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The Pilgrimage to Meaning Along the Camino de Santiago

Matthew Carey Greenhalgh

A thesis submitted to the faculty of
Brigham Young University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Dale J. Pratt, Chair
Valerie Hegstrom
Alvin F. Sherman

Department of Spanish and Portuguese

Brigham Young University

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ABSTRACT

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Matthew Carey Greenhalgh

Department of Spanish and Portuguese, BYU

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As Christianity spread throughout the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages, many believers attributed miraculous tales to the Virgin Mary and saints. In Camino de Santiago folklore, the Virgin Mary and Saint James intercede on behalf of pilgrims who cannot resolve a crisis without divine assistance. The *Codex Calixtinus*, a twelfth-century manuscript, contains such a story that occurs in Toulouse called “The Hanged Pilgrim.” In this miracle, an innkeeper frames a pilgrim for theft and the local magistrate sentences the accused to hang as a consequence. However, the Virgin Mary and Saint James spare the pilgrim’s life because of his devotion and the magistrate orders the pilgrim’s release. Over centuries, pilgrims alter the original story as they retell it on the Camino trail. I argue that not only does this miracle of intercession change geographic location from France to the Iberian Peninsula, but that it also transforms from the Virgin Mary and Saint James saving an innocent pilgrim to female victims interceding on behalf of their betrayer and rapist. This analysis traces the displacement of “The Hanged Pilgrim” from a miracle in folklore and poetry to secular metaphoric reconciliation in a Spanish Golden Age play.

keywords: intercession, displacement, urtext, pilgrim, Camino de Santiago

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Introduction

In the Middle Ages “the past was valued primarily for what might be learned from it, for the examples of good and evil that it presented” (Nelson 27); modern standards of historiography and accuracy did not apply. Folktales grew in popularity primarily because of their messages. An original anecdote from Toulouse about a man who survives a hanging through the miraculous intervention of the Virgin Mary and Saint James evolves overtime as pilgrims retell it and elaborate it while traveling along the Camino de Santiago. This urtext first appears in written form in the *De miraculis sancti Jacobi*, book two of the *Codex Calixtinus*, a twelfth-century anthology of text dealing with the Camino de Santiago. This tale or miracle, with its lesson regarding the saving of an innocent, acquires specificity when relocated to Santo Domingo de la Calzada (where it is attributed to Saint Dominic) and Barcelos (in Portugal). In 1495 or 1496, Hermann König von Vach mentions the presence of chickens in the Cathedral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada apparently without knowing the story behind them. In his guidebook, *The Pilgrimage and Path to Saint James*, he exclaims “look at them well and marvel at God’s miraculous power: they escaped from the spit on which they were roasted. I know that it is no lie as I have seen for myself” (12). The earliest image of “O Galo de Barcelos” is a monument depicting the crucifixion of Christ at the top, the hanged *Gallego* pilgrim at the bottom with the rooster between them dating from 1504. The basic lesson of these miracles is that saints will protect the innocent. The lesson later expands to include salvation for the guilty. For example, in the thirteenth-century, Gonzalo de Berceo includes a version in his *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*. Berceo’s version of the tale, “Milagro VIII: El romero de Santiago” is based on a similar story

found in preexisting Latin texts (see Alborg: 117-118)¹. According to Berceo, Saint Hugo, an abbot of Cluny, wrote the story about Guiralt, a friar who, while traveling on the Santiago Trail, met the Devil in the guise of Saint James with terrible consequences ensuing. The Virgin Mary averts the punishment for Guiralt's unrepentant sexual guilt and later self-mutilation and suicide by command of the diabolical "Saint James" when she returns his soul to his body. In his seventeenth-century *comedia*, *La romera de Santiago*, Tirso de Molina incorporates elements from the traditions of the Camino de Santiago pilgrimage into a wholly secular play. El Conde Lisuardo's violent rape of Doña Sol, a pilgrim on the Camino, causes a set of political problems that can only be resolved by the King's sister Linda, to whom he had been betrothed. Linda's solution to Lisuardo, Sol and her predicaments echoes the Virgin's judgment in Berceo and restores Sol's honor as well as her own despite Lisuardo's guilt. Linda's political and social redemption of Lisuardo metaphorically echoes the lessons from Camino folklore with which Tirso was familiar.

While relatively no literary criticism of "El gallo y la gallina" and "O Galo de Barcelos" exists, this analysis uses a variety of anthropological commentary to examine the connection between the folkloric stories, "Milagro VIII: El romero de Santiago," and *La romera de Santiago*. In "El gallo y la gallina," Andrew Borde (c. 1490-1549) believed God and Saint James to be the intercessors that saved the pilgrim (86). In contrast to Borde, Fray Luis de la Vega (1606) attributed the miracle to the Virgin Mary and Saint Dominic at the beginning of the seventeenth-century. Just under one hundred years later, José González Tejada (1702) credited the story solely to Saint Dominic (237), while Fray Mateo de Anguiano (1704) reaffirmed the

¹ Juan Atienza also compares "Milagro VIII: El romero de Santiago" to miracle XVII as he contends that it is an adaptation from the story written in the *Codex Calixtinus* (248-249).

Virgin Mary and Saint Dominic as intercessors. In 1935, Henry Thomas claimed Cervantes adapted a scene in *La Gitanilla* from “El gallo y la gallina” as a secular version of the tale. Thomas’s friend, Walter Starkie (1894-1976) believed a medieval trick to be a more logical origin of the story (209). In 1965, Fernando de Castro Pires de Lima (1908-1973) claimed a connection from “El gallo y la gallina” and “O Galo de Barcelos” to “The Hanged Pilgrim” of the *Codex*. Similar to Starkie, Juan Atienza (1930-2011) believed “El gallo y la gallina” to be nothing more than fanciful legend (*Guía* 121). In 1990, José Fradejas Lebrero (1924-2010) chronologically traced the influence of “The Hanged Pilgrim” from medieval times to the Spanish Golden Age. Currently, the Cathedral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada maintains that Saint Dominic acted alone in performing the miracle of “El gallo y la gallina.” In this analysis, I employ the theories of Mircea Eliade and Juan Luis Vives to contend that “The Hanged Pilgrim” transforms over centuries as it is dispersed throughout Europe and displaced from the urtext. The miraculous tale expands from a worldwide context (the Virgin Mary), to a more localized tradition (Saint Dominic), and finally to a secular redemption in *La romera de Santiago*, whose connection to “The Hanged Pilgrim” is unrecognizable to anyone unfamiliar with Camino folklore.

In all of these stories, the physical and metaphorical displacement of the miracle parallels the distancing of “The Hanged Pilgrim” from its folkloric origins. In chapter one, I invoke Eliade’s theory of the sacred in *The Sacred & the Profane: The Nature of Religion* to illuminate the link between “The Hanged Pilgrim” and the sacralization and presence of the birds in sacred spaces in “La gallina” and “O Galo”. In chapter two, I analyze Woman as the indispensable advocate in “Milagro VIII: El romero de Santiago” and *La romera de Santiago* in light of the theory of Vives in *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* that “the first model, as I have said, is

the queen and glory of virginity, Mary, the mother of Christ, God and man, whose life should be the exemplar” (117). As we trace their humble origins in the folkloric urtext and the addition of elements quotidian (roasted chickens), scatological (“how does the resurrected Guiralt relieve himself?”) and secular (royal marriages), we travel our own pilgrimage to meaning in these tales of the Camino de Santiago.

In these miraculous tales, intercession is made for the “sometimes merely perceived” to be guilty party. The pilgrimage of Santiago is a spiritual journey for the devoted during which they pay homage to a saint or do penance. However, the destination of Santiago or Finisterre is metaphorical because the pilgrim ultimately travels towards God in heaven. The pilgrimage to Santiago is a plea for intercession. The goal in the story of “The Hanged Pilgrim” is for him to survive and thereby subvert injustice while in “Milagro VIII: El romero de Santiago” it is for Guiralt to become penitent and be forgiven and in *La romera de Santiago* for sexual violence and political chaos to be resolved according to seventeenth-century theatrical conventions. James Stone asserts that medieval confidence in saints or the Virgin comes at a time “when people felt afraid to go to God themselves, either from shame or a consciousness of futility, they besought these friends and adherents of God to help them. The more renowned the saint, the more hopeful his success” (3). These Camino tales display a tendency towards displacement, the chickens are not the intercessors but they are the most tangible and recognizable element of the story. The Virgin appears only briefly in Berceo’s *milagro*, the most vivid portions of the tale being the scatological descriptions of his mutilation and the subsequent scars he bears, as well as the strident debate between the Devil and Saint James in the spiritual plane. As is common in Golden Age Theater, the detailing of the consequences of Lisuardo’s crime occupies a far larger portion of *La romera de Santiago* than the abrupt solution. Each of these tales transpose the

geographical displacement inherent in the Camino pilgrimage into a shift of intercessory power onto symbols or even onto merely ancillary components.

In this analysis, I use “El gallo y la gallina” (henceforth “La gallina” and “O Galo de Barcelos” (henceforth “O Galo”) as the most recognizable versions of the *Codex* miracle that show displacements from the original tale in hagiographies and monuments. In contrast to the guilty male characters of “El romero de Santiago” and *La romera de Santiago*, “El gallo y la gallina” (henceforth “La gallina”) tells the story of a young male pilgrim passing through Santo Domingo de la Calzada with his parents on his way to Santiago. There the innkeeper’s daughter begins to fancy him, but when he spurns her, she becomes upset and stows a silver goblet in his bag. He is subsequently accused of thievery and condemned to hang. His parents complete the pilgrimage and upon returning through the town, they find his still-hanging body and discover he is alive. The young pilgrim proclaims “madre mia no me lloreys como muerto, que viuo estoy, por la Misericordia de Dios: la Virgen sacratissima Maria, madre de Dios, y el bienaventurado Santo Domingo de la Calçada, me han aqui conseruado sin morir de la suerte que ahora veys” (Vega 110). The parents turn to the local magistrate and plead for him to release their son. However, the former responds incredulously that their son is as alive as the two roast chickens on his plate. That very instant the chickens leap off his plate alive, with feathers² and life restored and begin to crow. “O Galo” shares an intriguingly similar tale of a Galician pilgrim also falsely accused of a theft of silver and condemned to hang. In this case however, before the hanging he proclaims anew to the judge his innocence and declares that a roasted capon on the

² For centuries, feathers were plucked as tokens of the “La gallina” miracle served as souvenirs that “constituted a repertoire of portable and exportable religious imagery objects that had been in contact with the saint and the shrine” (165).

dinner table will crow and confirm his words. Again, the rooster crows; recognizing the error, the judge orders the pilgrim set free.

