

La fraticida por amor:
A Sixteenth-Century Spanish Ballad
in the Modern Oral Tradition

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How does innovation occur in the oral tradition? Where do new oral texts come from? How are they incorporated into the oral tradition? Since Guttenberg, printed texts have been one source upon which the oral tradition has drawn.

In the present article, I study innovation and incorporation in the Spanish Ballad, or *Romancero*. My focus is a ballad published in 1591 that entered the modern oral tradition of the Judeo-Spanish, or Sephardic, communities of Morocco. Scholars have assigned it the sensational, but appropriate, title *La fraticida por amor* [*The Girl Who Killed Her Sister for Love of Her Brother-in-Law*].¹ This ballad is an interesting case study for three reasons:

1) We know the source of the ballad (Armistead and Silverman 1971:296). Thus we may study it in its original, sixteenth-century form, as well as in numerous modern oral versions. This comparison allows us to explore what has happened over the centuries as the text moved from one modality (the printed word) to another (the spoken/sung word). We may compare the fixed poetic text with its modern oral descendants that are part of another genre, the *romance tradicional moderno* [modern traditional ballad], which Ramón Menéndez Pidal defined as “poesía que vive en variantes” [“poetry that lives in variants”] (1968, I:40). As I will show, the oral tradition has imposed a new narrator and a new narrative mode. As a result of the condensation and elimination of episodes, the oral versions are much shorter and more compact than the printed text. As I will suggest, the oral tradition expects an active audience, one that will use its imagination to fill in details. The audience for the printed text, in contrast, passively

¹ All English ballad titles used in this essay are those found in Armistead 1978. With respect to the 1591 publication date, it is not uncommon to find post-diaspora ballads in Sephardic communities. The exiled Jews maintained contact with Spain after 1492 (see Menéndez Pidal 1958:120-27).

receives information and instruction from the narrator. I will also show how the story told in the modern oral versions differs from its sixteenth-century ancestor, and I will attempt to account for those changes.

2) The modern oral versions of *La fratricida por amor* discussed in this essay are from the Sephardic tradition. This ballad, then, also provides testimony as to what happens when a text crosses over from one culture to another. The Sephardic singers have reshaped this overtly Christian ballad into a text of their own. In the discussion that follows, I will explore two phenomena associated specifically with the Sephardic *Romancero*: de-Christianization and attenuation of violence.

3) Because the original printed text of this ballad is available, I can examine the constant tension between “memory and invention” (Catalán Menéndez Pidal 1970) that characterizes the *Romancero*. Spanish ballads are dynamic structures. Contamination, the fusion of one ballad or part of one ballad with another, is one way in which change takes place. The Sephardic ballad tradition is often thought of as an archaic or conservative one in which memory or tradition dominates invention or creation.² The evolution of *La fratricida por amor*, however, demonstrates the high degree of creativity found in the Judeo-Spanish tradition.

The Texts

La fratricida por amor is just one of scores of long *noticiero* [“news-bearing”] ballads published in Spain during the second half of the sixteenth century. Although these ballads often recounted events that were historical in nature—a military victory, a royal wedding, the death of a king, they were just as likely to recount *casos*—natural disasters, unusual occurrences, martyrdoms, miracles, crimes. They were generally published in chapbooks (*pliegos sueltos*), though occasionally they made their way into books as well.³ The only known printed text of *La fratricida por amor* is found in Pedro de Moncayo’s *Flor de varios romances nuevos*, published in

² For a discussion of this view and others, see Armistead and Silverman 1986:3-4.

³ Examples of *romances noticieros* printed in chapbooks may be found in Rodríguez-Moñino 1962 and Askins 1981. An example of a book containing such poems is the 1578 *Flor de romances, glosas, canciones y villancicos*, which contains the most complete collection of ballads about the Habsburgs. For a modern facsimile edition, see Rodríguez-Moñino 1954.

Barcelona by Jaime Cendrat in 1591.⁴ In that collection, the ballad is given a nondescript title; it is simply “*Otro Romance*” [“Another Ballad”]. Given its subject matter and style, this ballad was probably published in chapbooks as well.⁵

The corpus of oral texts studied here is made up of 19 versions, all collected directly from the modern oral tradition between 1904 and 1981. All belong to the Moroccan branch of the Sephardic *Romancero*. The text published by Moncayo and a representative oral version collected in Tetuan⁶ are included in Appendix 1. A list of all oral versions with information as to singer, collector, and place and date of collection is included in Appendix 2.⁷ Appendix 3 lists the folkloric motifs found in *La fraticida por amor*.

As the title suggests, this ballad tells the story of a woman—in Moncayo’s text she is named Angela—who falls in love with her brother-in-law, Diego, and kills her sister, who is Diego’s wife. With the obstacle that her sister presented removed, Angela then makes love with her unsuspecting brother-in-law. Eventually, her crime is discovered. In Moncayo’s text, she pays with her life. In the modern oral tradition, various resolutions—ranging from execution to marriage—are possible.

⁴ Moncayo’s *Flor* went through a number of editions, and the contents changed from one edition to the next. For the complete publishing history see Rodríguez-Moñino 1973-78, III:34-68. For a modern facsimile edition, see Rodríguez-Moñino 1957.

⁵ In fact, Jaime Cendrat, who worked not only in books but also in chapbooks, might very well have published it in this cheaper format.

⁶ Hereafter I will refer to this version as Tetuan.

⁷ In this essay, I examine the Judeo-Spanish versions of *La fraticida por amor*, the vast majority of modern oral versions of this ballad. It should be noted that three non-Sephardic versions have been collected: two in Catalonia and one in the Canary Islands. Both of the versions from Catalonia are in a combination of Spanish and Catalan; only one is complete. The complete version is housed in the Menéndez Pidal Archive in Madrid. The other version was collected by Manuel Milá y Fontanals, who published a portion of it (26 lines) in his *Romancerillo Catalán* (1896:261). Milá edited out an unspecified number of verses that he deemed unimportant or inappropriate (xvii). The most recent version was collected in the Canary Islands in 1983 (Trapero 1987:180-81). It is a contamination or hybrid that combines *La fraticida por amor* with *Los soldados forzadores* [*The Soldier Rapists*]. Since the evidence for *La fraticida por amor* is so slight in the Catalan and Canary Islands traditions, I have chosen to concentrate on the Judeo-Spanish versions. I have, however, included the three non-Sephardic versions in Appendix 2 and will make occasional references to them as appropriate in notes.

Two differences that are immediately apparent when we compare printed and oral texts are the length of the ballad and the names of the characters. Looking at length first, we may observe that the oral versions are considerably shorter than the printed text; they range in length from 28 to 56 lines, whereas Moncayo's has 210.⁸ While the characters are named Angela, Diego, and Argentina in the printed text, the oral versions often change, or omit, their names. In nine of the 19 versions the protagonist is called Isabel; in six versions she is called Angela or a possible variant of Angela (Angeles, Anjíbar or Anjívar, Anzila, doña Giyán); in one version she is called Bougeria; in three she is nameless. In the version from Tetuan included in Appendix 1, the name of the protagonist changes from Isabel, in line 14, to Doña Anjívar nine lines later. The original name of the brother-in-law, Diego, remains constant in 12 of the 19 versions; in three versions he is Pedro; in the remaining four he is called Bougerio, Giba, Carlos, or given no name. In the oral versions, the sister is typically nameless. She is referred to as "una hermana que tenía" ["a sister that she had"] (12 out of 19 versions), "una/su hermana querida" ["a/her beloved sister"] (five versions) and "una hermana suya" ["a sister of hers"] (two versions). Only two versions accord her a name. In version 12, she is introduced as "su hermana querida" ["her beloved sister"] and much later called Regina. Likewise, in version 15, she is first called "una hermana que tenía" ["a sister that she had"] and later is spoken of as Donxiva.

