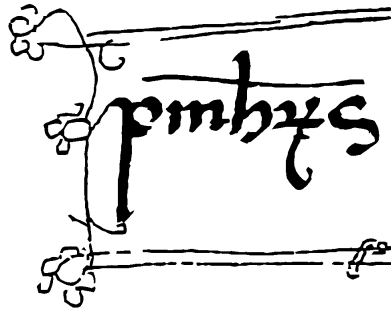


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**GAUDE VIRGO GLORIOSA:
MARIAN MIRACLE LITERATURE
IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA AND
FRANCE IN THE MIDDLE AGES**



The Miracles Came in Two by Two:
Paired Narratives in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*

STEPHEN PARKINSON

(Centre for the Study of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'
& Linacre College, University of Oxford)

Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar

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Edited by

JUAN-CARLOS CONDE & EMMA GATLAND

Department of Iberian and Latin American Studies
Queen Mary, University of London

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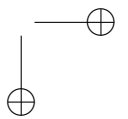
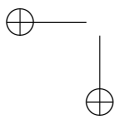
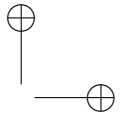
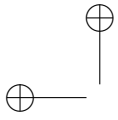
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The Miracles Came in Two by Two: Paired Narratives in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*

STEPHEN PARKINSON
(*Centre for the Study of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'*
& *Linacre College, University of Oxford*)

*The animals came in two by two;
Vive la compagnie!
The centipede with the kangaroo.
Vive la compagnie!*

1. Paired narratives

The 357 miracle stories in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* include significant numbers of clusters (often pairs, sometimes more) of similar narratives.¹ This is not an unusual feature in miracle collections, both of the Virgin and other saints, where generic miracles occur with different locations and participants, and where the same miracle story recurs in different forms in different collections.² In the case of the CSM, however, such duplications or overlaps can be very revealing for the interplay of the separate processes of collection, composition, and compilation, which is fundamental to the understanding of the evolution of the CSM: collection is the acquisition of stories; composition is the production of poems and visual narratives

¹This paper arises from work on The Oxford *Cantigas de Santa Maria* Database, funded by the Leverhulme Trust (F/08 736/B), the British Academy (SG-46903) and the MHRA. This article will concentrate on pairs, rather than more prolific themes such as tales of runaway nuns, found in four CSM (nos 55, 58, 94, and 285). It will not cover the opposite cases in which two different narratives have been merged into one (see Parkinson 2008 on *cantiga* 173, Parkinson & Jackson 2005 on *cantiga* 7). Bétérous (1984: 128–29) gives a list of repeated themes in the CSM, not all of which qualify as paired narratives.

²The general miracles of the Virgin [...] were at first related to specific places, but because they were repeated so often elsewhere, they lost the connection with their original places and could be located anywhere' (Ward 1982: 145). 'Les parties constitutives d'un miracle peuvent être transportées, sans aucun changement, dans un autre miracle' (Bétérous 1984: 298ff). See also Signori 1996.

from these stories; and compilation is the assembly of poems, music and artwork into structured manuscripts (Parkinson & Jackson 2006).

Each poem or group of poems has to be viewed in the context of its place in the structure and the contribution of the teamwork. The four manuscripts constitute three *compilations*, in the sense of the above terminology, with the following dimensions:

To (Toledo MS)	100 <i>cantigas</i> + appendices
T/F (<i>códice de las historias</i>)	400 <i>cantigas</i>
T (<i>códice rico</i>)	193 <i>cantigas</i> (of an intended 200)
F (Florence MS)	104 <i>cantigas</i> (intended 200)
E (<i>códice de los músicos</i>)	400 <i>cantigas</i> + 12 Festas. ³

A typical example of duplication is a pair of tales of pilfering hostel keepers (CSM 157 and 159). Their similarity is highlighted by the short titles assigned as part of the CSM edition project (Parkinson, forthcoming) and is confirmed by the epigraphs attached to the poems in E and T.

157	title	The Pilgrims to Rocamadour whose Flour was Stolen
	epigraph (T)	Dũus romeus que ian a Rocamador e pousaron en un burgo e furtou-lles a ospeda da farĩa que tragian
159	title	The Pilgrims to Rocamadour whose Meat was Stolen
	epigraph (T)	Como Santa Maria fez descobrir hũa posta de carne que furtaran a uũs romeus na villa de Rocamador.

