
for whom are the gallows?”
“They are for you, count,
for your person.”
“Make them tall,
tall and roomy,
so the dogs don’t eat
my sweet flesh.”
and so on for the rest of the romance.

In the ballad of *La condesita* the sequence “the countess disguises herself as a pilgrim in order to go in search of her husband” is expressed by stating the action:

Se ha vestido de romera
y le ha salido a buscar.
She has dressed as a pilgrim
and set out to look for him.

or by visualizing it with some concrete detail:

Se vistió de rica seda
y encima un tosco sayal,
con la cayada en la mano
ha empezado a caminar.
She dressed in rich silk
and on top coarse sackcloth,
with her staff in her hand
she has begun to walk.

or by describing in detail how the countess changes from noble robes into beggar’s clothing:

Se ha encerrado en un cuarto,
se principia a desnudar,
se quita basquina ’e seda,
se la pone de percal,
se quita medias bordadas,
se las pone sin bordar,
se quita zapato de ante,
se le pone ’e cordoban,
ha cogido un baculillo
para poder caminar.
She has shut herself in a room,
she begins to undress,
she removes her silken petticoat,
she puts on one of percale,
she removes embroidered hose,
she puts on plain ones,
she removes soft leather shoes,
she puts on some of cordovan,
she has taken a small staff
in order to be able to walk.

or by making use of direct discourse, in a scene in which the abandoned wife seeks her father’s help before departing:

—Compreme, padre, un vestido,
que le quiero ir a buscar;
no se lo pido de seda,
ni de oro, que cuesta más,
“Buy me, father, a dress,
for I want to go to seek him;
I don’t ask that it be of silk,
nor of gold, which costs more,
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que se lo pido de lana,  I ask that it be of wool,
deso que llaman sayal.  of the kind called sackcloth."

or in which she receives instructions from her father:

—Ponte unos ricos galones  “Put on rich adornments
y encima un sobresayal,  and on top sackcloth,
ves en villita en villita,  go from town to town,
ves en ciudad en ciudad.  go from city to city.”

This variability clarifies the purely expressive function which those forms of discourse have with respect to the invariable semantic content of the plot.

The openness of the discourse of a romance is unlimited in principle, but in practice it is subject to the pressures, both selective and restrictive, of the genre. The speakers of the romancero language make use of a traditional discourse, based on a lexicon and a grammar (at the figurative level), in other words, a poetics.

The plainness of expression, the “naturalness,” considered since the Golden Age as the salient quality of the “old” romances, does not mean that the oral romancero, ancient or modern, rejects figurative language. This so-called lack of artifice is simply the absence of the stock phrases which characterize the literary forms of each period (at the end of the Middle Ages, in the Renaissance, the Baroque ..., in the literature of today). The romancero has its own artifice, its own different and little understood poetics. There is no other unlearned song save that of the birds. At the level at which the discourse reveals a plot, that is, a narrative content already aesthetically organized, the artisans of the ballad construct and reconstruct their models employing a poetic language acquired through oral tradition, which they revert to as naturally as any individual speaking a language in which he or she is fluent.

The figurative language of the romancero uses the formula as its basic unit. Formulas are tropes; they mean something different from the phrases of which they are made up. Although the literal information that a formulaic expression offers cannot be rejected as not being pertinent, since it generally represents a realistic visualization of the plot, what matters for the development of that plot is the “lexicalized” meaning of that expression. The formula is synecdochic in that it designates by means of a restricted, concrete representation something of a broader or more abstract reality.

For example, in the ballad of Belardo y Valdovinos, Belardo
comes upon his cousin lying on the ground in the middle of a field and discovers that he is badly wounded. In several versions the sick man explains:

| Estoy mirando al caballo       | I am looking at the horse |
| para el agua que bebía.       | at the water he is drinking. |
| y también para la sangre      | and also at the blood |
| que de mis venas corría.      | that is running from my veins. |

(Lugo)

| Estoy mirando al caballo      | I am looking at the horse |
| como las hierbas pacía;       | how it grazes on the grass; |
| también miro mis heridas      | I also look at my wounds |
| como la sangre vertian.       | how they spill out blood. |

(León)

