MARIAN DEVOTION THROUGH MUSIC, LYRIC, AND MIRACLE NARRATIVE IN THE CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARÍA

by

VICTORIA C. GRANDA

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

Thesis Adviser: Dr. David J. Rothenberg

Department of Music

CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

CASE WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES

We hereby approve the thesis of

Victoria C. Granda

candidate for the <u>Master of Arts</u> degree*.

(signed) <u>Dr. David J. Rothenberg</u>

(Chair of the Committee)

Dr. L. Peter Bennett

Dr. Ross W. Duffin

March 27, 2013

Date of Defense

^{*} We also certify that written approval has been obtained for any proprietary material contained therein.

For my mother

CONTENTS

DEDICATION			iii
LIST OF TABI	LES		V
ACKNOWLED	GME	NTS	v i
ABSTRACT			viii
INTRODUCTI	ON		1
Chapter 1.	Histo	ory and Historiography of the Cantigas de Santa María	6
Chapter 2.	Lyri	c, Narrative, and Marian Miracles	22
Chapter 3.	The V	Virelai and the Refrain	28
Chapter 4.	Music and Narrative in Ten Representative Cantigas		
CONCLUSION	ſ		54
APPENDIX	Musical Editions and Translations of Selected Cantigas		56
	(1)	CSM 2, To 2. Muito devemos varões	57
	(2)	CSM 12, To 13. O que a Santa Maria mais despraz	61
	(3)	CSM 26, To 24. Non é gran cousa se sabe	63
	(4)	CSM 14, To 15. Par Deus, muit'é gran razon	67
	(5)	CSM 24, To 16. Madre de Deus, non pod' errar	71
	(6)	CSM 36, To 37. Muit' amar devemos en nossas voontades	
	(7)	CSM 18, To 16. Por nos de dulta tirar	77
	(8)	CSM 63, To 51. Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer	82
	(9)	CSM 64, To 54. Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guarder	86
	(10)	CSM 104, To 96. Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer	
BIBLIOGRAPI	HY		93

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Selected Miracle Cantigas with Refrain, Rubric, and Musical Form......33-34

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I begin by acknowledging my adviser, Dr. David J. Rothenberg, for his immense support and encouragement throughout this project. Without his guidance, this thesis would never have happened. Along with Dr. Rothenberg, I thank the other members of the thesis committee, Drs. Peter Bennett and Ross W. Duffin, for their kindness and valuable criticism. I also thank the entire Department of Music at Case Western Reserve University, for all their support and access to such a high level of scholarship during the last four years, while I pursued both Bachelor's and Master's degrees through the Integrated Graduate Studies Program. Here I particularly recognize our Chair, Dr. Duffin, for all his insight and assistance.

I am very thankful for all the institutional support that funded my trip to Spain to conduct research for this project during the summer of 2012. The Phi Beta Kappa Alpha Chapter of Ohio, the University's Eva L. Pancoast Memorial Fellowship, and the Department of Music provided the necessary travel grants that enabled me to examine the Cantigas de Santa María manuscripts and other books in the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial and the Biblioteca Nacional de España, along with visits to the physical locations of these miracle narratives in a quest to understand medieval Spain and Europe. I am grateful to Fray Fabián Cerezal, the librarian at El Escorial, for all his kind assistance, and to Pilar Pulgar for her hospitality while I worked in Madrid.

Family and friends have pillared my efforts. I thank the many friends who have brought me happiness and much encouragement throughout this project. I thank my family for the incredible opportunities they have given me, along with

their love and laughter, without which none of this work would be worth it. I particularly thank my father, Ignacio Granda, for those chants I learned to appreciate when only a small child and for introducing me to the grand world of music. Most of all, I thank my mother, Graciella Cruz Taura de Granda, for the immeasurable help she has given me, from scholarly input and feedback to comfort through all times when I didn't think I could complete this task, and of course, for her usual tough love. It is to her that I dedicate this thesis.

Marian Devotion through Music, Lyric, and Miracle Narrative in the *Cantigas de Santa María*

Abstract

by

VICTORIA C. GRANDA

The Cantigas de Santa María were compiled by King Alfonso X the Wise of Castile (r. 1252-1284), amidst an upsurge of Marian devotion and a simultaneous proliferation of vernacular poetry and monophonic music, all outgrowths of the twelfth century. This thesis shows not just that music, lyric, and narrative converge in the cantigas de miragro (miracle songs), but that it is specifically the form that allows the melody of the refrain to connect the moral of the song, expressed lyrically during the refrain, to the miracle narrative presented in the verses. Selections from the Toledo Codex illustrate that the cantigas' melodies, which are deployed using two specific musical forms, virelai and Andalusian rondeau, reinforce their devotional intent. The musical structure strengthens both story and moral in each cantiga, thus joining music, lyric, and narrative to allow Cantigas de Santa María to be a uniquely powerful vehicle for Marian devotion.

Introduction

During the thirteenth century, Western Europe witnessed a simultaneous flowering of popular Marian devotion, lyrical and narrative poetry, and vernacular song, all significant outgrowths of twelfth-century developments. In the Iberian Peninsula, where Christian rulers were consolidating power at the expense of receding Muslim rule, Marian devotion and cultural activity were particularly intensive. King Alfonso X "the Wise" of Castile (ruled 1252-1284) personally directed the compilation of the *Cantigas de Santa María* (henceforth CSM) during the middle of the century. It is a noteworthy accomplishment because it combined all three of the aforementioned trends. The CSM is a collection of over four hundred cantigas (songs) of devotion to the Virgin Mary in the poetic language Galician-Portuguese. It is transmitted in four codices, three of which contain musical notation.¹ The CSM contains two genres of *cantiga*: *cantigas de loor* (praise songs) and cantigas de miragro (miracle songs). The former are songs of praise to the Virgin Mary, which appear as every tenth *cantiga*; they are devotional and lyrical and are, in essence, sacred adaptations of the secular troubadour and trouvère traditions. The latter are narrative songs that each tell the story of a miracle by the Virgin Mary, and constitute the majority of the collection.

Medieval poetry and songs dedicated to the Virgin Mary served as precedents for the CSM. That is the case with Gautier de Coinci's *chansons*, which

¹ See Chapter 1 for overview of general literature on CSM.

influenced the *cantigas*.² Gautier (ca. 1177-1236), a Benedictine monk from Soissons, wrote the *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, a collection of Marian miracle narratives which includes eighteen songs of praise to the Virgin written with musical notation in the trouvère tradition. Gautier is widely considered the first notable composer of Old French Marian devotional songs and a source for the CSM.³ Even more influential on the CSM than Gautier's songs is Gonzalo de Berceo's work.4 Berceo, who died in the mid-thirteenth century, wrote the *Milagros de Nuestra* Señora, a collection of twenty-five Marian miracle narrative poems that served as a precedent for the *cantigas de miragro*. Berceo was a presbyter and the first nominally recognized Castilian-language poet whose verses circulated during Alfonso's life (1221-1284). The collection was a landmark in Spanish vernacular poetry and served as a source for narratives contained in the CSM. Significantly for this thesis, at the end of each miracle narrative, Berceo provided a moral lesson. Notwithstanding Berceo's important contribution to literature and language, it was Alfonso and his court scholars who adapted this narrative poetry into elevated musical song.

In the CSM, a departure from the traditions of the troubadours and trouvères is visible not only in the stylistic influence of liturgical music, but also in the

2

² Germán Rossi and Santiago Disalvo, "El trovador y la rosa: huellas de las *chansons* marianas de Gautier de Coinci en las *Cantigas de Santa María* de Alfonso X," *Medievalia* 41 (2009): 42-59.

³ Daniel E. O'Sullivan, *Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century French Lyric* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 11; John Haines, "A Sight-Reading Vielle Player from the Thirteenth Century," in *The Sounds and Sights of Performance in Early Music: Essays in Honor of Timothy J. McGee*, ed. Maureen Epp and Brian E. Power (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009), 15.

⁴ Richard Burkard, *The cult of the Virgin in the 'Milagros' of Gonzalo de Berceo: its type and purpose* (Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 2011).

predominant use of the virelai form and its variants, the most common being the "Andalusian rondeau," a term coined by Manuel Pedro Ferreira. The virelai predominates in both the *cantigas de loor* and *de miragro*; however, the latter genre presents the most significant and elaborate innovation. Thus, I have selected ten cantigas de miragro from the oldest extant source, the Toledo Codex (henceforth To), to illustrate the unique contribution that Alfonso the Wise and his collaborators made to thirteenth-century art. Their central innovation was to take miracle narratives from various sources, including mostly Latin *Mariale* collections but also Gautier de Coinci's and Gonzalo de Berceo's collections, along with some local oral traditions, and introduce new lyrical and musical elements when setting them as cantigas. In his conference paper "The Refram in the Cantigas de Santa María," literary scholar Carlos Alberto Vega noted the poetic importance of the virelai and its internal repetition, that is, its use of the refrain. He explained that through the refrain, "particularly in the miragro canticles," Alfonso "transcended several constraints of narrative poetry and imbued his tales with a unique lyrical tone."7 Vega emphasized the "thematic role" of the refrain and argued that "if we would ... listen to an Alfonsine canticle performed in both words and music and try to be more sensitive to how the chorus and story interact with each other" we might see

-

⁵ Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "Andalusian Music and the Cantigas de Santa María," in *Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria,*' ed. Stephen Parkinson, 7-19 (Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre of the University of Oxford, 2000).