Both stories relate to pilgrims on their way to the French shrine of Rocamadour. In CSM 157 an innkeeper's wife filches some flour and uses it to make *fillós*: her misdeed is revealed when the knife with which she is cutting the pastry becomes embedded in her mouth. In CSM 159 pilgrims give an innkeeper some pieces of meat to cook for their meal, and he hides one piece in a chest; the theft is discovered

³For this reason, I deliberately avoid using the term 'collection' to refer to any part of the manuscript tradition. The manuscript locations are: To = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 10069; T = Real Monasterio de S. Lorenzo de El Escorial, T.I.1; F = Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Banco Rari, 20, E = Real Monasterio de S. Lorenzo de El Escorial, B.I.2.

when the steak rattles the lid of the chest. These two miracles occur in close proximity to one another, being compiled as nos 157 and 159 in both T and E, and are drawn from two equally adjacent miracles (18 and 16) in the Rocamadour miracles recorded in the Ripoll manuscript.⁴ In this case, then, the miracles were collected as a pair, and the compilation process did not disguise their origin.

A second case shows different operations of the processes of collection and compilation. Two miracles celebrating the restorative power of the Virgin’s milk are found as CSM 54 and CSM 404:

54	title	The Monk who was Healed by the Virgin’s Milk
	epigraph	Como Santa Maria guarriu con seu leite o monge doente que cuidavan que era morto
404	title	The Priest who was Healed by the Virgin’s Milk
	epigraph	Como Santa Maria guareceu con seu leite o crerigo de grand’ enfermidade, porque a loava

In *cantiga* 54, a devout Cistercian friar (*monge branco*) is afflicted with an infection of the face and throat so that he can neither speak nor swallow, and his fellows think him dead, until the Virgin tends his sores and drops her milk into his mouth. In *cantiga* 404, a priest whose sinfulness is balanced by his devotion to the Virgin is tormented by a painful swelling of the mouth and throat, which makes him bite his own tongue off; an angel intercedes on his behalf and the Virgin anoints his face and chest with her milk, so that he sleeps and is healed. These represent two well-known variants of a Marian miracle tradition, with linked traditional short titles:

54	Milk: Monk Laid out as Dead. ⁵
404	Milk: Tongue and Lips Restored. ⁶

⁴MS *Rivipullensis* 193, no. 18, *De femina que non fideliter tenuit comissa* (fol. 46^r–46^v); no. 16, *De septem peregrinis* (fols 45^v–46^r). Baraut i Obiols (1956: 157–58) reproduces the Latin texts. Only the first story is represented in the larger Rocamadour MSS (Albe 1907, Bull 1999). The Rocamadour text gives no details of what food the woman makes with the flour, while the Ripoll Latin text has her imitate them and use flour and fat to make some *cremola* (also referred to as *crema* and *cremina*) in a pan. The CSM narrative converts this into the more familiar *fillós*, and has the pilgrims add ‘bon queijo rezente/ ca est’ era en verão’ (157, st. 2 l. 4).

⁵Poncelet 540/541/461: found as Pez no. 30, Gil de Zamora, *Liber Mariae* 16.4.5, Adgar, *Gracial* no. 13. See The Oxford *Cantigas de Santa Maria* Database for details of these sources.

⁶Poncelet 184/198/199/980/1350: *Lacte suo sanat BV: clericum qui sibi linguam et labia*

Once again the multiplication of narratives takes place outside the CSM, but here the process of compilation obscures the connection. The apparent separation of the two miracles, as reflected in the numbers 54 and 404 assigned by the standard edition, disguises a different story. In To the two tales are included in relatively close proximity, as nos 69 and 76; in the reorganization of the first nucleus (Parkinson 1988, Parkinson & Jackson 2006: 168-70), To 69 was promoted to T 54, while To 76 was discarded. To 76 receives the editorial number 404 as part of the numbering scheme of Walter Mettmann’s edition (1986–89) by which the five poems found only in To are included as nos 403–407, and placed immediately after the body of poems in E.⁷

2. Noah and Alfonso

The prevalence of pairs of miracles calls to mind the story of Noah’s Ark, celebrated by counting rhymes such as our epigraph. To my knowledge no commentator has made the comparison between Alfonso’s *Cantigas* project and Noah’s Ark project. When you look more closely at the Biblical narrative, however, the comparison is revealing:

And the Lord said unto Noah. Enter thou and all thy
house into the Ark: for thee have I seen righteous before
me in this generation. Of every clean beast thou shalt
take to thee by sevens, the male and his female; but of
the beasts that are not clean by couples, the male and his

praesciderat: Lisbon, B.N., MS Alcobacense 149, no 38, Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* 7.84, Gautier de Coinci, I Miracle 40.

