

Putting the *Cantigas* in Context: tracing the sources of Alfonso X's  
*Cantigas de Santa Maria*

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### **Introduction**

The *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, commissioned by Alfonso el sabio, is a large collection by any standards: 420 poems, made up of 357 miracle narratives and 63 *loores* and *festas*. It would be a mistake to assume, as many seem to, that the size of the corpus is the only complicated thing about it, and that behind the *CSM* is a simple process in which the King or his collaborators composed poems on the basis of known miracle stories and then set them to music and illustrated them.

The project we are working on makes a distinction between three phases of activity -- collection, composition, and compilation – to show that the individual cantigas, and the textual, musical and iconographic material accompanying them, are the product of the interaction of different activities at these three phases. **Collection** is the phase in which the basic subject matter of a narrative cantiga is procured.

**Composition** is the stage of creating the poetic narrative, and the accompanying pictorial narrative and musical support. Finally, **compilation** is the process of assembling these narratives on the manuscript page and in the manuscript collection.

Textual activity takes place not only in composition but in all three phases: the collection phase will involve translation and summary of foreign sources; compilation involves the adjustment of text to fit music (or vice versa), the production of epigraphs, index entries, and captions (often incorporating citation from other texts), not to mention the later composition of Castilian prose summaries of the

narrative as represented in text and image. (These elements will be labelled **paratext**, as they are superimposed on the poetic narrative. We will use the much-loved *cantiga* 7 to illustrate the workings of paratext ).

In some cases it is not clear whether adjustments of content are a matter for collection or composition. *Cantiga* 104 (To 96) recounts a miracle in which a Galician woman steals a host as a love charm, only to find it leaking blood. This qualifies as a miracle of the Virgin because the church where the woman takes communion is dedicated to Mary, and she confesses before a statue of the Virgin. The most obvious source for this miracle is non-Marian and Portuguese, the Eucharistic miracle of the Church of St Stephen in Santarém, recorded in 1247: whether the reference to location was lost in collection, or suppressed in the conscious conversion of the miracle of the Host into a miracle of the Virgin, cannot be easily decided.<sup>1</sup> [With time we would also have traced how a Carthusian miracle was translated to Canterbury.]

The evolution of the collections from 100 (the Toledo MS) to the richly decorated collections of 200 and 400 (the *códice rico*, T&F), and the final fallback production of the *códice de los músicos* (E), has to be seen as a sequence of **recompilations** of a progressively expanding archive of miracle stories. Poems which were incorporated in Toledo in an order in which stories from the same shrine (Soissons, Laon, Montserrat) are still close together are made subject in the *códices ricos* to a distinctive page layout which in turn determines a different order.<sup>2</sup>

In this model, the question of the sources of the miracle stories takes on a different complexion. We ask what narrative sources – written, oral - were exploited, in what form they were recorded and stored, what information was removed or added,

how they were used in the various processes of composition, and to what extent their internal organisation is still reflected in the stage of compilation.

To do this, we need to store information about narrative content, paratextual elements, order in all compilations, sources and their orders, metrics, page layout, etc., and deploy it so as to support textual study and provide information for a future critical edition. This is the *CSM* database, which we had hoped to demonstrate live today.

## 2. Mining Poncelet

In 1902, when the Bollandist Albert Poncelet published his index of Latin miracles of the Virgin,<sup>3</sup> he probably did not foresee that it would continue to serve as an indispensable aid to scholars in the twenty-first century. In the initial stages of the Oxford *CSM* project, it became clear that in order to place Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa Maria* within the broad context of medieval Marian literature, and to trace the sources of each miracle story (many of which are drawn from a common European tradition), it would be desirable to incorporate Poncelet's index into our database and, furthermore, to make his work available on-line in its entirety.

