

Alfonso X El Sabio

1221-1284

Las Cantigas de Santa María

Vol. II

Códice Rico, Ms. T-I-1

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RESUMEN EN CASTELLANO

ALFONSO X, COLECCIONISTA DE MILAGROS

EL ESTUDIO de las fuentes de las *Cantigas de Santa María* se inserta en la secuencia de colección, composición y compilación que rige el proyecto regio del cancionero marial. En éste, en lugar de asistir a una consulta pasiva de fuentes, hay una búsqueda consciente de narrativas apropiadas a la estructura de las diferentes compilaciones manuscritas en el marco de un proyecto en evolución.

En la concepción inicial del cancionero, representado por el *Códice de Toledo*, el coleccionismo se enfoca a los *marialia* conocidos, latinos y vernáculos, entre los cuales los *Miracles de Nostre Dame* de Gautier de Coinci y el *Speculum historiale* de Vincent de Beauvais destacan especialmente. Las fuentes se exploran en función de su contenido narrativo, y en función de la compilación a la que serán destinados, interviniendo en el texto solamente como “intertexto”. En ocasiones los compositores de las narraciones, escritas y gráficas, emplean múltiples y diversas fuentes.

La extensión del proyecto inicial a la magna compilación de los *Códices de las Historias* implica una reordenación del núcleo original, y un coleccionismo más amplio centrado en santuarios hispánicos; la técnica de composición utilizada es propia de la que se documenta en el desarrollo hagiográfico de las colecciones de milagros de santuarios: recoger milagros locales y asociar al lugar narrativas genéricas o de otra proveniencia. Entre muchos santuarios españoles y portugueses, el santuario de Salas domina la parte final del *Códice Rico*, así como el del Puerto de Santa María ocupa la parte final del *Códice de los Músicos*.

En las *Cantigas de Santa María*, Alfonso X prima la compilación sobre los otros componentes, dedicando a la colección y a la composición un papel accesorio. Las referencias a los procesos de colección y composición dentro del texto de las *Cantigas*, que pueden implicar la consulta por parte del rey poeta de colecciones escritas o tradiciones orales de santuarios locales, se deben interpretar como una de las convenciones del género miraculístico. En este proceso recolector el rey empleó tanto a los clérigos especializados en esta materia, como a contactos personales y familiares.



THE *CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA* AS MIRACLE COLLECTION

THE *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (CSM) are one of the largest and most complex collections of miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Middle Ages.¹ The 353 miracle narratives recorded in the four manuscripts are drawn from a vast range of separate sources:² like the Alfonsine historical compilations they represent

the work of a highly organised team of scholars and scribes, operating inside a clearly defined project. To understand the origins of the miracle narratives, and the differences between the *CSM* and other miracle collections, we must locate them in the overall design of the project.

The *CSM miragres* are not just copies or paraphrases of existing narratives (as is the case in many Latin collections of miracles). In the generation of *CSM* narratives we must distinguish three distinct phases –collection, composition, and compilation.³ Collection is the active process of selection and importation of narratives to be used, including translation and summary, and not simply a passive reception of pre-existing material; composition is the creation of versified texts and visual narratives based on the collected narratives; and compilation is the combination and sequencing of texts in the structured manuscripts which are the ultimate product of the project. A literary representation of the separation of the collection and composition processes is given in cantiga 284, which presents the poet king as collector-in-chief, who locates miracles, commands them to be transcribed or translated, and then himself composes the poetic text.

1. BÉTÉROUS 1984, chapter 15. In preparation of this text I am indebted to the work of Deirdre Jackson and David Barnett, Research Assistants on the Oxford *Cantigas de Santa Maria* Database (<http://csm.mml.ox.ac.uk>), and to David Barnett for the sources table.

2. The conventional sigla for the manuscripts are: **E** = Ms. b-I-2, RBME (*Códice de los Músicos*); **T** = Ms. T-I-1, RBME (*Códice Rico*); **F** = Ms. Banco Rari, 20, BNCF (**T** and **F** are often collectively referred to as the *Códices de las Historias*); and **To** = Ms. 10069, BNE.

3. PARKINSON y JACKSON 2006.

E daquest' un miragre
 mui fremoso direi
 que fez Santa Maria,
 per com' escrit' achei
 en un livr', e d' ontr' outros
 traladar-o mandei
 e un cantar en fige
 segund' esta razon.

Cantiga 284, st. 1; *Cantigas* 1986-1989, III, p. 61.

Each phase has its own internal dynamic. Collection is governed by a policy, as is found in the tradition of construction of miracle corpora at individual shrines, and includes the processes of translation and summarisation by which the narratives were made available to the composers; composition includes versification, dramatisation and visual narrative, the identification of a moral as the *razom* in the refrain, the rhyme scheme and metre; compilation includes the production of rubrics, indexes, captions, numbering, and all the organisational elements combined on the manuscript page (Table 1 gives a flowchart for the different stages of a production of a complete page in the *Códices de las Historias*). Compilation could also be said to govern the filing of composed but not yet compiled poems and music in the archive which is assumed to have supported the ongoing project.⁴ The three phases interpenetrate with one another, in that both collection and composition ultimately serve the purposes of compilation. The addition in the *Códices de las Historias* (T and F) of graphic narratives to the textual narratives previously composed and either compiled in the Toledo manuscript (To) or archived for future use represents a second stage of composition. In this respect the CSM are probably distinct from other comparable *marialia*: the Latin *marialia* focused on collection, vernacular collections such as Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* and Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* focused on composition, but the evolution of the CSM project is ultimately driven by compilation, and the evolution of the project is to be found in the sequence of compilations.⁵

The initial form of the CSM is a limited, highly structured sequence of a hundred Marian songs, as represented in To. The conceptual and structural distinction between the lyrical or paraliturgical *loores* and the narrative *miragres* (perhaps based on the less formalized insertion of lyrics by Gautier de Coinci) is already present in this first compilation: the first poem, the tenth poem, and each subsequent tenth poem is a *loore*. A prologue explaining the king's purpose precedes the hundred CSM, and a dedicatory epilogue follows it. The hundred poems are structured as two blocks of fifty, suggesting the analogue with the psalms implicit in Gil de Zamora's reference to the psalmist, "more quoque davitico etiam [ad] preconiam virginis gloriose multas et perpulchras composuit cantilenas".⁶

4. FILGUEIRA 1979 (2), p. 47: "Se escribieron en rótulos sueltos. Estos pergaminos se archivarían y serían luego transcrito en los códices, procurando mas bien la variedad y el contraste". See also PARKINSON 2007.