⁷It is not clear why To 76 was not retained. The exclusions of To 50 (403) and To App. I (406) are explicable on grounds of structure and content, as the former (The Seven Sorrows) served to mark the division of To into two blocks of 50, and the second (*Ben vennas Maio*) was neither a *loor* nor a *feſta* (Schaffer 2001). To 79 (405) and To App XIII (407) are both metrically idiosyncratic. The most probable cause is the anticipation of layout problems: the dimensions of To 76 (twenty strophes of AA bbba decasyllables) were something of a layout challenge, as they would require a large amount of the text to be underlaid to achieve full-page layout. T 69 (twenty-one strophes) is set on three pages with seven strophes underlaid, and F 53 (E 267) (20 strophes of hendecasyllables) is set on two pages with two strophes underlaid over twenty staves, and the running text compressed.

female. [...] There came two and two unto Noah into the Ark, male and female, as God had commanded Noah. (Genesis 7.1-2, 9)

As the passage is usually interpreted, the animals came in not just in pairs but in groups of two and fourteen (seven pairs) according to their type (Turner 2009: 40).⁸ This allows us to identify several key similarities between the *CSM* and the Ark: both are large collections of representative items, numerically structured and numerologically significant, and the result of a conscious acquisition policy with a specific end.

Noah's problem was to ensure the preservation of every species, hence pairs of male and female. The division of animals into clean and unclean prefigures the Jewish laws of cleanliness, which would not have made sense to the then vegetarian Noah.⁹ The number seven is firmly established in Jewish numerology through the seven days of creation and the seven tribes of Israel. The dimensions of the Ark (300 cubits by fifty cubits by thirty cubits) were supplied by the Almighty, who alone knew how many species it had to contain.¹⁰

Alfonso's aim, on the other hand, was to promote the Virgin and thereby himself, and his strategy started at the other end. The size of his final compilation, 400 *cantares*, was arrived at by a process of progressive redefinition of the dimensions and internal structure of the manuscripts. The first modest compilation had 100 *cantigas*, and was structured into decades and fifties (Parkinson 1988), with systematic deployment of prologues and epilogues (Parkinson, 2010). The central number is five (*CSM* 70 reminds us of the five letters in the name of the Virgin; the fifth month, May, is the Virgin's month), the division of each decade into one *loor* and nine *miragres* establishes a rosary-like structure, and the importance of fifties calls

⁸This passage has also been interpreted as indicating groups of two and seven; the seven of each clean species would be made up of three pairs, plus one additional specimen for sacrifice (Genesis 8.20-22).

⁹While God assumes Noah knew of such distinctions, we are not told how Noah would have known, or why he would need to know' (Turner 2009: 40).

¹⁰The issue of whether the Ark was a feasible vessel, and could have contained all the animals in the world, still exercises creationist commentators; see Woodmorappe 1996.

to mind the psalms.¹¹ The final compilation had 400 poems, with a decadal and quintal structure running throughout (though this is only evident in the illustrated *codice de las historias*, where the quintal poems have extended illustration). In both the Toledo manuscript and the *código de los músicos* there are separate clusters of festal *cantigas* (a dinghy to the main Ark), and all compilations have poems functioning as prologues and epilogues. Table 1 summarizes the points of comparison between the Ark and the CSM.

Table 1. The Ark and the *Cantigas*

	Ark	CSM
size	total	400 <i>cantigas</i> plus prologues, epilogues, festas
types	clean, unclean; male, female	<i>loores</i> , <i>miragres</i> , quints (in <i>código de las historias</i>), festas
numerical structure	pairs, sevens	in all compilations, every tenth <i>cantiga</i> is a <i>loor</i> , the other nine <i>miragres</i> ; in the <i>código de las historias</i> every quint (fifth poem in each decade) is highly decorated
numerological significance	seven	five for Mary, ten for rosary, 50 for psalms
guiding principle(s)	animals selected, with a view to preservation of life	miracles retold for self-promotion through exemplary devotion

3. Compilation

We can usefully reformulate this comparison in terms of our distinction between collection and compilation. Noah’s problem was collection, as decisions over compilation had been made for him. Alfonso’s changing plans created an ever-expanding structure, in which compilation was the key activity, and collection and composition were progressively dominated by the imperative of achieving critical mass. Collection became an acquisition policy, and composition was a way of converting collected narratives into items suitable for filling positions in the predetermined structure.

¹¹Wulstan (2000:172) assumes this analogy to propose a progression from 150 to 500 *cantigas* as an unrealized final plan.