⁶ Carlos Alberto Vega, "The *Refram* in the Cantigas de Santa María," in *Alfonso X of Castile the Learned King (1221-1284): An International Symposium, Harvard University, 17 November 1984*, ed. Francisco Márquez Villanueva and Carlos Alberto Vega, 132-158 (Cambridge: The Department of Romance Languages and Literatures of Harvard University, 1990).

⁷ Ibid., 132.

the "complex and sophisticated exchange between lyric refrain and narrative gloss."

This thesis builds upon Vega's argument, presenting a more thorough analysis of how refrain forms function in the CSM. I show not just that music, lyric, and narrative converge in these *cantigas*, but that it is specifically the refrain form that allows the melody of the refrain to connect the moral of the song, expressed lyrically during the refrain, to the miracle narrative that is presented during the verses.

The addition of well-formulated music to miracle narratives is what makes the CSM a cultural landmark. Within the musical settings of the *cantigas de miragro*, the refrain is especially prominent: it tells the moral of the story, in the manner of Berceo's morals, always reinforcing devotion and praise of the Virgin Mary. The refrain is repeated multiple times throughout the song as each *cantiga* contains several verse stanzas alternating with a two-line refrain. The music accompanying the didactic refrain text, moreover, is repeated as a *cauda* at the end of each verse, thus integrating the sentiment of the refrain into the narrative through musical repetition. The musical structure therefore reinforces both the story and the moral of each *cantiga*. Alfonso's formal use of music as a devotional device in the CSM is a remarkable development, one of his many contributions to musical and poetic conventions. Through the bond established by the refrain, the marriage of music, lyric, and narrative allows the CSM to emerge as a uniquely powerful vehicle for the devotion to the Virgin Mary that pervaded thirteenth-century culture.

⁸ Ibid., 132-133.

CHAPTER 1

HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARÍA

Sometime shortly after Alfonso the Wise became King of Castile in 1252, the *Cantigas de Santa María* were first compiled. The king's personal interest in devotion was evident in the first *cantiga*, "Porque trobar é coisa em que jaz, in which he calls himself a "trobador" of the Virgin. The three manuscript sources of the CSM that include music are the aforementioned Toledo Codex (To), the *Códice rico* (T), and the *Coódice de los músicos* (E). Scholars have dubbed the manuscript T the *Códice rico* (rich codex) because it contains numerous illuminations, including six miniatures per *cantiga*. The manuscript E, called the *Códice de los músicos* (codex of the musicians), completes the collection with over 400 songs, along with the famous miniatures depicting court musicians.

The manuscript To is, according to Manuel Pedro Ferreira, the oldest of the extant sources. Because of its notation and copying mistakes, he argues convincingly that it is a copy made ca. 1270 of a lost original, which Alfonso began compiling soon after his assumption to the throne in 1252.¹¹ To contains one hundred *cantigas* and two appendices: one entitled *Festas de Santa María* (Feasts of Holy Mary), with twelve songs similar to the *cantigas de loor*, and another one with sixteen additional

⁹ Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 10069 (Toledo Codex/To); Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS T.I.1 (Códice Rico/T); Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS B.I.2 (Códice de los músicos/E).

¹⁰ There is also a CSM manuscript known as the *Códice de Florencia* (F), Ms. B.R.20, which is housed at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale de Firenze, in Florence, Italy; never completed, it leaves blank the spaces reserved for the music.

¹¹ Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "The Stemma of the Marian Cantigas: Philological and Musical Evidence," in *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria* 6 (1994): 58-98.

cantigas, two being *de loor*. As Stephen Parkinson has explained, it was primarily a work of personal devotion, relatively devoid of the political subtext present in the later sources T and E.¹²

To understand the CSM, we must note its historical context. Alfonso X is extremely important in the development of Spanish literary culture.¹³ He was responsible for establishing Castilian as a literary language and his court produced significant works, including his landmark legal code, the Siete Partidas (Seven Sections), written between 1256 and 1265. Alfonso also directed two historical projects, the first being the *General estoria* (General History), a monumental work intended to record universal history from the beginning of time, though its six volumes did not reach past the time of Christ. It used the Bible along with classical secular works as sources. He also directed the Estoria de Espanna (History of Spain) divided into two sections, one from Creation to the Muslim conquest of 711, and the other reaching the death of his father, Fernando III, in 1252.¹⁴ Fernando played an important part in the *Reconquista* (Reconquest), the collective term given to various phases of war between 718 and 1492, nearly eight centuries during which Christians sought to retake the Iberian Peninsula from Muslim rule. Under Fernando, who eventually became a Catholic saint, the tide of the *Reconquista* turned in favor

⁻

¹² Stephen Parkinson. "Alfonso X, miracle collector," in Alfonso X El Sabio: Las Cantigas de Santa María, ed. Laura Fernández Fernández and Carlos Ruiz Souza, vol 2. (Madrid: Testimonio, 2011), 341-57.

¹³ Ferdinand Josef Wolf, *Historia de las literaturas castellana y portuguesa*, trans. Miguel de Unamuno and rev. Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo (Madrid: La España Moderna, 1896), 17-20, 95-99.

¹⁴ "Fernando III el Santo," in *Estoria de Espanna que fizo el muy noble rey don Alfonsso fijo del rey don Fernando et de la reyna donna Beatriz,* in Alfonso X, el Sabio, *Primera Crónica General,* 1: 713-774, ed. Ramón Menéndez Pidal (Madrid: Bailly-Baillière é hijos, 1906).

of the Christians, who gained control of the important cities of Córdoba (1238) and Seville (1248), limiting Islamic rule to only the southern Emirate of Granada. The great mosques of these conquered cities in al-Andalus were immediately consecrated, and dedicated to the Virgin Mary, as documented in Estoria de Espanna and sung about in the CSM. 15 In 1252, Alfonso became the first Castilian king to ascend to the throne in Seville, where the great mosque had just become the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Sea. 16 His parents, Fernando and Beatriz Isabel (she of the House of Hohenstaufen), were laid to rest in the Chapter's Chapel near the iconic Virgen de los Reyes (the Monarchs' Virgin) which tradition holds Fernando had carried with him into the reconquered city, along with an ivory sculpture of the Virgen de las Batallas (the Battles' Virgin) which had been in his saddle. Alfonso's decision to place the royal mausoleum in the Marian chapel further supports what Linda B. Hall has argued in her monograph Mary, Mother and Warrior, namely, that devotion to the Virgin Mary "was manifested particularly strongly on the Castilian-Moorish frontier."17 Amy Remensnyder has characterized Alfonso's reign as the "Marian monarchy," a counterexample among the secular monarchies then consolidating power throughout the European medieval landscape. Alfonso "believed his role as monarch was suffused with the sacred" and Holy Mary was

¹⁵ Ibid., and CSM 292. On the impressive rate at which churches were consecrated to the Virgin Mary during the Reconquista, see data from William A. Christian, *Local Religion in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), as cited in Linda B. Hall, *Mary, Mother and Warrior: The Virgin in Spain and the Americas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 27-28.

¹⁶ Estoria de Espanna, 767.

¹⁷ Hall, 27.

"fundamental to his very conception of power." ¹⁸ Thus the importance and personal attention that Alfonso gave to his *Cantigas de Santa María* project.

Alfonso's Marian devotion was probably only matched by his love of learning. Even before becoming king, he had convened numerous scholars of the three Abrahamic religions to study and preserve all knowledge. He had established the Translators' School in Toledo and a Music chair at the University of Salamanca.¹⁹ As king, he continued to be personally engaged in the full range of scholarly pursuits at his court in Seville, but also expanded activities in Toledo, Córdoba, and Murcia. He oversaw scientific works, mostly astronomical and astrological treatises, including the Tablas alfonsíes (Alfonsine tables) and the Libros del saber de astronomía (Books Containing Complete Knowledge of Astronomy) and the Libro conplido en los judizios de las estrellas (Book Containing Complete Knowledge of Judgement Based on Stars). Finally, he also directed collections of exempla or wisdom literature, some of which are translations from Arabic, such as *Libro de los engaños e los* asayamientos de las mugeres (Book of the Wiles and Plots of Women).²⁰ Alfonso's support for the arts, letters, and sciences is why historians have assigned to this monarch the moniker *el Sabio* (the Wise or the Learned). It also signals the scholarly importance of Alfonso X and the court that produced the CSM.