Poncelet's index lists 1783 incipits of the Virgin's miracles,<sup>4</sup> arranged in alphabetical order from "*Abbas quidam aliquando...*" to "*Wimundus et Drogo....*" It cannot be stressed too much that the index does not represent 1783 different miracle stories, but rather, 1783 incipits, of which several are associated the same miracle story. Whenever possible, under each incipit entry, Poncelet lists the corresponding numbers of identical and similar tales, enabling his readers to link these narratives and place them in related groups. Simply by scanning the entries it is possible to determine, to some degree, the popularity of a particular tale. For example, the story

of the “Pregnant Abbess,” with 21 different incipits, was a favourite of compilers of the Virgin’s miracles and circulated in several forms.

The *Index miraculorum* not only enables scholars to identify and categorize miracle tales, but also provides bibliographical references to manuscripts and printed editions of the Virgin’s miracles; <sup>5</sup> ever since its publication, it has become standard practise for scholars the world over to refer to miracle narratives by the numbers Poncelet assigned to them.

Despite Poncelet’s tremendous achievement, his index is wanting in several respects. First, it lacks flexibility. Since the entries are numbered and listed alphabetically, it would be impossible to add an entry to the list without renumbering the entire sequence. Secondly, it needs updating. Several manuscripts have come to light since its publication<sup>6</sup> and, inevitably, new editions have superseded many of those cited. Thirdly, because it is based on Latin material, vernacular incipits are excluded. Since medieval compilers of the Virgin’s miracles often employed Latin sources as a basis for vernacular compositions, separating the two creates a false dichotomy. Fourthly, since Poncelet generally cites secondary sources, rather than manuscript *sigla*, it takes, at best, much shuffling through Mussafia and Ward to determine the manuscript sources of a given incipit. Finally, although the *Index miraculorum* can be used to track individual narratives, it is of no use to someone wishing to study the running order of miracles in a given collection, or to compare one entire collection with another.

To build on the strengths of the Index, the Oxford *CSM* provides information on miracles written in the vernacular as well as in Latin, and links them systematically to the contents of Poncelet’s index. To solve the problem of assigning Poncelet numbers to vernacular narratives, which has previously involved giving priority to

one of the many texts listed in the Index, we have adopted a system of key numbers linking analogous Latin and vernacular tales, as illustrated by the table on our handout, giving the records for the story of the pregnant abbess. As mentioned previously, Poncelet lists twenty-one different Latin incipits for this single tale. The first to occur in the index is number 4. This initial entry, number 4, provides us with the key number to assign to all of the vernacular versions of the story; it also links these to the Latin ones. Simply by typing the key number into the database, the user will be able to access a list of related narratives, regardless of the language in which they are written.

**[See table]**

From the list of texts the user can move to other screens supplying additional information including, for example, the text of rubrics and prologues. Most importantly, collections will also be displayed in their entirety in other data fields which will list the miracles of each collection in their original running order, and provide summaries of the narratives and relevant notes. Ideally, the full text of each miracle will be accessible, enabling researchers to make detailed comparisons of thematic details and diction. In this way, although focused on the Marian miracles composed at Alfonso X's court, the Oxford *CSM* database will provide a new and more secure foundation on which to build arguments relating to the transmission and diffusion of Marian miracles throughout medieval Europe.

### **3. Multiple composition(s): *Cantiga* 7, “The Pregnant Abbess”**

As emphasised at the outset, the process of creating each *cantiga* was not an assembly-line affair, in which poets composed texts and gave them to artists to be illustrated. On the contrary, independent decisions were taken regarding content and

approach for each type of composition. Kulp-Hill's suggestion that the production of the illustrations of T/F simply involved selecting “key episodes from the poems”<sup>7</sup> does not concur with the evidence supplied by the miniatures themselves: key episodes were indeed selected, but not necessarily from the poetry.