In the discussion that follows, I compare Moncayo's text with the modern oral versions. Three aspects of the texts are of particular interest: 1) the persona of the narrator and the mode of narration found in the printed text and the oral versions, 2) the narrative sequences that make up the printed text and the oral versions, and 3) the various resolutions presented by the oral tradition.

Narrators and Modes of Narration

One of the most striking differences between Moncayo's text and the modern oral versions is the narrator particular to each. In Moncayo's text, the narrator is omniscient, intrusive, and moralizing. His counterpart in the oral versions, in contrast, is self-effacing to the point of being practically invisible.

⁸ In making this statement, I am not including the fragmentary version from Alcazarquivir (Version 13), which is only twelve lines long.

In the printed text, the narrator is not simply a reporter who recounts events; rather he recites and interprets events of which he has a total understanding. It is notable, for example, that the narrator previews the central event of the ballad—the murder—several lines before it happens. In the 16 lines devoted to describing the three main characters (13-28), the narrator tells us of Angela's lineage, beauty, and discretion; then he adds, "Esta tal mato a su hermana" ["She killed her sister"] (19), which functions as a lead-in to the brief, two-line description of Argentina.

In addition to being omniscient, the narrator of the printed text is intrusive and moralizing. After Angela has killed Argentina, the narrator interrupts the flow of the narrative to address the audience directly: "mirad los enredos que haze / satanas que no dormia / al que halla muy vicioso / presto le da çancadilla" ["look at the snares set by / Satan who does not sleep / whoever he finds to be evil / he quickly trips up"] (77-80). In this comment, the narrator assumes the role of moral authority and interprets the story for the audience. He behaves in a similar manner in the concluding lines of the ballad: "cortaronle la cabeça / y pago lo que deuia" ["they cut off her head / and she paid her debt"] (209-10). Through this remark, the narrator lets the audience know that the dénouement—execution of the murderer—is a just and proper one.

The mode of narration typical of the modern traditional ballad is quite different. Modern traditional ballads have "un modo de representación esencialmente dramático" ["an essentially dramatic mode of narration"] (Catalán 1979:234). Ramón Menéndez Pidal describes it as follows (1968:I, 66): "La escena o situación presentada en los romances tradicionales no se narra objetiva y discursivamente sino que se actualiza ante los ojos" ["The scene or situation presented in traditional ballads is not narrated objectively and discursively, but rather takes place before our eyes"]. Stephen Gilman (1972) and Leo Spitzer (1945) likewise remind us that in these ballads events seem to unfold before our very eyes, and that we are led to believe that we witness and participate in what we only hear.

The modern versions of *La fraticida por amor* show how the oral tradition has gradually reshaped this ballad and changed it from a strict narrative of events to a dramatic re-presentation or re-creation of them. A good index to this change is the ratio of direct to indirect discourse, or of dialogue to narration. In the printed text, just 11 percent of the ballad (23 out of 210 lines) is direct discourse; each instance is introduced by the same comment from the narrator, "estas palabras dezia" ["he/she spoke these words"] (120,136,190). In the oral versions, there is considerable variability; anywhere from 13 percent to 43 percent is direct discourse, with

29 percent being the average.⁹ Consistent with this shift, the narrator plays a reduced role; he is no longer a manipulative force in the ballad. He ceases to be the moral authority who forces the correct interpretation of the ballad upon his listeners and becomes instead the vehicle through which the narrative reaches them.

Narrative Sequences: Printed Text and Oral Versions

In this section, I examine the stories told in Moncayo's text and the modern oral versions. My main concern is to discover which elements of the story have changed and which have remained the same since the printed text became part of the oral tradition and was subsequently modified by generations of singers. As a way of doing this, I will divide the narrative into *sequences*. For Diego Catalán, the sequence is the basic narrative unit of the ballad: "La secuencia puede definirse como la representación de un suceso que, al cumplirse, modifica sustancialmente la inter-relación de las *dramatis personae*, dando lugar a una situación de relato nueva" ["Sequence may be defined as the representation of an event that, upon completion, substantially modifies the relationships among the *dramatis personae*, giving rise to a new situation"] (Catalán et al. 1984:67). Below is a list of the sequences and the *frases secuenciales* (the sentences that express the modified relationship between the characters) (*ibid*:68) that make up the printed text and oral versions of *La fratricida por amor*.

MONCAYO'S TEXT

Exordium (1-28)

Disturbances of Nature, Auguries (1-12)

Setting (1-2, 14)

Description of Characters (13-14)

VERSION FROM TETUAN

Exordium (1-14)

Disturbances of Nature,
Auguries (1-12)

Setting (1-4)

Description of Characters(13-28)

SEQUENCES

1. *Love* (29-32)

Angela falls in love with Diego.

2. *Decision* (33-40)

1. *Love* (15)

Isabel falls in love with her
brother-in-law.

⁹ In these figures I am not including the version from Alcazarquivir.

- Angela decides to kill Argentina.
3. *Deception* (41-50)
Angela lies to Argentina.
 4. *Complicity* (51-56)
Argentina believes Angela's lie and goes to her room.
 5. *Murder* (57-82)
Angela kills Argentina.
 6. *Desire Fulfilled* (83-102)
Angela makes love with Diego.
 7. *Discovery* (103-108)
Diego finds Argentina's corpse.
 8. *False Arrest* (109-128)
Diego is arrested, accused, tried and found guilty of murder.
 9. *Confession* (129-152)
Angela confesses to the murder.
 10. *Conclusion: Punishment* (153-210)

Angela is executed.
2. *Murder* (16-18)
Isabel kills her sister.
 3. *Desire Fulfilled* (19-24)
Isabel makes love with Diego.
 4. *Discovery* (25-32)
Diego finds bloodstained sheets
 5. *False Arrest* (33-34)
Diego is arrested.
 6. *Confession* (35-38)
Isabel confesses to the murder
 7. *Conclusion: Punishment announced but not meted out* (43-44)
Isabel says she deserves to die but is not killed.

The Exordium (Moncayo 1-28; Tetuan 1-14). Although it precedes the narrative, the Exordium must be considered, for it communicates valuable information to the audience (see Catalán et al. 1984:114-22). I have divided the Exordium of *La fraticida por amor* into three segments: Disturbances of Nature and Auguries, Setting, and Description of Characters.

Disturbances of Nature and Auguries. Moncayo's text and the oral versions all begin with a series of formulas that show disruptions of the natural order and thus instill in the audience a sense of foreboding. Line by line, a world that is not functioning as it should appears before us: the moon is hidden by clouds, high winds blow, birds refuse to leave their nests, babies neither nurse nor sleep, pregnant women miscarry, fish come up out of the water, and so forth. These formulas, which indicate a world gone awry and presage death or disaster, are standard elements found in many ballads.¹⁰ Paul Bénichou has suggested that these disruptions of the natural

¹⁰ See, for example, the ballad about King Roderick and the loss of Spain which begins:

Los vientos eran contraries
La luna era crecida,
Los peces daban gemidos

[The winds were roused
The moon was full,
The fish made wailing cries

order are more than auguries (1968a:81): “[En *La fraticida por amor*] las señales no se explican sólo como presagios, sino, más retóricamente, como vergüenza de los elementos ante el crimen que se prepara” [“In *La fraticida por amor* the signs may be explained not only as auguries but also, more rhetorically, as the shame of the natural elements before the crime that is being prepared”]. A version from Tangier supports Bénichou’s contention especially well: “las estrellas en el cielo / su lindo rostro escondían / por no ver a esa doncella / doña Angela la decían” [“the stars in the heavens / hide their beautiful face / so as not to see that maiden, / doña Angela was her name”] (Version 3, 3-6). José Benoliel, who collected this version, commented in the margin: “Los primeros versos ya no son una simple descripción del estado del tiempo, mas la afirmación del horror que toda la naturaleza sintió por el terrible crimen cometido...” [“The first lines are now not a simple description of the weather, but an affirmation of the horror all of nature felt as a result of the terrible crime committed”].