5. Berceo's collection of 25 verse narratives were written in the mid-13th century (*Milagros de Nuestra Señora* 1997); de Coinci's much more extensive collection of 58 miracle stories, also in verse, was completed between 1218 and 1231 (*Les Miracles de Nostre Dame* 1955-1970).

6. WULSTAN 2000, p. 169.

STAGES IN COMPILATION

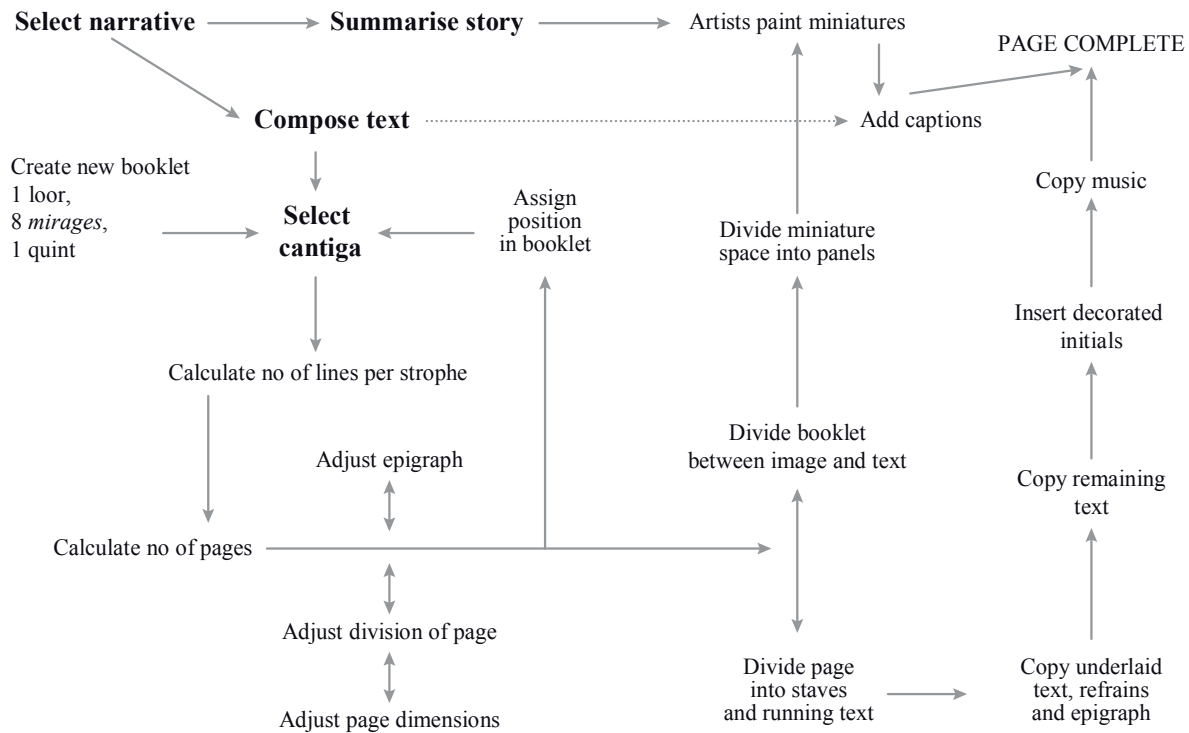


Table 1: stages of a production of a complete page in the *Códices de las Historias*.

The next stage of the project entailed not only a substantial expansion of the number of poems but a complete revision of the structure of the compilation, harnessed to the explicit decorative scheme of the *Códice Rico* (T) in which each poem had to be laid out on a complete page or pages, and the middle poem of each decade was illustrated on two pages. Long poems suitable for deployment as quints were promoted in the order, and poems too short for full page layout would have been recomposed to give a longer piece which was easier to fit into the new page dimensions.⁷

The *Códice Rico*, repeated as the first two hundred poems in the *Códice de los Músicos* (E), represents this new structure, with the Florence manuscript (F) as its complement or continuation. Compilation becomes recompilation, as pieces previously deployed in one configuration in T are redeployed according to the new scheme, and additional poems are created or taken from the archive to fill the positions of the new structure. Table 2 documents the reordering. As a result of this reorganisation, some clusters of poems indicating a common origin were dispersed (notably the sequence of Soissons miracles moved from T_o 44-49 to T 41, 106, 101, 61, 81, and 62; two Laon narratives separated from T_o 92 and 95 to T 35 and E 362). The second half of E represents a separate recompilation of the poems collected for the *Códice de las Historias*, in which the compilation plan intended for F breaks down; there is no new collection policy, except for the inclusion of the *Cancioneiro de Santa Maria do Porto* as the final nucleus.⁸

7. See figure 2 in PARKINSON y JACKSON 2006, p. 169. PARKINSON 2007 suggests that cantiga 113 was recomposed from four to six strophes for this reason.