If we take 400 as a final target for the number of *cantigas*, and assume the structural ratio of nine *miragres* to one *loor*, we end up with a requirement for 360 miracle poems. This is reduced in practice to 359 by the prior decision to open the compilation with a *loor*.¹² This quantity is a good deal more than in most known collections of miracles of the Virgin: Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles* has fifty-eight, Gil de Zamora's *Liber mariae* has ninety, and the Latin *Mariale magnum* controversially reconstructed by Barré (1966) has ninety-two.¹³ To their credit, Alfonso's team came very close to the target of 359, as they managed to produce 357 distinct *miragres* over the lifetime of the project. The only compilation with a claim to completeness, the *códice de los músicos E*, fell further short of this target as it failed to incorporate seven *miragres* found in To and F; the compilers were forced to reuse seven poems as a way of reaching their target. Tables 2 and 3 (overleaf) detail the numbers of poems included in the overall total of 420 unique poems, and analyse the 417 poems contained in E, respectively.

The Alfonsine collection policy can now be fully stated, as a priority list:

1. search standard compilations (*marialia*, Gautier, Vincent)¹⁴
2. search local sources (shrines of Salas, Vila-Sirga, Terena, Tudia)
3. use personal recollections (miracles of royal family)
4. recycle, reuse, relocate
5. as a last resort, repeat poems already used

It is in the penultimate line of the list that compilation impinges on composition, by ordering the generation of new miracles from old. Mettmann (1988) got some way towards defining the collection policy, identifying a number of cases of reuse and relocation of miracles, but did not appreciate the implications for the process of composition. Where we cannot trace paired narratives to multiple sources, as in the case of CSM 157 and 159 above, it seems logical to

¹²See Mettmann (1986–89: I, 22) and Parkinson 2010.

¹³See Bétérous (1984: 230) for more vernacular collections.

¹⁴The eighty-nine *miragres* of the first collection of 100 are mainly 'international' miracles drawn from standard sources (Mettmann 1986–89: 12, Parkinson & Jackson 2006: 163).

attribute the multiplication of stories to the compositional process in the Alfonsine scriptorium itself. We will now look at a number of cases which seem to have originated in this way.

Table 2: Types of Poem

type	identification	totals
title	prologue A	1
prologues and epilogues	prologue B, prologue to Festas de Santa Maria, <i>Pitiçon</i> , epilogue (402)	4
<i>loores</i>	1, 10, 20, etc., To 50, To I	43
<i>festas</i> not duplicating <i>loores</i>	10 Festas de Santa Maria 5 Festas de Jesucristo (To)	15
miragres		357
total		420

Table 3: Types of Poem in MS E

type	identification	totals
title	prologue A	1
unique Festas de Santa Maria	prologue + 10 Festas	11
title	prologue A	1
prologues and epilogues	prologue B, <i>Pitiçon</i> , epilogue (402)	3
<i>loores</i>	1, 10, 20, ...400	41
unique <i>miragres</i>		352
<i>festas</i> duplicating <i>loores</i>	FSM2=340, FSM6=210	2
<i>miragres</i> duplicated in E	373=267, 387=349, 388=295 394=187, 395=165, 396=289 397=192	7
total poems		417

4. Composition: Paired narratives from the CSM archive

4.1 Two miraculous aids to construction

CSM 356 and 358 narrate two miraculous events in the construction of the church at Puerto de Santa Maria, built after the town of Al-Qanat was emblematically dedicated to the Virgin by Alfonso (Montoya Martínez 2006). The cycle of twenty-four poems which completes the final compilation are the only written record of the

miracle tradition. Unfortunately, they were added to the compilation roster too late for any of them to be illustrated in the *códice de las historias*. In CSM 356 a quantity of much-needed wood is miraculously washed down river, and in CSM 358 cut stone blocks appear ready to use in a quarry. These two stories are part of a long tradition of construction miracles. Ward (1982: 150–52) analyses the miracles associated with the rebuilding of the church at Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive in Normandy in 1145 (themselves modelled on miracles of the rebuilding of Chartres Cathedral). They focus on the *plaustra*, carts bringing building materials to the church, similar to ones depicted in the first two panels of the miniature to CSM 266, which relates a miracle of the construction of the church at Castroxeriz.¹⁵ The first two *plaustra* of the French miracle stories bring wood and stone, respectively, and the Castroxeriz carts carry exactly the same building materials, both appearing as supplies donated by the faithful. It is but a short step from observing the miraculous generosity of the populace to narrating the miraculous appearance of these supplies.