Setting. The printed text situates the ballad in space as well as time. The line “que dentro en Malaga auia” [“that there was in Malaga”] (14) provides the location, while “El cielo estaua nublado / la luna no parecia” [“The sky was cloudy / the moon did not appear”] (1-2) indicates that the events about to be recounted took place at night. Although the Judeo-Spanish versions ignore the spatial setting completely, they all contain the temporal setting found in Moncayo, a dark and cloudy night. In fact, the line that provides one of the details of the temporal setting in the printed text—“la luna no parecia” [“the moon did not appear”]—carries over exactly into 16 of the 19 versions.

Description of Characters. In Moncayo’s text, Description of Characters takes up 16 lines (13-28). The narrator tells of Angela’s lineage, beauty, and good judgment (13-15). As I have already noted, in this passage the omniscient storyteller anticipates events by describing Angela at the outset as her sister’s killer. This sort of anticipation does not occur in the oral versions (compare Moncayo 19-24 with Tetuan 13-14 and 16-18). Angela’s sister, Argentina, is also presented to the audience (20-21) as is

Por el tiempo que hacía
 Cuando el rey Don Rodrigo
 Junto á la Cava dormía
 (Durán 1849-51, X:408-9)

At the wild weather
 When the good King Rodrigo
 Slept beside La Cava]
 (Merwin 1961:24)

For more examples of such formulas, see Bénichou 1968a:81-82.

Unusual natural occurrences that precede significant events, be they fortunate or disastrous, are common folklore motifs. See Thompson 1955-58:III, F960.6, *Extraordinary nature phenomena on night of fraticide*.

Argentina's husband Diego (24-28).

In the Sephardic versions, this segment is reduced to a two-line description of the protagonist: “Todo por una doncella / que Isabel se llamaría” [“All because of a maiden / who was named Isabel”] (Tetuan 13-14). The sister and brother-in-law will be described later as “una hermana que tenía” [“a sister that she had”] (Tetuan 16) and “cuñado” [“brother-in-law”] (Tetuan 15), respectively. It should be noted that the line “Todo por una doncella” [“All because of a maiden”], which occurs with slight variations in 12 of the 19 versions, is entirely the invention of the Judeo-Spanish tradition. While Moncayo's text refers to Angela as a *dama* [“lady”], these oral versions, by calling her *doncella* [“maiden”], introduce a new element to the story. Covarrubias defines *donzella* as “La mujer moça y por casar, y en sinificacion rigurosa la que no ha conocido varon” [“A woman who is young and yet to be married, and in the strict sense one who has not known a man”]. This change is significant, for Angela's virginity will be absolutely essential to the development and outcome of the Sephardic versions.¹¹

The description of Angela/Isabel immediately follows the augury, thus establishing a connection between the unnatural occurrences and her feelings and actions. The perturbations of nature occur because of her: “Por la mas hermosa dama / que dentro en Malaga auia” [“Because of the most beautiful lady / that there was in Malaga”] (Moncayo 13-14), “Todo por una doncella / que Isabel se llamaría” [“All because of a maiden / who was named Isabel”] (Tetuan 13-14). Thus we may interpret her feelings and actions as the most profound disturbances of all.

Love (Moncayo 29-32; Tetuan 15). The first sequence in all of the texts is Love. The oral versions express it economically and matter-of-factly in one line: “de amores de su cuñado” [“for love of her brother-in-law”] (Tetuan 15). In contrast to the oral versions Angela is presented as a suffering victim of love in the printed text. The pain and passion she feels are emphasized over and over again by the use of fire imagery.

Decision (Moncayo 33-40; Absent from Tetuan), **Deception** (Moncayo 41-50; Absent from Tetuan), **Complicity** (Moncayo 51-56; Absent from Tetuan). After establishing the motivation for Angela's actions, the omniscient narrator of the printed text details how she decides to commit murder, puts her plan in motion, and is unwittingly helped by

¹¹ In the three non-Sephardic versions, this change does not occur. The complete Catalan text (Version 20) describes Angela as a *dama*. There is no description of her offered in the published portion of Milá's text, though there might have been in the verses he edited out. In the Canary Islands version, she is not described.

her sister. None of these sequences are present in the Judeo-Spanish versions.¹²

The first sequence in this series is Decision. Again, Angela is presented as a woman suffering hopelessly from the burning pain and madness of love. There appears to be no remedy for her affliction, as “dolor que padecia” [“the pain she suffered”] (40), “que sosiego no tenia” [“she had no peace”] (30), and “Y no hallando remedio” [“And not finding a remedy”] (33) all indicate. Over the course of the eight lines that constitute this sequence, she comes to the conclusion that the only way to ease her pain is to kill her sister: “determinado tenia / para poder aplacar / el gran fuego en que se ardia” [“she resolved / in order to soothe / the great fire in which she burned”] (34-36).

The second sequence in this series is Deception. Angela lies to Argentina in order to lure her away from everyone and kill her. The ploy is successful and Argentina, “agena de la traycion” [“unaware of the betrayal”] (53), comes to her sister’s room late at night while the household sleeps. Argentina’s action constitutes the third sequence, Complicity.

As I noted above, all three of these sequences are missing from the Judeo-Spanish versions. One possible explanation for their omission is that they are not essential to the narrative. Whereas the printed *romances noticieros* tend to provide a wealth of detail, the modern oral ballads are typically far more economical in their presentation of the story and generally require the audience to fill in gaps. At later points in this essay, I will discuss other instances in which the oral tradition has eliminated non-essential elements of the narrative and greatly reduced others.

Murder (Moncayo 57-82; Tetuan 16-18). In Moncayo’s text, the account of the murder is lengthy (25 lines) and graphic. Angela is once again portrayed as a victim of love, as the description of how she strangles her sister makes clear: “ya sus manos blancas tiernas / para sanar honra y vidas / amor las haze verdugos / en el cuello de Argentina” [“now her tender white hands / made to cure honor and lives / love made them into executioners / around Argentina’s neck”] (69-72, emphasis added). Following the description of the murder, the narrator, in the role of moral authority, intervenes to inform the audience that Angela’s deed was inspired by the Devil: “mirad los enredos que haze / satanas que no dormia” [“look at the snares set by / Satan who does not sleep”] (77-78). If the listeners are not careful, they too may slip and fall under his power: “al que halla muy vicioso / presto le da çancadilla” [“whoever he finds to be evil / he quickly

¹² In the complete Catalan version (Version 20), Deception and Complicity appear.

trips up”] (79-80).

The Sephardic versions condense this scene into one line and present the murder unemotionally—“mató a una hermana que tenía” [“she killed a sister that she had”] (Tetuan 16). Morbid details are left to the audience’s imagination. Once again, the oral tradition has eliminated elements that are not essential to the narrative. The attenuation of violence observable here is typical of the Judeo-Spanish tradition (Armistead and Silverman 1960:237; 1979:134).

In Moncayo’s text, Satan is the force that motivates Angela to act. He is completely absent from the oral versions. Here, the motivation is more realistic, and it is human emotion, not supernatural control, that leads the protagonist to kill her sister. This modification is most likely the result of “de-Christianization,” that is, the “intentional or unconscious elimination or attenuation of Christian elements” (Armistead and Silverman 1975:21; 1982:127-47) frequently found in the Sephardic *Romancero*.¹³

In 18 of the 19 Judeo-Spanish versions, the darkness that is mentioned in the Exordium—“Nublado hace, nublado / la luna no parecía” [“It was cloudy, / the moon did not appear”]—is recalled as the murder is recounted: “Matóla una noche oscura / detrás de la su cortina” [“she killed her one dark night, / behind her curtain”] (Tetuan 17-18). The darkness of the night fulfills a definite purpose; it helps to hide the crime. The detail of the curtain, which hides the murder and/or the dead body, also carries over into 18 of the 19 versions.

