

The magic words: lexicon of the associative field of magic in the medieval cantigas

As palavras mágicas: o léxico do campo associativo da magia
nas cantigas medievais

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.24206/lh.v6i3.35283>

Sandro Marcio Drumond Alves Marengo

Professor de Linguística do Departamento de Letras Vernáculas e do Programa de Pós-graduação em Letras (PPGL) da Universidade Federal de Sergipe (UFS). Professor do Programa de Pós-graduação em Estudos Linguísticos da Universidade Estadual de Feira de Santana (UEFS).

E-mail: sandromarengo@gmail.com

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4658-004X>

Rafael Marques Ferreira Barbosa Magalhães

Doutorando do Programa de Pós-graduação em Língua e Cultura (PPGLinC) da Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA).

E-mail: rmfbmagalhaes@gmail.com

ORCID: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4052-5808>

ABSTRACT

This article investigates the lexicon pertinent to the associative field of magic in the Galician-Portuguese medieval cantigas. Affiliated to a philological perspective, we access the episteme of Galician-Portuguese culture through its lexical repertoire. The *corpus* consists of the edition of the Galician-Portuguese medieval cantigas. We analyzed the cantigas categorized by the subtheme *omen/astrology/ superstitions*, from which it was possible to list the lexicon that names or updates a series of elements that relate to the universe of magic. A glossary, in alphabetical order, was also made, comprising all the occurrences identified in the *corpus*. From this work derive some directions towards the understanding of the construction of the concept of magic in the Middle Ages. We concluded that there was a tendency to demonize the woman and that there was yet no implication of magic as a synonym of bad, but a strong tendency of associating what is magical with failure and decay.

Keywords: Historical Linguistics. Medieval cantigas. Magic. Galician-Portuguese. Lexicon.

RESUMO

Este artigo investiga o léxico pertinente ao campo associativo da magia nas cantigas medievais galego-portuguesas. Filiados a uma perspectiva filológica, acessamos a episteme da cultura galego-portuguesa por meio do seu repertório lexical. O *corpus* foi constituído pela edição das cantigas medievais galego-portuguesas. Analisamos as cantigas categorizadas pelos subtemas Agoiros / astrologia / superstições, a partir dos quais foi possível levantar o léxico que nomina ou atualiza uma série de elementos que dizem respeito ao universo da magia. Foi construído, também, um glossário em ordem alfabética, constante de todas as ocorrências identificadas no *corpus*. A partir desse trabalho, chegamos a alguns direcionamentos no entendimento da construção do conceito de magia na Idade Média. Concluímos que havia uma tendência a demonizar a mulher e que ainda não havia a implicação de magia como sinônimo de mau, mas uma forte tendência a associar o que é mágico ao fracasso e à decadência.

Palavras-chave: Linguística Histórica. Cantigas medievais. Magia. Galego-Português. Léxico.

Introduction¹

The Middle Ages were a period in Western history defined, by the point of view of the 16th Century, as a hiatus in the development of humanity and, in the 17th Century, as a time of barbarism, ignorance and superstition (FRANCO JÚNIOR, 2001, p. 10). It is essential, however, that the contemporary researcher has a critical stance towards these assertions, seeking, on the other hand, to know and interpret the facts that allow us to understand what the Middle Ages meant within their specific context, shedding light on what many still designate as a period of darkness. One of the most controversial issues related to the medieval period is the image of witchcraft. The witch hunt, promoted largely by the inquisitorial institutions, marked Western history with deaths at the stake, in the name of God, to purge the evil represented mainly by the female (GINZBURG, 1990).

According to Pinto (2010), the Medieval Inquisition begins at the end of the 12th Century, in addition to the Crusades, a moment in which a progressive movement to combat manifestations and cults to the devil is established (DELUMEAU, 2009). In face of threats to the survival and sovereignty of Christianity and christian empires, the figure of the heretic emerges, strongly opposed by the medieval Holy Office of the Inquisition. The concept of what it meant to be a heretic in the Middle Ages came from the Code of Canon Law. According to this instrument, those who were baptized in the Catholic Church and who, in some way, denied the truths that the Church professed as revelations from God were considered heretics. In addition to this denial, the individual who questioned or rebelled against the ecclesiastical hierarchy or against the principles of Faith was also considered a heretic. In his *Manual of Inquisitors*, Nicolau Eymerich states that the heretic is one who obstinates in the error of questioning the quality of an individual's faith, of the sacred scriptures or even of the Church itself.