Gonzalo de Berceo's poem "El romero de Santiago (henceforth "Milagro VIII")" gives a different version to Camino miracle motifs as it is specific to the Virgin's saving power. The poem portrays an imprudent friar named Guiralt, who prior to his pilgrimage fornicates and fails to repent (183-185³). On the Camino the Devil appears to Guiralt in the form of Saint James. Guiralt declares he will do anything the "Saint" requires. The Devil instructs him to castrate himself and slit his throat to make restitution for his impenitence. Guiralt obeys and his companions flee. On the spiritual plane, as the Devil and his hosts are dragging Guiralt to hell, the real Saint James attempts to intercede saying that Guiralt had intended to obey the real Saint James. In light of the Devil's arguments that Guiralt's self-mutilation and suicide constitute grievous sins, Saint James has no recourse but to the Virgin. The Virgin restores Guiralt to life so he can complete true penitence (according to the intentions he displayed when he followed the Devil's council). Unlike the cases of the previous pilgrims and the chickens, his bodily restoration is not complete; he has a horrible scar on his neck and his member is lost.

Finally, I utilize Tirso de Molina's *La romera de Santiago* (1621 or 1622; henceforth *La romera*) to show the movement of the pilgrimage miracle from the divine to the secular. The *comedia* begins with the return of Count Lisuardo to León where King Ordoño promises his sister Linda to him if he will escort the King's fiancé from England. Outbound to England, on the Camino de Santiago, the Count comes upon Doña Sol and her maid dressed as pilgrims begging alms. Entranced by her beauty, he rapes her and continues on his mission. Sol arrives in

³ The poems in *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* do not include line numbers; therefore, the numbers cited in "Milagro VIII" correspond to the stanzas of the poem.

León and complains to King Ordoño and Linda learns of her betrothed's betrayal. King Ordoño imprisons Lisuado and sentences him to hang for the dishonor he has brought to Linda and Sol, as well as the Kingdom of León. However, Linda engineers Lisuado's escape. Sol's cousin Count Garci-Fernández of Castile has previously vowed that the offense against the family of Lara can only be washed by spilling Lisuado's blood. Lisuado's absence implicates the entire Kingdom of León in his crime. Linda resolves the political tension by proposing herself as Garci's bride after which Lisuado can marry (and is forced to marry) Doña Sol⁴.

In these stories historical evidence moves from the tangible to the intangible. The chickens in "La gallina" and "O Galo" are physical representations of saintly power. Saint Dominic's major civic accomplishment was the construction and maintenance of the causeway across the Oja River (which still exists), which significantly improved the conditions of transit for that section of the Camino (Melczer 235). The *gallo* and *gallina* miracle is memorialized in the Cathedral by the chicken coop. The Cathedral incorporates the site of the tomb before which now stands "a stone, polychrome and gothic Henhouse, which was built in the middle of the XVTH century to keep alive a hen and a rooster in memory of the most famous of Santo Domingo's miracles" ("Santo Domingo"). Pope Clemente VI gave permission in 1350 for these animals to live in the Cathedral. The monument also incorporates "a representation of the pilgrim being hanged painted by Alonso Gallego. Above the cage there is a piece of wood from the gallows" ("Santo Domingo"). The image of the rooster incorporated in the monument in Barcelos is a reminder of a previously existing folkloric tradition. Berceo's "Milagro VIII" has a less tangible marker. At the close of "Milagro VIII", the poet notes approvingly that Saint Hugo

⁴ The marriage of Doña Sol and Lisuado supports the notion in Golden Age Literature that the rape victim can become the intercessor shows the value of the man over the woman. In the *comedia* Sol becomes the key to Lisuado's redemption.

recorded this “truthful miracle” of Guiralt’s resurrection: “contava est miraclo qe cunrió en verdat; methiólo en escripto, fizo grand onestat” (218). The monument is in words. The plot of Tirso’s play is pure fiction although the consequences of potential warfare between the kingdoms were readily recognizable to all spectators of the play.

Chapter 1: “El gallo y la gallina” of Santo Domingo de la Calzada and “O Galo de Barcelos”

Upon entering the Cathedral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, one’s eyes are drawn to the ostensibly profane invasion of a sacred space by a rooster and hen living in a glass cage near the main altar in the south transept before Saint Dominic’s tomb. Henry Thomas states “many a pious pilgrim would recall how he had once entered a quiet Spanish cathedral and been startled by the shrill crowing of a cock; and how he had listened to a wonderful story, and come away with a feather in his cap” (2). This practice has been extant since at least the fourteenth century when Pope Clemente VI granted permission (“Santo Domingo”). The rooster and hen preserve the tradition of “La gallina” by living year round in the Cathedral as mementos of the Saint’s most renowned miracle (Atienza, *Guía* 118). James Stone presents a useable definition of miracle in the Camino context as “a departure from the ordinary, common, recognized process or law of nature... a power outside of and above and mightier than any power with which we are ordinarily conversant (56). The incongruity of the birds in the Cathedral underscores this departure or displacement from the norm. As medieval pilgrims walked towards Santiago many would no doubt hear of the live chickens before reaching Santo Domingo as they spoke with returning pilgrims. According to Eliade, the creation of a sacred space, such as those in Santo Domingo and Barcelos, is a “hierophany, an irruption of the sacred that results in detaching a territory from the surrounding cosmic milieu and making it qualitatively different” (26). The Camino de Santiago itself is quasi-sacred space; legend and folklore deepen the sense of the sacred at holy sites along the Camino. The living rooster and hen create an opening for storytellers to give their versions of the miraculous tale and have done so for centuries.

By recording the miracle, the authors of *Historia de la vida y milagros de Santo Domingo de la Calzada* (1606), Fray Luis de la Vega, and *Compendio historial de la provincia de la Rioja*

de sus santos, y milagrosos santuarios (1704), Fray Mateo de Anguiano, map sacred spaces⁵ for the events of the miracle by retelling it in biographies of Santo Domingo, which other friars sustain as doctrine (Vega *Approvacion*). The resurrection of the roasted chickens not only convinces the disbelieving magistrate of the mother's words but also motivate the reader to explore metaphorical monuments dedicated to the animal's witness. Recording the miracle, one born of the oral folkloric tradition, the friars solidify the importance of the miracle as they create "a sacred space", which is "efficacious in the measure in which *it reproduces the work of the gods*" (Eliade 29). Vega and Anguiano inspire others with their words as they retell the stories to imitate the miracle by erecting monuments dedicated to the memory of the saint and his actions.

Vega and Anguiano's interest in the stories motivates them to include their version of "La gallina" in their hagiographical works. The stories were also popular before and after Vega and Anguiano among Spanish, French, Italian, German, and even Ethiopian writers (Fradejas Lebrero 7). In his research on the origins of the miracle of "The Hanged Pilgrim" and the resurrected, José Fradejas Lebrero explains that there are three motifs in the miracles "1) el hijo deseado, con origen en el *Codex Callistinus* (siglo XII); 2) el ladrón, falsamente acusado, ahorcado que vive después de permanecer varios días colgado; 3) El gallo asado que resucita y canta para demostrar su inocencia del ahorcado que aún vive" (8). The first and second motifs are attributed to a variety of saints but to none more than Saint James. Fradejas Lebrero adds that the first and second motifs are from the *Codex* and also inspired from biblical stories "el objeto supuestamente robado es una copa de plata u oro como en el caso de la narración bíblica del castro José y el acusador es un posadero, un juez, una posadera joven que recibirán con digno

⁵ I primarily use Fray Luis de la Vega and Fray Mateo de Anguiano's versions of "La gallina" in my analysis. I also use David Martins's contemporary version of "O Galo" from *Lendas de Portugal*.

castigo o serán perdonados” (8). As a further displacement from the *Codex*, the chickens become the essential element of any version in which Santo Domingo de la Calzada intercedes (Fradejas Lebrero 14).

Fray Luis de la Vega says that in Padre Fray Pedro de la Vega’s *Flos sanctorum* the protagonist of the chicken miracle is actually a *riojano* taken prisoner by moors. In the tale a guard overhears him praying endlessly to his patron, Saint Dominic. The guard worried that the prayers might be efficacious notifies the skeptical Moor who responds “De esso puedes estar bien decuydado, replicó el amo, que si tú le tienes presso de la suerte que yo le dexé, assi se podrá él salir de las prisiones, como este gallo assado se puede leuantar y cantar”. The story concludes with the rooster restored to life and full plumage, crowing, and the astonished moors discovering the empty cell from which the captive has miraculously escaped. Differences from “La gallina” story include: the *riojano* is not a pilgrim, there is no mention of parents nor prayers to the Virgin Mary or Saint James, no accusation of a crime, no threat of hanging, there is only a rooster (the gallina is absent), and the captors do not free the prisoner after the miraculous witness. Fray Luis de la Vega is unwilling to view the one miracle as a deformed or embellished version of the other; nevertheless he recognizes the possibility of such an interpretation: “Este milagro tengo por cierto de la suerte que se ha contado; pero no tengo por tal, el dizer, que el gallo y la gallina, cuya memoria se conserua oy en la santa yglesia de la Calçada, sea de la casta de aquel que resucitó en casa del Moro, sino de otro gallo y gallina que resucitaron también en la propia ciudad de Santo Domingo, en otro milagro que allí hizo el santo, desta suerte” (108). For Fray Luis de la Vega the chickens serve as a kind of interpretive short hand, in his commentary he chooses not to discuss other differences between the miracles, just claims that the chickens come from different lines.