¹⁸ Amy G. Remensnyder, "Marian Monarchy in Thirteenth-Century Ibertia," in *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950-1350*, ed. Robert F. Berkhofer III, Alan Cooper, and Adam J. Kosko (Hampshire: Ashgate Publishig Limited, 2005), 256.

¹⁹ Maricarmen Gómez Muntané, *La música medieval en España* (Kassel: Ediciones Reichberger, 2001), 178.

²⁰ James Burke, "Medieval Spanish Prose," in *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*, ed. David T. Giles (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 98-99.

The CSM are written in Galician-Portuguese even though Alfonso was promoting the use of Castilian as his court's language and for all other scholarship. A tradition of Galician-Portuguese *cantigas* had been established by this time. Hundreds of *cantigas* exist in this poetic language, though only the CSM, Martin Codax's six *cantigas d'amigo* (songs of a friend/lover), and seven *cantigas d'amor* (songs of love) by King Dom Dinis of Portugal, Alfonso's grandson, contain surviving music.²¹ The lyrical Galician-Portuguese lent itself well to song, but so did Catalan, the Romance language of northwest Iberia which was much more closely related to Provençal, the language of the troubadours. Regional politics may have eliminated Catalan verses as an alternative.²² According to Curtis Carlisle Bouterse, Galician-Portuguese was chosen for its "immensely prestigious association with Santiago, both city and saint."23 Santiago de Compostela, in Galicia, the northwesternmost region of Iberia, was an important medieval pilgrimage site that housed the relics of St. James the Apostle. Led by neighboring Asturias, the Reconquista had germinated in this region that the Moors were never able to conquer. Thus, Santiago de Compostela and its Galician language had been associated strongly with Christian devotion since late Roman and Visigothic times, which may have contributed to Alfonso's privileging of that regional Romance language over Catalan.

²¹ For more information, see Manuel Pedro Ferreira, *Cantus Coronatus: 7 cantigas by King Dinis of Portugal*, trans. David Cranmer (Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2005); Ferreira, *The Sound of Martin Codax: On the musical dimension of the Galician-Portuguese lyric (XII-XIV Centuries)*, (Lisbon: Unisys Imprensa Nacional – Casa de Moeda, 1986); Francy Acosta, "The *Cantigas d'Amigo* by Martin Codax in the Vindel Manuscript" (D.M.A. thesis, Case Western Reserve University, 2004).

²² Wolf, 96-97.

²³ Curtis Carlisle Bouterse, "Literacy, Orality, and the Cantigas: Toward an Ethnomusicology of Medieval Europe" (PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1996), 153.

The CSM is not only valuable for its literary, musical, and artistic importance, but also as a historical, political, and cultural record. Connie L. Scarborough has discussesd the Wise King's political rule and examined the "key role that political concerns played in [their] composition [of the CSM]" and Alfonso's life and devotion to Mary, demonstrating that after CSM 200, the miracles involve Alfonso and his family or court more directly, due to his impending death and illness.²⁴ Alfonso's later political career was also marred by revolts and conspiracies, including one led by his own son, the future Sancho IV. Richard P. Kinkade has examined the impact of political upheaval after 1269 on the CSM.²⁵ My analysis, however, does not focus on those *cantigas* that highlight the political tensions of the day and how Alfonso justified his rule by presenting himself as found in favor by the Virgin. I have chosen to examine only songs from To not only because Ferreira convincingly argues it is the most musically accurate source, but because is it not marred by politics: its purpose was purely devotional, and the goal of this thesis is to examine the devotional aspects of the CSM.

The CSM is part of a surge in Marian devotion that began in the twelfth century and reached its high point in the thirteenth, as exemplified by Gonzalo de Berceo's and Gautier de Coinci's works. The thirteenth century is especially

²⁴ Connie L. Scarborough, *A Holy Alliance: Alfonso X's Political Use of Marian Poetry* (Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 2009); "Alfonso X: Monarch in Search of a Miracle," *Romance Quarterly* 33, no. 3 (1986): 349-354.

²⁵ Richard P. Kinkade, "Alfonso X, Cantiga 235, and the Events of 1269-1278," *Speculum* 67, no. 2 (1992): 284-323.

important in the history of Marian devotion on the Iberian Peninsula. Territorial gains were consolidated under the leadership of kings such as Fernando III, known fortheir piety. The escalation of the cult to Mary can be seen in the rise of mendicant orders, the pilgrimages to Santiago, and the annexation of various Iberian territories, including the impressive number of churches and shrines dedicated to Mary in this century, many of which are mentioned in the CSM. Writing on the important theological aspect of the CSM, Ángel Alcalá has stressed that the end goal of the CSM was theological, and that this point cannot be omitted when studying any other aspect of the CSM because "the miracles all have a didactic finality, they want to teach." 28

CSM historiography first flourished during the latter part of the nineteenth century when the Romantic nationalist spirit—then pervading European cultures—turned students' attention to Romance languages and medieval literatures. Led by the philologist Ramón Menéndez Pidal (1869-1968), scholars found the Alfonsine cantigas to be a source of the hegemonic culture that had emerged during the thirteenth-century royal court in reconquered Seville. The publication of the CSM in

²⁶ Juan Vesga Cuevas, "Las advocaciones de las imágenes marianas veneradas en España: Ensayo de una teología popular mariana en España" (PhD diss., Pontificia Universitas Lateranensis, 1985), 85.

²⁷ Ibid., 86-89.

²⁸ "Los milagros tienen, todos, una finalidad didáctica, quieren enseñar" from Ángel Alcalá, "Doctrina teológica y leyendas pías en las CSM de Alfonso X El Sabio" in *Alfonso X El Sabio Impulsor del arte, la cultura y el humanismo: El arpa en la Edad Media española* (Madrid: Arlu Ediciones, 1997), 31.

1889 by the Marquis of Valmar, sponsored by the Royal Academy of the Spanish Language, facilitated the study of this unique collection.²⁹

Two major scholars advanced the musicological scholarship on the CSM during the early twentieth century: Julián Ribera y Tarragó and Higinio Anglés. In 1922, Ribera published musical transcriptions of the CSM in *La música de las cantigas*. Ribera argued that the key to unlocking the rhythmic notation of the CSM was placing the songs into Arabic forms. Ribera's studies awoke scholarly interest in the CSM music; however, his theory has since been highly criticized and has lost favor over time. The first to disprove Ribera's thesis was Anglés, who showed that nearly all the *cantigas* could be made to follow the French rhythmic modes. Anglés was the most prolific Spanish musicologist of his generation, whose publications ranged from studies of Las Huelgas Codex and thirteenth-century Catalan music to his monumental *La música de las Cantigas de Santa María del rey Alfonso el Sabio*, which includes a facsimile of the *Códice de los músicos*, a transcription of all 420 cantigas, and Anglés's own critical study.³¹

²⁹ Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto, Marqués de Valmar, *Estudio histórico, crítico y filológico sobre las 'Cantigas' del Rey D. Alfonso el Sabio* (Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1889). The revised 1922 edition, in three volumes, also included *La música de las Cantigas* by Julián Ribera.

³⁰ Julián Ribera y Tarragó, *La música de las cantigas: Estudio sobre su origen y naturaleza con reproducciones fotográficas del texto y transcripción moderna* (Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, 1922).

³¹ Higinio Anglés, La música española desde la edad media hasta nuestros días (Barcelona, Spain: Diputación Provincial de Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, 1941); El còdex musical de Las Huelgas: (música a veus dels segles XIII-XIV) (Barcelona: Institut déstudis catalans, 1931); La Música a Catalunya fins al segle XIII (Barcelona: Institut d'estudis catalans: Biblioteca de Catalunya, 1935); La música de las Cantigas de Santa María del rey Alfonso el Sabio: Facsímil, transcripción y estudio crítico, 3 vols. (Barcelona: Diputación Provincial de Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, 1943-1964).

The issues brought up by Ribera and Anglés have left a great mark upon CSM studies, and scholars continue to argue about their ideas. Gerardo Huseby, for example, in his 1982 doctoral dissertation, analyzed the melodies of the CSM in terms of medieval modal theory; his argument amounted to a heavy attack on Ribera's theory of Arabic influence, since he finds that the CSM correspond to the Christian church modes.³² Manuel Pedro Ferreira has pointed out that a systematic study of the melodic idioms of the CSM needs to be completed in order to address fully the issue of influence, and particularly that of chant. He states that Anglés's remarks on the aesthetic qualities of the CSM are subjective, and that merely using "modal regularity" (referring to Huseby) and "intervallic previsibility" (referring to Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, subsequently cited) does not prove direct influence, as general melodic characters were present in various contemporary traditions.³³ More recently, Sarah Johnson also criticized Huseby for forcing the *cantigas* into the church modes, which she believes fit them poorly. She also noted that this method tells us little about the actual melodies. Johnson herself has analyzed the manner in which the songs behave similarly as well as differently "in response to different textual structures." 34

³² Gerardo Victor Huseby, "The 'Cantigas de Santa María' and the Medieval Theory of Mode" (Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1982).