8. MONTROYA 2006 (2).

The reordering of To																													
a) Loores from To to T																													
To	10	20	30	40	60	70	90	80																					
T	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100																			
b) Quints from To to T																													
To	33	19	38	92	83	86	88	99			81	55	97																
T	5	15	25	35	45	55	65	75	85	95	105	115	125																
c) Relocation of unused potential quints																													
To	7	12	17	26																									
T	17	16	24	21																									
d) Problematic cantigas removed from the main sequence of To																													
To	21	28	31	42	45	46	48	50	53	74	76	77	79	84	100														
T	87	86	94	79	106	101	81	--	78	(255)	--	132	--	(317)	--														
e) Regular passage of the remaining poems from To order to T order (location of quints and looores marked by Q and L)																													
To	1-4	5-6	8-9	11	13-15	16	18	22-23	24-25	27	29	32	34-6	37	39	41	43	44	57	56	58								
T	1-4	Q	6-7	8-9	L	11	12-14	Q	18	19	L	22-23	Q	26-27	28	29	L	31	32-4	Q	36	37	38	39	L	41	42-43	44	Q
To	59	61-63	64	66	67	69	71-73	75	47	49	51-52																		
T	46	47-49	L	51	52	53	54	Q	56-58	59	L	61	62	63-64															
f) Reorderings from To to T (problematic cantigas are italicised)																													
To	78	65	68	54	91	89	87	53	42	48	98	28	21	82	85	31	94	46	93	96	45	77							
T	Q	66	67	68	69	L	71	73	74	Q	78	79	L	81	84	Q	86	87	L	91	92	94	Q	98	101	103	104	106	132

Table 2. The reordering of To (from PARKINSON y JACKSON 2006)

THE PRODUCTION OF MIRACLE STORIES

The 11th and 12th centuries were periods of intense activity in hagiography in general and Marian hagiography in particular. At the local level miracle collections were compiled as part of the systematic promotion of the cult of individual saints and the development of shrines as places of pilgrimage.⁹ At the higher level, miracles of individual saints, particularly Mary, were collected into encyclopaedic volumes, for wide diffusion and for use in sermons. As a later development, in the final decades of the 12th and throughout the 13th century, we find vernacular works, typically in verse, which use these miracle stories as *exempla* to develop a meta-narrative of saintliness and devotion, and in which the poet's voice comes to the fore (Adgar's *Gracial*, Gonzalo de Berceo, Gautier de Coinci, Alfonso X).¹⁰

9. WARD 1982 y MONTROYA 1981.

10. For Adgar's collection of 41 narratives, see *Le Gracial* 1982.

In the process of miracle creation, documented or imagined events become part of the hagiographical tradition, using combinations of elements from what Signori labels the “miracle kitchen”.¹¹ The key elements of an effective miracle –an identifiable place and person, a documented problem and cure– are all manipulated by those for whom the promotion of devotion and local cults outweighed modern considerations of evidentiality. Miracles of a certain type are associated with individual shrines (in the *CSM*, the healing at Salas and Terena), and with the construction of new churches (Castrogeriz, Santa Maria do Porto).

The *mariale* tradition is a particular branch of this activity associated with the cult of the Virgin Mary, and the proliferation of shrines dedicated to her.¹² Recompilation of selected miracles of the Virgin, often recomposed or translated, and frequently assigned to many different shrines, was common practice. Well-known nuclei of miracles became established as essential elements in any collection, to be supplemented by material of more local interest.¹³ References in 13th-century collections to a *mariale magnum* have suggested the existence of a grand encyclopaedic collection of miracles of the Virgin, though the collection identified as this source, Ms. Lat 3177, BNF, has less than a hundred items.¹⁴ No early source approaches the scale of the *CSM*. Fidalgo suggests that one of Alfonso’s aims was encyclopaedism, “A mesma intención compilatória que incitaria ó Rei Sabio á composición da meirande parte da súa obra, empurríao tamen á recompilación da maior cantidade posible de material para a construción das *Cantigas de Santa María*”,¹⁵ but his aim was clearly size and numerological significance rather than completeness.

THE TOLEDO COMPILATION

The Toledo compilation (**To**) draws heavily on Latin narratives from the *mariale* tradition, as will be clear from Table 3, which shows the occurrence of these miracle stories in a wide range of Latin and vernacular collections.¹⁶ The narratives are primarily drawn from universal collections, such as the supposed *Mariale magnum*, or its extended copies in manuscripts such as Ms. 185, Vendôme, Bibliothèque Publique or Ms. Additional 15723, BL, or more probably the Iberian branches Ms. 110, BNE, and Ms. Alcobacense 149, BNP, identified as the probable source of Gonzalo de Berceo.¹⁷

11. SIGNORI 1996; WARD 1982.

12. RUBIN 2009.

13. For example, MUSSAFIA 1886-1898 identifies three such clusters: the “Elements Series” (a group of four or more found at the beginning of many primitive collections), “HM” (a run of seventeen stories beginning with Hildefonsus and ending with Murielidis), and “TS” (another run of seventeen from Toledo to Leofric). See also SOUTHERN 1958.

14. Many of the miracles in Vincent de Beauvais’s *Speculum Historiale* are prefaced “ex mariali magno”, usually translated as “from the Mariale Magnum”. BARRÉ 1966 argues for Ms. Lat 3177, BNF, but MARCHAND 2004, translating the phrase as “from a large *mariale*”, sees no more than a generic reference to one or other substantial collection.

15. FIDALGO 2002, p. 34.

16. For more extensive lists of analogues and possible sources for individual cantigas, see *Cantigas* 1889; FILGUEIRA 1979 (2); FIDALGO 2002, pp. 37-45; and The Oxford *Cantigas de Santa Maria* Database (<http://csm.mml.ox.ac.uk>).

17. The Vendôme collection of 65 stories (ISNARD 1888) was compiled in the early to mid 13th century, probably in a Cistercian monastery. The “Madrid *Mariale*”, Ms. 110, BNE, has 47 stories followed by a version of the Farsitus collection concerning the shrine at Soissons (MONTOLYA 1981), and the “Lisbon *Mariale*”, Ms. Alc. 149, BNP, has 49 miracles as well as 26 of the Soissons tales (NASCIMENTO 1979).