Heretics were the reason for the existence of the Inquisition Court, which aimed at the voracious persecution of crimes of heresy and those who practiced or covered them up. Medieval Galician-Portuguese Cantigas were written in this context of religious persecution:

The Galician-Portuguese troubadour cantigas are one of the richest heritage of the peninsular Middle Ages. Produced during the period, of about 150 years, which generally goes from the end of the 12th century to the middle of the 14th century, the medieval cantigas are historically located at the dawn of Iberian nationalities, being, to a large extent, contemporary with the so-called Christian reconquest, which in fact leaves numerous marks on them. Taking into account the peninsular political geography of the

¹ This article is the result of an expansion of the previously published research with the title *O léxico da magia nas cantigas medievais de agoiros, astrologia e superstições* (MAGALHÃES; MARENGO, 2019).

time, which was characterized by the existence of diverse political entities, often with volatile borders and often in conflict with each other, the geographical and cultural area where Galician-Portuguese troubadour art develops (that is, in Galician-Portuguese language) corresponds, broadly, to the kingdoms of Leon and Galicia, to the kingdom of Portugal, and to the kingdom of Castile (from 1230 unified with Leo). (LOPES *et al.*, 2011, online)².

This work intends to verify the existence of a lexical repertoire relevant to the associative field of magic in medieval cantigas. It is known that the terms *magic*, *hex* and *witchcraft* are controversial and the result of several reflections of an anthropological, cultural and lexicological nature, and their conceptual establishment and, therefore, their lexicographic record, is not consensual. The glossary introduced in this article presents the lexical repertoire linked to the associative fields of omens, astrology and superstitions and subsequently present if the lexical network identified would have lexicographic records that could provide us with subsidies to understand the meanings constructed and circulated during the Middle Ages.

The *cantigas* are poems created to be publicly performed to an audience, accompanied by music. There are three main categories: *cantigas de amor*, a male voice, the poet, which sentimentally sings to the beauty and the quality of his lover, the lady, whom is inaccessible and to the suffering of being incapable of expressing his love; *cantigas de amigo*, a female (the eroticized female body) voice which sings to the discovery of love and the feelings joy longing for the absent lover, sadness and anger; and *cantigas de escárnio e maldizer*, satiric poems in which the poet ostensibly (*cantigas de maldizer*) criticizes someone or subtly uses ambiguous or equivocal language (*cantigas de escárnio*) (LOPES *et al.*, 2011).

In this way, this text is built on the following path: first, the theoretical space of work is located, in which we briefly deal with the philological care used in medieval texts and its importance for diachronic lexical studies. In the sequence, we presented the methodological procedures used for organization, extraction and classification of the lexical data with which we operate in the research. Also in this section we make known the delimited *corpus* and the lexicographic composition criteria for the elaboration of a thematic and selective glossary. Then, we present the making of the glossary,

² Our translation. In the original: “As cantigas trovadorescas galego-portuguesas são um dos patrimónios mais ricos da Idade Média peninsular. Produzidas durante o período, de cerca de 150 anos, que vai, genericamente, de finais do século XII a meados do século XIV, as cantigas medievais situam-se, historicamente, nos alvares das nacionalidades ibéricas, sendo, em grande parte contemporâneas da chamada Reconquista cristã, que nelas deixa, aliás, numerosas marcas. Tendo em conta a geografia política peninsular da época, que se caracterizava pela existência de entidades políticas diversas, muitas vezes com fronteiras voláteis e frequentemente em luta entre si, a área geográfica e cultural onde se desenvolve a arte trovadoresca galego-portuguesa (ou seja, em língua galego-portuguesa) corresponde, latamente, aos reinos de Leão e Galiza, ao reino de Portugal, e ao reino de Castela (a partir de 1230 unificado com Leão).”

a brief qualitative analysis to justify the associative fields defined and conclude the article with some observations about the work performed.