The Authority of the Narrative

According to Eliade, to tell a myth “is to proclaim what happened *ab origine*. Once told, that is revealed, the myth becomes apodictic truth; it establishes a truth that is absolute” (95), or as in Barcelos as firm as the stone of the monument. As Fray Luis de la Vega and Fray Anguiano adapt the story from the original source in the *Codex* they certify themselves as dependable authorities on the miracle of “La gallina”. To achieve a moral lesson and appeal to the people and the Church, miracle stories often began orally in a localized area and were later accepted by religious authorities, who repeatedly adapted them to promote doctrinal beliefs the saints embodied and whom locals adored. The keeping of these records begins during the Middle Ages with Gregory of Tours, a historian and bishop who was one of the first prolific writers of the biographies of saints (Heffernan 5). These compositions were written to teach Gospel principles that “emphasize dramatized action over complex argument” (Heffernan 5) in an effort to make miraculous events more practical. Heffernan also adds to the importance of demonstrating action in the saint’s biographies, saying “there are two additional reasons for the primacy of the dramatic deed in medieval saints’ lives: the paradigmatic actions of Christ in the New Testament and the illiteracy of the audiences for whom these texts were intended” (5). Heffernan also explains that in the late eleventh-century the Vatican began to authorize the cult of local saints, in essence making them symbols of organizational beliefs. This process began with a variety of “stories, anecdotes, and legends that comprised the basic data of the sacred biographer,” which then passed through a process of adaptation to conform to the Vatican’s policy of beatification. The Vatican’s support led to a spreading of the acceptance of the saints’ miracle(s) beyond their original community of belief (22). However, the church could not change the stories too much as they would conflict with the local, original versions and thereby “risk alienating itself from the

cultic center” (22) of a given saint’s devotion. Thomas tracks the course of the miracle recounted from urtext to its more standard form in “La gallina”, locating its origin in Toulouse:

The story of the miracle is told in simpler form of Toulouse, a great pilgrimage-centre, before it was transported to Santo Domingo de la Calzada further along the pilgrim-road, and embellished with the incident of the roast chickens. We need not question that at Toulouse perhaps also at Santo Domingo de la Calzada, a man was rescued alive from the gallows: in history the gallows has not infrequently been robbed of its prey. (9)

Lima and Coffey, Davidson and Dunn also corroborate Thomas’s belief in the original miracle occurring first in France and without the resurrection of the chickens as it appears in the *Codex* (65-66; 68). The miracle story of “The Hanged Pilgrim” travels to Santo Domingo de la Calzada where it acquires the details of the resurrecting chickens and attributes its power to the town’s namesake. As the story’s origin travels the Camino, the miracle evolves over centuries.

According to Heffernan, the inclusion of miracles in the list of the saint’s activities described by the oral tradition upholds the version of the saint’s life known in his or her cultic center even as it moves towards orthodoxy. In the introduction to Fray Luis de la Vega’s *Historia de la vida y milagros de Santo Domingo de la Calzada*, four other friars endorse his work by stating that they have read it and found it orthodox. For example, Fray Miguel de Salazar states “me parece no ay en ella cosa contra nuestra santa Fê Catholica, ni buenas costumbres” (Vega Approvacion). Frailes Zafra, de la Puente, and Hernández concur as they find credible the miraculous event of a resurrection of roasted birds confirming a pilgrim’s innocence. Heffernan states, “For actions narrated in the lives of the saints to be binding for the community, they had to be an *imitatio Christi*” (5). Although no saint physically appears in either “La gallina” or “O Galo”, the pilgrim testifies of saintly intercession, an imitation of Christ. The saint’s ability to perform the miracle must emanate from a divine source. The rooster crowing in the face of disbelief (“La gallina”) or to attest to the truthfulness of the *Gallego’s* words (“O

Galo”) also constitutes an imitation, not of Christ himself, but of events surrounding his death and resurrection.

In Anguiano’s account of “La gallina,” the pilgrim (the first storyteller) witnesses to his mother (the first audience) who thereby becomes responsible to intercede on his behalf. He implores his mother to tell the magistrate of the miracle as he says “Id madre al Juez, y pedidle, que me mande descolgar, pues fuy injustamente ahorcado, y se me imputó falsamente el delito, que no cometi” (138). In “O Galo” the *Gallego* invokes the power of “Nossa Senhora”; the pilgrim claiming that her testimony has an authority that supersedes that of the court. According to Eliade, “The myth relates a sacred history... but to relate a sacred history is equivalent to revealing a mystery. For the persons of the myth are not human beings; they are gods or culture heroes, and for this reason their *gesta* constitute mysteries” (95). The mystery these stories reveal is the peculiar resurrection of the rooster and the hen in Saint Dominic’s miracle and the resurrection of the rooster in the Virgin Mary’s miracle in Barcelos. The chickens affirm, as symbols, the authenticity of the mother’s or the pilgrim’s words, thus confirming the miracle performed by the saint. This gesture as a confirmation of the mother or pilgrim’s words, especially in the face of doubt by the local political authority, is key to understanding why a text and miracle of this sort would appeal to the Church and to the local ecclesiastics.

With each storyteller’s iteration, the original version distinguishes itself as an event from which countless variations flow. In “La gallina”, the magistrate hears the mother’s report of the son being alive and he returns to the site of the gallows to verify the story. In a broader sense the folklore legends and miracle stories hearken back towards an originary event or urtext even though they can neither arrive at nor uncover one. The traces of the original invite a return, as it were, a pilgrimage towards meaning, a quest for a divine source of truth or authority. This

structure parallels the pilgrimage on the Camino de Santiago itself, for when the pilgrim arrives at the *Pórtico de Gloria* and looks upon Saint James's image and tomb, he or she has arrived at the site of origin or the ordinary moment, the point of authenticity from which the rest of the Camino emanates. It is the destination but also the source. For Eliade, the appeal to retelling these miraculous stories is that "by reactualizing sacred history, by imitating the divine behavior, man puts and keeps himself close to the gods" (202). When the magistrate returns to the gallows he finds the pilgrim alive; when the pilgrims arrive at Saint James's tomb, besides the saint's bones they find life.

The Irruption of the Sacred

The cultural and historic importance of the numerous versions of the miracles derives from the Christian theme celebrating the rooster (or the rooster and the chicken) as symbol(s) of the power of resurrection. In the Book of Matthew in the New Testament the rooster is used as a confirming sign of Christ's words as he tells Peter that before the night is over he shall deny him three times (Matthew 26:34). Later after denying Christ for the final time "Peter remembered the word of Jesus, which said unto him, before the cock crow, thou shalt deny me thrice. And he went out, and wept bitterly" (Matthew 26:75). Just as the rooster crows to affirm Christ's prediction, the rooster and hen of Santo Domingo and the rooster of Barcelos show signs of life as they mark the moment where the magistrate has to reconsider his judgment. In the Santo Domingo miracle, the rooster and the hen symbolize Saint Dominic's divine power to save the pilgrim's life. In "the *Riojano* taken prisoner by the moors," the story takes place in the land of the infidel. The Moor has no change of heart; the rooster symbolizes the Christian escape from the unholy land. The other stories take place along the quasi-sacred Camino de Santiago; they include a change of heart and praises for the saints. The rooster crows and the magistrate and the

saved pilgrim praise God. In his analysis of the two folkloric tales, Lima mentions the importance of the rooster as it relates to the Bible.

A lenda do galo assado remonta aos tempos da Bíblia. Algumas das versões apócrifas dos relatos evangélicos apresentam-nos contos de um galo assado que ressuscita, e vestígios desses contos ainda subsistem, se bem que com variantes diferentes, nos diversos países (51).

In both Fray Luis de la Vega and Fray Anguiano de Mateo's versions of the narrative of "La gallina" the hanged pilgrim testifies to his parents upon their return from Santiago. In Luis de la Vega's 1606 history, the pilgrim exclaims

Madre mia no me llores como muerto, que vivo estoy, por la misericordia de Dios: la Virgen sacratísima María, madre de Dios, y el bienaventurado Santo Domingo de la Calçada, me han aquí conservado sin morir de la suerte que ahora ves (110).

Second, in Anguiano's account written nearly one hundred years later (1704), the pilgrim also testifies to his mother that the Virgin and Saint Dominic have interceded on his behalf before asking her to plead with the judge to set him free. He says to her "Madre mia, no me llores muerto, porque por la misericordia de Dios estoy vivo. La Virgen Señora nuestra, y el glorioso Santo Domingo, me han conservado aquí con vida, de la suerte que me ves" (138). The Virgin maintains the pilgrim's life; the pilgrim's mother must intercede with the magistrate on the pilgrim's behalf. While these accounts state that both the Virgin Mary and Saint Dominic intercede on behalf of the pilgrim, versions such as José González Tejada's (1702) begin to omit the Virgin as one of the pilgrim's mediators. In González Tejada's version the pilgrim states to his mother "El bienaventurado Santo Domingo de la Calçada me ha conservado la vida contra el riguroso cordel...dad cuenta de este prodigio, y pedid me baxen de este palo, pues mi inocencia no mereció tal castigo" (237). This version shows how the narrative changes to fit the new storyteller; José González Tejada was the *canónigo* of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Santo Domingo de la Calzada, the figure

most sacred to this spot on the Camino, replaces the Virgin whose grace can act throughout the whole world.

According to these different versions of the miracle, the young man would have died from his hanging had it not been for the divine act which saves him from his unjust sentence and accusation. However, because belief in a miracle is not enough to save the pilgrim without an element of proof for the non-believer (the magistrate), the narratives all include resurrecting poultry as a sign to convince the judge of the incredible story. The resurrection of the roast chickens acts as a witness that the mother's (or other messenger's) words are true. The narrator uses the bird as the confirming sign of the pilgrim's innocence after the judge expresses doubt. If the rooster and the hen in Santo Domingo and the rooster in Barcelos never resurrected, would the judge have freed the pilgrim? Because the judge does not physically go to the gallows in "La gallina," the resurrecting birds symbolize the falseness of the accusation as well as his unjust condemnation. In the medieval world, the physical transcended the verbal; that is to say, a physical-visual token or monument was far more effective in promoting faith and devotion than mere words. Seeing or touching created belief as they mixed with emotion and geographic proximity to promote greater devotion. In "O Galo," the Virgin Mary similarly supersedes the magistrate's sentence when the pilgrim invokes the sign of the rooster's crow to confirm his innocence. Eliade explains that the animal as sign is necessary "to put an end to the tension and anxiety caused by relativity and disorientation—in short, to reveal an absolute point of support" (27-28). For this reason, the narrator of the miracle has adapted it from its original version to include the resurrecting chickens as the undeniable sign of the saints' power.