In *Cantiga 7* (which occurs in T and tells the tale of the “Pregnant Abbess”), the miniature and its accompanying captions are in general agreement. In some respects, they present a less fanciful tale than the Galician song itself. The writers of the lyrics, stretching to find rhyme words ending in “-oña,” have the bishop summoned from “*Colonna*,” the child reared in “*Sanssonna*” (Soissons), the abbess impregnated by a man from “*Bolonna*,” and the nuns belonging to the Order of “*Onna*” (this last as a poetic afterthought in the final strophe). As Parkinson and Diz have noted, the absurd rhymes enhance the comic character of the *cantiga*.<sup>8</sup> The captions of the miniature omit these place names, and the miniature, which has the nuns visiting the bishop, negates the implications of distance in the poem (*e el ben de Colonna chegou y*) while perhaps taking literally the periphrastic past tense *forona acusar*.

More importantly, the miniature of *Cantiga 7* provides conclusive evidence that the artists working on the CSM did not base their compositions only on the Galician text, but on other versions of the story. This becomes readily apparent if we compare text and image, an exercise facilitated by the CSM database, which gives summaries of the contents of both lyrics and miniatures. Two angels appear in the fourth panel of the miniature of *Cantiga 7*. According to the caption written above, they deliver the abbess' child “*pelo costado*.”<sup>9</sup> There is, however, no reference to angels in the text of the *cantiga*, which glosses over the details of the supernatural caesarean, stating simply: “*Santa Maria tirar / lle fez o fill' e criar / lo mandou en*

*Sanssonna.*”<sup>10</sup> Likewise, the poetic text never mentions the hermit (shown receiving the baby in the fifth panel, and mentioned in the caption: “*Cómo o angeo deu a criar o fillo da abadessa a un heremita.*”).<sup>11</sup>

The pair of angels and the hermit occur in the majority of Latin accounts of the story, including those collected by Vincent of Beauvais and Juan Gil de Zamora,<sup>12</sup> and also in the vernacular verse miracles of Gonzalo de Berceo and Gautier de Coinci.<sup>13</sup> It is their absence in the text of *cantiga 7*, not their presence in the miniature, which is striking. This suggests that the designer of the miniature of *Cantiga 7* either drew on a different Latin source from the poets, or retained elements discarded in the compressed schema used by the poets. Alternatively, as Sánchez Ameijeiras suggests, Alfonso’s artistic team may have used existing illustrations as their models.<sup>14</sup> However, as Alfonso’s artists illustrated novel miracles of the Virgin, including several concerning the King himself, we know they were capable of working without such visual models.

The artists of *Cantiga 7* not only had recourse to a text distinct from the lyrics, but also helped to inspire one. [Steven Kirby argues that the prose versions are essentially commentaries on the miniatures.<sup>15</sup>] The Castilian prose version, written directly beneath the miniature in the lower margin on f.14v, contains at least one detail that was derived from the miniature. The prose text states: “*la Virgen Santa Maria mandó a sus ángeles que le sacasen el fijo que tenía en el vientre, abriéndole el costado diestro.*”<sup>16</sup> In the fourth panel of the miniature, the angels bend down to lift the newborn out of the incision in the abbess’ right side. Since the wound is not mentioned in other versions of the tale,<sup>17</sup> the anonymous writers of this early Spanish text must have taken their cue from the Alfonsine illustration. Fortunately for the abbess, the wound disappears after the angelic operation (“*e despertó espavoresçida e*

*temerosa de la llaga del su costado; e requeriose toda e falloose syn fijo e syn llaga e syn ninguna lisi3n).*”<sup>18</sup> As shown in the final panel, the bishop and the nuns inspect the abbess, who is stripped to the waist. She bears no scars, and exhibits no sign of pregnancy; in fact, she looks decidedly masculine with her flat chest, slim torso and athletic frame. Here she demonstrates both her physical and spiritual fitness; despite her affair she remains an unblemished bride of Christ.

[Yet another narrative turn is found in the epigraph to the cantiga: “*Como Santa Maria livrou a abadessa prene que adormecera ant' o seu altar chorando.*” The same information is contained in the Table of Contents (of E), and indeed, in the miniature, she lies in front of the altar.<sup>19</sup> By contrast, in the lyrics, although the abbess wakes to find herself delivered, no location is specified. Furthermore, all other Latin and vernacular versions of the story explain that the abbess, overcome with remorse, weeps copiously.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, there is no allusion to her tears in either the lyrics or the miniature of the *CSM*. Rather, as previously stated, comic elements are heightened at the expense of the moral message.]