1. Philological approach and the study of the lexicon

Philology is a very old science, whose genesis is usually attributed to the practices developed in the libraries of Alexandria, Nineveh and Pergamum to preserve the senses and ensure the understanding of the texts. Auerbach (1972) attests to the diversity of philological activities, emphasizing the necessarily interdisciplinary character of this science, which can be defined as

[...] a science and discipline dedicated to investigating and defining a literary culture and civilization, ancient or modern, by means of the state of literary texts and language documents, reconstituting its original form and individualizing its linguistic and cultural aspects and characteristics. (TELLES, 2000, p. 94).³

Nietzsche (1869) already warned about the difficulty of defining philology, placing this difficulty in the diversified nature of its own practices which, far from being a disorganized enterprise, reflects its just reason for being: the text. Accessing it, however, requires a series of hermeneutic procedures that enable the philologist to critically understand and describe its constituent elements. Thus, it is possible to explore to the maximum, and rigorously, everything that may be significant for the construction of meanings from the text. It should be noted that

The notion of text understood most widely as a communicative activity is not limited exclusively to written text. Thus, considering that the text is woven through a system of signs called language and that the study of language is the object of Linguistics, the interrelation between philology and linguistics is evident. If the first is primarily the study of texts, the second is dedicated to the analysis of the language that constitutes the text. (TELLES, 2000, p. 90).⁴

³ Our translation. In the original, “[...] uma ciência e disciplina dedicada a indagar e definir uma cultura e uma civilização literária, antiga ou moderna, através do estado dos textos literários e dos documentos de língua, reconstituindo-lhe a forma original e individualizando seus aspectos e suas características lingüísticas e culturais.”

⁴ Our translation. In the original, “A noção de texto compreendida o mais amplamente como atividade comunicativa não se limita exclusivamente ao texto escrito. Deste modo, considerando que o texto é urdido através de um sistema de signos denominado língua e que o estudo da língua é objeto da Lingüística, fica patente a inter-relação entre a filologia e a lingüística. Se a primeira é primordialmente o estudo dos textos, a segunda dedica-se à análise da língua que constitui o texto.”

Knowledge of the language in which the text was woven is essential to access its episteme. Thus, the more chronologically distant the text is located, the more difficult it will be to read it. In this endeavor, evidently, several perspectives are possible and, therefore, a wide spectrum of methodological orientations can be adopted. In this work, we opted for the semantic-lexicological bias, which “[...] constitutes a way of registering the knowledge of the universe⁵” (BIDERMAN, 1998, p. 11), the instance in which values, beliefs and concepts, the forms of thinking, apprehending and categorizing reality will be manifest in the language, since, “[...] due to its first nature of naming, [the lexicon] is semantically coextensive to the culture that supports it and to the reality cut by it⁶.” (KRIEGER, 2010, p. 136).

Lexical studies are intrinsically related to the linguistic diversity of the civilization that uses a language, so the most useful sources for these studies are “[...] historical documents, literary texts and reports in colloquial languages⁷.” (KRIEGER, 2010, p. 135). In addition, it is important to take into account that the lexical repertoire of sources remaining from the past provides a relevant indication of how that culture conceptually constructed certain views of the social bosom that were then expressed in the lexicon of the language in use (MARENGO, 2017; MARENGO; CAMBRAIA, 2016). In this sense, the vocabulary of a text made and circulated in a socio-cultural environment, whether present or past synchrony, not only reflects the individual and shared cognitive constructions by the community, but also points to the way this community maps the world around them (MARENGO, 2016, 2018). As Matoré (1973 [1953]) points out,

In reality, words do not express things, but the awareness that men have of them. For lexicology, social facts have, in effect, the aspect of things, but of things seen, felt, understood by men; our discipline must then aim at the sociological realities of which the vocabulary is the “translation”, at the same time objectively, as independent realities of the individual, and subjectively, in function of the beings that live in a concrete environment, in certain social, economic, aesthetic conditions etc. (MATORÉ, 1973 [1953], p. 43)⁸.

Based on the statement by Matoré (1973 [1953]), we highlight the fundamental role of lexicographic instruments in this context, whose main metalinguistic function is the attempt to

⁵ Our translation. In the original, “[...] constitui uma forma de registrar o conhecimento do universo”.

⁶ Our translation. In the original, “[...] em virtude de sua natureza primeira de nomear, [o léxico] é semanticamente coextensivo à cultura que o suporta e à realidade por ele recortada.”

⁷ Our translation. In the original, “[...] documentos históricos, textos literários e relatos em linguagens coloquiais.”