³³ Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "Influence of Chant on CSM." *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria* 11-12 (1999-2000): 29-40.

³⁴ Sarah Johnson, "'Porque trobar e cousa en que jaz entendimento': Pattern and Melody in the Cantigas de Santa Maria," paper presented at annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, New Orleans, November 2012.

While Higinio Anglés and his followers have in essence won the debate over the Arabic versus Gallic origins of the CSM, many scholars have shown that Anglés's transcriptions are problematic as well. Ferreira has made a strong argument that those *cantigas* that do not fit the French rhythmic modes, are not simply folkloric, as Anglés asserted, but indeed have Ibero-Arabic influence.³⁵ Hendrik van der Werf has also criticized Anglés's transcriptions, calling his evaluations of duration ambiguous and even contradictory.³⁶ Nonetheless, Anglés's transcriptions remain the standard editions used for performance and, often, scholarly writing.

Another important milestone in *cantigas* studies, even if not directly musicological, was the publication of poetic transcriptions by Walter Mettmann in 1959.³⁷ While the Marquis of Valmar had published a valuable transcription in 1889, it was fully superseded by Mettmann's superior edition.³⁸ Nonetheless, Gerardo Huseby has shown that some of the *cantigas* must be rearranged in Mettmann's edition in order to correspond to their musical structure, specifically that of the virelai form.³⁹ In 2001, Roberto Pla made a new edition of the text and music, basing

³⁵ See footnote 5.

³⁶ Hendrik van der Werf, "Accentuation and Duration in the Music of the Cantigas de Santa Maria," in Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María: Art, Music, and Poetry, Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Cantigas de Santa María of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221-1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year—1981, 223-234 (Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987).

³⁷ Cantigas de Santa María, ed. Walter Mettmann. 4 vols. (Coimbra: Acta Universitatis Coninbrigensis, 1959-1962). All references to the cantigas in this thesis are taken from *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. ed. Walter Mettmann. 3 vols. (Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1986-1989).

³⁸ Mettmann's numeration of the CSM, based primarily on the Códice de los músicos, is now standard in both scholarship and performance, and I adhere to it in this thesis. See Mettmann, 35-40.

³⁹ Huseby, 1982: and "Musical Analysis and Poetic Structure in the Cantigas de Santa María," in *Florilegium Hispanicum: Medieval and Golden Age Studies*, edited by John S. Geary, 81-101 (Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1983).

the musical transcription on metrical structure, and using various treatises as support for his approach.⁴⁰ Chris Elmes has also recently produced a new edition of the CSM intended for performers, though he has yet to complete the fourth and final volume containing the last 120 cantigas.⁴¹

Other important early CSM scholars include Henri Collet and Luis Villalba who thematically, melodically, and rhythmically analyzed twelve *cantigas* and argued that Alfonso was not the composer of all the *cantigas*.⁴² Much later, in 2007, Ferreira published an article exploring the role of Alfonso as a composer, in which he tried to discern which *cantigas* the king actually wrote. Ferreira argues that at minimum Alfonso composed CSM 64 (part of my own analysis below), 188, 293, and 347, mostly because of textual lines with exceptional authority that he argues is Alfonso's own voice.⁴³ Ultimately, when in this text I attribute authorship of the CSM to Alfonso, I do so as a convention adopted by CSM scholars, with the understanding that the wise king could not have composed all the songs by himself.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Cantigas de Santa María de Alfonso X el Sabio: nueva transcripción integral de su música según la métrica Latina, ed. Roberto Pla (Madrid: Música Didáctica, 2001).

⁴¹ Chris Elmes, *Cantigas de Santa Maria of Alfonso X, el Sabio: A Performing Edition*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, Scotland: Gaïta, 2004-2010).

⁴² Henri Collet and Luis Villalba, "Contribution à l'étude des 'Cantigas' d'Alphonse le Savant.," *Bulletin Hispanique* 13, no. 3 (1911): 270-290. Another study on the question of authorship is Walter Mettmann, "Algunas observaciones sobre la génesis de la colección de las Cantigas de Santa María y sobre el problema del autor," in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María*, ed. Israel I. Katz and John E. Keller (Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies), 355-66.

⁴³ Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "Alfonso X, compositor," *Alcanate: Revista de estudios alfonsíes* 5 (2006-2007): 117-135.

⁴⁴ Joseph T. Snow, "Alfonso as Troubadour: The Fact and the Fiction," in *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*, ed. Robert I. Burns, S.J., 124-140 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 124.

A great resurgence of interest in the CSM occurred in the 1980s. It began with the *International Symposium on the Cantigas de Santa María of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221-1284) in Commemoration of its 700th Anniversary* in 1981. Major scholars at the time came together to discuss the "threefold impact of the CSM," a term coined by John Keller, one of the speakers. The symposium was divided into sessions on art, music, and poetry, though many presentations discussed interdisciplinary relationships between the three. Papers on music were presented by José María Llorens Cisteró, who gave an overview of rhythm in the CSM, Hendrik van der Werf, who discussed accentuation and duration, and Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, who analyzed the melodic intervals and ranges of the cantigas. Joseph Snow also commented on the status of cantigas studies at the time, an update of his previously published bibliography, which he then updated to 1976. Snow has since revised and annotated his bibliography; the latest edition was published in 2012 and includes publications up to 2010.

Other symposia and congresses brought attention to the CSM. *The International Symposium Alfonso X of Castile the Learned King (1221-1284)* took

4

⁴⁵ José María Llorens Cisteró, "El ritmo musical de las Cantigas de Santa María: Estado de la cuestión," 203-221; Hendrik van der Werf, "Accentuation and Duration in the Music of the Cantigas de Santa Maria," 223-234; Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, "La interpretación melódica de las Cantigas de Santa María," 155-188, in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María: Art, Music, and Poetry, Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Cantigas de Santa María of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221-1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year—1981*, ed. Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller, (Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987).

⁴⁶ Joseph T. Snow, "Current Status of Cantigas Studies," in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María: Art, Music, and Poetry, Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Cantigas de Santa María of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221-1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year—1981, edited by Israel J. Katz and John E. Keller, 475-486. Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987.*

⁴⁷ Joseph T. Snow, *The Poetry of Alfonso X, El Sabio: An Annotated and Critical Bibliography* (London: Tamesis, 2012).

place at Harvard University in 1984.⁴⁸ There, Carlos Alberto Vega delivered the aforementioned paper on the refrain. Returning to the legacy of Higinio Anglés, Israel Katz criticized some of his claims on the melodies, such as his ambiguous characterization of "semi-popular" to describe melodic sources. Katz showed that those sources had scanty, or completely lacked, documentation.⁴⁹

Indeed, a full-scale study of the melodic sources for the CSM has yet to be accomplished. Nonetheless, Anglés knew well the music of thirteenth-century Iberia, and his generalizations on musical style continue to deserve scholarly attention.

They remain the most useful guide on a scholar's path to proceed to solidly documented arguments regarding the style of the CSM.

The 1987 symposium *Alfonso X el Sabio y la Música*, was devoted to music and included several particularly important papers. Rosario Álvarez discussed the musical instruments depicted in the CSM miniatures, along with their uses and iconographic problems.⁵⁰ Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta elaborated on the musicological importance and uniqueness of the CSM.⁵¹ Finally, Don M. Randel

⁴⁸ Alfonso X of Castile the Learned King (1221-1284): An International Symposium, Harvard University, 17 November 1984, ed. Francisco Márquez Villanueva, Francisco and Carlos Alberto Vega (Cambridge: The Department of Romance Languages and Literatures of Harvard University, 1990).

⁴⁹ Israel J. Katz, "The Threefold Impact of the Cantigas de Santa María: Visual, Verbal, and Musical," in Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María: Art, Music, and Poetry, Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Cantigas de Santa María of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221-1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year—1981, 8-33 (Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Ltd., 1987).

⁵⁰ Rosario Álvarez, "Los instrumentos musicales en los códices alfonsinos: Su tipología, su uso y su origen. Algunos problemas iconográficos," in *Symposium Alfonso X El Sabio y la Música*, 67-104 (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1987).

⁵¹ Ismael Fernández de la Cuesta, "Las Cantigas de Santa María: Replanteamiento Musicológico de la Cuestión," in *Symposium Alfonso X El Sabio y la Música*, 15-37 (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1987).

discussed musical theory in the time of Alfonso X, particularly highlighting Juan Gil de Zamora's important thirteenth-century treatise, *Ars musica*.⁵² However important, *Ars musica* does not provide analysis of that century's music, and thus is not very useful for CSM studies.