Individual Latin compilations which may have been consulted include John of Garland's *Stella Maris*,¹⁸ a compilation of very brief summaries, Vincent de Beauvais's *Speculum historiale*,¹⁹ itself taking much material from the (or a) *mariale magnum*, of which a copy was owned Alfonso and used by Gil de Zamora,²⁰ or Caesarius of Heisterbach's *Dialogus Miraculorum*.²¹

A closer look at the contents of the **To** collection shows that the distribution of local miracles is uneven. In the first decade, all nine *miragres* originate in such collections. In the next two decades we find fifteen universal miracles and three outsiders (including the Spanish miracle of the silkworms [**To** 16] and the miracle of the rescue of a *lavrador* [**To** 22] attributed to Rocamadour); in the next decade two miracles from Salas (31, 32) precede sixteen from universal collections, including a sequence of six from Soissons. The midpoint of the collection is marked with a sequence of four Hispanic miracles (**To** 51-54), including tales from St Esteban de Gormaz, Aragon, and Toledo, followed closely by two more Salas miracles (56 and 58), so that only three of the sixth decade are universal. The seventh decade has seven universal miracles and two local (from Montserrat), a proportion repeated in the next two decades, where fifteen of the eighteen miracles are universal and only three local (72 is from Montserrat, 84 is set in Galicia, and no location is mentioned in 85). In the final decade, five universal miracles are matched by five new ones (including the Eucharistic miracle of **To** 96 set in Galicia). **To** contains an appendix of sixteen poems of which fourteen are *miragres* presumably composed with or shortly after the main body,²² which include seven international tales balanced by seven new ones, including the tale of Merlin's pact with the Virgin (**To** Appendix III = cantiga 108), two from Cañete and one each from Elche and Andalusia.

THE EXPANSION OF THE FIRST COLLECTION: LOCAL SHRINES

In the expansion of the initial nucleus to the 200 cantigas of **T**, we find seven new compositions inserted into the first hundred, five from universal sources (76, 85 [an English tale], 93 [another version of the healing milk of the Virgin], 96 and 99), and two local miracles set in Lugo (77) and Portugal (95), the latter probably taken from Caesarius. The trickle of Salas miracles begun in **To** with 43 (**To** 56), 44 (**To** 58), 109, 114, 118 and 129, leads into a substantial cluster dominating the 17th and 18th decades: 161, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 171, 172, 172, 176, 177, 178, 179 and 189, before drying up in the second volume (247 and 408 [**F** 14]). It is notable that none of the Salas stories is extensive enough to be used as a quint, and that cantigas 161-168 are a continuous block

18. Written in the mid-13th century, probably as a school book (WILSON 1946).

19. TARAYRE 1999.

20. DAUMET 1906, p. 90 y SALVADOR MARTÍNEZ 2003, pp. 617-618, transcribe Alfonso's second will, leaving "los cuatro libros que llaman Espejo Historial" to Seville Cathedral; RUBIO 1985, p. 550, assumes that the reference to the title in Spanish implies a translation.

21. FERREIRO 1971. The seventh book of Heisterbach's *Dialogus* is dedicated to the Virgin. It takes the form a question and answer session between a monk and a novice to whom he explains a series of *exempla* and miracle tales (*Dialogus Miraculorum* 1851).

22. **To** Appendix I (cantiga 406) is the May song, rejected as not fitting into any category (SCHAFFER 2001), another is midway between *loor* and *miragre* (Appendix X, cantiga 279: "Santa Maria valed' ai Sennor").

only interrupted by 162 taken from the Appendix of **To** (VI) and the necessary quint, cantiga 165. This suggests that local sources were typically short narratives, not lending themselves to the expansion needed to occupy a quint position.

Another nucleus of stories comes from Rocamadour (147, 157, 158, and 159) and there are isolated miracles set in Elche (126, 133), Salamanca (116), Segovia (107), Montserrat (113), Jerez (143), Murcia (169), Chincolla (185), Faro (183) and Terena (197, 198, and 199). The first examples of miracles of the Royal Family appear (an Infanta is healed in 122, and a huntsman is rescued in 142). Several tales in this sector will be repeated in a different form in the final part of the collection: the tale of the host hidden in a beehive (128), repeated in 208, and a tale of a knight cured of lust (137), repeated in 152. In the third century of the *Códice de las Historias*, Villasirga, represented just once in **To** (32, cantiga 31), and Terena take over as the shrines of choice, but without any single large cluster.²³ The new church of Castrogeriz is represented by a compact group of four construction miracles (242, 249, 252 and 266), two of which tell substantially the same tale.²⁴ In the final century, Tudia (325, 326, 329, 344 and 347); and finally Santa Maria do Porto are the local shrines.²⁵

SOURCES OF SHRINE CLUSTERS

For most of the clusters associated with shrines there is no single local source. The main exception is the group of universal miracles associated with the healing of the sick at Soissons. The CSM include eleven Soissons miracles (41, 49, 53, 61, 62, 81, 91, 101, 106, 298 and 308) from the thirty-one collected by Hugo Farsitus.²⁶ They are unlikely to have come directly from the Latin text of Farsitus, whose text and order is accurately preserved in later compilations; but only some of them could have been transmitted by Vincent de Beauvais or Gautier de Coinci, who include only four each; Gil de Zamora retells eighteen Soissons miracles, including ten of the CSM set, but his text would not have been the direct source.²⁷ It is clear, therefore, that Alfonso X had recourse to a more comprehensive set of sources.²⁸ The archival source must be presumed to be a Soissons cluster created by the scriptorium, which may well have been collected in several phases. The narrative of the first Soissons miracle (*De ordine initiali miraculorum*), which one would expect to be first in the cluster, is missing in Gil de Zamora and is the last to be incorporated in **To** (**To** 82, cantiga 91), using a different form of the name of the town (Saixon), suggesting a separate entry route.