In Fray Luis de la Vega's account the judge does not demonstrate the slightest belief or desire to believe that his previous orders were not carried out and that a higher power has

supplanted his own. The friar explains the scene between the witness and the skeptic the following way

Estaua el Corregidor, quando llego la muger, sentado a la messa, y en ella tenia puestos para comer vn gallo y vna gallina, no se si assados, o cozidos. Oyó con atención lo que la muger dezia, y pensando que era antojo, o alguna ilusion nacida de la pasión y amor de madre, le dixo, para despedirla: Que mirasse que aquello era engaño, y que assi podia viuir su hijo, como aquel gallo y gallina que alli tenian assados, a punto para comer. (110).

After the miracle of the chickens “Quedó el Corregidor fuera de si de espanto” (110). In this passage uncertainty moves to surety. The narrator, who is unsure of how the chickens were cooked (“no se si assados, o cozidos”), can enter the mind of the magistrate as he listens to the mother (“pensando que era antojo”) (110). Similar to Peter’s denial of Christ, the magistrate’s doubts vanish in the face of fully-plumed chickens and he is filled with fear. The ostentatious yet metaphysically minor miracle of the chickens convinces him to investigate the glorious miracle of the pilgrim’s remaining alive

y sin pasar adelante en la comida, salio luego de su casa, y juntando toda la clerecía y vecinos de la Ciudad, fueron todos a donde estaua el moço colgado, el qual hallaron viuo y sano, de la misma suerte que quando allí lo auian lleuado. Quitaron le de la ahorca, y con solenne procession lo traxeron delante de el sepulchro del santo, dando todos muchas gracias a Dios, que assi fauorece a los suyos, por medio de sus santos, y escogidos (Vega 110).

One hundred years later, Fray Mateo de Anguiano similarly emphasizes the judge’s doubt and denial of the mother’s claim “Andad buena muger, que delirais” (138). In this case the narrator himself glorifies God (“Al instante, o bondad de Dios!”) (138). It is as if the narrator witnesses the miracle of the chickens. These narratives show that unlike the mother, the judge requires a sign, which also prompts the question of the validity of his original investigation of the pilgrim’s supposed crime. By portraying the judge’s incredulous reaction, Fray Luis de la Vega focuses on the power and importance of the miracle as it sets earthly authority versus divine authority. The resulting faith in the secondhand account that the magistrate receives from the mother, with its

subsequent confirmation by the miracle of the chickens, parallels the narrator's faith as well as the implied audience's reaction to the story. The stories expect the implied audience to react, as do the judge and the townspeople.

Andad buena muger, que delirais: tan vivo está vuestro hijo, como lo están este gallo, y esta gallina, que veis en este plato. Al instante, o bondad de Dios! Saltaron sobre la mesa vivos, y vestidos de plumas blancas el gallo, y la gallina, y començaron à cantar muy alegres, y festivos.

Admirado, y atonito el Juez con tal prodigio, acabó de creer à la muger, y sin mas dilacion dexó la mesa, y començó à publicar el milagro. Dio quenta, y juntandose la Clerecia, y mucha gente del Pueblo, fueron todos al sitio del suplicio, y hallaron vivo al moço. Baxaronle de la horca, y formando vna procession, lo traxeron à la Capilla de Santo Domingo, cantando à Dios alabanças. (Anguiano 138)

The reaction of the judge to the mother's claim is at first that her words are preposterous to the point that he mockingly provokes a sign claiming that her son is just as alive as the roasted chickens on his dinner table. This provocation not only puts her words into doubt, but also the very miracle worked by the saints in the preservation of the pilgrim's life. Because of his disbelief, the second part of the story, or second miracle is achieved when the chickens literally jump up alive and begin to crow⁶. It is such an incredible event that it frightens the judge not only because of the birds clucking around, but because they symbolize that his judgment was wrong.

Astounded by the chickens, the judge becomes, in Eliade's words, "aware of the sacred because it manifests itself, shows itself, as something wholly different from the profane" (11). The hierophany is "something sacred shown unto us" (11). Eliade explains when a miracle occurs "a reality that does not belong to our world" reveals itself to us "in objects that are an

⁶ Although not explicitly connected to "La gallina," Larra's roast *capón* from "El castellano viejo" (1832) metaphorically flies off the table as the bird "pareció querer tomar su vuelo como en sus tiempos más felices, y se posó en el mantel tranquilamente como pudiera en un palo de un gallinero" (130), is perhaps a (very) distant comical echo of the miracle.

integral part of our natural ‘profane’ world” (11), hence the chickens. The mother proclaims the power of the saint and the rooster and hen confirm the mother’s words.

In David Martins’s contemporary account of “O Galo”, the judge’s doubt does not provoke any sign; rather, the pilgrim uses the sign of the chickens as principal evidence of his innocence. In Martins’s version no mother or other individual bears witness of any living pilgrim still hanging in the gallows; instead it is the *Gallego* who presents himself before the judge to protest his innocence and calls upon the Virgin to verify his words by restoring the rooster:

Meu senhor, ouvi mais uma vez que estou inocente do crime de que me acusam. Tomo Nossa Senhora por minha testemunha e aqui mesmo lhe peço que me faça um milagre. Se aquilo que eu digo for verdade, e eu estiver inocente, esse galo que tendes na vossa frente e vos preparais para comer, agora mesmo tornará à vida, se levantará e cantará!

Naquele preciso momento, o galo deu um pulo dentro da assadeira e começou a cantar. Os presentes ficaram boquiabertos e de olhos esbugalhados. Nunca tal se vira.

O homem tinha conseguido provar a sua inocência e ao juiz apenas restou deixa-lo ir embora em paz. (11)

In “La gallina” the unrighteous judge’s unfaithful words frame what miracle is to occur (i.e., he says “if..., then...”); in “O Galo” the faithful *Gallego* himself conjures the miracle of the rooster as confirmation of his innocence. Though clearly related, “O Galo” represents a significant displacement in geography, structure, and import from the “La gallina” story set in Santo Domingo de la Calzada. To recall Eliade, the hierophany “[detaches] a territory from the surrounding cosmic milieu and [makes] it qualitatively different” (26). “O Galo de Barcelos” is a paradigmatic hierophany. Indeed, after his release the *Gallego* completes his pilgrimage to Santiago, returning a few years later to erect the sacred monument to the miracle that saved his life. (See Figure 1.) Thus, Barcelos, once a non-descript town on the Camino de Santiago, becomes qualitatively different, a place where “something sacred [is] shown unto us” (Eliade 11).

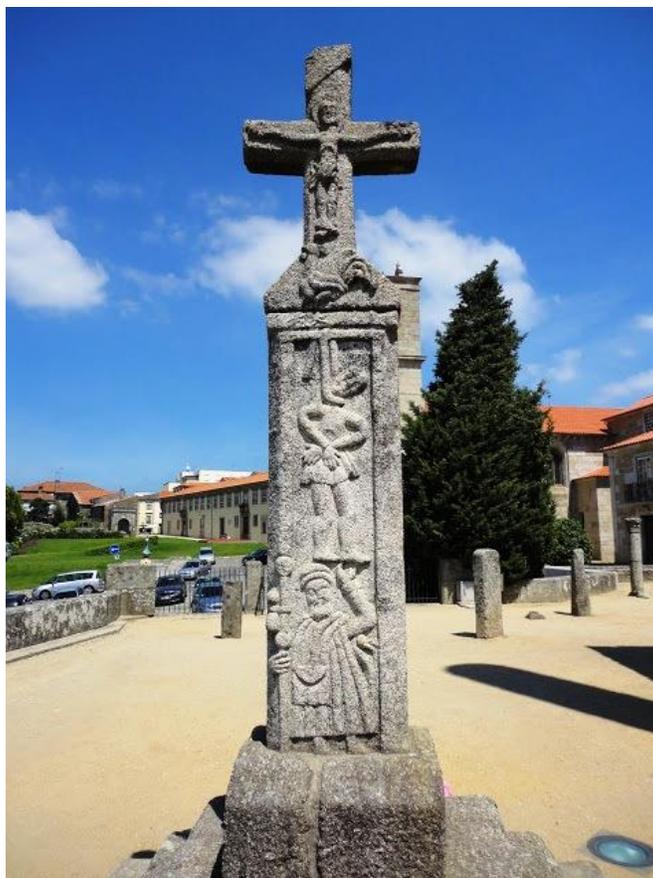


Figure 1 Monumento do Senhor do Galo at the Museu Arqueológico de Barcelos

The Calvary dedicated to “O Galo” portrays the hand of Saint James⁷ lifting up the hanged pilgrim with a rooster between him and Christ on the cross. Instead of depicting a dove above the crucified Christ, the monument memorializes the *galo* below Him as a more quotidian symbol of the miracle. This depiction is similar in principal to Berceo’s “Milagro VI: El ladrón devoto,” where the Virgin Mary holds the thief up and prevents him from strangling, not because he is innocent but because he has demonstrated qualities of devotion in line with Marianist beliefs. The second part of the “narrative” is that of the rooster at the feet of Christ. If the rooster

⁷ While we use David Martins’s contemporary version of the “O Galo” miracle, in which the Virgin intercedes, other oral versions exist with the Virgin Mary and Saint James save the *Gallego*.

is a symbol of “prophecy” or “prediction” then here it is a sign that the *Gallego*’s words are divinations or proofs of salvation.