Desire Fulfilled (Moncayo 83-102; Tetuan 19-24). Angela now goes to Diego’s bed and makes love with him. The oral versions present the first part of this sequence quickly and objectively—“Después de haberla matado / para su cama se iría” [“After she had killed her, / she went to her bed”] (Tetuan 19-20). The printed text, by contrast, takes six lines to describe this action. Moreover, it provides details that do little to advance the plot, but which pique the interest of the audience and add suspense. We are told, for example, that Angela is dressed in a seductive fashion, “en muy delgada camisa” [“in a thin shirt”] (84). When she enters the bedroom, she extinguishes the candle burning there. Instead of using a verb like *apagar* [“to extinguish or put out”] to describe this action, the poet opts for the

¹³ Interestingly, Satan disappears from the three non-Sephardic versions as well. The elimination of this supernatural element is probably due to the generally realistic, objective, and non-moralizing tone typical of the traditional ballad. Although Satan is absent from these versions, other Christian elements are present. In the Canary Islands version, for example, Diego declares, “Si yo de esa muerte sé / no salve Dios la alma mía” [“If I know about that death / may God not save my soul”].

more violent *matar* ["to kill"]. Just as Angela has "snuffed out" her sister's life, she now snuffs out the light that would reveal her identity.

Moncayo's text continues to portray Angela as a victim of sexual desire. She gets into bed with Diego "para cumplir sus desseos / *que mucho le perseguian*" ["in order to fulfill her desires / *that pursued her greatly*"] (91-92, emphasis added). The fire imagery, used earlier to signify passion, reappears in the description of Angela, who is described as having "ansias muy encendidas" ["very fiery longings"] (94). In the lines "desque ya apago sus llamas / y endemoniada porfia" ["until her flames were put out / and her devilishly-inspired insistence"] (99-100), sexual desire is clearly linked to Satan.

In the majority of the Judeo-Spanish versions, this sequence is not rendered nearly so explicitly as it is in the printed text, where we see Angela get into bed with her brother-in-law and make amorous advances toward him. However, in both the printed text and the Judeo-Spanish versions, it is the thoughts of Diego, related by the narrator, that indicate what has transpired: "Penso que era su muger / otorgo lo que pedia" ["He thought she was his wife / he granted what she asked for"] (Moncayo 97-98); "Creyendo que era su esposa / cumpli6la lo que quer6a" ["Believing she was his wife / he fulfilled her wishes"] (Tetuan 21-22).

Three of the oral versions (5, 12, 18) introduce a unique detail at this point in the story: a necklace that the sister is wearing. In Version 5, Bougeria kills her sister, removes the necklace, throws it into the kitchen, and then goes to her brother-in-law's bed: "Le quit6 su gargantilla / y la tir6 a la cocina. / Se fuera para la cama / donde Bougerio dormia" ["She took her necklace / and she threw it in the kitchen. / She went to the bed / where Bougerio was sleeping"] (9-12). In Versions 12 and 18, Isabel removes the necklace from her dead sister's body and puts it on herself before going to find the sleeping Diego: "Coyar que estaba en su cuerpo / en el suyo le vest6a" ["A necklace that she was wearing / she put on herself"] (Version 12, 17-18); "Y acabara de matarla, / quit6la su gargantilla; / quit6la su gargantilla / y en su cuello la pon6a" ["And having just killed her, / she took off her necklace / she took off her necklace / and she put it around her own neck"] (Version 18, 13-16). The necklace is probably an article the sister always wore; perhaps it is like a wedding ring or some other token of affection Diego might expect her to be wearing. In Versions 12 and 18, then, Isabel is more calculating and deliberate than in the other versions. She realizes that if she is to fulfill her desires, she must appear to be Diego's wife. This detail, another invention of the Sephardic tradition, further exemplifies the creative process (B6nichou 1968a:8) that is

an essential element in the transmission of the *Romancero*.

Once Angela/Isabel has made love with Diego, she leaves his bed. Her departure is registered explicitly in the printed text, where she leaves in a crazed state: “muy agena de si misma / de la cama se salia” [“out of control / she got out of the bed”] (101-2). It is also present in eight of the 19 Sephardic versions: “Doña Giyán se levanta / tres horas antes del día; / don Diego se levantaba / tres horas después del día” [“Doña Giyán gets up / three hours before dawn; / don Diego got up / three hours after dawn”] (Version 11, 11-14). In only one version does she remain with Diego: “Y encontraron a don Diego / con su cuñada dormida” [“And they found Don Diego / asleep with his sister-in-law”] (Version 3, 23-24).

Discovery (Moncayo 103-8; Tetuan 25-32). In the printed text, Diego realizes his wife is missing, searches for her, and discovers her body. In the Judeo-Spanish versions, something quite different happens. Diego does not discover his wife’s corpse; rather, he discovers that his bedmate could not have been his wife: “Halló su cama enramada / de rosas y clavellinas” [“He found his bed a bower / of roses and carnations”] (Version 6, 31-32). The roses and carnations mentioned here are a poetic description of bloodstains on the sheets, “pruebas de la virginidad de su compañera” [“proof of the virginity of his companion”] (Bénichou 1968b:255). This episode, the creation of the Sephardic tradition, takes us back to the description of Isabel as “una doncella” [“a maiden”] (Tetuan 13). This description, also the invention of the Sephardic tradition, begins to attain its full import once the “rosas y clavellinas” [“roses and carnations”] have been mentioned.¹⁴

The roses and carnations of the Sephardic versions may well have their origin in Moncayo’s text. When the narrator describes how Angela strangles her sister, he notes that the color leaves the victim’s face: “dexando el jazmin y rosas, / marchito en su cara fria” [“leaving the jasmine

¹⁴ In one Sephardic version, Diego discovers his wife’s body. When he sees the bloodstains, he cries out in surprise, goes in search of his wife and finds her dead:

—¡Ay! válgame Dios del cielo
¿qué es aquesto que yo vía?
Mujer de quinze años casada,
donzella la encontraría.—
Fuése a buscar y hallóla,
hallóla muerta tendida

[—Oh! My God in heaven,
what is this that I see?
After fifteen years of marriage,
I find her to be a maiden.—
He went in search of her and he found her,
he found her lying dead]
[Version 8, 17-22]

It is notable that in Moncayo’s text there is no indication that Diego ever discovers that the woman he made love with was not his wife.

and roses / withered in her cold face”] (75-76). Over time, the jasmine and roses found in this early scene may have been displaced to a later point in the story, their original meaning transformed in the process. Whether this hypothesis is correct or not, the passage remains striking testimony to the creative and poetic capacity of the oral tradition.

The initial lyricism established by the flower imagery is rapidly transformed into a grim kind of humor by Diego's exclamation: “después de quince años casada / doncella la encontraría” [“after fifteen years of marriage / I find her a maiden”] (Tetuan 31-32).¹⁵

False Arrest (Moncayo 109-28; Tetuan 33-34). In all of the texts, Diego is mistakenly assumed to be the murderer. In the printed text, this sequence is long (20 lines) and complicated: everyone in Diego's household is questioned; he is arrested and carted off to Granada to be tried and sentenced to death. The author takes advantage of the situation for more sermonizing. In the first instance of direct discourse in the printed text, the innocent Diego looks toward Heaven and declares that this world offers no peace: “O mundo engañoso y ciego / loco es quien en ti fia, / nadie en ti descanso espere / pues darselo no podías” [“Oh deceitful and blind world / he who trusts in you is mad / may no one hope for rest in you / since you cannot give it to them”] (121-24).

In the Judeo-Spanish versions, this sequence is reduced to a few lines: “Ya le prenden a don Diego / que culpa él no tenía” [“Now they arrest don Diego, / who is not guilty”] (Version 16, 27-18). Again, elements deemed unnecessary to the story—in this case, the interrogation of the servants, the trip back and forth to Granada and the trial—are left out. Moreover, in the oral versions, the heavy-handed, moralizing tone of the printed text is replaced by an unemotional, objective one.