⁸ Our translation. In the original, “En réalité, les mots n’expriment pas les choses, mais la conscience que les hommes en ont. Pour la lexicologie, les faits sociaux ont en effet l’aspect de choses, mais ce sont des choses vues, senties, comprises par des hommes ; notre discipline devra donc envisager les réalités sociologiques dont le vocabulaire est la “traduction” à la fois objectivement, comme des réalités indépendantes de l’individu, et subjectivement, en fonction d’êtres vivant dans un milieu concret, dans certaines conditions sociales, économiques, esthétiques, etc.”

register the lexical items of a language and their meanings as pointed out by Rey-Debove (1973), the object of a dictionary and a grammar is to describe the natural competence of the ideal user of a language. Therefore, the query to a dictionary will be much more effective, the closer its synchronous domain is to that of the text being studied, because “[...] the lexicon of a language [...] represents the sociocultural heritage of a community. Because of this, it becomes a witness to the history of this community, as well as to all the social norms that govern it” (OLIVEIRA, 2001, p. 109).

2. About the *corpus* and methodological procedures

The *corpus* of this article consists of the 15 texts categorized by the subtheme *omen/ astrology/ superstitions* in the edition of the Galician-Portuguese medieval *cantigas*, available on the website of the Galician-Portuguese Medieval Cantigas <<http://cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt>>, developed by a team of researchers under the coordination of Graça Videira Lopes and Manuel Pedro Ferreira. This choice is based on the technical quality of the support and the established text, as well as in the accessibility of the content available on the internet, in addition to the numerous resources available and the paratextual content that constitutes the edition.

Despite being called a database, the website provides many other features for research:

This database provides, to researchers and the general public, the totality of medieval cantigas present in the Galician-Portuguese songbooks, the respective images of the manuscripts and also the music (whether medieval, or the original contemporary versions or compositions that take as a reference the texts of medieval Cantigas). The base also includes succinct information about all the authors included in it, about the characters and places mentioned in the Cantigas, as well as the “Arte de Trovar”, the small treatise of troubadour poetics that opens the Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional. (LOPES *et al.*, 2011, web).¹⁰

Therefore, the website can be understood as a digital edition, taking into account that its characteristics match the definition of the digital edition by Lose (2011):

⁹ Our translation. In the original, “[...] o léxico de uma língua [...] representa a herança sociocultural de uma comunidade. Em vista disso, torna-se testemunha da própria história dessa comunidade, assim como de todas as normas sociais que a regem”.

¹⁰ Our translation. In the original, “A presente base de dados disponibiliza, aos investigadores e ao público em geral, a totalidade das cantigas medievais presentes nos cancioneiros galego-portugueses, as respectivas imagens dos manuscritos e ainda a música (quer a medieval, quer as versões ou composições originais contemporâneas que tomam como ponto de partida os textos das cantigas medievais). A base inclui ainda informação sucinta sobre todos os autores nela incluídos, sobre as personagens e lugares referidos nas cantigas, bem como a “Arte de Trovar”, o pequeno tratado de poética trovadoresca que abre o Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional.”

digital edition and not merely edition in digital format, turns out to be a type that completely suits Philology that needs not only to study the text, but also the paratext, the information that contextualizes and gives meaning to the edited document. In previous editions, such information came as surroundings, but in the digital edition this informational framework is fully integrated to the text transcribed, thus creating a perfect harmony between the transcription and all the information that was necessary for the philologist to enter that text, and, consequently, perform its function (to present the text reliable) with more confidence and clarity. The surroundings of the text are always fundamental for a good edition and the digital edition allows this dialogue in a natural and sovereign way. The digital edition proves to be complete, since the editor can choose the criteria of any type of transcription that already exists and make this dialogue by means of hyperlinks with its paratext, in addition to the deployment of abbreviations, author's correction movements, in the case of modern text, among other possibilities. In addition, making the text digital is to make its dissemination easier, accessible and comprehensive [...] (LOSE, 2011, p. 78)¹¹

The paratextual content consists of a glossary, explanatory notes for verses, toponymy, anthroponymy, general notes (LOPES *et al.*, 2011), explanations about reading, formal aspects, and it is also possible to make a face-to-face reading, comparing the edited text with the facsimiles.

There are about 1680 Cantigas that are divided between “Cantigas de amor”, “Cantigas de Amigo” and “Cantigas de escárnio e maldizer”, whose authorship can be attributed to approximately 187 troubadours and jograis (LOPES *et al.*, 2011). On the website, the cantigas are thematically inventoried, identified by eleven themes (Historical events; Food; Animals; Literary data; Social/professional groups; Institutions mentioned; Brittany matters; Reason of Satires; Music; Proverbs; Clothing) that are subdivided into countless subthemes.