This formula can be substituted by another one related to it:

| Estoy mirando el agua clara   | I am looking at the clear water |
| que de esta fuente salía;     | coming out of this fountain; |
| también estoy mirando el cuervo | I am also looking at the crow |
| que de mi sangre bebía.       | who is drinking my blood. |

(Oviedo)

or by others that are very different:

| Con un concho de naranja      | With an orange skin |
| curando mortal herida.        | dressing a mortal wound. |

(Santander and similar phrases in Trás-os-Montes)

| Con tres heridas mortales,   | With three wounds that are mortal |
| con tres mortales heridas,   | with three mortal wounds, |
| por una le entraba el viento, | through one the wind entered, |
| por otra el aire salía,      | through another the air came out, |
| por la más chiquita de ellas | through the tiniest of them |
| un gavilán volaría.           | a hawk would fly. |

(Zamora, Orense)

| Siete heridas tiene el cuerpo, | Seven wounds the body has, |
| la menor era mortal,           | the smallest was mortal, |
| la más chiquita de ellas       | [through] the tiniest of them |
| entra y sale un gavilán,       | a hawk goes in and out |
| con las alas bien abiertas     | with its wings wide open |
| y sin la carne tocar.         | and without touching the flesh. |

(Zamora, León)

All of these expressions, translated into simple, non-poetic language, say the same thing: “I have (he has) mortal wounds.”

The purpose of the romancero discourse formulas is to dramatize the narration through concrete, vicarious acts which help to visualize the essential events of the plot. In the example cited, the horse that drinks or feeds freely, the crow that drinks the blood, the orange skin, the three or seven mortal wounds, and the
hawk that flies in and out of them with his wings open have no existence other than at a dramatic level appropriate to the discourse, but not at the narrative level of the plot, where the only thing that matters is the meaning of the trope: “I have (he has) mortal wounds.”

The simplicity of the meaning of the formulas makes it possible for each one of them to appear in various *fabulae*. For example, “[I have (he has) mortal wounds]” is a plot element that we also find in the ballad of the *Pérdida de don Beltrán:*

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spanish</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tres feridas tem no peito, todas três eram mortal, por uma entra a o sol, pela outra entra a o luar, pela mais pequena delas um gavião (aguia, pomba) a voar com suas asças bem abertas sem as ensanguentar.</td>
<td>I have three wounds in my breast, all three are mortal, through one the sun enters, through another the moon, through the smallest of them a hawk (eagle, dove) flies with its wings wide open without bloodying them.</td>
<td>(Trás-os-Montes)</td>
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and in the *Sueño de doña Alda:*

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<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tr>
<td>Siete puñaladas tiene al derredor del collare, por la una le entra el frío, por la otra le entra el aire, por la más chiquita de ellas entra y sale un gavilán, con las sus alas abiertas no le toca en la su face.</td>
<td>He has seven dagger wounds around his throat, through one the cold enters, through another the air enters, through the smallest of them a hawk goes in and out, with its wings open it doesn’t touch him on the face.</td>
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and in the *Partida del esposo* combined with the *Vuelta del hijo maldecido:*

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<th>Spanish</th>
<th>English</th>
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<tr>
<td>Tres cuchilladas tenía que eran dadas de duxmán, por la una entra el sol, por la otra entra el luar, por la más chica de ellas entra y sale un gavilán.</td>
<td>He had three slashes that were given by a dagger(?) through one the sun enters, through another the moon enters, through the smallest of them a hawk goes in and out.</td>
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The fact that expressions of discourse of one *romance* reappear in others is not what permits us to identify them as formulas. We recognize them at once, from the first encounter, by their unitary semantic value and by the basically figurative nature of their literal information. But, although in order to recognize them as such, it does not matter whether or not they are present in a number of ballad corpora, the meaning they have at the plot
level makes them easily transferable from one context to another.

The Plot

An analysis of the corpus also makes it obvious that the plot, the artistically organized narrative, is at the same time the particularized expression adopted by the *fabula* (or causal series of cardinal events which follow upon one another in a chain supported by the natural passing of time). Suffice it to observe how in the totality of the versions of one *romance*, there can alternate in a given syntagmatic context several plot segments that are narratively equivalent, how some versions complicate the telling of an event with specific details that others ignore, or how the facts that permit the listener to reconstruct the logical/temporal sequences of the *fabula* are sometimes incorporated into scenes visualized in the narration and other times merely by means of references to past facts and offside stage directions, or by vague suggestions (*indicia*) incorporated in other sequences. The exposition of a *fabula*, that is, the plot, can upon occasion complicate the story with secondary incidents, and, in contrast to what has usually been affirmed, can easily break up the *ordo naturalis* of the narrative. The receivers, the hearers of a *romance*, are accustomed, just as are the readers of “literary” works, to reconstruct synthetically in their minds the logical/temporal succession of events which in the narration are presented reorganized according to an *ordo artificialis*.