## **Conclusions**

This paper set itself to explore the context of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, through the study of sources. It should now be clear that context is multidimensional – as well as the context of the production of the *Cantigas* (from collection to composition) we have the context of their presentation, embedded in complex networks of paratextual elements, as part of compilation. These elements do not, as is usually assumed, simply explain the poetic text, but give a parallel narrative which itself requires explanation. While our database will give a way into these contexts, it will require a new edition, fed by the database, to give the full picture. That is the continuation of our project, and a paper for another day.



**Alternate Example: Charterhouse to Canterbury: the case of the demon swine**

It is obvious that sources (probably Latin ones) exerted an influence on the miniature of *Cantiga* 7. Nevertheless, in some *cantigas*, the traces left by the source texts on lyrics and/or miniatures are not as easy to discern. A subtle example is supplied by *Cantiga* 82, the tale of a monk who is saved by the Virgin when attacked by demons in the form of swine. Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny (d. 1156), first recorded the incident in his *De Miraculis*,<sup>21</sup> and afterwards it appeared in various compilations of the Virgin's miracles.<sup>22</sup> In Peter's book the miracle is told of a Carthusian. The Order to which the monk belongs is not specified in *Cantiga* 82, but otherwise it tells the standard tale with only one major difference—the incident is set at Canterbury. No other collection known to us gives this location for the miracle; in fact, they generally give no location at all. Why, then, did the writers of the *CSM* choose to set it there? The question cannot be answered with certainty, but if we consider the steps taken by the writers of *Cantiga* 82, we can arrive at a credible hypothesis. We must first consider the possible sources consulted by the writers of *Cantiga* 82. Since Vincent of Beauvais' *Speculum historiale* was owned by Alfonso X,<sup>23</sup> and was likely the source of several other *cantigas*, it is an obvious point of departure. Vincent, who cites his source, the *Mariale Magnum*, recounts the miracle of the demon swine in Book VII, Chapter 112. The tale is followed (after a digression of two sentences) by a miracle of St. Dunstan set at Canterbury (**the swine miracle= Book VII, 112 and Dunstan= VII, 113**). Thus, if the writers of *Cantiga* 82 had used Vincent as their source, they may have simply cast their eyes a little further down the page and borrowed the

Canterbury setting from the following miracle. In short, it is likely that Alfonso's authors, employed either Vincent of Beauvais, or perhaps his source text, the *Mariale Magnum*, but made an unprecedented decision to set *Cantiga 82* in Canterbury. No evidence indicates that *Cantiga 82* is based on an English miracle as Filgueira Valverde suggests.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, the Canterbury setting may have guided the compilers of the *CSM* to place this miracle, in both MSS **T** and **E**, with two others set in England. In **To**, the first compilation, one of the three miracles is omitted and the other two dispersed, so the decision to group these accounts was taken at a later stage in the organization of the work.

<sup>1</sup> *Cantiga* 104 refers to Caldas de Rey, which bears a striking resemblance to Caldas da Rainha, close to Santarém.

<sup>2</sup> A brief analysis of the sources of **To** is offered by Walter Mettmann, “Die Quellen der Ältesten Fassung der *Cantigas de Santa Maria*,” in *Text-Etymologie, Untersuchungen zu Textkörper und Textinhalt: Festschrift für Heinrich Lausberg zum 75. Geburtstag*. Ed. Arnold Arens. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1987, 177-182.

<sup>3</sup> Albert Poncelet, “*Index miraculorum B.V. Mariae quae saec. VI-XV latine conscripta sunt*,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 21 (1902), 242-360.