4.2 Two industrial accidents

The miracles of Saint-Pierre-sur-Dive also have three narratives of the protection of workers, in both cases from injury when building materials or laden carts come out of control.¹⁶ A similar narrative is found in the Puerto de Santa Maria cycle (CSM 364), when workers survive the collapse of a tower undermined by their excavation. In the Castroxeriz cycle, CSM 242 and 249 give two accounts of how during the building of the church a stonemason fell from the wall he was finishing but was unharmed, thanks to the Virgin Mary. In the first narrative, the mason holds onto the stonework by his fingertips, ‘dependorado das unllas’, but is supported by the Virgin for the whole day, until help arrives:

Est’ era mui bon maestre | de pedra pōer con cal,

¹⁵The miniature is found on fol. 84^r of F, without its corresponding text.

¹⁶See Ward (1982: 152) and Delisle (1860: 16–17). Two beneficiaries (Andrea and Odo) are named, beside a third unidentified *quidam*: Andrea survives (*minime laesus est*) a large stone falling on his foot; Odo survives falling under the wheels of a heavily laden cart; and the third pilgrim is saved when a loose cart miraculously stops just before it crushes him.

e mais d’ outra ren fiava | na Virgen esperital;
e porende cada dia | vīia i seu jornal
lavrar encima da obra. | E ouve d’ acaecer

R

Un dia en que lavrava | no mais alto logar i
da obr’, e anbolos pees | lle faliron e assi
coidou caer, e a Virgen | chamou, per com’ aprendi,
os dedos en ũa pedra | deitou, e fez lo tēer

R

A Virgen Santa Maria. | Enas unllas atan ben
o teve, macar gross’ era, | que sol non caeu per ren;
e assi chamand’ estava | a Sennor que nos manten,
dependorado das unllas | e colgado por caer.

R

E estev’ assi gran peça | do dia, com’ apres’ ei,
que acorrudo das gentes | non foi, segund’ eu achei;
mas correu lle a Virgen, | a Madre do alto Rey,
ata que vōo a gente | e o fez en decender.

(CSM 242, st. 3–6)

In the second, shorter, narrative he falls but lands unharmed apart from a bump on the head.

E caeu ben do mais alto; | e en caendo chamou
a Virgen Santa Maria, | que o mui toste livrou:
ca pero que da cabeça | sobelos cantos topou,
assi o guardou a Virgen | que sol non se foi ferir.

(CSM 249, st. 5)

In the absence of separate traditions, it is reasonable to conclude that the two stories are different elaborations of a schematic narrative, ‘how a mason fell from a great height but was unharmed, thanks to the Virgin Mary’. In this case, there is textual evidence that the two poems were developed in parallel from a single model, using the same metrics, some of the same rhymes, and possibly even some common text (Parkinson 1998).

4.3 Two spiders in the chalice

Two adjacent narratives, CSM 222 and CSM 225, concern a classic

sacramental dilemma: what to do if a spider falls into the consecrated communion chalice.¹⁷ In 222 the dilemma strikes a chaplain at the Portuguese convent of Chelas, and in 225 a Spanish priest in Ciudad Rodrigo. In each case the hapless cleric swallows the spider, and is in fear of his life as spiders are assumed to be poisonous. (This belief is confirmed by CSM 201 in which a woman attempts suicide by eating spiders: the first not being poisonous enough, she finds a bigger one). Once again we can see these two *cantigas* as two developments of the same schematic miracle narrative: 'how a priest swallowed a spider and survived'.

The narratives occur almost side by side in the E compilation, though they are separated in F.¹⁸ They use exactly the same metre (*grave* fifteen-syllable lines, with caesura),¹⁹ are almost identical in length (222 has ten stanzas, 225 has eleven) and share almost half of their rhymes (not just *-anna*, as would be expected in a poem on an *aranna*, but also *-oso*, *-ado*, *-ida*, *-ia* and *-isto*, all common but not automatic *grave* rhymes). The two narratives emphasize different aspects of the story. CSM 222 is a fairly schematic narrative, concentrating on the priestly dilemma and its miraculous solution. The first strophe meditates on the power of the Virgin, and the second announces the miracle. The next two introduce the convent of Chelade, located 'a par dũa vila | mui rica cidade / que é chamada Lixbõa', after which the spider finally makes its appearance:

Quando a consomir ouve | o corpo de Jesu Cristo
 per que o demo vençudo | foi ja por sempr' e conquisto
 caeo dentro no caliz | esto foi sabud' e visto
 per un fi' ùa aranna | grand' e negr' e avorruda.
 (CSM 222, st. 5)

A further two strophes narrate the consumption of the spider and the

¹⁷From the frequency of discussions on internet sites, this is still a live dilemma. Officially, the priest should extract the spider, wash it with wine, burn it, and dispose of it in the *sacrarium* where all communion residues are consigned (*De defectibus*, paragraph 35).