23. Villasirga features in cantigas 217, 218, 227, 229, 232, 234, 253, 268, 278, 301, 313 and 355; Terena in cantigas 197, 198, 199, 213, 223, 224, 228, 275, 283, 319, 333 and 334.

24. PARKINSON 1988.

25. MONTROYA 2006 (2).

26. *Libellus de Miraculis B. Mariae Virginis* 1854.

27. PARKINSON y JACKSON 2006.

28. According to METTMANN 1988 (1), p. 617, the six cantigas which form a cluster in **To** 44-49 are definitely based on Hugo's text.

GAUTIER DE COINCI AS SOURCE OF THE FIRST NUCLEUS

Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* invite comparison with the *CSM*, in that they are superficially similar in their conception and outcomes — both are the personal project of a literary personage, involving virtuoso versification, illustrated manuscripts and music, and the alternation of narrative and lyric texts. It should be noted that Gautier narrative texts are not set to music, and that Gautier lyric texts are not original compositions but contrafacta, working on borrowed music.²⁹ In considering the songs, we therefore need to take account of the fact that Gautier presents them as intrinsically embedded in a larger narrative structure, like the *loores*.

There is indeed a substantial overlap in the set of miracle stories represented in Gautier de Coinci's 58 *Miracles de Nostre Dame* and the *CSM*, particularly the Toledo collection. Marullo identified 49 of the initial 89 narratives of *To* as common to both collections, concluding that 25 were based on Gautier. Mettmann adds eight with a further three possibles, to arrive at a total of 33 or 36. Dexter, working in 1928 from a larger corpus, had accepted Gautier as a probable source in 33 cantigas.³⁰ However, there is no record of any Gautier manuscript in Alfonso's will or the books he had access to.³¹ The Gautier corpus is dispersed through many manuscripts, with very few complete manuscripts surviving from before 1250, and no early Gautier manuscripts survive in Spain.³² Gautier himself used a range of Latin texts, including Vincent de Beauvais, which would also have been available to Alfonso's team.

The case made by Marullo and supported by Mettmann rests generally on textual coincidences rather than on uniquely shared narrative developments. On a general level, Marullo points to the tendency in both authors to expand the element of dialogue, which is a predictable feature of poetic recomposition. More specific links show intertextuality rather than paraphrase. In cantiga 6 (in which a chorister is killed by Jews), for instance, we find the similarities of a setting in England (also found in Chaucer's *Prioress's Tale* as well as the versions from the Vendôme collection and John of Garland's *Stella Maris*)³³ and the choice of *Gaude Maria Virgo* as the chorister's song, highlighted in the cantiga rubric (but note that cantiga 6 adapts the title to *Gaude Virgo Maria* and *Gaude Maria* to make it fit into a scheme of pervasive rhyme in *-ia*).³⁴ Perhaps a more interesting coincidence is the opening line attributing the story to "Santa Escritura/Sainte ecriture". In cantiga 51 (a tale of a statue of the Virgin catching an arrow fired at a gatekeeper) it is claimed that only Alfonso and Gautier mention the Count of Poitiers as involved in the siege, where other sources are silent. However, the appearance of the Count in the *CSM* could be explained by the habit (or accident) of attributing stories to places and people by association with adjacent tales: just as cantiga 82 (the tale of a dying monk tormented by the devil and a herd of demonic pigs) is wrongly attributed to Canterbury by virtue of

29. BUTTERFIELD 2006. BILLIET 2006 notes some claimed melodic correspondences between Alfonso and Gautier, but there is no reason why Gautier should have been the sole conduit for troubadour melody.

30. DEXTER 1927, p.192; MARULLO 1934; METTMANN 1991.

31. RUBIO 1985.

32. DUYS 2006.

33. For an analysis of the many analogues of this story, see BROWN 1958.

34. HAGGH 2006.



Fig. 1.
CSM, cantiga LIV,
Ms. T-I-1, RBME,
f. 80r-4.

the presence of a neighbouring Canterbury narrative in Vincent,³⁵ so could the similar tale of cantiga 38, also involving the Count of Poitiers, be the source of this location. In cantiga 54, one of two tales from the “Milk” group of miracles, Alfonso and Gautier agree in showing the monk praying in a small chapel “capela mui pequeninna” and “capelete”, when only an altar is mentioned in the extant Latin sources, and supply the detail of the cowl lowered over the eyes of the presumed dead monk: “capeiron lle deitaron / sobelos ollos” and “le chaperon deseur le vis”, and the reference to the Virgin wiping the monk’s face with a napkin (“toalla” / “tovaille”),³⁶ a form rarely found in the CSM, also missing from the Latin sources. (It is unclear in the corresponding image, Ms. T-I-1, cantiga LIV, f. 80r-4 (fig. 1), whether or not the Virgin is dabbing the monk’s face with a towel, or merely holding part of her garment in her left hand). In the wider context of the history of this tale, Gautier uses the French tradition of “Milk: Tongue and Lips”, while for this narrative Alfonso follows the Anglo-Norman version of “Milk: Monk laid out as dead”,³⁷ while developing the other tradition in cantiga 404 (To 76), with no more than a minor coincidence with Gautier in the use of word “frenesi” / “frenesie” to describe the monk’s anguish.³⁸

Given the prevalence of lexical and phrasal coincidences over clear cases of narrative choice, Mettmann is overstating the case in claiming Gautier as the main source: “No código To, ... encontramos 33, e talvez até 36 cantigas que são refundições de milagres contados por Gautier de

35. PARKINSON y JACKSON 2006, p. 166.

36. *Les Miracles de Notre Dame* 1955-1970, III, p. 137, line 88 and p. 138, line 104.

37. WILSON 1946, pp. 155-156.

38. *Cantigas* 1986-1989, III, p. 312; *Les Miracles de Notre Dame* 1955-1970, III, p.136, line 35.

Coinci”.³⁹ It is more likely that at some point (or several points) in the composition cycle Gautier was systematically consulted, which is Marullo’s conclusion.