For the theme *Reason of Satires*, there is the subtheme *Omens/ Astrology / Superstitions*, which contains fifteen Cantigas, namely (with their respective authorship and numbered so that they can be referred to later in a simplified way):

¹¹ Our translation. In the original, “edição digital e não edição meramente em formato digital, mostra-se um tipo completamente adequado à Filologia que precisa não somente trabalhar o texto, mas também o paratexto, as informações que contextualizam e dão sentido ao documento editado. Nas edições anteriores tais informações vinham como arredores, mas na edição digital esse arcabouço informacional está totalmente integrado ao texto transcrito, criando assim uma sintonia perfeita entre a transcrição e todas as informações que foram necessárias para que o filólogo adentrasse esse texto, e, conseqüentemente, desempenhasse sua função (de trazer o texto fidedigno) com mais confiança e clareza. O entorno do texto é sempre fundamental para uma boa edição e a edição digital possibilita esse diálogo de forma natural e soberana. A edição digital mostra-se completa, pois o editor pode escolher os critérios de qualquer tipo de transcrição já existente e fazer dialogar isso através de hiperlinks com seu paratexto, além de desdobramento de abreviaturas, movimentos de correção do autor, em caso de texto moderno, entre outras possibilidades. Além disso, tornar o texto digital é possibilitar sua divulgação de forma mais fácil, acessível e abrangente [...]”

- (1) Com'aveo a Merlim de morrer, by Estêvão da Guarda;
- (2) Direi-vos eu d'um ric'home, by Afonso X;
- (3) Dom Pero Núñez era em Cornado, by João Airas de Santiago;
- (4) Já Martim Vaásquez da astrologia, by Estêvão da Guarda;
- (5) Maria Balteira, que se queria, by Pedro Amigo de Sevilha;
- (6) Martim Vásquez, noutro dia, by Pedro, conde de Barcelos;
- (7) Meestre Nicolás, a meu cuidar, by Afonso Anes do Cotom;
- (8) Ora é já Martim Vaásquez certo, by Estêvão da Guarda;
- (9) Os que dizem que veem bem e mal, by João Airas de Santiago;
- (10) Pedr'Amigo, quero de vós saber, by Vasco Peres Pardal, Pedro Amigo de Sevilha;
- (11) Pois que Dom Gómez Cura querria, by Airas Peres Vuitorom;
- (12) Quando chamam Joan'Airas reedor, bem cuid'eu logo, by João Airas de Santiago;
- (13) Sedia la fremosa seu sirgo torcendo, by Estevão Coelho;
- (14) U, com Dom Beeito, aos preitos veerom, by João Airas de Santiago;
- (15) Ûa dona, nom dig'eu qual, by João Airas de Santiago.

An exhaustive reading of the cantigas was made, supported by references on the topic being discussed, as well as the paratextual resources available on the cantigas website and other references on the synchrony in question. From reading, using the computational component TermoStat Web 3.0, we identify the lexical items that name or update information about a) who practices magic; b) magic practices; c) magical phenomena, their causes and effects; d) animals used in magic practices (birds); e) instruments and ingredients used in magic practices; f) forms of magic and magical knowledge, g) supernatural beings. Only cantiga number 12 was not productive for the survey and, therefore, was discarded in our study.

We chose to present the survey carried out in the form of a selective and partial glossary. By partial glossary we mean the one that selects the words that will compose the nomenclature. The concept of a selective glossary, on the other hand, is extracted from Mattos e Silva (2006, p. 46), which defines it as one in which “[...] the editors choose in their entries the items they consider to be of interest to the history of the language¹²”. Thus, we adopted the following criteria for preparing the glossary:

- (a) The entries were organized in alphabetical order;
- (b) The entries were presented in capital letters, in bold, followed by the indication, in parentheses, separated by a space, of the grammatical class they play in the text, always in lower case;
- (c) Verb entries were made by the infinitive; name and noun entries were made in the most productive way from the survey. The least productive forms were presented after all other information in the entry, in lower and bold letters, separated by periods;
- (d) Compound lexical items were indicated in simplified form as expressions;
- (e) After the grammatical class, the definition of the lexical item was presented in the context, separated by a space. When possible, the meaning was extracted from the glossary of the Cantigas Medievais Galego-Portuguesas website, with the concept being introduced by the word “glossary” followed by “:”;
- (f) When the definitions contained in the glossary were not used, the possible meanings were reconstructed by consulting the dictionaries by Bluteau, Moraes Silva, Silva Pinto and Machado Filho. Rebuilds started with the label [rec.]. All definitions were translated into English;
- (g) Lexical items with different meanings were new entries;
- (h) Contextual examples were presented in italics, after definition, separated by a period. The examples were kept in the original language of the cantigas;
- (i) The names of birds or celestial bodies were discarded.