Confession (Moncayo 129-52; Tetuan 35-42). Angela/Isabel comes forward to save Diego and confess to the murder. In Moncayo's text, the religious element comes to the fore once again. The omniscient narrator chronicles how Angela confesses and saves Diego because she realizes her soul is in jeopardy: “acusole la conciencia / de su alma que yua perdida”

¹⁵ We have found almost identical lines in a version of *Silvana* collected by Larrea in Tetuan. In this ballad, the king asks his daughter Silvana to be his mistress. Silvana and her mother, the queen, exchange clothes, and the queen then goes to sleep with the king. In this version, when the king discovers his “daughter” is not a virgin, he says, “Malhaya tú, la Silvana, / y la madre que te ha parido; / pensando de su doncella casada te encontrarías” [“Cursed be you, Silvana, / and the mother who bore you; / thinking you a maiden, / I found you to be married”] (Larrea Palacín 1952:337). For a summary of the ballad, see Armistead 1978, II:131-32.

[“the conscience of her soul, which was lost, accused her”] (131-32). This moralizing is absent from the oral versions, which reproduce the actions and words of the protagonist, nothing more: “Soltéis, soltéis a Don Pedro / que él culpa no tenía” [“Release Don Pedro, / for he is not to blame”] (Version 4, 29-30).

Summary

The division of the texts into narrative sequences has provided a framework for comparing the printed text with the oral versions of *La fratricida por amor*. Before discussing the various resolutions the texts propose, I will sum up the most important changes we have observed up to this point:

1) In the Exordium, a significant portion of the modern oral versions introduce a change in the description of the protagonist: she is a *doncella* rather than a *dama*. As a result, Diego receives different clues to his wife’s demise. This change also influences the resolutions.

2) Certain sequences—specifically, Decision, Deception, and Complicity—are absent from the oral versions. Their presence in the printed text contributes to suspense by showing all of the preparations for the murder while delaying the recounting of it. These sequences also contribute to the generally negative impression the narrator creates of Angela; she is portrayed here as calculating and deceitful. The oral texts, in contrast, go straight to the heart of the matter. Suspense, an important element of the Moncayo text, does not figure into the aesthetics of the traditional ballad. With the exception of the versions that refer to the dead sister’s necklace, the oral versions do not show Angela/Isabel plotting. The more favorable view they present of the protagonist may be a factor in the more merciful resolutions that predominate in the oral versions.

3) The murder is presented far more economically in the oral versions than in the printed text. I have suggested that the briefer, more objective, less bloody descriptions of the murder found in the oral versions are examples of the strong tendency to attenuate violence in the Sephardic tradition. What is more, the motivation behind the murder differs in the printed text and the oral versions: in Moncayo’s text Angela is pressed into action by Satan, but in the oral versions she is motivated only by love. Both the murder and the sequence I have labeled “Desire Fulfilled” are recounted more briefly and in less lurid detail in the oral versions. The wealth of information provided by the narrator of the printed text is related to the

moralizing message the text offers: sinners will be harshly punished in this world, but will enjoy God's grace in the next. The oral versions, belonging to the Judeo-Spanish tradition, are free of such didactic, religious complications.

4) The same sequence—Discovery—is instantiated differently in the printed text and the Judeo-Spanish versions. Whereas the Diego of Moncayo's text finds a corpse, the Diego of the oral versions finds bloodstains on his sheets. This change, which shows the creative capacity of the Judeo-Spanish tradition, is another example of the attenuation of violence and tragedy typical of the Sephardic ballad.

The Resolutions

Moncayo. In Moncayo's text, the final sequence is Punishment (153-210). This one sequence takes up approximately one-fourth of the ballad text, 57 out of a total of 210 lines. Angela is arrested and taken to Granada. She tells her story in court, a ghastly sentence is pronounced, she is returned to Malaga, and, after a torturous trip to the scaffold, she is executed. The narrator describes the entire process in great detail. Angela's final moments also include a speech she makes from the scaffold that is full of religious instruction directed to the audience reading or hearing the ballad. The final lines are: "y llamando al buen Iesus / y a la piadosa Maria, / cortaronle la cabeça / y pago lo que deuia" ["and calling out to good Jesus / and merciful Mary, / they cut off her head / and she paid her debt"] (207-10).

The Oral Versions. The oral versions present a wide spectrum of resolutions, ranging from execution to marriage. As I will show, the majority of the resolutions strive to restore order and to recuperate the character of Isabel and allow her to live.¹⁶

Execution (Version 1). Only one Sephardic version, a text collected in Tangier, retains the resolution found in Moncayo's text:

A los gritos que dio Diego,
presto llega la Justicia.
Allá sacan a la muerta
y a enterrarla llevarían,
y a la hermana llevan presa

[Upon (hearing) Diego's cries,
the authorities quickly arrive.
They take the dead woman away
and carry her off to be buried,
and they take the sister prisoner

¹⁶ In the discussion that follows I have left aside the fragmentary version from Alcazarquivir (Version 13) and the most recent Judeo-Spanish version (Version 18), which ends with the townspeople coming to Diego's house to see the blood on the sheets.

a quemarla el mismo día.

to burn her the same day.]

(Version 1, 23-28)

In this conclusion, the main concern is with justice, and it is exactly the type of justice found in the printed text, justice through retribution. Although the resolution is the same—the guilty party is executed—this version reaches it with considerably more objectivity and economy than the printed text and without any pathos or commentary from the narrator.¹⁷

Self-Condensation (Versions 3, 6, 8, 14). In the second ending offered by the Sephardic tradition, Isabel confesses to the murder and pronounces a grisly punishment. A version collected in Buenos Aires ends in the following manner:

—Yo la he matado, señor,
yo soy quien la mataría.—
La justicia que merece,
ella misma la diría:
que la corten pies y manos
y la arrastren por la villa.

[—I killed her, sir,
I am the one who killed her.—
The punishment she deserves,
she herself will pronounce it:
may her feet and hands be cut off
and may she be dragged through the town.]

(Version 8, 25-30)

Versions 6 and 14 conclude in almost identical terms; the only differences are that the protagonist declares that her hands and feet should be bound (the verbs used are *atar* and *amarrar*, respectively) and that she should be dragged along the road (*por la vía*).

Self-condemnation is not present in Moncayo's text. It is a completely novel resolution that the singers have borrowed from another ballad and incorporated into *La fraticida por amor* (Bénichou 1968a:255). This creative process, the synthesis of one ballad or elements of one ballad with another, is known as contamination.¹⁸ The ballad that is the source of this new conclusion is *La Infantina* ["The Enchanted Princess"]. As this ballad ends, the knight watches helplessly as the enchanted princess is borne away. Earlier he had thought of marrying her, but now it is too late. He chastises himself for his hesitation, saying:

"Cauallero que tal pierde

["The knight who loses such a thing

¹⁷ The two Catalan versions also end with execution.

¹⁸ For a discussion of contamination, see Silverman 1979. Bénichou characterizes contamination as "el procedimiento más constante y fecundo de la poesía tradicional" ["the most constant and fertile process found in traditional poetry"] (1968a:113).

muy gran pena merecía;	deserves a heavy penance;
yo mesmo sere el Alcalde	I myself will be the Judge,
yo me sere la justicia:	I will pronounce my own sentence:
que le corten pies y manos	let them cut off his feet and hands
y lo arrastren por la villa.”	and drag him through the town.”] ¹⁹

The logic behind fusing this conclusion to *La fraticida por amor* is easy to see. Something must happen to the guilty party and having her specify her own punishment is a satisfactory resolution.²⁰

Version 3, which I have included in this group, also closes with the protagonist’s self-condemnation. It does not, however, incorporate the verses from *La infantina*. In Version 3 Angela confesses to the crime and then says simply: “Matéisme, señor juez, / que la culpa fuera mía” [“Kill me, lord judge, / for I am to blame”] (Version 3, 33-34).