SOURCES FOR HISPANIC SHRINES

For many of the Hispanic miracles, even from the most famous shrines, no contemporary source is extant. It is not possible to tell whether they derive from a now lost local source, or whether the *CSM* are the first written record of a previously oral tradition, or whether they are relocations to a convenient Hispanic shrine of generic tales originating elsewhere. The convent of Oña mentioned in cantiga 7 (beside Colonna, Sansonna, and Bolonna) is a semi-burlesque use of rhyme. Cantiga 104 (**To** 96) recounts a Eucharistic miracle purporting to come from Caldas de Rei in Galicia. Its narrative source may well be Caesarius of Heisterbach, but there is also a well-documented occurrence of this type of Eucharistic miracle in 1247 in the Portuguese town of Santarém (close to the town of Caldas da Rainha).⁴⁰ Two versions of a miracle in which a priest bravely swallows a spider which falls into the communion chalice, of which the most notable record is in the life of St Conrad of Konstanz, appear in Chelas (Portugal) and Ciudad-Rodrigo.⁴¹ Cantiga 344, officially set in Tudia, refers to Christian and Muslim warriors spending the night in the grounds of the church without noticing each other, and setting off in different directions to Elvas and Olivenza: as Terena sits between these two towns, and Tudia to the south of both, it is quite possible that the tale was relocated.⁴² Cantiga 97, set in “Valverde”, which Mettmann interprets as the French church of Vauvert, seems to be based on a Soissons story (“The woman who was prevented from entering a church”). A similar story in cantiga 246, textually located in “Alcaçar” and with an epigraph mentioning the church of Santa Maria dos Martires, is probably to be associated with Alcácer do Sal in Portugal, where there is a shrine of that name, and not Alcazar de S. Juan, where there is not.⁴³

The same type of miraculous event frequently recurs in different sections of the collections. The healing of a deaf mute in Toledo (cantiga 69, **To** 54), notable for its virtuoso rhyming around the *-ãa* rhyme introduced by the refrain, is a local elaboration of a Soissons miracle (101) which precedes it in **To** (46), with a brief analogue attributed to Villasirga (234). Lamé men are healed at Salas (166) and Terena (333), and lame women at Salas (179), Villasirga (268), and Santa Maria do Porto (391). Miraculous transformations of a host placed in a beehive take place in Flanders (128) and Toulouse (208). Hanged men are rescued in an unspecified location (13), in Toulouse while on a pilgrimage to Santiago (175), and after visiting the shrine at Villasirga (355).

39. METTMANN 1991, p. 84.

40. Santarém also has a 13th-century crucifix with one hand free, inviting comparison with the variant of the runaway nun tale in cantiga 59 (KOLLER 2000).

41. PARKINSON 2011.

42. PARKINSON 1998-1999, p. 50.

43. “Esta é dũa bõa moller que ya cada sabado a hũa eigreja que chaman Santa Maria dos Martires, e obridó-xe-lle, e depois foi alá de noite, e abriron-xe-lle as portas da eigreja”, *Cantigas* 1986-1989, II, p. 343, corrected by PEREIRA 2009, who notes the adjacency of these poems in E (245 and 246) but not in F (51 and 1).

In the same way, we find duplicate tales from the same source redistributed over the collections. The tale of the sinful priest in cantiga 11 is repeated as cantiga 111. The return of a lost hawk to Salas in cantiga 44 is replicated in Villasirga in cantiga 232. Two Italian miracles, of a stone thrown at a statue of the Virgin and child, were developed together from the same schematic narrative, with enough variation to make them appear different (136 has the gambler's stone hit a statue of the Virgin, 294 has a stone angel in the way), and the second was held over for deployment later in the compilation.⁴⁴ A similar arrangement is found in cantigas 139 and 353, variants of the tale of the child in the monastery who feeds the statue of the Christ child.

WHAT IS A SOURCE?

The relation of the *CSM* to other texts leads us to consider a number of different ways in which another text could be seen as a source. The conventional sense, that of a text or an ordered collection of texts, which are reproduced, adapted or translated, appropriate for the possible influence of Gil de Zamora or Gonzalo de Berceo, does not seem to apply to the Latin or vernacular texts associated with the *CSM*. More appropriate is a broader sense, in which the source is a text providing narrative content, which then serves as the starting point for an original composition – this would seem to be the basis of both Alfonso and Gautier's use of Latin source material. A third relationship holds between the *CSM* and texts which can be presumed to have been present, and consulted, at the time of composition of the poem, even if they did not form the basis of the collected narrative – here the “source” is intertext, as seems to be the case between the *CSM* and Gautier. Finally, there is the possibility of influence at the level of compilation, where the “source” text informs the structure of the new text, and thus serves as model – here the psalms, *marialia*, and Gautier can be invoked.

To justify a claim that a particular Latin or vernacular text is the narrative source in the first sense, particularly of a tale occurring in many variants, requires a detailed comparison of narrative content of all putative sources.⁴⁵ A typically complex case is cantiga 17 (fig. 2), “Incest between mother and son”, found in the *mariale magnum* and many later collections including Vincent.⁴⁶ The cantiga version presents the woman as a widow, thus eliminating the normal opening of the tale in which the woman and her husband pray for a child, and the husband then renounces the world; it includes the central narrative of the woman committing incest with her son, and killing the child conceived by this liaison, after which the devil, posing as a clairvoyant, accuses her before the Emperor, who summons her and declares that either she or the clairvoyant will be executed. The cantiga then diverges from the mainstream by having the woman pray in a church to the Virgin and be reassured by her (rather than making confession to a priest, as in Gautier de Coinci, or to the Pope as in other variants). At the trial the devil does not recognise the woman and when challenged by the Emperor, vanishes, the cantiga adding two colourful details of the devil pulling a face at the Emperor and demolishing part of the roof as he leaves:

44. PARKINSON 2011; METTMANN 1988 (2), p. 82, fails to appreciate the repetition: “Either the two cantigas were composed by the same author, who perhaps, in the case of cantiga 136 followed an oral tradition and for cantiga 294 had at his disposal a written source, or (what is less probable) we are dealing with an imitation close to plagiarism.”