<sup>4</sup> There are 1783 numbered entries and approximately 120 unnumbered ones. The unnumbered ones consist of cross-references (e.g. *Dum missa...=Cum missa...*) and references to the *Bibliographica hagiographica latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, 2 vols. (Brussels, Socii Bollandiani, 1900-1901), (e.g. *Ecclesiam Alsebergensem*=Prol. ad BHL 5378).

<sup>5</sup> Adolf Mussafia, “Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden.” *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserl. Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, philosophisch-historische Classe* 113 (1886), 917-94; 115 (1888), 5-92; 119, no.9 (1889), 1-66; 123, no.8 (1891), 1-85 and 139, no. 8 (1898), 1-74. Harry Leigh Douglas Ward and John Alexander Herbert, eds., *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*. 3 vols. (London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1883-1910, rpt. 1961-1962).

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, Aires Augusto Nascimento, “Um Mariale Alcobacense,” *Didaskalia* 9 (1979), 339-412 and Ivo Paltrinieri and Giovanni Sangalli, “Un’Opera Finora Sconosciuta ‘Il Liber Miraculorum B.M.V’ di Fra B. Tridentino,” *Salesianum* 12 (1950), 372-397.

<sup>7</sup> Kathleen Kulp-Hill, “The Captions to the Miniatures of the ‘Codice Rico’ of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, a Translation,” *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria* 7 (1995), 3-64 at 4.

<sup>8</sup> M. Ana Diz, “Berceo y Alfonso: la historia de la abadesa encinta,” *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria* 5 (1993), 85-96 at 94-95. Stephen Parkinson, ‘Miragres de maldizer?: Dysphemism in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*’, *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria*, 4, 1992, 44-57. Maria Ana Ramos and Luciano Rossi (forthcoming) have suggested political undertones to the reference to *un de Bolonna*., Maria Ana Ramos and Luciano Rossi, “Afonso X, un de bolonna e a abadesa prene,” forthcoming in *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies*. 6 (2004).

<sup>9</sup> Alfonso X, el Sabio. *Cantigas de Santa María: Edición facsímil del Códice Rico T.I.I de la Biblioteca de San Lorenzo el Real de El Escorial, Siglo XIII*. With *Volumen Complementario*. Madrid: Edilán, 1979, II, 75.

<sup>10</sup> Alfonso X, el Sabio. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. 3 Vols. Ed. Walter Mettmann (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1986-1989), I, lines 44-46.

<sup>11</sup> *Cantigas de Santa María: Edición facsímil del Códice Rico*, II, 75. Joaquín Yarza Luaces, who describes this panel, also raises the issue of textual sources. He states: “*es algo interesante constatar que los artistas disponían de un texto donde se contaba que la Virgen hace que un ángel acerque al recién nacido a una ermita donde su ocupante debe recibir el encargo directamente de María y cuidar a la criatura durante unos años. Gonzalo de Berceo (milagro núm. 21) lo explica todo con extremo detalle y también se refería al episodio la colección de milagros en latín de que dispuso para elaborar su trabajo. En definitiva, que la parquedad de los versos*

*alfonsíes no fue obstáculo para que todo se contara mejor en las imágenes.*” Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “Reflexiones sobre la iluminación de las Cantigas,” in *Metropolis Totius Hispaniae. 750 Aniversario Incorporación de Sevilla a la Corona Castellana* (Seville, 1998), 163-179, at 173-174. See also Joaquín Yarza Luaces, “Historias Milagrosas de la Virgen en el Arte de Siglo XIII,” in *Lambard, Estudios d’art medieval*, vol. 15 (2002-2003), (Barcelona, Institut d’Estudis Catalans, 2003), 205-245 at 224-225.

<sup>12</sup> See for example:

**I.** The twelfth-century Latin collection edited by Bernard Pez in 1731, hence its appellation, “Pez” (Miracle 36): “Dixit et *duobus Angelis*, quemadmodum sibi videbatur, ut eam prolis onere, qua gravabatur, exonerarent, praecepit, et *cuidam eremitaie*, ut per annos septem ejus curam gereret, mandavit deferri, qui fuit septimo milliario in vicina positus eremo.” Thomas Frederick Crane, *Liber de miraculis sanctae Dei genitricis Mariae* (Ithaca, 1925), 53-54.