Walter Starkie derides the storyteller as an unreliable source and judges the implied listeners of the miraculous tales as foolishly pious for seeking an account of the real. Although he disregards the miraculous events as hearsay, he explains their great economic importance to small and otherwise relatively unknown sights along the Camino de Santiago:

The cock and the hen miracle was a godsend to the town, for it led to a revival of pilgrim interest in the Saint’s old road from Nájera to Burgos on which traffic had diminished in the fourteenth century, when many of the foreign Jacobean pilgrims followed other routes, and certain skeptical historians attribute the spate of miracles that took place at the tomb of St. Dominic in the fifteenth century, especially that of the white cock and hen, to the propaganda campaign of the innkeepers on the road who needed more rich pilgrims to fleece (208).

Just as King Alfonso VI allowed Saint Dominic to build the causeway in an effort to increase foreign trade and visitors to Spain in the eleventh-century, the townspeople who remained centuries after Saint Dominic’s death continue to promote his saintly acts. Juan Atienza considers the annual replacing of the cock and the hen with a new pair in the Cathedral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada as propaganda whose aim is solely to perpetuate the story for another year. He states

Nada cambiará, todo volverá a repetirse, en un ciclo interminable en el que la única evidencia será la del eterno retorno, la de la inmortalidad aceptada de aquel gallo y de aquella gallina, una de cuyas plumas tendría que significar, prendida de la cinta del sombrero del peregrino, la aceptación de la certeza que simbolizaban (*Guía* 121).

As a living monument to the miraculous events told in the tales, the rooster and hen in Santo Domingo, similar to the monument and symbols displaying the rooster of Barcelos, attempt to provide an undeniable and recurrent witness to the saints’ redeeming abilities. Eliade explains that a miracle is “the *time of origin* of a reality—that is, the time inaugurated by the first appearance of the reality—has a paradigmatic value and function” (85). The miracle serves as a beginning point; the Barcelos monument marks a spot sacred in space and time. Eliade insists

that the miracle's paradigm must be "reactualize[d]...periodically by means of appropriate rituals" (85). The people of both towns seek to preserve and repeat rituals that commemorate the miraculous events of the pilgrim's redemption. Pilgrims leaving Santo Domingo de la Calzada wear a feather in their cap while pilgrims leaving Barcelos carry multiple representations of the Barcelos rooster in fabric, ceramic or other media.

In performing an anthropological study on the people of Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Starkie explains that the townspeople do not take lightly to skepticism. Beyond the inherent cynicism of modernity, he acknowledges a medieval trick in a rare pamphlet called *Probadas Flores Romanas*. He explains that his friend Sir Henry Thomas knew of the trick and upon visiting the town "was convinced that this characteristic mediaeval parlour trick was the origin of the miracle of the cock and the hen" (209). Starkie explains:

"How it is possible to make a chicken or a roast capon jump at the table" He then gives the following directions for carrying it out: 'Take a drop of brandy, a chip of celery and a crumb of bread and soak the crumb well in the brandy. Then put the chip of celery on the soaked breadcrumb and feed it to the chicken and it will immediately fall to the ground as though dead. Then you must pluck the fowl and smear it all over with honey and saffron, which will give it the appearance of having been roasted. When you wish the fowl to jump at the table, all you have to do is to moisten its beak with strong vinegar and straightway the bird will stand up in the dish, as has been proved'. (209)

As Starkie mentions the possibility of a trick, the townspeople vigorously protest such an explanation, "As I told them the story of the trick I saw the storm rising and there was hostility in every eye...I had they said in chorus, called in question the good name of the town: I had falsified history and insulted the memory of the Saint" (210). In *The Cult of Santiago: Traditions, Myths, and Pilgrimages, a Sympathetic Study*, James Stone explains the difficulty of discerning factual occurrences in oral histories, saying:

Origins are easily lost sight of; and oral transmission is by its very nature uncertain. It is not; therefore, wise to dismiss a tradition or a legend. It may be, of course, a pure

invention; on the other hand, it may have some element of truth worth considering. When tradition touches upon miracle, it assumes the possibility of such. (55-56)

Nearly every town and village along the Camino has at least one *albergue* for pilgrims, Santo Domingo de la Calzada stands out because of the Cathedral, Saint Dominic's tomb and the living monument to "La gallina". By maintaining live animals in the Cathedral, the live birds in the Cathedral allows for the creation of a storytelling space and the chickens act as living witnesses, hearkening back to the supposed veracity of the miracles recounted in "La gallina".

Miracles and Hagiography

From a contemporary perspective, hagiography embellishes the life of saints beyond recognition. In *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages*, Thomas J. Heffernan explains that the "*hagiography* is now virtually impossible to read except as an epithet signifying a pious fiction or an exercise in panegyric" (16). He adds that he prefers the term *Sacred Biography* to hagiography and defines it as "a narrative text of the *vita* of the saint written by a member of a community of belief. The text provides a documentary witness to the process of sanctification for the community and in so doing becomes itself a part of the sacred tradition it serves to document" (16). Miracles imputed to the Virgin or to saints, like James or Dominic, long after their sanctification, decorate and embellish the stories of each saint. Each contributing narrative embellishes the lives of the Virgin or saints before later becoming part of the original text it supplements. Bleiberg, Ihrle, and Pérez discern two types of hagiography:

Two principal types are (a) those that arise spontaneously to record the life of a particular saint for devotional reasons and (b) those concerned with the scientific study of the lives of saints. In Spain, hagiographical writings take a variety of literary forms depending on the historical period and interest of the author. The majority, however, pertain to the first group and assume a literary approach (799).

The miracle of "La gallina" pertains to the first type of hagiography as it demonstrates a literary approach to a miracle performed by Saint Dominic, who as a posthumous intercessor

demonstrates achievements that merit veneration. The continued belief in and celebration of the saint's actions perpetuate a constantly evolving narrative. The miracle of "O Galo" is also hagiographical as its literary approach is one that praises the divine intercession of Saint James and/or the Virgin Mary, depending on the version, in saving the *Gallego*. While the hagiography does not provide enough evidence to convince the modern reader that it is historical fact, the medieval reader viewed it as "admissible evidence" (Heffernan 22) of the real events. Zipes also explains, "the marvelous and magical in all their forms were not considered abnormal, and thus all genres of literature that recorded marvelous and supernatural incidents were not judged to be absurd or preposterous" (Zipes 850). Because of this we cannot deny the medieval listeners' belief in a miraculous tale as an hierophany or irruption of the sacred along the Camino de Santiago would have seemed at least plausible in their time.

Conclusion

The practices of the people of Santo Domingo de la Calzada and Barcelos maintain the significance of the miracles and further perpetuate their fame by retelling them to younger generations and outsiders of the community. As towns located along the routes of the Camino, Santo Domingo and Barcelos both have a constant flow of pilgrims on their way to Santiago. As disciples of varying degrees, pilgrims are part of an audience predisposed to repeat miracle tales in which they, now as narrators, cultivate new storytellers. The diffusion of the stories leads to practices such as pilgrim's carrying feathers from the rooster or hen in their caps, which Andrew Borde mentions in 1542: "every pilgreme that goeth or commyth on way to Saynt James in compostel hat a whit feder to set on his hat. The cocke and the hen is kept ether for this intent" (85). While symbolic, this ritual itself embellishes the role of the chickens in the story for all who see it and are curious as to its origin. The feather supports any version of the narrative that

uses the rooster and hen, or the rooster alone, to confirm the accused pilgrim's innocence. Fray Luis de la Vega states that the taking of the feather and the maintaining of the chickens in the cathedral is so important that the building

Está lleno de las plumas de este gallo y gallina, porque los peregrinos que de todas partes pasan por la Ciudad de Santo Domingo, no se tienen por contentos de su peregrinación, ni les parece que la han hecho bien, si no llevan a sus tierras algunas destas plumas. Por cumplir en esto su deuocion se les da a todos los que las piden, vn Capellan que aquella santa yglesia tiene diputado para la Capilla del santo, el qual tiene también a su cuenta las aves que se conservan hasta el dia de oy, de la casta de aquel gallo, y gallina, en que sucedio el milagro. (106; emphasis mine)

Both the live chickens and the *dicho*, “Santo Domingo de la Calzada dónde cantó la gallina después de asada” (“Santo Domingo”) gild the story to authenticate the pilgrim's rescue as an undeniable event while entertaining the reader with the whimsical resurrection of the birds as they confound the judge.

Chapter 2: Confronting the Sacred with the Profane: Berceo and Tirso's Interceding Heroines in "El romero de Santiago" and *La romera de Santiago*

In the many stories that relate to miracles of the Camino de Santiago, the saint as mediator possesses a divine power that surpasses that of the Moor or the magistrates. The stories of "La gallina" and "O Galo" teach a moral lesson through the redemption of the pilgrim. They do not, however, portray a character that is undoubtedly guilty. In "Milagro VIII", however, Berceo presents the pilgrim Guiralt as guilty of fornication and suicide. Additionally, in *La romera de Santiago*, Count Lisuardo commits the grave sin and civic crime of rape. "La gallina," "O Galo," "Milagro VIII," and *La romera* each present a problem that cannot be solved by the pilgrims themselves. In all instances an arbitrator is necessary to forestall danger or interrupt punishment to achieve a metaphorical and literal redemption. In "La gallina" the pilgrim's mother intercedes, in "O Galo" and "Milagro VIII" the Virgin intercedes and in *La romera*, the sister of the King intercedes. While still maintaining Gospel principles of intercession, redemption and forgiveness all relating in some way to the Camino de Santiago, "Milagro VIII" and *La romera* present a more profane, scatological and even secular (in the case of *La romera*) setting for new variations of the stories. "La gallina," "O Galo," Berceo, and Tirso place the fate of the pilgrim in the hands of a female mediator. These stories change the dynamic of the *Codex* miracles, which are generally attributed to Saint James, who almost always intercedes on behalf of a male character. Coffey, Davidson and Dunn explain that "women are only mentioned three times...[none] is a direct beneficiary of a miracle from the saint" (LV). In the case of "Milagro VIII," which Juan Atienza says is an adaptation of miracle XVII of the *Codex* (*Leyendas* 248-249), Berceo transfers the power to intercede from Santiago to the Virgin. Centuries later we see Linda and Doña Sol interceding in the metaphorical miracle of *La romera*. Tirso's use of these heroines as the only salvation for the reprehensible Lisuardo and the Kingdoms of León and

Castile displaces and expands the acceptable limits of the medieval stories to produce a secular miracle.