Let us take as an example the ballad of *Bernal Francés*. The story as it is narrated is made up of the following logical/temporal sequences:

1. Departure of the husband (X leaves home and the village where he resides leaving Y alone).
2. Adultery (Y substitutes Z for X).
3. Return of the husband (X returns to his village and home).
4. Deception (X presents himself to Y pretending to be Z).
5. Proof of the crime (Y receives pseudo-Z in her home and bed).
6. Revelation of identity (Pseudo-Z identifies himself to Y as X).
7. Punishment or vengeance (X kills Y).

Among the individual versions we have, this *fabula*, so ordinary in itself, appears artistically elaborated by means of a
violent dystaxia. The narration begins in the fourth sequence (Deception) without explaining to us the identity of the characters, or the situation in which they find themselves:

—¿Quién es ese caballero que en mi puerta dice: “Abrir”? —Don Francisco soy, senora, que vengo para servir, de noche para la cama, de día para el jardín. —Aguarda, mi don Francisco, para encender el candil. —No lo encienda, señora, que he dejao tres hombres muertos y otros tres para morir, toda la justicia viene en seguimiento de mí; si ven la luz encendida, dirán que yo estoy aquí— donde el rey puede dormir. (Molinos del Razón, Soria)

—Franciscana, Franciscana, abre puertas y ventanas a quien las sueles abrir! — Se levanta la güitada, desvelada en el dormir, se lava los pies y manos con agua de torongil. Y a la vuelta del capote él le apagaba el candil. (Granadilla, Tenerife)

It is only thanks to the suprasegmental allusions or *indicia*, and not by means of the distributional or sequential units, that the receiver of the message gradually becomes aware that the amorous encounter contains within itself elements leading to a tragedy. The two characters who are speaking are defined by means of expressions such as “of the very lovely body”, “my Don Francisco”, “as you are wont to do”, “at night in bed, by day in the garden”, which, without clarifying for us the adulterous situation, indicate the clearly illicit existence of a continuous and voluptuous sexual relationship. But the listener who is sensitive to the signs can go one step further and begin to suspect that the situation and the identities that have been established involve a
trap. In the version of Granadilla, the wakefulness of the woman is an *indicium* that already puts us on guard, and the epithet *la cuitada* attributed to the lady when it is simply relating how she is preparing herself sensually and ritualistically to offer her lovely body to the one who is accustomed to enjoying it, turns out to be truly alarming. In the other version, from Molinos del Razón, the *romance* opens with a question: “¿Quien es ese ...?,” prefiguring what is going to be the cause of the whole tragedy: the doubtful identity of the person who says “Abrid.” Alerted by these signs, the receiver of the ballad message is prepared to interpret the darkness brought about by the knight at the time he crosses the threshold (motif of the lamp) as a potential threat to the beauty. Nevertheless, if we limit ourselves to holding in mind the chain of events, the *fabula* will only begin to unveil itself during the course of the dialogue provoked by the sexual indifference of Z:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{Y a eso de la media noche} \\
&\text{no se había vuelto a mí.}
\end{align*}
\]

And by around midnight

he had not turned to me.

or:

\[
\begin{align*}
&-\text{¿Qué traes tú, don Alonso,} \\
&\text{que no te viras pa mí?}
\end{align*}
\]

“What is the matter, Don Alonso,

that you don’t turn to me?”

Only by means of the lady’s words do we discover that she is a married woman and her husband is away:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{No temas a mi marido} \\
&\text{que está muy lejos de aquí;}
\end{align*}
\]

Don’t be afraid of my husband

for he is very far from here.

(Molinos del Razón)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{o temes a mi marido.} \\
&\text{Bien lejos está de aquí.}
\end{align*}
\]

. . . or you’re afraid of my husband.

He is very far from here.