**II.** London, BL Harley 2316, f. 6v: “Tunc *angelis duobus* praecepit ut eam a prolis onere exonerarent, et *cuidam heremitaie* prolem in vicino posito deferrent, dicentes eidem quod ejus curam per vii. annos gereret.” (The full text of the miracle is printed by Thomas Wright, *A Selection of Latin Stories from Manuscripts of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (London, Percy Society, 1842), 38-40.

**III.** Copenhagen, Thott 128, f. 25v: “Dixit et *duobus adstantibus angelis*, quemadmodum sibi videbatur, eam prolis honore quo gravabatur exonerarent, praecepit. *Cuidam* eciam *heremite* septimo miliario in vicino posito defferri, qui eius per septem annos gereret curam, mandavit.” (“Así le habló y, según le pareció ver, dio orden a los [dos] ángeles que acompañaban de que le exoneraran de la carga de la criatura de la que estaba embarazada y de que llevaran el niño a un ermitaño que vivía en las cercanías, a unas siete millas de allí, para que lo cuidara hasta los siete años”). Avelina Carrera de la Red and Fátima Carrera de la Red, *Miracula Beate Marie Virginis (MS Thott 128 de Copenhague). Una Fuente Paralela a Los Milagros de Nuestra Señora de Gonzalo de Berceo* (Logroño, 2000), 246-247.

**IV.** Vincent of Beauvais, *Speculum historiale*, VII. 86: Tunc *duobus Angelis* astantibus praecepit eam prolis onere quo gravabatur exonerare et *cuidam eremitaie* in vicino posito deferre. Cui, et mandavit eius curam per septem annos gerere, quod et fecerunt. Michel Tarayre, *La Vierge et le miracle. Le Speculum historiale de Vincent de Beauvais* (Paris: 1999), 52.

**V.** Juan Gil de Zamora, *Liber Mariae*. 16.4.3, Madrid, BN 9503, f. 135-137: “Dixit; et *duobus astantibus angelis*, quemadmodum sibi videbatur, ut eam prolis honore, quo gravabatur, exonerarent praecepit. *Cuidam* etiam *heremite*, septimo miliario in vicino posito, defferri qui eius per septem annos gereret curam mandavit.” Fidel Fita, “Cinquenta leyendas por Gil de Zamora combinadas con las Cantigas de Alfonso el Sabio” *BRAH* 7 (1885), 54-144 at 71.

<sup>13</sup> **533** Al sabor del solaz de la Virgo preciosa  
non sintiendo la madre de dolor nulla cosa,  
nació la creatura cosiella muy fermosa,  
mandóla a dos ángeles prender la Gloriosa

**534** Díssolis a los ángeles: ‘A vos ambos castigo,  
levad esti ninnuelo a fulán mi amigo;  
dezid/i qe m lo críe, yo assín gelo digo,  
ca bien vos creerá, luego seed comigo

535 Moviéronse los ángeles a muy grand ligereza,  
 recabdaron la cosa sin ninguna pereza,  
 plógo l al ermitanno más qe con grand riqueza,  
 ca de verdad bien era una rica nobleza.

Gonzalo de Berceo, *Obras Completas*, ed. Brian Dutton, Vol. II. *Los Milagros de Nuestra Señora* (London, Tamesis, 1971), p. 159-176, p. 163 verses 533-535.

140 As deus angeles qu'il viegnent pres

Et de son enfant la delivrent

Et se l'enportent tost et livrent

A son ami, le saint hermite,

144 Qui a set milles pres habite,

Et se li gart dedens son estre

Dusqu'a set ans con son oel destre.

Li doi angele mout doucement...