¹² Our translation. In the original, “[...] os editores escolhem nos seus verbetes os itens que julgam de interesse para a história da língua”.

3. Glossary

AGOIRADOR (masculine noun) [rec.] Person who has knowledge of omen, the magical use of birds. [...] *e dê o corvo ao agoirador. Sabedor d'agoir'e d'aves.*

AGOIRO (noun) [rec.] Divinatory practice that uses birds to predict fortune and the future. Signs obtained through that practice [...] *e o agüiro sol el bem catar, ca muitas vezes l'houv'afaçanhado. Aguiraria. Agoiraria. Aguiro. Dizer das aves. Ver nas aves.*

ALEGORIA D'AGOIRO (expression) Glossary: Art, science of agoiros. [...] *sab'el tod'alegoria d'agoiro.*

AOLHAR (verb) [rec.] Throw evil eye, bewitch. Glossary: to throw evil eye. [...] *em tal que o nom aolhasse quen'o visse e o catasse.*

BOAS AVES (expression) Domestic birds¹³, unsuitable for owlers. [...] *querria com boas aves ante prender mal ca bem com outras [...].*

CONSINAR (verb) Glossary: Assign a sign. Divine. [...] *se houuess'el ùa cornelh'atal qual x'a Dom Gómez consinaria!*

CORVEJAR (verb) Glossary: Singing of a bird (crow), type of owl. [...] *e corvej'aqui sempr'o mais do dia*

CUSPIRAM AS DONAS (expression) [rec.] Spitting on the floor is a way to foretell an unlucky marriage. [...] *aos preitos veerom, cuspirom as donas e assi disserom [...].*

DEPARTIR (verb) [rec.] Interpret agendas. [...] *mais este nom sei eu bem departir.*

DIABO (masculine noun) [rec.] supernatural creature to whom all that is bad and malevolent is attributed. [...] *foss'el pois caer eno infern'e ficass'em poder do diabo [...].*

ESCANTAR (verb) Glossary: hide from the evil eye. [...] *por ùa velha enviou, que o veesse escantar d'olho mao de manejar.*

¹³ Information obtained from a note on the website.

ESTORMUDOS (masculine noun) Glossary: Sneezing, August sign. [...] *que estornudos soedes d'haver ?*

ESTROLOGIA (feminine noun) [rec.] Practice of divination by means of celestial bodies. *Já Martim Vaasques da estrologia perdeu feúza, polo grand'engano dos planetas. Astrologia. Estrolomia. Estrelosia. See per astrologia. See na estrela. See na lûa.*

ESTRÓLOGO (masculine noun) [rec.] Practitioner of astrology. *Estas cantigas de cima forom feitas a um jogar que se prezava d'estrólogo.*

GUISAR (verb) Glossary: Provide, assign. [...] *mais Saturno lha guisou de tal renda.*

INFERNO (masculine noun) [rec.] Supernatural domain, ruled by the devil. [...] *foss'el pois caer eno infern'e ficass'em poder do diabo [...].*

MERLIM (masculine noun) [rec.] Famous magician character from the cavalry romances. *Com'aveo a Merlim de morrer.*

MORT'ESTRÃIA (expression) [rec.] Death due to unknown cause, probably attributed to supernatural reasons. [...] *a morrer convém de mort'estrãia que há padecer.*

OFERENDA (noun) [rec.] Offering to supernatural beings. [...] *u nom há pam nem vinho d'oferenda.*

OLHO MAO (expression) Glossary: Evil eye. [...] *por ùa velha enviou, que o veesse escantar d'olho mau de manejar.*

PREITO (masculine noun) Glossary: Pact, combination. [...] *aos preitos veerom, cuspirom as donas e assi disserom [...].*

SABER (verb) [rec.] Knowledge of Science or magical things. *Com'aveo a Merlim de morrer per seu gram saber que el foi mostrar a tal molher.*

PODER DE SOLTAR (expression) Glossary: Power to release from excommunication or any magical art. *mais nom havia poder de soltar.*