While their stories differ from those typically portrayed in a saint's hagiographical record, both Berceo and Tirso adapted the miracle tales and popularized them as entertaining works. According to scholars, Berceo wrote "by far the best-known hagiographical works of the period... in four poems [he] recounted the stories of Santo Domingo de Silos, San Millán de la Cogolla, Santa Ori, and the martyrdom of San Lorenzo" (Bleiberg, Ihrle, and Perez 799). There are two elements to the structure of "Milagro VIII" that demonstrate Woman's authority. First, the scatological details of the poem violently contrast with the purity of the Virgin. Second, the role of the Virgin Mary in replacing the angel of Saint James as the mediator between temporal and celestial justice disrupts previous versions of male intercessors. According to David Flory in *Marian Representations in the Miracle Tales of Thirteenth-Century Spain and France*, Berceo's "Milagro VIII," "while presenting many different images of the Mother of God, remains at its core an appeal to grace" (xix) as it portrays the Virgin as the primary authoritative figure. The Virgin interrupts Guiralt's punishment for his sins by acting as a divine judge of the merits of the arguments of the Devil and Saint James. She returns him to life to allow him to serve her and receive a just reward for a life of renewed goodness. In *Institutione Feminae Christianae*, Juan Luis Vives, the renowned sixteenth-century Spanish humanist admonishes women to conform to the example of the Virgin. Hence "Milagro VIII" provides a divine model for the female intercessors in *La romera de Santiago* to follow. While Vives's philosophies may seem misogynistic in the twenty-first century, his model gives an accurate view of the experience of womanhood as seen through masculine eyes during the Spanish Golden Age. Of particular importance for understanding the role of Woman in "Milagro VIII" and *La romera* is Vives's

conflation of earthly women with the model of the Virgin Mary. *Institutione* is a critical work that displays the power of Woman through her grace, a trait that both Berceo and Tirso invoke to bring about “miraculous” redemption in their stories.

Berceo, Tirso and the Camino de Santiago

By the time the *Codex* (1150) was written, the adoration for Saint James and his miracles were well known as the “pilgrimage had become of world-wide significance, for the basilica had been built, the hostels for pilgrims abounded and the road to Santiago was thronged” (Starkie 1). The Camino de Santiago has always served as a nexus for many adaptations of miracles portrayed in poems, short stories, plays, proverbs and even in song. Berceo in particular adapted many miracles as Richard Burkard states in *The Cult of the Virgin in the Milagros of Gonzalo de Berceo: Its Type and Purpose*, “[Berceo] was a popularizer: the principal purpose of the *Milagros* and certain hagiographic poems was to disseminate among his listeners or reader’s knowledge about the person of the saints involved and their miraculous potential” (11-12). Diana Webb explains that during the Middle Ages there were many stories that pilgrims could remember and treasure along the way, often reciting them over and over while walking the trail. For example, concerning music she explains,

If much of what pilgrims heard and played on the road and even at the shrine was the popular music of the time, they would also of course have heard the formal music of liturgy and efforts were made to create a repertoire of sacred song, which pilgrims could carry with them. (157)

Miracle tales such as Berceo’s “Milagro VIII” (and, more obliquely, Tirso’s *La romera*) not only teach a lesson but also serve as entertainment when told or performed. The primary differences between the poem and the *comedia*, and “La gallina” and “O Galo” of the previous chapter is the portrayal of the accused and their intercessors as well as their canonization (“La gallina” and “O Galo”) and non-canonization (“Milagro VIII” and *La romera*) by the Catholic Church.

Although Berceo served the church by writing bibliographical records of saints' lives at the Monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla in La Rioja (the same region where Santo Domingo de la Calzada is located), his primary role as a secular priest was that of notary to the abbot Juan Sánchez (Flory 27). In this capacity, "much of Berceo's writing—while doubtless pious and sincere—had a clear fundraising intention" (Flory 27). In creating a following for his work, Berceo's writing while spiritually motivated is consequently adapted to his target audience through a use of quotidian concepts that not only make the miracle more practical but engaging as well. Burkard maintains that Berceo "adjusted what he had to say to the intellectual capacity and temperament of the audience; the apparent ingeniousness of his poetry corresponds to a need to be effective" (11-12). In comparison to the stories of "La gallina" and "O Galo," Berceo's collection of Marian miracles, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* are the first written collection of miracles entirely devoted to the Virgin Mary in *castellano* using the narrative style that Mount and Cash call "the erudite poetic form of *cuaderna vía*...a form derived from a similar Medieval Latin verse and utilized by the writers of the *mester de clerecía*" (1). "Milagro VIII: El romero de Santiago" displays the poet's attempt in *castellano* to "reach his audience in a style attractive for its themes, images, popular speech, and familiar proverbs" (2). It achieves this by focusing on "grace and forgiveness in teaching," which aligns Berceo with "liberal and advanced sensibility, and at the same time shows him to be both a realist about the vulnerability to temptation of the clergy and parishioners alike and also as a deliberate, sophisticated, and calculating inquisitor of institutions" (Flory 46). The poem is ingenious for its ability to attract audiences by portraying a character just as imperfect as someone from the congregation, one who also needs the intercession of the Virgin Mary.

Maxime Chevalier (1925-2007), a French folklorist and Professor of Spanish Literature whose research focused primarily on Oral Tradition in the Spanish Golden Age, explains that “los españoles cultos de las primeras décadas del siglo XVI, que dieron sus títulos de nobleza a los refranes, a los romances viejos, a la lírica tradicional, también se apasionaron por el relato oral y le dieron una dignidad que antes no tenía, y que a continuación había de perder” (12). She also states that folkloric stories, some of which include “La gallina”, inspired new adaptations from some of the Golden Age’s most prolific playwrights: “[folkloric tales] circulan por las comedia de Lope de Vega, de Tirso de Molina, de Calderón, de Cubillo de Aragón y de Rojas Zorrilla, entre otros. Alimentan la fácil inventativa de los entremesistas cuyas obritas se apoyan con frecuencia en cuentos viejos conocidos de todos los espectadores” (11). Because of this, in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain, the displacement of the well-known event from miraculous history to folklore and literature creates a unique genre of miracle-related works written by some of Spain’s most celebrated writers.

During the Spanish Golden Age, the folkloric stories of the Camino de Santiago were so well known that even Cervantes, a “student of literature” (Thomas 2), used motifs of “La gallina” in *La Gitanilla*, such as unreciprocated desire and false accusations of theft. However, as a displacement from the well-known folktale, there is no resurrection of a rooster or hen. In *La gitanilla*, Cervantes demonstrates that he “was well acquainted with pilgrimages, although he has not been connected with any by his biographers” (2; See also Fradejas Lebrero). This particular part of the story begins after the manner of similar miracles from the *Codex*: “Preciosa, su abuela, Cristina con otras dos gitanillas, Andrés y otro Gitano, se alojaron en una posada de una viuda rica, la cual tenía una hija de dieciocho años de edad, llamada Juana Carducha. Ésta, habiendo visto bailar a los gitanos, se enamoró de Andrés tan fuertemente que decidió tomarle

por marido” (Cervantes 25). Similar to “La gallina” when Andrés does not return her love Juana frames him for the theft of “ricos corales, dos joyas de plata y otros objetos de valor” (Cervantes 26-27) by placing them in his bag. He is subsequently imprisoned and in the end, after he is pardoned, the magistrate marries him to Preciosa (Cervantes 41). Although the events taking place in the *posada* in Murcia do not include any reference to saints or the resurrection of chickens, Thomas argues that Cervantes “certainly knew and utilized” (2) the story much like other Golden Age writers.

Because of Tirso’s interest in the Camino de Santiago and Galicia (Hughes 111, 120), he writes the secular *La romera* as “a play that eulogizes the sacred shrine of Spain’s patron saint while presenting a traditional plot of love entanglements within a religious atmosphere” (Hughes 120-121) to attract and entertain audiences. In her edition of Tirso’s *Obras Completas*, Blanca de los Ríos illuminates Tirso’s desire to write a *comedia* related to the pilgrimage

A Tirso, tan fervientemente católico, tan fraile, tan empapado en hagiografía y en mística, tan español, tan peninsular y enamorado de las regiones Galicia-Portugal, hubo de atraerle e impresionarle vivísamente aspecto tan capital de la vida gallega y española como las Peregrinaciones a Santiago (1232).

As students of the oral folkloric tradition and believers in Christianity, the pilgrimage, saints and their miracles, both Berceo and Tirso utilized their skills as master storytellers to create new “miracles” in a contemporary style for their days.

Crime and Violence in “Milagro VIII” and *La romera de Santiago*

The common element between Berceo’s poem and Tirso’s *comedia* is sexual offense. Whether it be the friar’s fornication or the Count’s rape of a female pilgrim on her return home to Castile, both instances deviate from “La gallina” in that the male pilgrim spurns the advances of the maiden from Santo Domingo. In the beginning of “Milagro VIII,” the poem quickly begins with the friar’s offense of fornication prior to his pilgrimage to Santiago. This

misconduct, committed by one whose religious beliefs have inspired him to venerate Saint James, creates a moral dilemma in which he cannot continue forward in good faith without first doing penance:

Quand a essir ovieron, fizo una nemiga:
 en logar de vigilia yogo con su amiga.
 Non tomó penitencia como la ley prediga,
 metióse al camino con su mala hortiga. (185)

Richard Mount and Annette Cash's comment that the "*mala hortiga*" or "stinging nettle" gives a figurative representation of his sin, and as such is a visualization of "a plant armed with stinging or prickly hairs...the pilgrim sets out with...since he did not repent and free himself of it" (49).