Gautier de Coinci, *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*, V. Frederic Koenig, ed., 4 vol., Geneva, 1955-70, I Mir 20, p. 186.

For a brief discussion of Gautier's rendition of the "Pregnant Abbess" see Kathy M. Krause, "Virgin, Saint, and Sinners: Women in Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*," in *Reassessing the Heroine in Medieval French Literature*, ed. Kathy M. Krause (Gainesville, University Press of Florida, 2001), 26-52 at 33-35. Several Latin and Romance versions of the story, including the CSM, are compared by Elvira Fidalgo Francisco, "La abadesa preñada (Berceo 21). Seis versiones románicas y tres en latín," in *Medioevo y Literatura. Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval, Granada, 27 septiembre-1 octubre 1993* (Granada, Universidad de Granada, 1995), ed. Juan Paredes, Vol. II, 329-344.

<sup>14</sup> Rocío Sánchez Ameijeiras, "Imaxes e Teoría da Imaxe nas *Cantigas de Santa Maria*" in Elvira Fidalgo, *As Cantigas de Santa Maria* (Vigo, Xerais de Galicia, 2002), 245-330, esp. 256-268. and Yarza Luaces, "Reflexiones sobre la iluminación de las Cantigas," 163-179.

<sup>15</sup> Steven Kirby, "Cómo se comentaba una obra artística en el siglo xiv: las prosificaciones de las CSM" in *Studia Hispanica Medievalia II*, ed. R.W. Penna and M.A. Rosarossa (Buenos Aires: Univ. Católica Argentina, 1990), pp. 25-31.

<sup>16</sup> Mettmann, I, 324. See also James R. Chatham, "A Paleographic Edition of the Alfonsine Collection of Prose Miracles of the Virgin," in *Oelschläger Festschrift. Estudios de Hispanófila 36* (Chapel Hill, 1976), 94-95.

<sup>17</sup> "Superponemos esta versión con las latinas conocidas, con la de Pez que Mettmann propone como fuente para la cantiga, y sólo coincide en lo basilar, pero el detalle se escapa: ni 'tierra de Boloña', ni obispo de viaje por 'Colonia', ni ermita en 'Sanseuña', ni herida en el costado derecho, ni exhibición de 'su cuerpo públicamente ante las otras dueñas e ant' el obispo." Elvira Fidalgo, "La abadesa preñada (Berceo 21)," 338.

<sup>18</sup> Mettmann, I, 324. Note also that the writers of the prose version try to make sense of the nonsensical geographical references in the Galician lyrics. They set the convent at Bologna, make no mention of Oña, and state that the bishop "en esa sazón estava en Colonia."

<sup>19</sup> “*Esta é como Santa Maria livrou a abadessa prenne, que adormecera ant’ o seu altar chorando.*” Mettmann, I, 305.

<sup>20</sup> In the Latin accounts, the Abbess, alone in her oratory, weeps as she beseeches the Virgin to help her. When the abbess falls asleep, Mary appears to her in a vision, accompanied by two angels, and assures her that she has heard her prayers and seen her tears. Berceo and Gautier also make much of her contrition/repentance. In the former (stanza 518) she prostrates herself on the floor in front of the altar and addresses the image of the Virgin enshrined on it.

E.g. Thott 128, f. 25-25v (Carrera de la Red, 246-247)

Finitis horis immanitatem peccati sui et publice confusionis, quam instare senciebat, horrorem alcius animo infixit et totam mentem dolore concuciens intimo inter amara suspira singultus cervosos emisit gemitus profundos ingeminavit.

[Al terminar dichas horas se le grabó más penetrantemente en el alma el horror de su enorme pecado y de la deshonra pública que se venía encima; y, sintiendo quebrantarse de dolor lo más íntimo de su alma, entre amargos suspiros, dejaba escapar sollozos, a modo de los balidos de un ciervo y rodolaba gemidos].