Within the context of the Sephardic versions, self-condemnation signals a transformation. In these versions, the first step toward reclaiming Angela/Isabel’s character is taken. She confesses to the murder (an element absent from Version 1) and as further acknowledgment of her guilt pronounces her own sentence. It is notable that two of the versions in this group (3 and 6) retain a plot detail that is missing from the Sephardic versions mentioned thus far (1, 8, 14) but that is included in Moncayo’s text: Diego is falsely accused of the murder and is arrested. Isabel admits

¹⁹ The sixteenth-century version cited here may be found in Rodríguez-Moñino 1967:255. My translation is based on Merwin 1961:71-72. For a summary of the Judeo-Spanish versions of *La Infantina*, see Armistead 1978:II, 256-60.

²⁰ Self-inflicted punishment is a well-known folkloric motif that occurs in other Spanish ballads as well. See, for example, Armistead and Silverman’s discussion of this motif in *Las cabezas de los infantes de Lara* [“The Heads of the Lords of Lara”] (1986:41, 58-59, 341). See also Bordman 1963:80:*Q400.1.

Self-Condemnation is the resolution found in the version from the Canary Islands. Like the Sephardic versions just discussed, this version also evinces the influence of *La Infantina*. After she admits to murdering her sister, “—Yo fui quien maté a mi hermana / yo fui quien maté a Agustina” [“—I am the one who killed my sister / I am the one who killed Agustina”] (Version 22, 25-26), the protagonist states (31-36):

la justicia que merezco	[I will sentence myself
yo me le sentenciaría:	to the punishment I deserve:
que me jagan cuatro cuartos,	may I be quartered,
me pongan de pies encima	may I be turned upside down,
o me jagan cuatro cuartos	or may I be quartered,
me pongan en cuatro esquinas	may I be placed at four corners]

her guilt in order to save him. The ballad comes full circle as the “amores de su cuñado” [“love for her brother-in-law”], which led her to kill her sister, now lead her to confess. The conclusion that follows is from Version 3:

<p>Agarraron a don Diego y en cárceles lo metían. —No le encarceléis, señores, que la culpa fuera mía. Que de amores que le tuve maté a mi hermana querida. La maté en la noche oscura, la metí tras la cortina. Matéisme, señor juez, que la culpa fuera mía.—</p>	<p>[They seized don Diego and they put him in jail. —Don't imprison him, sirs, for I am to blame. Because of the love I had for him I killed my beloved sister. I killed her in the dark night, I put her behind the curtain. Kill me, lord judge, for I am to blame.—] (Version 3, 25-34)</p>
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Life Goes On (Versions 4, 7, 9, 11, 15, 16, 17, 19). A third resolution, one that is even farther removed from the original, violent conclusion found in Moncayo's text, appears in seven Judeo-Spanish versions. As in the versions we just examined, Diego is arrested, and Isabel, in order to save him, confesses. In six of these versions (4, 7, 9, 16, 17, 19) she then specifies a hideous punishment for herself. Rather than ending the ballad at this point, however, the singers continue and add the lines, “Los muertos quedan por muertos, / los vivos paces harían” [“The dead remain dead, / the living make peace”] (Tetuan 43-44). This idea is formulated in various manners by different singers. One version collected in Tetuan concludes

<p>—No le prendáis a don Diego, que culpa él no tenía: yo la maté a la mi hermana, a mi hermana yo la mataría; el castigo que merezco con mi boca lo diría: que me amarren pies y manos y que me arrastren por la vía.— Todo el castigo dize, castigo no se le daría. El muerto queda por muerto y el vivo se alegraría.</p>	<p>[—Don't arrest don Diego, for he is not to blame, I killed my sister, my sister I killed the punishment that I deserve I will pronounce with my own mouth: may my hands and feet be bound and may I be dragged along the road.— She pronounces the punishment, no punishment is meted out to her. The dead remains dead and the living rejoices.] (Version 16, 29-40)</p>
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The shift away from violence and retribution has been made. The threat of future violence implicit in Isabel's self-condemnation (lines 33-36) is averted through the addition of the new concluding lines (37-49). In these versions, the oral tradition accepts the sequence borrowed from *La infantina*, but modifies it to express other concerns as well. What matters most in these conclusions is the restoration of harmony; what has been disrupted must be reestablished. This resolution, which is found in the greatest number of Judeo-Spanish versions, suggests that the most important task at hand is to insure that life goes on.

These various resolutions show an awareness on the part of the singers that this ballad presents several problems with which they must come to terms. First, and most obvious, are the moral questions. How does society respond to adulterous desire and fratricidal murder? It is the moral dimension, and only the moral dimension, that the printed text takes into account. There is also a more practical issue to address, the restoration of order. This is the problem that most concerns the singers. Is executing Isabel the most effective or practical way to set things straight? Most of these versions indicate that it is not. In fact, a version from Tetuan says so quite clearly: "Mujer que ella se confiesa / castigo no merezía" ["A woman who confesses / does not deserve punishment"] (Version 15, 25-26).

Marriage (Versions 2, 5, 10, 12). Another problem that is one aspect of the need to reestablish the social order is that Diego is without a wife. What will become of him? The gradual recuperation of the character of Isabel—her presentation as a *doncella* and the transformation of her feelings for Diego from Satanically-inspired lust to selfless love—provides the key to solving this dilemma. Her moral recovery is complete in the four Sephardic versions in which a fourth resolution is proposed: marriage.²¹

<p>A eso de la mañanita la Justicia se armaría. Lo muerto quedó por muerto y lo vivo en paz se iría. Pocos días son pasados con su cuñado se casaría.</p>	<p>[In the morning the authorities assembled. The dead remained dead and the living went in peace. After a few days passed, she married her brother-in law.] (Version 2, 23-28)</p>
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<p>Los muertos quedan por muerto[s] los vivos se arreglaría[n]. Otro día en la mañana con eya se casaría.</p>	<p>[The dead remain dead, the living put things in order. In the morning of another day, he married her.]</p>
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²¹ Only one of these four versions evinces contamination (Version 10).

(Version 10, 33-36)

This ending has surprised and perplexed scholars. Benoliel, who collected Version 2, sent it to Menéndez Pidal and wrote at the bottom of the page: “Poca verosimilitud y sobrada injustica ofrece este desenlace” [“This resolution offers little verisimilitude and great injustice”]. Bénichou expresses surprise at this ending, stating: “Lo raro es que todas las versiones, salvo la de Larrea 133 [Version 14] y la mía [Version 8], absuelven en fin de cuentas a la culpable.... El obstinado optimismo de los finales marroquíes llega aquí a extremos sorprendentes” [“What is strange is that all of the versions, except for Larrea’s 133 (Version 14) and mine (Version 8), absolve the guilty party in the end.... The obstinate optimism of the Moroccan endings reaches surprising extremes here”] (1968b:255).²²

This conclusion is, at first glance, surprising and extreme. However, I believe that the marriage of Isabel and Diego may well be the most practical of the four resolutions offered, for it reestablishes the family, an important element in the Sephardic Romancero, thereby restoring order without further weakening the social fabric and without further recourse to violence (Benmayor 1979:20).²³

Marriage is also the solution most in keeping with the Sephardic ballad tradition, in which there is, as I have already noted, a marked tendency to reduce, if not remove, violent episodes. In this tradition, the happy ending—particularly the wedding—is the preferred conclusion. Samuel Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman, discussing the wedding at the end of *Las quejas de Jimena* [“Jimena’s Complaint”], explain this resolution as part of the “tendencia universal de las versiones sefardíes, que prefieren la nota positiva, atenuando, siempre que pueden, las violencias y tristezas que tanto abundan en el Romancero” [“universal tendency in the Sephardic versions, which prefer the positive note, attenuating, whenever it is possible, the violence and sadness so abundant in the *Romancero*”] (1977:31). Diego Catalán has also commented on how the Sephardic tradition tends to substitute “unas cuantas fórmulas de *happy ending*” [“a few *happy ending* formulas”] (1970:9) for the original conclusion to a

²² Bénichou did not have access to all the versions I have seen. The larger corpus, however, supports his conclusion. The tendency of the singers is to try to save the protagonist. Of the seventeen complete Judeo-Spanish versions, there are only five (1, 3, 6, 8, 14) in which she is not absolved.