Interest in using the CSM as a source of Alfonso's life and thought continues to pervade much scholarship. Joseph O'Callaghan wrote *Alfonso and the Cantigas de Santa María: A Poetic Biography* in 1998, which uses the CSM to construct a biographical sketch of the king.⁵³ The collection *Emperor of Culture*, edited by Robert Burns in 1990, contains essays that give good historical and political background on Alfonso, such as "Image and Reality: The King Creates His Kingdom" by O'Callaghan, "Alfonso el Sabio and the Thirteenth-Century Spanish Language" by Lloyd Kasten, and "Alfonso as Troubadour: The Fact and the Fiction" by Joseph T. Snow.⁵⁴ Dorothy Clotelle Clarke emphasized the connection between poetry and Alfonso's cultural importance in "Versification in Alfonso el Sabio's *Cantigas*," in which she demonstrates that Alfonso had a profound impact on the Spanish language by establishing poetic forms in the *cantigas* that became the fundamentals of Castilian metric practice.⁵⁵

⁵² Don M. Randel, "La teoría musical en la época de Alfonso X el Sabio" in *Symposium Alfonso X El Sabio y la Música*, 39-51 (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1987).

⁵³ Joseph O'Callaghan, *Alfonso and the Cantigas de Santa María: A Poetic Biography* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 1998).

⁵⁴ Robert I. Burns, S.J., ed., *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990).

⁵⁵ Dorothy Clotelle Clarke, "Versification in Alfonso el Sabio's Cantigas," *Hispanic Review* 23, no. 2 (April 1955): 83-98.

In 2005, the Centre for the Study of the *Cantigas de Santa María* was established at Oxford University under the direction of Stephen Parkinson. The Centre sponsors two linked research projects: the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* database and the new *Cantigas de Santa Maria* critical edition. The website includes information on each *cantiga*, including manuscript location, a summary of the narrative, metrical data, narrative sources, and bibliography.

Other approaches to the CSM include Curtis Carlisle Bouterse's aforementioned 1996 dissertation where he examines the complex interactions between the Christian, Jewish, and Muslim cultures of medieval Iberia and studies their respective musical concerns such as "iconography, musical instruments, notation, vocal styles, and performance practice, as well as such notions as ethos, originality, and authorship." Most recently in her 2011 thesis, Alison Campbell discusses the issue of text-music relationship, providing extensive analysis of structure and addressing questions of composition and melodic sources. Campbell explains that except for a few *contrafacta*, and varying degrees of internal *contrafacta*, there are no melodic sources for the CSM. She argues that most likely the text was fit to the music, though there are instances when repeated melodies have been altered to fit text. 58

There remain lacunae in the field of CSM studies, particularly on the subject of music and its intersection with other poetic, literary, and artistic aspects of the

⁵⁶ See http://csm.mml.ox.ac.uk/.

⁵⁷ Bouterse, 2.

⁵⁸ Alison Campbell, "Words and music in the Cantigas de Santa Maria: the Cantigas as song" (MLitt thesis, University of Glasgow, 2011), 2.

CSM. My thesis aims to make a contribution to this underdeveloped yet important area of CSM studies.

CHAPTER 2

Lyric, Narrative, and Marian Miracles

When analyzing the literary and musical influences on the CSM, one must begin with the twelfth-century troubadours from southern France. The music of these noble poet-composers is the first corpus of written secular music in the West. The troubadours sang and wrote in Provençal on the subject of *fin' amor*, i.e. courtly or refined love. Their songs were monophonic and loosely formed. Their influence was wide throughout Europe, inspiring the trouvères of Northern France, the Minnesinger of the German lands, and eventually Petrarch, Dante, and other poets of the Italian trecento. In Iberia, they inspired the various royal courts' musicians and the juglares. The troubadours found an audience among on the pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela, and many fled south to Spain during the repressive wave of the early thirteenth-century Albigensian Crusade. Alfonso himself employed the last known troubadour, Guiraut Riquier (ca. 1230-ca. 1300).⁵⁹

The trouvères, who wrote in the *langue d'oïl*, were also important to the development of the lyric that prefigured the CSM. Eleanor of Aquitaine, patroness of the famous troubadour Bernart de Ventadorn, encouraged this tradition at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The trouvères not only continued the troubadour tradition, they greatly expanded on it, particularly in their development

⁵⁹ On the troubadours and their influence, see Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, *The Troubadours: An Introduction* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Elizabeth Aubrey, *The Music of the Troubadors* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

of musical form.⁶⁰ The trouvères developed a unique genre, the *chanson avec des refrains*, which inserted refrains between verses. They placed much greater emphasis on narrative genres, particularly their *lai* and *pastourelle* genres, than had the troubadours. The sung *lai* was originally related to the spoken French narrative *lai*.⁶¹ Narrative poetry was already popular in the north, as reflected in the romances and *chansons de geste* (songs of deeds).

Sylvia Huot has traced the relationship between lyric, specifically courtly love lyric or *chanson courtoise*, and narrative poetry, specifically the romance or dit, and their evolution over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries into booklength collections. She explains the "transposition of lyric thematics and discourse into narrative format poses certain paradoxes," namely "the conflict between narrative progression and resolution on the one hand, lyric stasis and openendedness on the other." While in the twelfth century, a trouvère was "explicitly a singer, whose songs derived from his own personal experience," the thirteenth century brought about "the evolution of the lyrical romance and dit" which

entailed a progressive redefinition of lyric poetry as a written medium and of lyric discourse and thematics as appropriate to a writerly narrative format, as well as the

⁶⁰ Mary O'Neill, Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006); Henrik van der Werf, The Chansons of the Troubadours and Trouvères: A Study of the Melodies and Their Relation to the Poems (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1972); Peter Dronke, The Medieval Lyric (London: Hutchinson & Co, 1968).

⁶¹ John Stevens, et al.,"Troubadours, trouvères," Grove Music Online, Oxford Music Online, (Oxford University Press, accessed March 5, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/28468).

⁶² Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987).

⁶³ Ibid., 2.

identification of an explicitly written literary tradition conjoining lyric and narrative poetics. $^{\rm 64}$

Originally, Huot explains, the poetic voice functioned distinctly between the two genres: the "conventional romance narrator of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries mediates between his audience and a real or posited preexistent text or texts, usually identified as books and often in Latin" while the lyric singer "directly manifests a love experience to his audience" and thus "lyric performance has a dramatic quality." She illustrates the blend of lyric and narrative, which she dubs lyrico-narrative, amongst other examples, in the vastly influential *Roman de la Rose*, originally written by Guillaume de Lorris in the first half of the thirteenth century and completed by Jean de Meun in the fourteenth. This fusion of the lyric and narrative traditions ongoing in the thirteenth century is the context of the CSM and its own blend of genres.

The influence of the trouvère tradition in the CSM was especially transmitted by Gautier de Coinci. Gautier was born circa 1177 and died in 1236. He was trained in the Benedictine Abbey of Saint-Médard in Soissons, was the prior of Vic-sur-Aisne from 1214 to 1233, and then returned to Saint-Médard as prior for the rest of his life. His *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (Miracles of Our Lady), written in two parts in

64 Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 84-85.

⁶⁶ Daniel E. O'Sullivan, *Marian Devotion in Thirteenth-Century French Lyric*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2005), 11; John Haines, "A Sight-Reading Vielle Player from the Thirteenth Century" in *The Sounds and Sights of Performance in Early Music: Essays in Honor of Timothy J. McGee*, ed. Maureen Epp and Brian E. Power, (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2009), 15; Kathy M. Krause and Alison Stones, eds., *Gautier de Coinci: Miracles, Music, and Manuscripts* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

1218 and around 1225, contains 58 Marian miracle narratives and 18 chansons.⁶⁷ The narratives are written in octosyllabic lines, the entire collection containing about 35,500 lines of verse. Seven songs follow the prologue in each *Miracles* book; a few more songs appear at the end in a few manuscripts after the miracles, 35 in the first, 23 in the second. Unlike the CSM, which scholars believe to be mostly originally composed, Gautier used *contrafactum*, or new text written to pre-existing melodies, to construct his songs. He chose melodies from a variety of song forms, including through-composed songs, chansons with and without refrains, *lais*, variations on the *virelai*, as well as his own forms.⁶⁸

Both the *Miracles de Nostre Dame* and *CSM* contain Marian miracle narratives along with songs of praise to the Virgin Mary. Gautier's collection only contains eighteen songs, while the *CSM* is a collection of almost four hundred miracles all set to music. Only every tenth *CSM* song is one of praise, and thus comparable to those in the *Miracles*, in which all the songs are of praise. As for the narratives, 49 of the 89 miracles in the oldest copy of the *CSM*, the Toledo Codex, are also in the *Miracles*, leading several scholars to conclude that the older *Miracles* was a source for as many as 25 to 36 *cantigas*, despite lack of documentation evidencing that Alfonso owned or had access to a copy.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Haines, 15; Tony Hunt, *Miraculous Rhymes: The Writing of Gautier de Coinci* (Cambridge, UK: D.S. Brewer, 2007), 3.