Huiuscemodi precum lacrimosis oraculis, merencium singulare solamen, beatissimam Dei Genitricem Mariam, flebiliter invocabat et ab ea sue calamitatis levamen stantissime flagitabat. Dum igitur anxie, dum contritioni cordis insistendo lacrimis et eiulatibus mixtas oraciones effunderet, subitaneo depressa somno quievit et in silencium commutatis clamoribus obdormivit. Dormienti ergo vere singulariter pia et pie singularis Mater misericordie et intemerata Virgo Maria duobus comitantibus angelis clementer apparuit et, mestam misericorditer alloquens primo de tanta visione trepide et hesitanti, quia misericordie Mater esset, apperuit et optati solacii verba subiunxit. *Audivi, ait, oracionem tuam, vidi lacrimas tuas...*

[Con lágrimas y oraciones de este tenor, arrasada en llanto, invocaba al singular consuelo de los atribulados, a la Santísima Madre de Dios, María, y le pedía con la mayor insistencia alivio de su desgracia. Así, mientras con ansiedad, con permanente contrición de corazón, desgranaba estas súplicas envueltas en lágrimas y exclamaciones, sorprendida por un sueño repentino, se tranquilizó y, tornándose en silencio los lamentos, se quedó dormida. Estando dormida, María, la de verdad y singularmente piadosa, y la piadosamente singular Madre de misericordia y Virgen sin mancha, acompañada por dos ángeles, se le apareció clemente. Y hablándole con bondad a la triste, que al principio temía y dudaba de tal visión, le aclaró que era la Madre de misericordia y añadió estas palabras par darle el consuelo que pedía: *He oído—le dijo—tu oración, he visto tus lágrimas...*]

<sup>21</sup> Petrus Venerabilis, *De Miraculis*, Lib. II, Cap. 29, *PL*, 189, cols. 946-49. See also Jean-Pierre Torrell and Denise Bouthillier, eds. *Pierre le Vénérable, Livre des Merveilles de Dieu (De Miraculis)* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1992), 265-268.

<sup>22</sup> For example, the story appeared in an anonymous collection of the Virgin’s miracles known as the “*Mariale magnum*.” This was used as a source by several authors, notably the Dominicans, Vincent of Beauvais and Jean Gobi, who included the tale of the swine in their respective works, the *Speculum historiale* (c. 1247) and the *Scala Coeli* (c. 1330). With the exception of Jean Gobi, who presents an abridged

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form of the story, there is little difference in the content of the Latin texts. Peter's original is longer than the others and has prefatory material and pious interpolations, but the core narrative was transmitted, with minor variations, from his work to a "*Mariale magnum*" and from the latter to Vincent of Beauvais. See H.L.D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Library*, (London: British Museum), Vol. II, 624, re: BL ADD MS BL Add. MS. 15723, a Cistercian collection of the thirteenth century. According to the author of this MS, the miracles are taken from the *Mariale magnum* ("*ex mariali magno*," f. 70). The miracle of the demon swine is Number 26 (f. 83v-84) and is followed by the miracle of St. Dunstan of Canterbury at Number 27 (f. 84). Although the compiler of MS 15723 cites the *Mariale magnum* as his source, Wilson asserts that the first 32 legends were copied from Vincent of Beauvais. Evelyn Faye Wilson, *The Stella Maris of John of Garland* (Cambridge, Mass., 1946), 48. For Vincent see Michel Tarayre, ed. and trans. *La Vierge et le Miracle: Le Speculum historiale de Vincent de Beauvais* (Paris: Honoré Champion Éditeur, 1999), Bk. VII, 112, 128-131 and for Jean Gobi, Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu, *La Scala coeli de Jean Gobi* (Paris : Edition du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991), Exemplum No. 665, 450.

<sup>23</sup> As mentioned in the King's will of January 1284, most recently published by H. Salvador Martínez, *Alfonso X, El Sabio: Una biografía* (Madrid: Polifemo, 2003), 616-622.

<sup>24</sup> Alfonso X, el Sabio, *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, versión de José Filgueira Valverde (Madrid, Castalia, 1985), 149.