¹⁸CSM 222 is no. 93 in F, while CSM 225 is no. 67. In the reconstructed order of F, proposed by Jackson 2002, they are more widely spread, as nos 344 and 295, respectively.

¹⁹This common metrical scheme is assigned number XIII in Mettmann's (1986–89: 42) metrical classification.

treatment of the presumed poison by mass phlebotomy ordered by the abbess — ‘mandou-o sangrar log’ essa / dona e todas as monjas’ (st. 7, ll. 3–4) — after which the miracle is completed in a single strophe:

Mais agora oiredes | todos a mui gran façanna
que ali mostrou a Virgen | nunca vistas tan estranna
pelo braço lle saiu | viva aquela aranna
ante que sangui saisse | per u deran a ferida.
(CSM 222, st. 8)

The last two strophes record the nuns giving thanks, and enjoin listeners to do likewise.

CSM 225, only one strophe longer, has a much more extended narrative, concentrating on the spider and the priest’s discomfort. Strophe four narrates the finding and swallowing of the spider:

...viu no caliz | jazer ãa grand’ aranna
dentro no sangui nadando | e teve-o por estranna
cousa, mais mui grand’ esforço | fillou, a foro d’Espanna
e de consumir-lo todo | non vos foi mui vagaroso.
(CSM 225, st. 4)

The spider then spends five strophes wandering itchily around the priest’s innards (pausing during one strophe in which the priest asks the Virgin for help):

Esta aranna andando | per cima do espiaço
e depois pelos costados | e en dereito do baço
des i ia-ll’ aos peitos | e sol non leixava braço
per que assi non andasse; | e o corpo mui veloso
R
avia esta aranna. (CSM 225, st. 8–9)

In three final strophes the priest finally scratches at the irritation and releases the spider, which comes out from under his fingernail. The spider is despatched, powdered, and eaten the next time the priest says mass:

E tan toste que saida | foi, o crerigo fillou-a
e fez logo dela poos | e en sa bolsa guardou-a
e quando disse sa missa | consumiu-a e passou-a
e disse que lle soubera | a manjar mui saboroso.
(CSM 225, st. 10)

The final stanza records an act of praise, and unexpected moral benefits for the priest: ‘e des ali adeante | foi o crerigo por isto | mui mais na fe confirmado | e non foi luxurioso’ (CSM 225, st. 11). From this comparison, you can see that 222 is the more serious narrative, and 225 the comic tale closer to folktale traditions. Interestingly, 222 has the better music, full of spidery melismas, which would perfectly well fit the extended description of the spider’s itinerary in 225 (and given the identity of metrics, could indeed have been used for it). 225 has not only some rather routine music, but a vague and generic refrain: ‘*Muito bon miragr’ a Virgen | faz estranno e fremoso | porque a verdad’ entenda | o neicio perfioso*’. There is nothing in the narrative corresponding to the enlightenment of a *neicio perfioso* through this miracle, as the priest who is sole beneficiary is initially identified as a fine singer, and only as an afterthought as a closet doubter and *luxurioso*. By contrast, the mention of *poçonyã*, ‘poison’, in the refrain of CSM 222 makes a clear reference to the narrative: ‘*Quen ouver na Groriosa | fiança con fe comprida | Non lle nozira poçõya | e dar-ll’ á por sempre vida*’. The concurrence of the generic refrain and the otherwise unexplained reference to the priest being cured of *luxuria*, suggests the interference of tales in which a miracle returns a sinful priest to the way of righteousness. All of this seems to point to a single source narrative being stretched to two *miragres*, even though there was not quite enough music or text to go around.

In this case the process of compilation can also contribute to the explanation. CSM 222 is a normal *miragre*, while 225, as its number suggests, is a quint, destined to be illustrated with two pages of miniatures. The 400-*cantiga* collection needed not only forty *loores* but forty substantial poems to serve as quints. *Cantiga 222*, the *miragre*, has a compressed narrative suitable for six panels of illustration; 225, the quint, even though it is not much longer in textual terms, has enough narrative material for twelve panels. Only the first of the predicted two pages survives in MS F, taking the narrative up to the

invocation to the Virgin in strophe 7. The remaining six panels would probably have comprised three images of the spider passing through the various portions of the priest's anatomy, one of it emerging, one of it being eaten again, and a final image of praise. The elaboration of the two versions show that the poets or the organizers of the project saw an opportunity to add to their store of both types of poem.