²³ See also the comments about the importance of the family in *La muerte ocultada* [*Hidden Death*] in Mariscal de Rhett 1979.

ballad.

Research on the Sephardic *Romancero* carried out by Rina Benmayor (1979) and Louise Mirrer (1986) further enables us to see how the happy ending in the Judeo-Spanish versions is ideologically characteristic of the oral tradition to which they belong. Benmayor writes that within the Sephardic community a tradition such as the *Romancero* “funcionaba para reforzar el sentido de grupo y la cohesividad interna, a la vez que ponía de manifiesto un deseo consciente por mantener no tanto una identidad hispánica sino una sefardí, separada y distinta de la de los demás grupos circundantes” [“functioned to reinforce the sense of group and internal cohesiveness, at the same time that it made manifest a conscious desire to maintain not just a Hispanic identity but a Sephardic one, separate and distinct from the other surrounding groups”] (1979:10). Similarly, in her discussion of *Tarquino y Lucrecia* [“Tarquin and Lucrece”], Mirrer shows how a particular ballad is used to “reinforce the Sephardic preoccupation with unity and cultural integrity within the realities of the modern world” (1986:128). Thus an ideological project underlies the storytelling in the ballad, the preservation of “the traditional values” (127) of the Sephardic community. Likewise, in *La fraticida por amor*, the marriage of Isabel and Diego contributes to the idea of unity and cultural integrity by preventing what anthropologists call “marrying out” (*idem*). It allows for the reestablishment of the ruptured familial and social orders without going outside of them. This solution insures stability and cohesiveness, both of which are necessary to the survival of the community.

Finally, although it involves a reversal of the sexes, the marriage of Isabel and Diego would seem to be the resolution prescribed by the levirate law set out in the Old Testament: “If brothers live together and one of them dies childless, the dead man’s wife must not marry a stranger outside the family. Her husband’s brother must come to her and, exercising his levirate, make her his wife” (Deuteronomy 25:5). Diego does not marry “a stranger outside the family,” but rather his dead wife’s sister. The levirate law, which prevents “marrying out,” insures the unity and cultural integrity that Benmayor and Mirrer see as central elements of Sephardic ballad texts. Of course, the levirate law in no way resolves the issues posed by the murder.

Conclusion

The late sixteenth-century ballad *La fraticida por amor* allows us to

observe the many and often startling changes that occur when a printed text is incorporated into the oral tradition. One of the most obvious changes in the case of this ballad is length. As a result of the condensation and/or elimination of episodes, the oral versions are far shorter than the printed text. This abbreviated length is more suitable for singing or oral recitation. It also means that the audience must participate in the construction of the story by filling in lacunae.

A comparison of the sixteenth-century printed text with the multiple oral versions shows that the mode of narration of the ballad has changed substantially. The oral tradition has substituted an objective, self-effacing narrator for the intrusive, moralizing narrator of the printed text. As a result, the oral versions are more dramatic than the printed text; a much larger percentage of the ballad is dialogue as opposed to narration and indirect discourse. This comparison further reveals how the story the ballad tells has changed as it has moved from one modality to another, from one genre to another, and from one culture to another. The oral tradition leaves out elements that are not essential to the story and greatly condenses others. It modifies the violent episodes of the printed text, lessening if not entirely omitting them. Attenuation of violence is especially observable, as is the process known as de-Christianization.

The oral tradition has also transformed *La fraticida por amor* through invention and contamination. In this respect, the creative capacity of the Judeo-Spanish tradition cannot be overemphasized. In the Sephardic versions unique elements occur that reshape the narrative and lead to completely unexpected (yet within the context of the versions, quite logical) resolutions. As a result of the creation and coordination of these new elements, the ballad's message changes radically. The original, printed version of *La fraticida por amor* is an overtly moralizing Christian tract. This story of illicit desire, fratricidal murder, and brutal, well-deserved punishment becomes something quite different in the hands of generations of Sephardic singers. The resolutions these singers propose—the progression from execution to marriage—allow us to observe their struggle to find viable, meaningful solutions to the problems that the ballad poses.

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Appendix 1: Texts

La fraticida por amor: 1591 Printed Version

From *Flor de varios romances nuevos. Primera y segunda parte, del bachiller Pedro de Moncayo*, printed in Barcelona in 1591 by Jaime Cendrat. Reprinted in Rodríguez-Moñino 1957.

El cielo estaua nublado,
 la luna no parecia,
 los ayres terribles suenan
 el mar se embrauecia,
 Los peces van sobre el agua 5
 sus bramidos se sentian,
 Los paxaros en sus nidos
 ninguno no parecia.
 Los galanes dan solloços

y las damas dauan grita	10
los niños que maman leche	
no maman en este día.	
Por la mas hermosa dama	
que dentro en Malaga auia,	
es muy hermosa y discreta	15
doña Angela se dezia,	
hija de doña Isabel,	
y el sobrenombre Padilla.	
Esta tal mato a su hermana,	
la bella doña Argentina,	20
muger de estremadas prendas	
por imbidia que tenia	
de amores de su cuñado	
que don Diego se dezia,	
muy dispuesto y gentil hombre	25
marido de la Argentina,	
moço gallardo y gracioso	
todo lo que ser podia,	
el qual mataua de amores	30
que sosiego no tenia,	
a doña Angela su cuñada	
que en viuo fuego se ardia.	
Y no hallando remedio	
determinado tenia	
para poder aplacar	35
el gran fuego en que se ardia,	
determino de matar	
a su hermana la Argentina	
para dar algun aliuio	
al dolor que padecia,	40
y hablandola en secreto	
dixo, descubrir queria	
la traycion que su cuñado	
contra ella hazer queria.	
Que esta noche quando todos	45
el mejor sueño dormian	
viniesse a su aposento	
sola y sin compañía,	
y alli podrian tratar	
lo que en esto conuenia:	50
venida que fue la noche	
que concertado tenian,	
agena de la traycion	
acudio doña Argentina,	
a donde la esta aguardando	55

doña Angela de Padilla,
 metiola en vn aposento
 el mas secreto que auia,
 y desde la tuuo dentro
 la puerta cerrado auia 60
 poniendo en execucion
 el intento que tenia
 sacando vn fiero puñal
 con animo y osadia
 le dio cinco puñaladas 65
 con peligrosas heridas,
 y atapandole la boca
 el alma a Dios ofrecia,
 ya sus manos blancas tiernas
 para sanar honras y vidas 70
 amor las haze verdugos
 en el cuello de Argentina,
 las que lo atan tan rezio
 sueltan el alma cautiua
 dejando el jazmin y rosas, 75
 marchito en su cara fria:
 mirad los enredos que haze
 satanas que no dormia
 al que halla muy vicioso
 presto le da çancadilla. 80
 Y desde la tuuo muerta
 cubriola en vna cortina,
 y despues de todo esto
 en muy delgada camisa
 se fue para el aposento 85
 donde don Diego dormia
 y entrando por la puerta
 mato vna vela que ardia,
 y acostandose con el
 sin ser de nadie sentida 90
 para cumplir sus desseos
 que mucho le perseguian
 dandole muy dulces besos
 con ansias muy encendidas
 despierta su amor don Diego 95
 que en dulce sueño dormia.
 Penso que era su muger
 otorgo lo que pedia,
 desde ya apago sus llamas
 y endemoniada porfia, 100
 muy agena de si misma