(Granadilla)

and we have to wait until the adulterous wife observes the trap into which she has fallen to recognize the true identity of the knight who knocked at the beauty’s door:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{—Si eso hiciera usted, señora,} \\
&\text{pagao sería de mí:} \\
&\text{le daré saya de grana} \\
&\text{y jugón de escarlatín,} \\
&\text{gargantilla colorada,} \\
&\text{la que a ninguna le di.—} \\
&\text{A las últimas palabras,} \\
&\text{yo, triste, le conocí.}
\end{align*}
\]

“If you did that, lady,

I would pay you

by giving you a skirt of red cloth

and a bodice of scarlet,

a red necklace,

such as I have given to no one.”

At his final words,

I, alas, knew who he was.

(Molinos del Razón)

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{—Tu marido, Franciscana,} \\
&\text{está aquí al lado de ti.}
\end{align*}
\]

“Your husband, Franciscana,

is here beside you.”
And observe that the solution to the enigma can even be postponed until the appearance of the final sequence of the fabula, the punishment or vengeance, a sequence that does not have to be expressed in the form of action that we witness or about which we are informed.

But whichever narrative units were resorted to or whatever their organization may be, the plot always constitutes a concretion of the story structure, a particularized representation, among the many that are possible, of what is signified by the fabula. For that reason the fabulae of the romancero can and in fact do manifest themselves in the individual versions of oral tradition by means of various plots. The study of the artistic structuralization of the fabulae of the romancero, with a web of variable interrelationships of the characters, constitutes another inevitable area whenever one tries to describe the romances.

**Fabula and Functional Model**

The fabula itself, at the deepest interpretative level (or the highest, if one prefers to use another metalanguage), also appears to us, in turn, like a particular expression of the functional structures within which the roles of the dramatis personae and what the characters do become integrated so as to offer the receiver unified messages. At this level of organization of the narrative, the fabulae, so closely linked to the referent through the simulation of human behavior, are only “historical,” circumstantial manifestations of more general and more abstract structures (actantial or functional models) which syntagmatically organize atemporal, “mythical” contents. Within those more abstract structures, the characters shed their semantic traits in order to remain identified merely with the principal roles of the narrative’s “grammar.”

In order to exemplify the relationship between the fabula of a romance and the actantial structure revealed in it, the romance of
the *Infante parricide* will serve as an example:

> Preñada estaba la reina  
> de tres meses que no mase,  
> hablóle la criatura  
> por la gracia de Dios padre:  
> —Si Dios me deja vivir,  
> salir de angosto lugare,  
> mataría yo al rey,  
> también la reina mi madre;  
> porque durmieron a una  
> la noche de las verdades,  
> me quitaron mis virtudes  
> cuantas Dios me diera y mase,  
> que si unas me quitaron,  
> otras más me volvió a dare. —

> Oídolo había el buen rey  
> desde su sala reale:  
> —La [reina], si pares niña,  
> cien damas la han de criare;  
> la [reina], si pares niño,  
> a la leona le he de echare.—

> Envolvióle en seda y grana,  
> a la leona le fue a echare.  
> La leona vido ese hijo  
> que era de sangre reale,  
> quitó leche de sus hijos  
> y al infante fuera a dalle.  
> No es el niño de cinco años,  
> parecía un barragane;  
> no es el niño de diez años,  
> las armas supo tomar;  
> no es el niño de quince años,  
> a cortes del rey fue a entrare.  
> Hubo de matar al rey,  
> también la reina su madre.  
> Otro día en la mañana,  
> ya reinara en su lugare.

(Sephardic tradition of Morocco)

Actantially, two characters compete for the role of subject: R⁰ (the king A) and R¹ (the prince or king B). The story makes us witness two parallel processes with a contrary sign: the fall of R⁰ and the accession of R¹. The process of the fall is initiated with the *breaking of the pact (sustainer of the monarchy)* on the part of R⁰, and the process of accession with the *establishment of a new pact (sustainer of the monarchy)* on the part of R¹. The two complementary cardinal functions are expressed in the first
sequence: conception of an heir by transgressing a sacred prohibition (they engender him on Christmas or an analogous night). As a consequence of this first cardinal action, the circumstantial attributes of the characters and the terms of their interdependence are modified, according to what we consider necessary for the existence of a sequence: R₁ (and R⁻) deprive R² of his natural virtue; D (God), as an automatic response, transfers his alliance from R¹ to R² (see verses 6 and 7: “they took away my virtues, / all that God gave me and more, // for if they took some away, / still others he gave me.”).