Most studies list this as a miracle of unknown source, but the life of an early saint throws up an obvious parallel. According to Alban Butler's *Lives of the Saints*, this saint:

is usually represented with a chalice and a spider. The legend is that he was celebrating mass on Easter Sunday, when a large spider dropped into the chalice. Out of respect for the sacrament, and ignoring the commonly held view that all or most spiders are poisonous, he swallowed it without doing himself any harm. (Butler 1997: 204)

The saint in question is Swiss, St Konrad of Konstanz, who died in 975 and was canonized by Calixtus II in 1123. This is unlikely to be the source narrative, as the tale known as the *Spinnenwunder* seems to have entered the canon of the life of St Konrad only in the fourteenth century; the coincidence shows, however, that such a tale was available for use in the production of miracle stories, with appropriate temporal and geographical coordinates. The creators of the Konrad story placed their saint in his Cathedral on Easter Day, while the CSM poets ascribe the miracle to a Spanish parish priest and a Portuguese convent chaplain, and locate it on the Marian Feast of the Assumption.²⁰

4.4 Two lost hawks

Cantigas 44 and 232 recount the loss and recovery of goshawks belonging to devout noblemen. In CSM 44, an *infançon* loses his hawk, and takes a wax effigy of the bird to the church of the Virgin

²⁰Neither version of the twelfth-century *Vita* of the saint has this tale (Berschin 1975a and 1975b; Hillenbrand 1980), nor do any of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century depictions of the saint show the spider (Müller 1975, plates 1 and 2). Similar tales are attributed to St Francis and to St Norbert (died 1134, canonized 1582).

in Salas; before the end of mass the bird appears in the church and swoops down onto his hand. In *CSM* 232 a *cavaleiro* from Burgos loses a hawk, and after four months of fruitless searching decides to take a wax effigy to the church at Vila-Sirga. His offering is accepted, and the hawk is waiting on its perch when he comes home.

Despite the variation of minor details, this is essentially the same story, developed over the same number of strophes (nine) and using almost exactly the same rhymes, sometimes even in the corresponding strophes.²¹ Here we have the development of shrine collections as a separate principle of diversification, as the two are associated with Salas and Vila-Sirga, two major Pilgrim Way shrines, both well represented in the first collections.²² Interestingly, the votive offering in wax of the weight or shape of the object of intercession is a common motif in Salas miracles (Aguado Bleye 1916), but is not otherwise found in Vila-Sirga ones, suggesting that this is a Salas miracle which was later cloned as a Vila-Sirga one.²³

This pair of miracles shows another feature of propagation. *CSM* 44 uses a verse form typical of the early part of the project, ten-syllable lines. *CSM* 232 uses the longer metre, fifteen syllables divided into two half lines, which becomes the norm in the second half of the corpus. It is well known that the early phases of the project privileged dramatic and metrically complex renderings of miracles, whereas the closing stages, and particularly the last hundred *cantigas*, show much less metrical inventiveness (Parkinson 2000: 138). This is highlighted by three pairs of *miragres* in which substantially the same narrative is versified firstly in the early portion, and subsequently in the last hundred.²⁴

²¹Strophes 3–6 of each poem use the rhymes *-ar*, *-ou*, *-i*, and *-ei* in that order. Both poems use *-er*, *-or*, *-on*, and *-eus*. See Parkinson 2000 and Betti 1997 for the frequency of these agudo rhymes in the *CSM*.

²²Salas is represented in twenty-two *cantigas*: 43, 44, 109, 114, 118, 129, 161, 163, 164, 166, 167, 168, 171, 172, 173, 176, 177, 178, 179, 189, 247, 408=F14; Vila-Sirga is represented in fourteen poems: 31, 217, 218, 227, 229, 232, 234, 243, 253, 268, 278, 301, 313, 355.

²³Wax offerings appear in *CSM* 43, 118, 166, 167, 176, 177, 247. Another version of the tale, also involving votive wax, appears as *CSM* 366, located in Puerto de Santa Maria and associated with Alfonso's brother Manuel.

²⁴These cases are different from linked pairs such as 35 and 362 (Vandrey 1980, Parkinson & Jackson 2006) where two different stories from the same source collection (in this case Chartres), placed close together in *To*, are dispersed in *E*.

4.5 Two blasphemous gamblers, two monastic children, two lustful knights.

Two versions of the same Italian miracle, on the punishment of a gambling woman who throws a stone at a statue of the Virgin in anger at losing a game of dice, explicitly localized in Apulia, turn up first (CSM 136) as a seven-stanza piece in thirteen-syllable *grave* lines (often but not always divided 7'+5'), and then (294) as an eight-stanza poem of fifteen-syllable *grave* lines divided 7'+7'. Mettmann (1988) discusses this case at length. Having shown that there are strong linguistic similarities between the two widely separated narratives, and that they both explicitly refer to an event attributed to Apulia, he concludes that the story must have come from an Italian source, and draws an anachronistic conclusion:

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. (Mettmann 1988: 82)

Plagiarism is not a concept which is usually associated with the development of miracle collections, where it was normal to appropriate narratives and reproduce text (see footnote 2). A much more likely explanation is that the two poems were developed from the same schematic narrative, either together or in successive stages of development of the compilations. While keeping the protagonists and location, the expansion introduces enough variation to make them appear different: CSM 136 has the gambler's stone hit a statue of the Virgin, while CSM 294 has a stone angel intercepting it. The poem ultimately compiled as CSM 294, with its less adventurous metrics, was either held over for deployment later in the compilation, or was created in the middle phase of the project.