⁶⁸ O'Sullivan, 17.

⁶⁹ Parkinson, "Alfonso X, miracle collector," 341-343.

Just as Gautier was influenced by trouvère song, Gonzalo de Berceo was influenced by the popular Iberian *mester de juglaría* (the craft of the minstrels).⁷⁰ Berceo, who was born in the region of La Rioja at the end of the twelfth century and died sometime before 1264, practiced the distinct *mester de juglaría* but was also a master of the related *mester de clerecía* (the craft of the clerics), which was probably a studied offshoot of the *mester de juglaría*. The *mester de clerecía* used the "erudite poetic form of *cuaderna vía* (four-fold way)...monorhymed quatrains with a caesura in the middle of each fourteen-syllable line."⁷¹ Berceo applied the *mester de clerecía* in his most important work, *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* (Miracles of Our Lady), a collection of twenty-five miracles attributed to the Virgin Mary that has the same title as Gautier's collection but in Castilian.

Like Gautier, Berceo also wrote devotional poems in praise of the Virgin in *Loores de Nuestra Señora* (Praises of Our Lady). His third work of Marian devotion was *El duelo de la Virgen* (The Lament of the Virgin), a poetic dialogue on Christ's Passion and Crucifixion between the Virgin Mary and Bernard of Clairvaux, a Cistercian monk who had effectively spread Marian devotion in Europe during the twelfth century.⁷² Berceo expressed this piety through exquisite narrative poetry in a vernacular tongue. It would take Alfonso X, though, to combine Gonzalo de

⁷

⁷⁰ Gonzalo de Berceo, Miracles of Our Lady, trans. Richard Terry Mount and Annette Grant Cash (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 1-2. See Ramón Menéndez Pidal, Poesía Juglaresca y Juglares: Aspectos de la historía literaria y cultural de España (Madrid: Espasa-Calipe, S.A., 1969).

⁷¹ Ibid., 1.

⁷² Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 121.

Berceo's use of vernacular narrative and lyric with music to praise the Virgin Mary and narrate her miracles, the focus of intensive spiritual devotion in thirteenth-century Iberia. As stated earlier, the thirteenth century was a historical climax for Marian devotion. Mary was seen in several roles, especially Theotokos (Mother of God) and Mediatrix. In the latter role, important in the CSM, Mary intercedes for humans, meaning that when one prays to her, she in turn prays directly to God. Mary was seen as having the most intercessory power, much greater than the other saints. The thirteenth century also saw a huge growth of churches dedicated to Mary, as an indication of the importance she was given within medieval culture. 73

In order to assess how Alfonso accomplished this innovation in CSM, I discuss pertinent musical forms in the following chapter. Then, in Chapter 4, I analyze the presence of these forms in the ten *cantigas* I have selected from the To, as well as their interaction with the text, particularly the refrain. Musical editions of these *cantigas*, along with their Galician-Portuguese texts with facing English translations, are given in the Appendix.

⁷³ For more information on medieval Marian devotion see Rubin; Jaroslav Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven Conn: Yale Univ. Press, 1996); and David J. Rothenberg, *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 24-57.

CHAPTER 3

THE VIRELAI AND THE REFRAIN

The CSM was part of the mid- to late thirteenth-century trend in other European traditions, especially trouvère song, to further formalize vernacular song. The poetic and musical form that dominates the CSM is the virelai. Virelais consist of two-line refrains, followed by a verse in which the refrain repeats at the end in what is known as the *cauda*. The majority of the CSM fall under the symmetrical virelai, meaning the entire melody of the refrain repeats in the verse (AA /bbaa or AB /ccab, in which the letters before the slash represent the refrain, and lower-case letters signify different text).⁷⁴ There are also several asymmetrical virelais with a shortened recapitulation (AA /bb(c)a), as well as cyclical virelais (AB /cbab). Recently, musicologist Manuel Pedro Ferreira has argued that there is another consistent form in the CSM, one which corresponds to a similar form developed in al-Andalus (the Muslim-controlled territory in Iberia). He calls this form the Andalusian rondeau (AB /bbab), a form that has more prominence than the French rondeau (AB /bbba).⁷⁵ I find the most important difference between the virelai and the Andalusian rondeau to be that the Andalusian rondeau only uses material presented in the refrain in the verse, whereas the virelai which uses new material in its verses before the cauda.

⁷⁴ The virelai is normally defined as AbbaA, but, in order to be more specific with form, I use "AA" or "AB" for the refrain so that what is repeating is clearer. This takes into account each musical line, and provides a better contrast with different sub-categories of the virelai and Andalusian rondeau.

⁷⁵ This is using the definition given by Manuel Pedro Ferreira, "Rondeau and virelai: The Music of Andalus and the Cantigas de Santa Maria," *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 13, no. 2 (2004), 129.

Ferreira also acknowledged that Willi Apel was correct when tracing the origins of the virelai to from Spain in his 1954 article "Rondeaux, Virelais, and Ballades in French 13th-Century Song." Apel had indicated that, unlike the rondeau and ballade, the virelai was scantily used in France before the very end of the thirteenth century. He explained that it is only "in the songs of Jehanot de l'Escurel (d. 1303?) that, for the first time, the virelai appeared as a clearly recognizable musical form represented by a number of examples." While Apel recognized that the answer to the question of origin was not definitive, he argued that "the fact cannot be overlooked that in the second half of the 13th century the virelai, although practically unknown in France, was the main form of Spanish song, as appears from the Cantigas de Santa Maria." Ferreira credited Apel but expanded on his own observations in his 2004 paper "Rondeau and virelai: the music of Andalus and the Cantigas de Santa Maria." He wrote:

The favour given in the Cantigas to the virelai musical form, at a time when it was virtually ignored in France, suggests a connection of the virelai with Iberian traditions. A Catalan precedent, the conductus *Cedit frigus hiemale*, dates from the first half of the thirteenth century. The virelai appears northeast of the Pyrenees around 1260, in the wake of the Aragonese and Castilian conquests in Andalus, but is clearly marginal in France until the end of the thirteenth century.⁷⁹

In this same paper, Ferreira dwelt on the connection between the muwashshah poetic form from al-Andalus and the predominant poetic form in the CSM: the zéjel (Ferreira used its Arabic cognate: *zajal*), distinguished in al-Andalus by its use of

⁷⁶ Will Apel, "Rondeaux, Virelais, and Ballades in French 13th-Century Song," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 7, no. 2 (1954), 121-130.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 128.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 129.

⁷⁹ Ferreira, "Rondeau," 140.

classical Arabic rather than colloquial language, as in the muwashshah, along with its relationship to the virelai and Andalusian rondeau. A zéjel contains a two-verse prelude, a rhyming tercet, and a refrain which repeats only half of the prelude (AA /bbbA cccA... or AB bbbA cccA...).⁸⁰ Ferreira established a connection between the Islamic forms and those of the CSM. Thus, he concluded:

The Cantigas have an asymmetrical zajal literary structure, which is extremely rare and late in the Galician-Portuguese and other troubadour traditions...Its asymmetrical strophic structure would not always have been reflected in the music; asymmetrical musical form would have been privileged. 81

While a comprehensive understanding behind the reasons for Alfonso's choice of the virelai, here understood to include the Andalusian rondeau category, is beyond the scope of this study, the royal preference for the form is significant. We see that the choice functioned extremely well for Alfonso's devotional purposes and contributed significantly to the monumental and innovative status of the CSM.

As stated earlier, Carlos Alberto Vega emphasized Alfonso's use of the refrain within the virelai. Vega compellingly argued that, "it would be a mistake to dismiss the refrain as a mere structural necessity without considering the ways in which Alfonso and/or his collaborators exploited on a literary level the rich potential of the device. Acknowledging Gautier's and Berceo's influence, Vega contrasted these works with the later CSM. First, Alfonso compiled miracles of "local, folkloric, and even personal inspiration," in addition to international sources, which do constitute

⁸⁰ Germán Bleiberg, Maureen Ihrie, and Janet Pérez, eds., *Dictionary of the Literature of the Iberian Peninsula*, vol. 2 "L-Z" (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 1993), 1731.

⁸¹ Ibid., 139.