This first transgression committed by Guiralt shows Berceo's use of an offense that puts his very position in the church at risk. "Ante qe fuesse monge era non bien senado/facié a las debeces follía e peccado/como omne soltero qe non es apremiado" (183). From the beginning, the poet creates a visualization of a dishonorable and foolish friar who does not uphold his own convictions. However, in stating, "antes qe fuesse monge" (183) referring to his eventual advancement from friar, by the second verse Berceo signals a happier ending for the soon-to-be pilgrim. Given that Guiralt fails to humble himself, he becomes more susceptible to temptation and less able to recognize right from wrong. This vulnerability mirrors that of the ascetic Paulo from Tirso's more familiar *comedia El condenado por desconfiado*. The Devil appears in disguise as Saint James and orders him to castrate himself and then slit his throat, which Guiralt does (192-93). Nuri Creager explains that by "exposing the body, particularly the genitals, as the *locus* of the individual's conflict between the body and the divine, the spiritual crisis against carnal desire situated in them brings about [Guiralt's] catastrophic transformation" (45). The suicide necessitates the need for the Virgin's intervention as she embodies not only wisdom but also virtue, and as such can justly yet mercifully decide his punishment.

Between stanzas 182 and 193, the foolish friar cannot resolve the predicament on his own, in fact in following “Saint James” in false penance he willingly gives the Devil power over his soul. While this demonstrates a crime followed by condemnation it does not exemplify any Gospel principles; in fact, by ending his life what occurs is the opposite of a miracle, it is self-condemnation. Thus, it necessitates the presence of a divine being who exemplifies Christ’s actions to be able to classify “Milagro VIII” as a miracle. In the poem it is Saint James who protests to the Devil, who defends his disguise and trickery by enumerating Guiralt’s sins:

Guiralt fezo nemiga, matósse con su mano,
Deve seer judgado por de Judas ermano;
Es por todas las guisas nuestor parroquiano;
Non quieras contra nós, Yago seer villano. (201)

In tricking the friar to into false penance, the Devil creates an eternal punishment, from which the pilgrim cannot escape without divine aid. Saint James recognizes the potential validity of the Devil’s arguments, but asserts Guiralt should be excused because of the Devil’s impersonation:

Don traidor parlero,
non vos puet vuestra parla valer un mal dinero:
trayendo la mi voz como falso vozero,
diste consejo malo, matest al mi romero. (203)

Discontent with the deception, Saint James says to the Devil, “Seedme a judizio de la Virgo María, Yo a Ella me clamo en esta pleitesía” (205); the conflict requires a higher judge for resolution. A similar structure can be discerned in *La romera de Santiago*.

The guilt and crime of Count Lisuardo in *La romera de Santiago* represent an extreme displacement from the urtext “The Hanged Pilgrim”. The severity of Lisuardo’s crime against a Noblewoman⁸ carries the penalty of death by hanging to restore the honor of Doña Sol, Doña

⁸ The victim’s name and surname, “Doña Sol de Lara,” evokes the noblest of medieval Iberian nobility as in the daughter of “El Cid” and the “Siete infantes de Lara” poetic cycle. Indeed,

Linda, and Castile, as well as King Ordoño's reputation as *justiciero*, one that respects and strictly adheres to justice. Hughes describes Sol as one of "Tirso's best feminine characters. Noble, chaste, fervently Catholic, she is the prototype of the Spanish noblewoman of her time. The fact that Sol is a model Christian makes Lisuardo's attack on her even more detestable and accents the spiritual contrast between the two principal characters" (122). While imprisoned and awaiting his fate, the Count cannot believe that the people sing his demise in song:

Las guardas que el Conde tiene
 todos eran hijosdalgos;
 treinta le guardan de día
 y de noche treinta y cuatro.
 Ya levantan para el Conde
 en la plaza su cadahalso,
 y para los delincuentes
 hay dos horcas a los lados. (1273)

Now well-known his punishment, the count can only languish in his guilt.

While "La gallina", "O Galo" and "Milagro VIII" portray a pilgrim who commits a crime either falsely accused or guilty, *La romera* portrays a crime committed against a pilgrim. In two of the miracles, women are partly responsible for the accusations against the male pilgrim; in "La gallina," the innkeeper's daughter frames the pilgrim by placing the silver goblet in his bag, and in "Milagro VIII", a maiden willingly fornicates with Guiralt. By inverting and intensifying the crime (i.e., the rape of a pilgrim), Tirso alters the miracle tale; the victim's humility on her pilgrimage—she is dressed as a beggar—makes her vulnerable to the attack. However, Tirso respects virginity and his virgin characters. This echoes Vives's account in *Institutione* of the respect shown towards virgins in war

Very often abducted women were released by arrogant soldiers, solely out of respect for the name of virgin, because, that is, they had declared themselves virgins. For they

Doña Sol's rape by Count Lisuardo echoes the crimes of the Condes de Carrión in the "Afrenta de Corpes in the *Cantar de mio Cid*."

thought it a great crime to violate such a great good for a brief and momentary semblance of pleasure and each one preferred that anyone but himself should be the perpetrator of such a villainous deed. (59)

In not adhering to this code of conduct, Count Lisuardo fails to respect Sol's refusal and also later assaults her. Understanding the respect she deserves as a woman and pilgrim, Doña Sol gives an eloquent and powerful speech calling on the count to uphold her honor, "Yo soy, Conde una mujer de Castilla, noble tanto de visitar el sagrado sepulcro de nuestro Apóstol" (1250). In this sentence she lists many of the victims of Lisuardo's crime: 1) Doña Sol; 2) the Conde's own noble nature; 3) women in general; 4) the Kingdom of Castile; 5) and finally the pilgrimage to Santiago and by extension Santiago himself. Although the count continues to press the pilgrim to give herself up to him she continues to boldly defy his attempts:

De mi mano
esperad, Conde, más castas
hazañas, y reportaos;
no pasen las groserías
a poder llamarse agravios,
que, ¡vive Dios!, que mujer
como soy, sepa dejaros
con desengaños de libre,
con presunciones de ingrato,
con escarmiento de necio
y castigos de villano
Vamos, Urraca. (1251)

Because of her devotion, humble dress and determination to pay homage to Santiago (1249), Sol embodies the model Christian woman. Although previously promised in marriage to Linda, the Count quickly forgets his loving words before his departure when he previously said:

Adiós, Linda; adiós, hermoso
cielo de amor, pues es fuerza
dejaros, que hasta volver
el alma en rehenes queda,
y adiós, que parto sin alma. (1242)

Though in this passage “parto sin alma” implies that Linda is the Count’s soul, the Count’s later actions show him to be “desalmado.” When the Count infamously says after Doña Sol denies his advances, “Loco por tus ojos voy, romera de Santiago” (1252), he commits himself to his violent plans. By repeatedly demanding he respect her honor, Sol shows the importance placed on women’s chastity during the Golden Age. Vives explains “A woman’s only care is chastity... Wherefore, all the more hateful is the crime of those who seek to corrupt this one good that women possess, as if you were set on extinguishing the sight left to a one-eyed person” (5). The value placed on the woman’s chastity or virginity later will be a catalyst in both Lisuardo’s condemnation and redemption. Sol laments her lost virginity: “¡Ay, que me has muerto!” (1256); later as she testifies before the King we learn that Lisuardo also slashed at her face during the rape (1261). This violence breaks from the norm of “La gallina” and “O Galo” by explicitly detailing the victim’s experience, one that leaves no doubt to the count’s lack of honor or respect for women.

Condemnation: Deception and Justice

Although the miracle in *La romera* is only metaphorical, both the poem and the play condemn their male characters for their sins/crimes. In “Milagro VIII” the condemnation of Guiralt begins when the Devil deceives and convinces him to cut off his genitals, slit his throat and finally die excommunicated (48). The Virgin Mary returns him to life to allow him to finish his pilgrimage and make restitution for his transgressions. However, she does not restore his genitals (50), thereby removing what Creager calls “the *locus* of the individual’s conflict between the body and the divine” (45). Guiralt carries the physical reminders of his encounter with the Devil for the rest of his life. The horrific scar on his neck prompts all who see him to proclaim his good fortune in having survived the wound (211). More privately, he remains

neutered; the poet makes clear that it is not up to the Virgin Mary to restore his sexuality.

However, Berceo also answers the (almost inescapable) curiosity of his medieval audience when he says “de toda era sano, todo bien encorado; pora verter su agua fincóli el forado” (213).

Although his violent self-mutilation and suicide appalls the modern reader, “Milagro VIII” is a poem that for Berceo was

...not to him or to his audience in any way vulgar or tasteless. It is no more than the good cleric’s straightforward and graphic account of what took place. Its ‘realism’ set down in the ‘low style’ handed down from antiquity was effective. Nonetheless, as people shuddered at the concept of self-castration and were moved to awe at the miraculous power of Our Lady, they must have been amused at the wording of the story as it was handled by Berceo. (Keller 31-32)

By physically restoring the majority of his body the Virgin does just enough so that the friar can not only finish his trek but also finish his life serving again in the abbey of Cluny. The most important section of the poem from Guiralt’s perspective is stanza 214 in which Guiralt:

Rendió gracias a Dios e a Sancta María,
e al santo apóstolo do va la romería;
cueitóse de andar, trobó la compañía,
avién esti miraclo por solaz cada día.

Keller explains that Berceo uses gruesome concepts in his works with the purpose to “drive home, by descending to his public’s level, the lesson of the preachments he was making in his narrations” (29), however he also adds that the medieval poet “walked a thin line between serious preachment and humor” (29). It should be noted, however, that Berceo attributes his account of the story to Saint Hugo’s own choices in writing the account of the miracle in which Saint Hugo “fizo gran honestat” (218).