VELHA¹⁴ (feminine noun) [rec.] Elderly woman capable of removing or reversing witchcraft and evil eye. [...] *por ãa velha enviou, que o veesse escantar d'olho mao de manejar.*

VER BEM E MAL (expression) [rec.] Predict luck. *Os que dizem que veem bem e mal [...].*

4. Lexicon of the associative field

To proceed with an analysis of the lexicon of the associative field, firstly, we make use of technological advances that have produced, in recent years, many tools that assist researchers in carrying out data analysis. In this work, we operate with the qualitative analysis software QSR Nvivo, version 12. This software of Australian origin was developed by the University of La Trobe and presents a basic principle the viability of encoding and categorizing textual information. According to the description of its own developer, this software supports the application of qualitative research methods, as it helps to organize, analyze and find information in unstructured data, for example, in literary texts, such as the cantigas that are the *corpus* in this work.

Although these computational tools are important facilitators in the data analytical process, it is important to make it clear that, in our understanding, they do not replace the researcher in the task of interpreting the results and applying theories. The software, therefore, only helps to increase the speed for organizing text data (GIBBS, 2014). To run the data in NVIVO12, we import the cantigas selected on the site <<http://cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt>> using the *Ncapture* function. Then, we activated the tool for the word frequency of the tool and selected *word cloud* option to have a more spatial view of how the total *corpus* articulated the lexicon. The result can be seen in figure 1.

¹⁴ Information obtained from a footnote on the *site*: known as sage witch, practitioner of witchcraft.

(CARDINI, 1996) ". If, culturally, the woman is "naturally" associated with the practice of magic, she will also be, preferably, the demonic agent by nature.

We see, in the presented lexicon, that "old woman" and "mistress" name women who practice magic, in contrast, the designations for the man who also practices, are derived from the denomination of the practice, without any type of association between the male gender and magic. But, if the man can be "Sabedor d'agoiro" (omens sage), the female witchcraft practitioner is the "velha" (old woman). Other negative and mundane approaches to the feminine are expressed by: *balteira* (woman who danced during jogral verses), *cura* (which refers the image of women to witchcraft) and *coita* (pain).

Furthermore, in addition to the clear link to the associative field of omen and superstition, knowledge of the elements of astrology, one of the expressed representations of medieval scientific knowledge, is visible in the word cloud: *saber* (knowledge), *planetas* (planets) and *livros* (books). Thus, through the simple generation of a word cloud, with the Nvivo12 software, we can verify that the associative fields chosen are quite representative of our *corpus*.

Conclusion

The present work, far from claiming any pretension of definition, proposes an exploratory investigation. Based on the result obtained, it is possible to make some considerations that will guide the next steps in any study to be developed on this aspect of the medieval lexicon manifested in the cantigas.

Initially, one cannot fail to take into account that it is a literary text, notably cantigas of mockery and cursing, which establishes a guideline in terms of valuing these elements, which means that the verisimilitude relations between literature and reality are fertile ground for the observation of the processes of meaning and construction of meaning. At the language level, it can be said that the lexicon of literary texts such as cantigas, of great circulation and permeability, show concepts that are shared by a vast and diverse audience, as they convey them.

Another interesting piece of information is the occurrence of *sneezing* and its derivatives. It is originally a term derived from the Christian culture, but has an expanded value and acquires a meaning that is difficult to define, but necessarily linked to "comprehensive powers, from the domain of the magical arts (LOPES et. al., 2011)".

In the cantigas, too little is the magic used for evil, except for the "evil eye" and despite the generalized failures of those who use divinatory methods, there is no implication like that presented

by the equation presented by Delumeau (2009 [1978], p. 525) or the implicit finding in Pierucci (2001, p. 76-80) that every magical phenomenon is evil.

Finally, one can mention the idea present in both Delumeau (2009 [1978]) and Cardini (1996), that, until a certain moment, magic and pagan practices were disseminated among the people, whom were not yet preserved from non-christian beliefs. The divinatory practices mentioned in the cantigas, for example, astrology and augury, are practices that are based on natural elements and do not require elaborate rituals or specific equipment, on the contrary, the birds (several, of various types and species) and the stars are the magic elements, in short, elements of nature. Magic is practiced, even, by the clergy, and it is not, even in that period, the target of generalized persecution, on the contrary, it is common and accepted, although, in the cantigas, its practitioners are always portrayed as failures or doubtful people.

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