The second function consists of a divine sign (of the transference of the alliance). In terms of the fabula, the withdrawal of God’s protection from R¹ and the election of R² are shown in the second sequence: revelation of the destiny of the crown prince. Observe that another type of sign could easily have been substituted: manifestation of divine anger in the form of a plague, for example.

These first two sequences of the fabula acquire visibility in the plot by means of one single scene: the threat or challenge of the fetus to his parents with which the action of the romance opens.

In the process of accession, the next functional act is the birth (of the chosen one), conceived as the overcoming of the danger of abortion (“to leave this confined place”) and of the proof represented by the alternative male/female (“. . . if you give birth to a girl . . .//. . . if you give birth to a boy . . .//. . . she gave birth to a prince”). Its parallel, in the process of the fall, is the persecution (of the chosen one) by R¹. In the fabula these functions are represented in two plot sequences, 3 and 4, birth of a male heir and the king’s renunciation of his heir, which, at the level of the plot, are interchanged, converting the decision of the king into a warning directed to the queen before the birth (verses 9-10).

The next functional act in the process of R¹’s fall is the sacrifice (of the chosen one), which brings as a counterpart the resurrection or rebirth (of the chosen one) in a new nature. In the fabula the sequence of the sacrifice of the crown prince perhaps requires some commentary: R¹, on trying to deprive his son of life and, thereby, his right to be king, does not take away from him his royal insignias (“he wrapped him in red silk cloth”); it is a question, therefore, of an expiatory sacrifice, of the immolation of
the fruit of sin, for the purpose of placating the divinity, and not a mere act of self-protection by R\(^1\). The change of the nature of R\(^2\) is made explicit by means of the two following sequences: the sixth, adoption of the child by a lioness, carried out by RA- (the lioness), who recognizes him, that is, she identifies herself with him as having in common a royal nature and nurses him; and the seventh, upbringing of the hero, in which the son of the lioness assumes the role of subject and reveals his new nature, both royal and animal, as he proves himself both as a man and as a warrior without need of the teachings of a tutor and at an exceptional age.

The last functional act in both processes consists of the substitution of the king under divine disfavor for the new king blessed by God. Sequentially, the three actions of the plot, the penetration into the royal abode, the killing of the parents, and the accession of the prince to the throne constitute a single cardinal action: the prince kills his parents and installs himself as king.

Paradigmatic Reading

The reading of the ballad seems so obvious that we could be asked why we have chosen this story as an example. But the clarity of the text is deceptive. To put an end to our optimism, all we have to do is ask one basic question: what is the nuclear message of the romance? Evidently the story has to do with the monarchy; it comments upon the divine origin of royal authority, but what does it say?

The victory of the hero confirms the inevitability of divine designs: the child heir, destined by the finger of God to be king, passes over not only the obstacle of parental opposition (based, more than on egotistical reasons, on a misinterpretation of the function of the king as a pastor of the people), but rather that of the sin which is at the base of his existence. When the “restorer” mounts the throne, it is evident that a new order is taking over in the kingdom (or in the civitas). Once the tyrant is dead (and also his wife), the stain that contaminates the people has been washed away and the pact with the divinity, basis of the monarchy, has been renewed and the authority has recovered its legitimacy. But there is something disturbing in this restoration: the hero, the chosen one, in order to begin his reign has had to commit a new crime, the double parricide, the licitness of which is more than doubtful.

Can we consider the narration to be closed, as sufficient unto
itself? Is not the *romance* a macrosequence of an untold story, of a story that never will be told but whose parameters are well defined?

Like every hero, the child-slayer of his parents is born “marked.” The sin, the transgression that accompanies his engendering, turns him into the chosen one. But at the same time, he is tragically conditioned by the fact that his exaltation at being king can only be realized after a new sin. The kingdom, the city, which has been freed from a curse by sacrificing its own king like an expiatory goat, finds itself, at the end of the tale, with the paradox that the savior on carrying out the liberating act, the death of the tyrants, is again bringing divine anger upon his people.