Even though Count Lisuardo of *La romera de Santiago* ultimately is not hanged, his sentence of execution is just, because he robs Doña Sol of her virginity, acts against his own noble nature, betrays Doña Linda, King Ordoño and the Kingdoms of León and Castile. The

Count's actions place him in an impossible situation. Doña Sol makes her case to the king by invoking the king's own reputation, "Rey Ordoño de León, a quien llama el Justiciero el hemisferio español si es que te precias de serlo . . ." (1260). King Ordoño cannot alter his integrity to pardon the crime of Lisuardo (a hero of León). After addressing the King, Sol presents herself as a daughter of Don Manrique de Lara of Castile, a pilgrim returning from Santiago before revealing the loss of honor at the hands of her rapist, whom she identifies as Count Lisuardo. News of the rape causes Linda to exclaim, echoing Sol, "¡Muerta soy!" (1261). Linda's lament confirms that the Count's actions disgrace both of the women. However, for King Ordoño to uphold his reputation he must see that all necessary actions are taken to make reparations for Lisuardo's despicable crime. By not giving into the Count's enticements at the time of the offense, Sol demonstrates that she was aware of the danger of men's lustful desires as they attempt to woo women. Vives warns against the seducer: "A lover should be given no more attention than one who casts spells or a poisoner. He approaches smoothly and persuasively and first of all praises the girl, says that he has been captured by her beauty and ends by saying that he is perishing of his uncontrollable love" (163). Lisuardo's desire first to persuade *La romera* instead of immediately taking her by force show that he understands that she also would be responsible if he can convince her to fornicate. As a noblewoman of the kingdom of Castile, Sol is in a position that if she were to give into Lisuardo's attempts the ramifications for her would likely be far more serious. Vives explains the situation in Golden Age Spain by giving two vivid examples:

There were brothers in the Tarragon province of Spain, who when they discovered that their sister, whom they believed to be a virgin, was pregnant, concealing and restraining the sorrow until the time she would give birth, as soon as the new-born child emerged from her womb, under the eyes of the midwife, thrust their swords into her belly and dispatched her. In that same part of Spain, when I was a boy three young girls suffocated a companion of theirs with a large linen cloth when they caught her in an obscene act...It

is not to be marveled that such things are done by parents and close friends and that feelings of affection are suddenly changed into the most violent hatred, since these young women themselves, victims of a detestable and savage love, casting away all filial piety from their hearts, have shown hatred for their parents, brothers, even children, not merely friends and relatives. (61)

Because Sol defiantly refuses Lisuardo's advances she does not suffer a vicious and vengeful death at her family's hands such as those mentioned by Vives; instead she is confident that they will defend her honor. If the king does not enforce the penalty, she promises that her own family will seek justice: "Demás de que tengo deudos en Castilla y en León, que sabrán tomar las armas en defensa de mi honor" (1262). One of these relatives is her cousin, Count Garci-Fernández of Castile who also urges the King to fulfill justice. If not, Garci-Fernández vows that Castile will take up arms to defend Sol's honor.

El nombre de Justiciero
le conviene conservar
si quiere Ordoño reinar;
si no, el castellano acero
verá en su vega desnudo,
y el Ezla argentar las manos
de los fuertes castellanos.

O será Troya León;
que no se ha de persuadir
el Conde Don Lisuardo,
que menos que con la vida satisfice la ofendida
sangre de Lara. (1272)

Had Sol not refused the Count, she very likely would have received a punishment from Castile that would have threatened her very life. However, as a deviation from other fictions in which sex is a theme, Tirso creates a female character whose strength to refuse her attacker and later testify against him allow her to seek justice and ultimately punishment for a crime for which Lisuardo is undeniably guilty. Because of Sol and Linda's innocence and their high social standing, they are in the position to serve as Lisuardo's saviors by offering a change in the

marital strategies of the kingdoms.

Contemplating his fate as he sits alone in his cell, Lisuando ironically vocalizes his affection for Doña Sol, “si tu desdén supiera cuánto más me ha enamorado” before recognizing his need of a miracle, “podría ser que te obligara el milagro” (1273). In the final scene the main characters present themselves at a duel after Linda has assisted Lisuando in escaping from prison. Garci-Fernández, defending Sol’s honor, also takes up arms against Linda of whom he says “no hay duda que ha dado ella libertad al Conde/ a costa de mis agravios/ y asi la reto y la obligo/ viéndome armada en el campo que salga a satisfacerme con las armas en la mano” (1278). The only solution to this predicament appears to be the shedding of blood. However, Linda’s wise wisdom halts the duels:

Deteneos, y pues es
 aquesta banda que traigo
 por los ojos la que dice,
 quiero volverla a su mano
 del Conde, con esta mía
 de esposa, porque en el campo
 defenderla mejor pueda
 del Conde Don Lisuando;
 que pues está declarada
 la nulidad y han estado
 prendas mías en poder
 del de Castilla esperando
 esta elección, lo que he hecho
 será al gusto de mi hermano,
 que si repara en que di
 la mano a Don Lisuando,
 para besar cada día
 la doy a cualquier vasallo.
 Acuda a su obligación,
 como es razón, entre tanto
 que del Conde de Castilla
 soy mujer (1279).

In making this proposal, Linda accommodates both her and Sol’s honor, if the later agrees to marry Lisuando. Her wise intercession opens a space for reconciliation. Garci-Fernández agrees

to the plan, while Lisuando has to humble himself to ask Sol's hand "yo hermosa Sol, si merezco la tuya, digo otro tanto" (1279) and Sol concedes. The women's decision to intercede on behalf of Lisuando is the only way to restore order on the individual and national level, one that ends in marriage between two couples of nobility of León and Castile. King Ordoño is satisfied with the justice of the choice and declares "heroicamente, Linda, el pleito has sentenciado" (1279).

Despite the conventionality of Tirso's ending the play, the women's choices that value forgiveness over vengeance echo, however distantly, the Marian miracles of Berceo.

Redemption: The Final Action of the Miracle

Without the intercession of the Virgin Mary in "Milagro VIII" and Doña Sol and Linda in *La romera de Santiago*, there would be no redemption of the guilty male who would suffer the full consequence for his actions. To be a strong and chaste woman, one who has sufficient grace to save a man from his offenses, Vives says a woman should first and foremost emulate and follow the Virgin, as her life "should be the exemplar not only for virgins to follow but for married women and widows as well" (117). Because of this divine example, the redeeming power Berceo bestows upon the Virgin Mary displays his genius in the poem of the foolish friar. Written centuries before *Institutione*, Berceo's "Milagro VIII" gives a more everyday voice in *Castellano* to Vives's Latin encouragement for women to "look to her [the Virgin Mary] at all times" (119) as she exemplifies divine actions.

Before delivering her wise judgment for Guiralt, the Virgin explains her advocacy for the restoration of his soul to his body:

El enganno qe prisso pro li devié tener,
elli a Santiago cuidó obedecer,
ca tenié qe por esso podrié salvo seer;
mas el engañador lo devié padeçer. (207)

As the embodiment of purity and as the foremost example of a virtuous woman, Berceo's Virgin

Mary possesses compassion greater than the saints who intercede in other hagiographical miracles. In both Berceo's poem and Tirso's *comedia*, the female savior is either the Virgin or one who follows her. In "Milagro VIII" (and *La romera de Santiago*), the interceding character uses "love and abundant grace" (Flory 23) to help teach a lesson of forgiveness that "lies within the spirit and near the heart of the Gospel" (Flory 23). The redemption in *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* displays a compassion that reinvigorates faith and hope for its audience, especially as their protagonists are sinners, many of which are clerics (Flory 29). By using a friar such as Guiralt, Berceo shows that even those in the service of the church can commit sin and be deceived, but his miracle also teaches that the Virgin Mary possesses judgment, wisdom, and grace capable of redeeming even the most deplorable of transgressors.

In *La romera de Santiago*, Linda and Sol each emulate the Virgin Mary, which they accomplish not only by their humble dress and devotion to chastity, but also through their ability to show grace to their offender Lisuando. Linda's and Sol's grace is powerful enough to rescue the Count, to bring about a "miracle or marvelous intervention...to reverse the wheel of fortune" (Zipes 848) of Lisuando. Linda's proposed amorous and political alliances salvage the situation. Doña Sol's agreement to marry Lisuando saves him from certain death and averts a terrible war. Although Tirso does not mention this point, the Camino de Santiago traverses Castile and León; the elision of the rupture between the kingdoms preserves intact the very Camino itself.

Conclusion

Vives defines virginity as the "integrity of the mind, which extends also to the body, an integrity free of all corruption and contamination" (53). The importance of the feminine mediator in the poem and the play cannot be understated. In "Milagro VIII," the Virgin Mary is Guiralt's only hope for redemption. By the Virgin Mary's judgment and mercy, the friar is allowed to

return to life and finish his trek, which he does while giving thanks to Saint James, the Virgin, and God. In *La romera de Santiago*, the problems individual, social, and political require a doubling of female intercessors. In *La romera*, Lisuardo equally owes his life to his savior Sol, whose grace is manifest when she gives herself in marriage to him. Although this seems an incomprehensible turn of events for the victim to marry the rapist, with Sol's promise and the king's approval, she demonstrates a greater power by emulating the example of the Virgin Mary whose pivotal role in miracles allows for "marvelous happenings that could not have occurred without her intervention" (Burke 117).

Thesis Conclusion

In July of 2013, Barcelos citizen Marco Neiva, supported by a group of university students from Lisbon and the Associação de Artesãos de Barcelos, attached an aluminum figurine of the Rooster of Barcelos to a heavy-duty helium weather balloon and sent it into the stratosphere. It attained an altitude in excess of thirty-three thousand meters (over nineteen miles) before the balloon exploded (see figure 2). The rooster survived the fall to earth. Neiva and his team located it with GPS in a small village in Galicia, Spain (i.e., along the Camino de Santiago) (Cerqueira). The figurine's voyage is the latest and greatest displacement from the original miracle of "La gallina" and its even further distant urtext the "Hanged Pilgrim." The *galo* now represents Portugal, but the act of launching it into space sought to increase the economic benefits to Barcelos, just as the Barcelos monument and the birds in the Cathedral of Santo Domingo de la Calzada did in centuries past. Though as Nelson says, in the Middle Ages "the past was valued primarily for what might be learned from it" (27), for the modern day, Camino de Santiago folklore and legend serves as a fountain of nostalgia. Despite its potential economic value to Barcelos, Neiva's project represents a secular version of Eliade's model of hierophany, the irruption, in this case, of a secular trace of the once sacred into a new space. The rooster's trip to the cosmos makes Barcelos qualitatively different. The pilgrim of Barcelos or whoever constructed the monument to the miracle of Barcelos could never have imagined the journey the symbol of the rooster would take, nor could the compilers of the *Codex* miracles have had an inkling of the twenty-first century meaning of the Camino de Santiago to those who travel along it.



Figure 2 Neiva's Galo in space

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