⁸² Vega, 132-133.

the majority of the CSM, but were the only sources for Gautier and Berceo, who both used Latin Mariale collections. Vega also pointed out the "relative brevity" of the *cantigas de miragro* in comparison to their sources. As an example, Vega used the story of Theophilus, a widely disseminated miracle, found in CSM 3, *Mais nos faz Santa Maria*. The CSM version only consists of forty-two lines, without refrain, while Gautier had used over two thousand octosyllabic lines and Berceo six hundred *cuaderna vía* lines.

Vega also compared CSM 7 with its source, Berceo's "La abadesa encinta" (The Pregnant Abbess, poem Nº 21) to show that Berceo's poetry could be "characterized as an overwhelmingly 'narrative' poem," while the CSM version "reveals a different poetic concern." The CSM used a condensed version of the narrative with a refrain that "both encapsulates the moral to be learned from the story and lends a repetitive, lyric expressiveness to the composition," and thus "calls to mind a more lyric category than a purely narrative one." Vega demonstrated the poetic use of the refrain "regardless of the musical expectations... which would complete and even permit the repeated musical phrase."

Vega's argument is thus set on the CSM's "impact," as a contrast from Berceo, "on a purely literary level".85 Expanding on his observations, I analyze in the next chapter the musical components of ten lyrical narratives, for the musical structure of the song builds upon the lyrical and narrative forms.

⁸³ Ibid., 133-134.

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 133.

The following table lists the *cantigas* that I have selected to analyze. The first column shows the Mettman numeration of the selected *cantigas*—colored to distinguish between categories. In the second column, I list their number and folio[s] in To. The third column is a transcription of the refrain, and the fourth is a translation of the rubric given in To before each cantiga, which summarizes the miracle described in the *cantiga*. Next is the physical location of the narrative—colored blue if the narrative internationally diffused. Finally, the last column indicates the *cantiga*'s musical form.

-

⁸⁶ These translations are my revisions to Kathleen Kulp-Hill's, as is the case for all the translations, including those in the Appendix. See Kathleen Kulp-Hill, trans., *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, The Wise: A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa María* (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000).

 ${\bf TABLE~1.~SELECTED~MIRACLE~CANTIGAS~WITH~REFRAIN,~RUBRIC,~AND~MUSICAL~FORm}$

Color code:

1. Internationally	2. Internationally	3. MIRACLES SET LOCALLY
DIFFUSED MIRACLES	DIFFUSED MIRACLES SET	IN SPAIN WITHOUT EVIDENCE
SET IN SPAIN	OUTSIDE OF SPAIN	OF EXTRAMURAL DIFFUSION

CSM	To	Refrain	Rubric	Musical
Nº	Nº/ Folio			Form
2	2/ 11r- 12r	Muito devemos, varões, loar a Santa Maria, que sas graças e seus dões dá aquen por ela fia.	This is how Holy Mary appeared in Toledo to Saint Ildefonso and gave him an alb made in Paradise, with which he used to say Mass.	Andalusian rondeau
12	13/ 23v- 24r	O que a Santa Maria mais despraz, é de quen ao seu Fillo pesar faz.	This is how Holy Mary lamented in Toledo on the day of her feast in August, because the Jews crucified a wax image in semblance of her son.	virelai
26	24/ 33v- 34v	Non é gran cousa se sabe bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo tod' á de joigar.	This is how Holy Mary deemed that the soul of the pilgrim who, on his way to Santiago, killed himself because the devil tricked him, should return to his body and he should do penance.	virelai
14	15/ 25r- 26r	Par Deus, muit'é gran razon de poder Santa Maria mais de quantos Santos son.	This is how Holy Mary prayed to her son for the soul of the monk of St. Peter, because all the saints had prayed for it, and he would not grant it but for her.	virelai
24	17/ 27v- 28r	Madre de Deus, non pod' errar quen en ti á fiança.	This is how Holy Mary caused a flower to be born from the mouth of a cleric after he died, that was similar to a lily, because he praised her.	virelai

Table 1 (Continued)

CSM Nº	To Nº/	Refrain	Rubric	Musical Form
	Folio			
36	37/ 49r- 50r	Muit' amar devemos en nossas vootades a Sennor, que coitas nos toll' e tempestades.	This is how Holy Mary appeared on the mast of a ship, at night, which was on its way to Britain, and saved it from sinking.	virelai
18	16/ 26v- 27v	Por nos de dulta tirar, praz a Santa Maria de seus miragres mostrar fremosos cada dia.	This is how Holy Mary made the silkworms spin two veils because the lady who kept them had promised her one and had not given it to her.	virelai
63	51/ 64r- 65r	Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.	How Holy Mary took from disgrace a Knight who was to be in the battle in San Esteban de Gormaz but could not appear because He heard three masses.	Andalusian rondeau
64	54/ 65v- 67v	Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.	How the woman whose husband left her in the care of Holy Mary could neither put on nor take off the shoe her suitor had given her.	Asym- metrical virelai
104	96/ 123r- 124v	Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer, como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer.	How Holy Mary caused a woman who wanted to make love potions for her friend with the body of Jesus-Christ, when she removed it from her headdress, to have blood flowing from her head.	Andalusian rondeau

CHAPTER 4

MUSIC AND NARRATIVE IN TEN SELECTED CANTIGAS

As the historical and cultural context of the CSM makes clear, this collection is a unique and important intersection of music, lyric, and narrative, as well as visual art in the later codices, within a devotional framework. In my study, I will present the narrative of each selected cantiga, its formal, melodic, and poetic attributes, and its use of the refrain. I aim to demonstrate the importance of the refrain in regards to the narrative and lyric. Because I am discussing the intersection with narrative, I am only analyzing the *cantigas de miragro*. Because of its musicological accuracy and its purely devotional, not political intent, I am only analyzing songs from To. In each *cantiga*, the music of refrains reappears in the verses, reinforcing the moral of the refrain while declaiming narrative text that the moral reinforces. Not only this, but in the virelais (though not Andalusian rondeaux) the melody of the verse is usually at a higher range, giving a clear aural distinction when the refrain melody returns in the *cauda*.

In order to select a representative sampling of Marian narratives, I divided the *cantigas de miragro* in To into three categories, according to their narrative source: (1.) Internationally known miracles set in Spain; (2.) Internationally known miracles set outside of Spain; and 3.) Local miracles without evidence of transmission outside the Iberian Peninsula. No matter the narrative source, I found the melodies display the same clear formula: all repeat the refrain melody in the narrative verse. Regardless, because it is important to see the CSM within the context of Marian devotion, it is important to separate them by category, in order to

observe a clear picture of the miracle sources, and thus influences, of the CSM, From each one of these categories, I have selected representative cantigas for a total of ten case studies that illustrate the significance of the narrative choices made by Alfonso. When making these selections, I took into account the various melodic and stylistic characteristics of the songs, to ensure a wide variety of cantigas. CSM 2, 12, and 26, for example, present internationally diffused narratives set in Spain that are also found in contemporary sources throughout Europe, such as Latin *Mariale* collections and Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles*; thus, they were of high prominence, as they were the most important miracles from Spain at the time. For miracle narratives that were internationally diffused and set outside of Spain, I have chosen CSM 14, 24, and 36. They thus represent the majority of the *cantigas de miragro* in To. Finally, the last category consists of a sample of four miracles of local Spanish origin with no evidence of circulating outside the peninsula prior to their inclusion in the CSM; CSM 18, 63, 64, and 104 provide examples of this category. While the later codices, for political reasons, include mostly local narratives, To only includes a handful, and thus Alfonso's inclusion of them in his personal collection is notable. These were the few local narratives that Alfonso found important enough to include with the many great miracles from throughout Europe.⁸⁷

Because of the various problems of rhythmic interpretation of the CSM, an issue yet to be truly resolved, I decided to write my own melodic transcriptions

⁸⁷ See Oxford University's Cantigas de Santa Maria Database for listings (category Miracle/Collection) of the sources in which a CSM miracle was previously documented.

which can be found in the Appendix.⁸⁸ Above each note, I have indicated each neume as it appears in the original manuscript, and thus the reader can infer much of the rhythm. Also, unlike other editions that rely on the various codices, my transcriptions are solely made from To, and not the other editions. Each musical edition is followed by a transcription of the text along with a side-by-side translation.

Category 1. Internationally diffused miracles set in Spain.