The insufficiency of analyses, of descriptions limited to the syntagmatic projection of the web of paradigmatic relationships that ballad narrations show seems to me to be an obvious fact. If we want to understand the message of the *romance* of the *Infante parricida*, one must incorporate into the semiotic study of the text a “vertical” reading of those relationships. It is necessary to recover the underlying ideology, which is mythic and at the same time historic, although on doing so it seems more obvious than ever to us that the essential property of traditional creations is their openness.

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Notes

1Translated from the Spanish by the editor and the author.
2In 1977 the Seminario Menéndez Pidal and the Universidad Complutense de Madrid initiated a plan to recover as quickly as possible the store of *romances* still hoarded in the living archives of tradition. The method used has a double purpose: to cover a broad territory quickly and, at the same time, to penetrate into the most hidden recesses of traditional knowledge. Therefore, (a) the need to have recourse to large teams for the field expeditions (from twenty to thirty-five people each time), made up of investigators of very different origin but previously trained and directed afterwards in the field by a group of expert monitors, and (b) the careful preparation of special manuals for field work for each region under investigation. Since 1977 the following large-scale field expeditions have been
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carried out: Northern Field Trip - 1977: in Santander, northern Palencia, northern León, Sanabria (Zamora), and Ancares (Lugo); Southern Field Trip - 1978: in the mountains of Cazorla and Segura and contiguous areas in Albacete, Murcia, Jaén, and Granada; Northern Field Trip - 1979: In Fornela and the upper valley of the Sil; Northern Field Trip - 1980: in the north and west of León and the west of Asturias with brief incursions into Orense, Zamora, and Segovia; Zamora Field Trip - 1981: in the northwest of Zamora and in the northeast and southwest of León; Segovia Field Trip - 1982: Segovia; Galician Field Trip - 1982: in the north of Lugo and the north of La Coruña; Castilian Field Trip - 1984: in Burgos, in the east of Palencia and the west of Soria; León Field Trip - 1985: León. In addition, the Seminario Menéndez Pidal has carried out several other field expeditions of lesser duration with smaller teams: in the northwest of Salamanca and the southwest of Zamora - 1981; in Ciudad Real and contiguous areas in the south of Toledo, the east of Badajoz and the north of Córdoba - 1982; in the center and south of León - 1984; and in La Gomera - 1985.

3Intensive collecting with modern recording equipment was begun in both insular and continental Portugal in 1969 by Joanne B. Purcell, who had previously familiarized herself with the Portuguese tradition of insular origin among emigrants residing in California. Following in her footsteps, Manuel da Costa Fontes and Maria-João Camara Fontes, after extensive collecting among the emigrants from the Portuguese islands living in California, New England, and Canada, carried out numerous field expeditions in São Jorge (Azores) as well as in Bragança (Trás-os-Montes) in 1977 and 1980. During the eighties several researchers living in Portugal who had previously taken part in field expeditions of the Seminario Menéndez Pidal in Spain, Pere Ferré, Vanda Anastácio, José Joaquim Dias Marques, and Ana Maria Martins, have been carrying out splendid exploratory work in various insular and peninsular districts.

4The most studied branch of the Pan-Hispanic tradition is, beyond a doubt, the Judeo-Spanish, in which for several decades S. G. Armistead and J. H. Silverman have been the active leaders with the collaboration of I. J. Katz as musicologist. They were the ones who established models for the collection of Sephardic ballads with modern technical aids and who have served both as guides and as a stimulus for young investigators who are working in this field in various American universities. The Catalan branch, which was so rich in the last century and during the first third of this one, seems to have lost more of its traditional store than any other from the time of the Civil War on. At least this is the impression derived from recent explorations by Salvador Rebés and Isabel Ruiz in territories that formerly were very rich in ballads. The Canaries branch, on the other hand, continues to furnish notable surprises concerning the preservation of themes not previously known in the area, as is shown by the collections of Maximiano Trapero and of Benigno León Felipe among others. Another branch of the romancero up to a short while ago not identified in old samplings is the gypsy branch from western Andalusia, the last examples of which have been saved by Luis Suárez. In Castilian territory there are very strong contrasts: the field work of S. G. Armistead and of Luis Díaz Viana in Soria gives evidence of an impoverished tradition, an impression also formed by the field expeditions of the Seminario Menéndez Pidal in the same area, while areas not very distant from Palencia and Burgos preserve a much richer romancero.
Although every “document” of a traditional version is a useful datum for the investigator of the romancero and although a few texts of great rarity come from fortuitous finds carried out by first-time or chance investigators, as a whole, knowledge about the traditional romancero, today as yesterday, owes more to a select group of specialized collectors than to the many amateur folklorists or to the musicologists interested in the popular song in general. Therefore, the Seminario Menéndez Pidal considered it important to organize four intensive theoretical/practical courses about research in the oral romancero in 1980, 1981, 1982, and 1985 (which thirty to thirty-five students attended each time) with the aim of instructing new investigators about the oral traditional romancero.