The second case is the tale of the child, brought up in a monastery, who talks to a statue of the Christ child, offers him food, and is

Here there are no metrical differences.

prematurely taken to heaven.²⁵ *Cantiga* 139 tells this tale in four stanzas of complex metrics, in which an eight-line aaabcccb refrain, repeated completely in the *vuelta*, overpowers a four-line *mudanzas* of four-syllable lines.

*Maravillosos
e piadosos
e mui fremosos
miragres faz
Santa Maria
a que nos guia
ben noit' e dia
e nos dá paz.*
E dest' un miragre vos contar quero
que en Frandes aquesta Virgen fez,
Madre de Deus, maravillos' e fero
por hũa dona que foi hua vez
a sa eigreja
desta que seja
por nos, e veja-
mo-la sa faz
no Paraiso
u Deus dar quiso
goio e riso
a quen lle praz.
Maravillosos ...(CSM 139, st. 1)

In this strophic form, the short lines are used to create brisk dialogue, while the long lines are used for narrative. When the story returns as no. 353, we have twenty stanzas of the standard fifteen-syllable line, with extended dialogue in whole or half stanzas:

*Quen a omagen da Virgen | e de seu Fillo onrrar,
deles será muit' onrrado | no seu ben, que non á par.*
E de tal razon com' esta | vos direi, se vos prouguer,

²⁵Poncelet 10, *Accidit autem ut quaedam pauper mulier cum parvulo filio* and 1671 *De quodam parvulo*; also known as Bread, found in Vincent de Beauvais and Gil de Zamora.

miragre que fez a Virgen, | que sempre nosso ben quer,
per que ajamos o reino | de seu fill', ond' a moller
primeira nos deitou fora, | que foi malament' errar
Quen a omagen da Virgen | e de seu Fillo onrrar...
(CSM 353, st. 1)

The final repetition of this pattern is in two tales of a lustful knight, neither named nor localized, whose urges are miraculously suppressed:

- 137 Rubric Como Santa Maria fez seer casto a un cavaleiro que soia
seer mui luxurioso
- 336 Rubric Como un cavaleiro que era mui luxurioso, per rogo que
fez a Santa Maria, ouve cambiada a natura que nunca
pois catou por tal preito.

The early version, CSM 137, is versified in thirteen-syllable lines, while the later one, CSM 336, is cast in conventional fifteen-syllable lines.

5. The interplay of compilation and composition.

Even though the first compilation of the CSM dates from the 1270s, the execution of the royal manuscripts of the complete compilation has been assigned to the last few years of Alfonso's reign (Fernández Fernández 2009). The haste which led to the abandonment of the incomplete MS F also explains the increasing reuse of narratives in the last hundred, which finally gives way to the repetition of previous compositions in the last twenty poems of E. It is interesting to note that the last three cases of duplication of narratives affect poems adjacent in the earlier stage of the compilations — nos 136, 137, and 139 — which suggests a conscious search for re-deployable material. This contrasts with a countervailing strategy which may have operated at a less pressurized stage, that of the avoidance of duplication: in the two stories of the Virgin's milk discussed in section 1, the narratives based on divergent traditions were both included in the earliest collection, To, but the second was not carried over into the larger compilations.

6. Go forth and multiply?

Our comparison between Noah's Ark and Alfonso's *Cantigas* has

focused on the gathering-in of their precious contents. There is a further contrast to be made in the extent to which they achieved their aims. Noah’s Ark was constructed to preserve life, and contained breeding pairs of animals. It was successful, as when the flood was over it landed on a remote mountain top, from where its contents went forth and multiplied. Alfonso collected miracles and multiplied them, before compiling his precious manuscripts, with the intention of furthering his reputation. His enterprise was ultimately unsuccessful, as most of his work ended up in the mountain fastness of the Escorial library, only to become widely known in the last century or so (Fernández Fernández 2009, Ferreira 2010). The reasons for the failure of the CSM project are well known, but we are still only beginning to work out what went on inside it.

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