de la cama se salia.
 Desde despertó don Diego
 y no halló a doña Argentina
 buscála por el palacio 105
 muy ajeno de alegría.
 Y hallóla que estaua muerta
 cubierta en vna cortina
 y a las voces de don Diego
 entrado auía la justicia, 110
 pre[nd]en las dueñas de casa,
 pajes, lacayos, que haúa
 para hazer la informacion
 en la carcel los ponían
 todos jurando dixeron 115
 que don Diego lo sabía,
 prendieron a don Diego,
 aunque culpa no tenía,
 los ojos bueltos al cielo
 estas palabras dezía, 120
 O mundo engañoso y ciego
 loco es quien en ti fia,
 nadie en ti descanso espere
 pues darselo no podías.
 Lleuan el pleyto a Granada 125
 a la gran Chancillería:
 de allá vino sentenciado
 que le quitassen la vida:
 Pues quando vido doña Angela
 que a su cuñado perdía 130
 acusole la conciencia
 de su alma que yua perdida
 rabiosa como leona
 a la calle se salía,
 abraçando a su cuñado 135
 estas palabras dezía,
 O cuñado de mis ojos
 y espejo de mi alegría,
 yo soy la triste culpada
 yo cause tanta desdicha. 140
 Yo soy la que maté
 a mi hermana y tu Argentina,
 por gozar de tus amores
 puse mi alma cautíua.
 Tomaronla en juramento 145
 y ella declara y dezía
 que ella sola hizo el caso

don Diego nada sabia,
 y viendo la declaracion
 que la dama hecho auia, 150
 soltaron a don Diego luego
 y a doña Angela prendian,
 bueluen el pleyto a Granada
 de alla sentencia venia
 que segun fuero de hidalgo 155
 se le quitasse la vida,
 y la saquen arrastrando
 porque bien lo merescia,
 y que le saquen los ojos
 por su grande aleuosia, 160
 y que pongan su cabeça
 delante su casa misma
 encima de vna alta escarpia
 que de todos sea vista,
 vn Lunes por la mañana 165
 a las nueue horas del dia
 sacaron a justiciar
 a doña Angela de Padilla,
 su muy delicado cuerpo
 arrastrando en tierra yua 170
 a la cola de vn cauallo
 que de verla era manzilla,
 y en la su mano siniestra
 vn crucifixo traya
 y en la otra vna piedra 175
 con que sus pechos heria,
 alli va la Charidad
 los niños de la Doctrina,
 alli van frayles descalços
 que su anima regian, 180
 los pregoneros delante
 diziendo su aleuosia,
 y tañendo la trompeta
 que grande dolor ponía,
 la gente que la miraua 185
 lloran a gran bozeria.
 Desde que llegaron al puesto
 donde se ha de hazer justicia
 con boz que todos la oyeron
 estas palabras dezia: 190
 O hermanos de mis ojos
 suplicos [sic] en este dia
 rogueys por mi a Dios del cielo,

tambien a sancta Maria	
me perdone mis peccados	195
y las culpas que tenia,	
y no mire mis torpezas	
aunque infierno merecia	
sino el premio incomparable	
de aquella sangre diuina,	200
la qual derramo en la Cruz	
por dar a las almas vida	
y estando en este trance	
el verdugo le pedia	
el perdon acostumbrado	205
con termino y cortesia,	
y llamando al buen Iesus	
y a la piadosa Maria,	
cortaronle la cabeça	
y pago lo que deuia.	210

La fratricida por amor: An Oral Version

Recited by Simi Chocrón (37 yrs. old) and collected by Manuel Manrique de Lara in Tetuan in 1916 (Menéndez Pidal Archive, Madrid).

Nublado hace, nublado,	
la luna no parecía,	
las estrellas salen juntas,	
juntas van en compañía.	
Los pájaros de sus nidos	5
no salen en aquel día,	
criaturitas de cuna	
non sosiegan ni dormían,	
mujeres que están encintas	
en un día abortarían,	10
hombres que están por camino	
a su ciudad se volvían.	
Todo por una doncella	
que Isabel se llamaría.	
De amores de su cuñado	15
mató a una hermana que tenía.	
Matóla una noche oscura	
detrás de la su cortina.	
Después de haberla matado	
para su cama se iría.	20
Creyendo que era su esposa	
cumplióla lo que quería.	

Doña Anjívar se levanta
 dos horas antes del día.
 Don Diego se levantaba 25
 dos horas después del día.
 Halló su rosa ramada²⁴
 de rosas y clavellinas.
 —Acudid mis caballeros,
 veréis esta maravilla, 30
 después de quince años casada
 doncella la encontraría.—
 Ya pretenden a don Diego,²⁵
 que él culpa no tenía.
 —No pretendáis a don Diego, 35
 que él culpa no tenía.
 Yo la maté a mi hermana,
 mi hermana yo la mataría.
 El castigo que merezco
 con mi boca se diría: 40
 que me aten pies y manos
 y me arrastren por la villa.—
 Los muertos quedan por muertos,
 los vivos paces se harían.

Appendix 2: Modern Oral Versions

I am very grateful to Oro Anahory-Librowicz, Samuel G. Armistead, and Diego Catalán for sharing with me the versions of *La fraticida por amor* cited in this paper and listed here.

Versions 1-7 are housed in the Menéndez Pidal Archive in Madrid and are catalogued in Armistead 1978, II:101-3.

1-3. Versions from Tangier collected by José Benoliel in Tangier between 1904 and 1906. As Armistead (1978, II:101) notes, part of Version 3 was published in Menéndez Pidal 1958:171 (no. 90).

4. Version from Tangier, recited by Messodi Azulai (24 years), collected by Manuel Manrique de Lara in Tangier, 1915.

²⁴ In this line the singer anticipates the roses in line 28. In most versions line 27 reads “Halló su cama....”

²⁵ In this line and in line 35 the singer uses the verb *pretender* rather than the more frequent *prender*.

5. Version from Tangier, recited by Estrella Bennaim (18 years), collected by Manuel Manrique de Lara in Tangier, 1915.
6. Version from Tetuan, sung to Manuel Manrique de Lara in Tetuan, 1915.
7. Version from Tetuan, recited by Simi Chocrón (37 years), collected by Manuel Manrique de Lara in Tetuan, 1916.
8. Version collected in Buenos Aires, published in Bénichou 1968b:254.
9. Version from Tetuan, sung by Rachel Nahón (75 years), collected by Samuel G. Armistead and Israel J. Katz in Tetuan, 5 August 1962.
10. Version from Tetuan, sung by Luna Farache (78 years), collected by Samuel G. Armistead and Israel J. Katz in Tetuan, 7 August 1962.
11. Version from Tetuan, sung by Moisés Benadiba (73 years), collected by Samuel G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman in Tangier, 12 September 1962.
12. Version from Tetuan, sung by Alegría Bunán (49 years), collected by Samuel G. Armistead and Joseph H. Silverman in Tangier, 13 September 1962.
13. Version from Alcazarquivir, collected by Juan Martínez Ruíz in Alcazarquivir between October 1948 and June 1951, published in Martínez Ruíz 1963:168.
- 14-17. Versions from Tetuan, collected by Arcadio de Larrea Palacín, published in Larrea Palacín 1952:310-16.
18. Version from Tetuan-Tangier, recited by Clara Benchimol (67 years), collected by Oro Anahory-Librowicz in Montreal, Canada, 15 December 1981, published in Anahory-Librowicz 1988:61-62.
19. Version from Tetuan published in Alvar 1966:89.
20. Version from Catalonia collected by Manuel Milá y Fontanals and published in Milá y Fontanals als 1896:261.
21. Version from Catalonia in Menéndez Pidal Archive.
22. Version from La Gomera, Canary Islands, recited (?) by Prudencio Sánchez Conrado, collected by Maximiano Trapero and Elena Hernández Casañas in La Gomera, 25 July 1983, published in Trapero 1987:180-81.

Appendix 3: Folklore Motifs

All motifs are from Thompson 1955-58 and Bordman 1963. Motifs found in Bordman are indicated by an asterisk (*).

F. Marvels

F960.6 Extraordinary nature phenomena on night of fratricide.

Q. Rewards and Punishments

*Q400.1 Self-inflicted punishment.

Q413.4 Hanging as punishment for murder (Version 21 only).

Q414.0.13 Burning as punishment for fratricide (Version 20 only).

S. Unnatural Cruelty

S73.1.4 Fratricide motivated by love-jealousy.