They include themes as rare as: Lanzarote y el ciervo del pie blanco (Jaén, Tenerife, La Gomera), Gaíferos rescata a Melisendra (León, Orense), Mocedades de Gaíferos (Segovia, Santander), Durandarte envía su corazón a Belerma (Asturias, Cádiz), Valdovinos sorprendido en la caza (Asturias), La muerte de don Beltrán (León), La caza de Celinos (Lugo, León, Burgos), Las quejas de doña Urraca (Zamora, Madeira), Destierro del Cid (Madeira), El Cid pide parrías al moro + El tornadizo y la Virgen (La Gomera), El moro que reta a Valencia y al Cid (Asturias, León), Rodriguillo reta a su padre (Madeira, Asturias, La Palma), Afuera, afuera, Rodrigo (Madeira), Nacimiento de Bernardo del Carpio (Madrid), Bernardo reclama la libertad de su padre (Cádiz), Bañando está las prisiones (Cádiz), Río Verde (La Gomera), Muerte del maestre de Santiago (Segovia), El hijo póstumo (Lugo), Don Manuel y el moro Muza (Asturias, León), Merienda del moro Zaide (Palencia, Santander, Lugo), Isabel de Liar (Lugo, Coruña), Marquillos (León), Espinelo (Zamora, Burgos), El tornadizo y la Virgen (La Gomera), Virgíllos (El Hierro), Paris y Elena (La Gomera), El alabancioso (León), El sacrificio de Isaac (Palencia, León, Orense), El esclavo que llora por su mujer (Gran Canaria), La mujer de Arnaldos (León), Canta moro (León), El bonetero de la Trapería (León, Asturias), etc.

The Romancero tradicional de las lenguas hispánicas is now up to volume 12, which has just been published: La muerte ocultada (1984-85), edited by B. Mariscal de Rhett.

Seven volumes in the Sephardic series have been published up to the present. They include works by S. G. Armistead and J. H. Silverman, I. J. Katz, R. Benmayor, and O. A. Librowicz.

Three volumes by M. da Costa Fontes have come out in this series, and a fourth, which begins the publication of the collection of J. B. Purcell, has been edited by I. Rodriguez and J. das P. Saramago.

Aside from the two volumes of La flor de la marañuela edited by D. Catalán and his collaborators in 1969, which are being reissued with additions, two volumes have been published by M. Trapero, Romancero de la Isla de Hierro (1985) and Romancero de la Isla de La Gomera (1987).

An example of the results of an intensive effort of collective field work is the Northern Field Trip - 1977 of the Seminario Menéndez Pidal, prepared by J. A. Cid, F. Salazar, and A. Valenciano with the collaboration of B. Fernández and C. Vega (see note 2, above) and edited by S. H. Petersen, which bears the title Voces nuevas del romancero castellano-leonés (1982), AIER 1 and 2. Since then the stock of ballads of the AIER has been increased by means of ongoing processing of versions from Segovia, León, and
Galicia gathered during different field expeditions of the Seminario Menéndez Pidal, together with unedited texts from those same districts that are in the Menéndez Pidal archives, which were begun in 1900.


Volumes 2 and 3 of the *CGR* have already been published: *El romancero pan-hispánico. Catálogo general descriptivo / The Pan-Hispanic Ballad. General Descriptive Catalogue* (1982 and 1983), preceded by an introductory volume: *Teoría general y metodología del romancero pan-hispánico. Catálogo general descriptivo* (1984), the English version of which is in press (1987). In the *CGR* there are descriptions of all accessible versions, edited and unedited, of every *romance* in existence in the oral tradition of any one of the branches of the Pan-Hispanic tradition: Castilian, Galician-Portuguese, Catalan, and Sephardic.