45. See BROWN 1958 for the Prioress's Tale (cantiga 6) from Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and MONTROYA 1981 for cantigas 11, 13, 24 and 132.

46. BAYO 2004, pp. 854-855, NELSON 2007; BARNETT 2009, I, pp. 100-167.

[illegible]

Fig. 2: CSM, cantiga XVII, Ms. T-I-1, RBME, f. 29v.

Mas foiss' o demo e fezll' o bocin
derribou do teit' ãa braçada.
Cantiga 17, st. 70; *Cantigas* 2011, p. 87.⁴⁷

The graphic version includes two parts of the tradition which the text passes over, namely the mother throwing the dead child into a latrine (f. 29v-2), and the appearance of the Virgin beside the woman (f. 29v-5). In other versions the Virgin appears with her, which is suggested by the refrain, referring to Holy Mary as “a nossa avogada”. The last miniature panel on folio 29v (f. 29v-6) reproduces both the final details, and the caption quotes the text “Como o demo se desfez e derribou do teit' hũa braçada”.

This is a good example of the text and the images developing a complex set of narrative elements, probably combining different sources, in different ways. Another example of multiple sources can be found in cantiga 7 (fig. 3) where the pregnant abbess's son is sent to Soissons in the text, but the miniature shows him delivered to a hermit, as in many branches of the tale.⁴⁸

TEXTUAL REFERENCES TO SOURCES

Many cantigas make direct reference to written or oral sources in their opening strophes, in which the location and veracity of the miracle is usually detailed. Cantiga 61, recounting one of the nine miracles from Soissons in the first compilation, begins:

Dest' un miragre vos direi que avêo
en Seixons, ond' un livro á todo chêo
de miragres ben d' i, ca d' allur non vêo,
que a Madre de Deus mostra noit' e dia.
Cantiga 61, st. 5; *Cantigas* 2011, p. 179.

As we have seen, it is unlikely that Alfonso's collectors and poets referred to the original collection of Soissons miracles by Hugo Farsitus. The literary nature of this reference is evident from the construction of the strophe around the unusual rhyme *avêo*, *chêo*, *vêo*.⁴⁹ It is also notable that this first reference to a source comes in the middle poem (**To** 47) of the block of six Soissons narratives (**To** 44-49), rather than at the beginning.

The reference to the source for cantiga 33, the tale of the pilgrim to the Holy Land who fell overboard and was taken to Acre under the waves, has a similar literary flavour.

Desto vos quero contar
un miragre, que achar
ouv' en un livr' e tirar
o fui ben d' ontre trezentos,
Cantiga 33, st. 5; *Cantigas* 2011, p. 121.

47. Text of the present edition.

48. PARKINSON y JACKSON 2005.

49. *Ibidem*.



Esta cantiga é de uma das muitas que se fizeram de Santa Maria em que a Virgem é chamada de Santa Maria a Abadesa. A primeira estrofe começa com o verso: "Como a Santa Maria a Abadesa, que a Virgem". A segunda estrofe começa com o verso: "Como a Santa Maria a Abadesa, que a Virgem". A terceira estrofe começa com o verso: "Como a Santa Maria a Abadesa, que a Virgem". A quarta estrofe começa com o verso: "Como a Santa Maria a Abadesa, que a Virgem". A quinta estrofe começa com o verso: "Como a Santa Maria a Abadesa, que a Virgem". A sexta estrofe começa com o verso: "Como a Santa Maria a Abadesa, que a Virgem". A sétima estrofe começa com o verso: "Como a Santa Maria a Abadesa, que a Virgem". A oitava estrofe começa com o verso: "Como a Santa Maria a Abadesa, que a Virgem". A nona estrofe começa com o verso: "Como a Santa Maria a Abadesa, que a Virgem". A décima estrofe começa com o verso: "Como a Santa Maria a Abadesa, que a Virgem".

Fig. 3: CSM, cantiga VII, Ms. T-I-1, RBME, f. 14v.

None of the putative sources approaches 300 narratives. The numeric reference is clearly intended to satisfy the need of a pervasive rhyme in *-entos*, which also explains the other numeric references (“con romeus mais de oitocentos” in strophe 2, and “no batel bem com duzentos / omes” in strophes 3 and 4).

The exigencies of rhyme also motivate the claim for a textual source for a new construction miracle in Castrogeriz:

E por esto contar quero
dun escrito en que diz
un mui fremoso miragre
que fez en Castroxeriz
Cantiga 266, st. 1; *Cantigas* 1986-1989, III, p. 23.

in which the name of the village and the verb form *diz* are two of only fourteen words implementing the rare rhyme in *-iz*, which is generally found towards the end of long cantigas forced to use all the rhymes in the *rimario*.⁵⁰

[...]e, por én, par san Fiiz,
feriu corisco na nave e, com’ o escrito diz,
queimou tod’ aquela lãa e non quis o al tanger.
Cantiga 35, st. 120; *Cantigas* 2011, p. 128.

This example is from a Laon miracle, cantiga 35 (**To** 92),⁵¹ whose collection narrative was discussed on p. 85. It is one which has no precise location or source, though the miracle, of the comforting of a dying friar, bears some similarity to cantiga 123, located in Vitoria. Cantiga 168 refers to a different collection scenario, in which the miracle record is brought to the King.

E dest’ en Lerida mostrou
un miragre que me contou
un crerigo que o achou
escrito e mi o foi trager.
Cantiga 168, st. 15; *Cantigas* 2011, p. 405.

Other narratives refer to the preparation of a written record, which is implied to be the source of the tale:

E pois esta cousa dita
ouve, logo foi escrita
e muitos loores dados
....

50. The rhyme appears in 21 poems, with an average length of 19 strophes: PARKINSON 2000 (2).

51. The same source is referred to in cantiga 362 (**To** 95), st. 4: “Esta foi aquela arca | de que vos eu ja falei | que tragian pelo mundo | por gãar, segund’ achei | escrito” (*Cantigas* 1986-1989, III, p. 235).

Aa Virgen Groriosa,
Cantiga 83, st. 65; *Cantigas* 2011, p. 235.⁵²

Similarly in cantiga 341, the tale of a falsely accused wife vindicated by trial by ordeal, ends:

e tan toste o miragre meteron ontr' os maiores
miragres eno gran livro en que outros muitos jazen
Cantiga 341, st. 16; *Cantigas* 1986-89, III, p. 192.

The earliest extant version of this miracle, referring to the chapel dedicated to St Michael on the Aiguilhe rock in Puy-le-Velay, dates from the sixteenth century.⁵³

The frequent references to oral transmission, and to the reliability of the witnesses, are another part of the conventions of the genre:

E dest' un gran miragre foi mostrar
Santa Maria, a Virgen sen par,
en Prazença, per com' oi contar
a omees bõos e de creer.
Cantiga 144, st. 5; *Cantigas* 2011, p. 367.
Dest' avêo un miragre, per com' eu oi dizer,
a muitos omees bõos e que eran de creer,
Cantiga 173, st. 5; *Cantigas* 2011, p. 413.

In at least one case of this kind, cantiga 183, a miracle of the punishment of Moors who maltreated an image of the Virgin, set in Faro in Portugal (reconquered in 1249), the tale is known to have been had been circulating orally in the previous century,⁵⁴ so that whoever recounted the tale is unlikely to have been a witness:

....
[...] per com' a mouros oi
dizer e aos crischãos que o contaron a mí.
Cantiga 183, st. 30; *Cantigas* 2011, p. 432.

In many other cases the formulae “com' escrit' achei / com' achei escrito” are no more than an expanded form of the common phrase “com' achei”, which occurs after individual details of a narrative, alternating with the even more common “com' oi” and “com' aprendi” (linked to the rhyme in *-i* which is the third most common *agudo* rhyme in the collection).⁵⁵

52. A tale located in Sopetrán in Andalusia, very similar to *cantiga* 106 in which the beneficiary appeals to the Virgin of Soissons.

53. Marie-Virginie Cambriels, personal communication.

54. FERREIRO 1971.

55. *-ar* is used in 202 *cantigas*, *-er* in 173, *-i* in 170: PARKINSON 2000 (2), p. 141; METTMANN 1980, pp. 383-385 lists some attestation formulae, but still takes them as testimony.

A single strophe from cantiga 115 has three such formulae:

En terra de Roma ouv' i,
com' escrit' ei achado,
un ome, com' aprendi,
bõo e muit' onrado
e demais, segund' oi,
Cantiga 115, st. 30; *Cantigas* 2011, p. 300.

From all these examples it should be clear that poetic references to a written or oral source are part of the literary construction of the processes of collection and composition, and cannot be taken as firm evidence for the existence of a local record of miracles, or for any record at all.

ALFONSO X AS MIRACLE COLLECTOR

The separate phases of the *CSM* project will have involved different teams of workers, all indirectly following the king's instructions. While most attempts to identify poets and artists are highly speculative, and there is no indication at all of composers of the music, we have at least two identifiable miracle collectors: Gil de Zamora and Bernardo de Brihuega, one searching the Latin hagiographical tradition for his *Liber Mariae* and the other searching for monastic and local records of lives of saints, for his *Vidas de Santos*:

“eu, Bernardo de Brihuega, clerigo do mui nobre meu sennor el Rei Don Affonso, avendo mandamento delle de trasladar as vidas dos martires e dos outros Santos...”⁵⁶

It seems impossible that their work did not feed into the collection process, if only to identify tales for elaboration in the composition phase. At the same time, it seems probable that Alfonso himself participated in the collection process, just as he participated in textual and musical composition.⁵⁷ On the one hand we find significant numbers of narratives associated with the Royal family, or with Alfonso's own history, not least the poems in which he is the recipient of the Virgin's mercy. These become more frequent in the third and fourth hundreds (209 on the healing of the king at Vitoria, 235 as an extended justification of his reign, 257 on the divine protection of the relics owned by the king, and 354 on the rescue of the king's pet ferret). We can also assume that he enlisted the help of his extended family in the collection of miracles from Iberia. The appearance of miracles from Terena in Portugal undoubtedly have something to do with the close relations of the Lords of Terena to the court of Afonso X: Gil Martins, First Lord of Terena, went into exile to the court of Afonso X in 1264, where he stayed until his death in 1275, and his son, Martin Gil, was an executor of Alfonso's final will.⁵⁸ Miracles from Montserrat could have passed to Alfonso from his Aragonese connections, as at

56. Cited in FIDALGO 2002, p. 44.

57. FERREIRA 2006-2007 and O'CALLAGHAN 1998.

58. REI 2001; MARTÍNEZ 2003, p. 621.

least one narrative (113) is not attested in any contemporary written source.⁵⁹ Other Portuguese ones could well have been transmitted by his grandson Dinis.

Alfonso's motivation is different from all other collectors of miracles. The first collection begins as a personal *mariale*, a selection of mainly known pieces, and a personal act of devotion, inside troubadour culture, with its *cancioneiro* structure, probably influenced by the example of Gautier de Coinci. The increasing appreciation of the emblematic and exemplary function of a large collection of international and Iberian miracles, for political ends, emphasizing the monarch as the recipient of the favour of the Blessed Virgin who worked miracles throughout all the kingdoms of Iberia, leads to the consciously opulent outcome of the *Códice de las Historias*.

59. PARKINSON 2007 finds nothing before the 17th century.