(1) Muito devemos varões (CSM 2, To 2)

This narrative takes place in seventh-century Toledo, the Visigothic capital of Spain. It tells of its bishop, Ildefonso, who became an important saint in Spain. The refrain tells listeners that they should praise Holy Mary, who gives graces and gifts to those who trust in her. Told in six verse stanzas, the narrative begins by explaining that Mary gave Ildefonso a vestment made in Paradise because he praised her all day and night; he preached good and true sermons and wrote about Mary's virginity, despite the ridicule of the Jews and heretics in the community, but she "returned the favor." Significantly, in the third stanza, the poetic voice mentions King Alfonso, describing a miracle scene with Saint Leocadia, a local martyr who died in a Toledan prison after being tortured during emperor Diocletian's persecution at the turn of the fourth century. The saint appeared to Ildefonso while he was walking in a procession with King Reccesvinth, a seventh-century Visigothic king who had outlawed several Jewish customs. St. Leocadia, much venerated in

⁸⁸ Elmes, 1: 4.

medieval Toledo, tells Alfonso "Per ti viv' Sennor mia" ("My Lady lives for you"). When the Virgin gave the alb to Idelfonso, she specified that it was to be worn by no one but Idelfonso. Following his death, Siagro became archbishop but died after he wore the vestment, just as had been foretold.

In CMS 2 both the refrain and verse melodies begin and end on a C, and the melody only dips below the C final to B.⁸⁹ Both also begin similarly, with scalar motion from C to E and then a short leap to G. From here the refrain and verse begin to vary, though both return to D and move up the scale once again. By the second line of the refrain, the melody reaches middle C, completing its range of an octave. As was typical of contemporary monophonic music, the motion is mostly scalar with small leaps, mostly of 3^{rds} with the occasional 4th. The musical form is that of the Andalusian rondeau. Unlike most CSM, it is not a zéjel, though it is composed of octosyllabic lines. Both the first and second rhythmic modes are used, according to Higinio Anglés.⁹⁰ Interestingly, Anglés not only calls this "very popular" in character, but similar to a Catalan folk song. The use of melismas is limited, each one only containing up to four pitches. In the refrain and verse, these occur on the words seus, boa, Espanna, mesura, and seu (her, good, Spain, measurement, and her).

Because this is an Andalusian rondeau, the refrain is even more integrated into the verse than in a virelai, as the main melodic material for the song is heard in the refrain (though the second half of the "A" sections of the verse strays

 $^{^{89}}$ All mentions of the verse melody pertain to the "B" or "C" sections, i.e. that melody which is not in the refrain and, therefore, excludes the cauda.

⁹⁰ Higinio Anglés, *La música de las Cantigas de Santa María del rey Alfonso el Sabio* (Barcelona: Diputación Provincial de Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, 1958), 3: 242-279. All references in this chapter to Anglés are taken from this edition.

significantly from the "A" section of the refrain). Therefore, the music is constantly reinforcing the refrain moral within the verse, first "Muito devemos, varões, loar a Santa Maria" (Much should we, men, / praise Holy Mary) and, at the end of each verse, with the music from "que sas graças e seus dões dá aquen por ela fia" (that her graces and gifts / she gives to those who trust in her).

(2) O que a Santa Maria mais despraz (CSM 12, To 13)

This highly anti-Semitic narrative takes place in Toledo on the Feast of the Assumption of the Virgin, the fifteenth of August, the most important Marian feast day. It reports that while the archbishop was singing the segrada (secret prayer) during the Mass, he heard a woman with a "piadosa e doorida" (pious and sorrowful) voice tell him of the great "perfidy of the Jews," and how "they wish no peace with [Jesus]." After the Mass, the archbishop told his congregation of the miraculous message he had heard; they responded, "the evil Jewish people did this." They then ran to the *judaria* (Jewish quarter), and found the Jews spitting on an image of Jesus. They had also made a cross and wanted to hang the image on it. For this deed, the narrative tells us, they all died (without explanation) and "their pleasure turned to grief."

Like most *cantigas*, this one is both poetically a zéjel and musically a virelai. The refrain contains two verses, both with the same melody, and the stanzas contain six verses. While Anglés does not give it a "popular" or "liturgical" designation, he calls the melody "typical for a cantiga" with motif that is often repeated throughout the CSM, and was even used a "century later in the Llibre Vermell in Monserrat."

This motif was D-E-C-D, a double neighbor figure, at the end of the refrain and verse stanza. The final is thus a D, and the range reaches the C above it in the verses, though just an A in the refrain, giving the refrain a small range of a 6th, mostly moving in a scalar fashion above and below F, which is the starting pitch. Once the *cantiga* moves to the verse, the melody becomes more active. This *cantiga* is mostly syllabic with occasional small melismas, such as on the word "mais" in the refrain and "corõar" in the first stanza.

Melodic material is repeated many times within this *cantiga*. Not only is the music of the refrain repeated at the end of the verse, as in any virelai, but the opening five pitches of the refrain are the same in the "B" sections. Therefore, every line reminds the listener of the refrain. As the singer tells the narrative of all the wicked things that the Jews have done, he constantly brings back the lesson that "O que a Santa Maria mais despraz,/ é de quen ao seu Fillo pesar faz" (What most offends Holy Mary / is a wrong done to her Son).

(3) Non é gran cousa se sabe (CSM 26, To 24)

This narrative unfolds on the *camino* to Santiago de Compostela, the pilgrimage route frequented by those traveling to Santiago's Cathedral, the important medieval pilgrimage site in Galicia, northwestern Spain, that tradition holds is home to the remains of St. James the Apostle, the patron saint of the *Reconquista*. The account begins by explaining that Mary, like Jesus whom she bore, has good judgment. It then tells an exemplary story of a pilgrim who annually traveled to Santiago de Compostela. One year, he spent the night with a dishonest

woman, though they were not married. He continued on the pilgrimage without confession and the devil appeared to him disguised as Saint James. The masked devil offered him salvation under the condition that first he must cut off his sinful member and then slit his throat. The pilgrim obeyed and demons came to take his soul. As they reached St. Peter's chapel, understood to be at the Gates of Heaven, St. James himself stepped forward and told the demons he could not accept this pilgrim, whom they had tricked. Notwithstanding his refusal, St. James advised they go to Mary to hear her just judgment. Mary ruled that the pilgrim's soul be returned to the body. God resurrected the pilgrim; however, the narrative concludes by specifying that the ruined member, the instrument with which the pilgrim had sinned, was not recovered. Although not saved without a penance or consequence, the pilgrim lived to have another opportunity for salvation, thanks to Mary's intercession and fair judgment.

This *cantiga* is a virelai: it fits the classic AbbaA pattern, but unlike the previous example does not fit the more repetitive category of Aa /bbaa, but rather AB /ccab. Thus, the verse does present new melodic material, as in any virelai, but the refrain itself does not repeat melodic material, similar to the Andalusian rondeau. The singer reminds us of the moral through the melody only at the end of each verse. The final is a D. The refrain begins on a G and, on one plica, reaches the B above it. The verse begins on an A and on two plicas reaches the B above it. Higinio Anglés comments that it demonstrates "great rhythmic variety" that is in this repertoire compared to contemporary European repertoires. He also calls this

melody "airosa y marcial, acaso de creación nueva," or "airy and martial, perhaps newly created."

Category 2. Internationally diffused miracles set outside of Spain

(4) Par Deus, muit'é gran razon (CSM 14, To 15)

This narrative takes place near Cologne. It begins, like many cantigas, by praising Mary and stating that she rightly holds great power for having borne God. A monk from the monastery of St. Peter, outside the city, enjoyed the "pleasures of the world" more than he should. One day, he drank a medicine but died without confession. The devil took his soul; however, St. Peter defended him, begging God to pardon the monk. When God did not grant this request, St. Peter went to the saints and asked all of them to intercede for the monk, but God gave all of them the same response. It was only when St. Peter went to the Virgin Mary to ask for her intercession and she went to her Son, that God allowed the monk's soul to be restored to his body. This demonstrates the power of Mary as Mediatrix.

Anglés states that this melody is "typical of a cantiga and is reminiscent of a popular background." The final is on an F and the refrain begins on the G above it, with a range from C to B. The verse than begins on the C above F, and contains a full octave range of C to C. Most motion is scalar but there are several leaps of a 3rd and a few four-pitch melismas (one in the refrain, two in the verse.) Many, if not most, words contain at least two pitches per syllable or at least one syllable within the word. This melody is thus quite varied.

The *cantiga* is poetically a zéjel, and can be loosely categorized as a virelai, following an Abba'A form, but the return of the melody of the refrain in the verse is distinct because it adds a repeated line. The range of the verse is higher than that of the refrain, giving the ear a clear sign of when the return to the lower refrain melody arrives, which reminds the listener that "Par Deus, muit'é gran razon / de poder Santa Maria / mais de quantos Santos son" (By God, it is very right / that the power of Holy Mary is / more than those of the saints).

(5) Madre de Deus, non pod' errar (CSM 24, To 17)

The refrain of this *cantiga* explains that he who trusts the Mother of God cannot err. This message comes from the story of a novice priest from Chartres. He was a gambler and a thief yet had hope and faith in his heart for the Virgin. The narrative explains that he would run to the image of Mary and pray whenever he saw it, even in his wrongdoing. The poetic voice tells us that he died without confession because of his sins, and thus was not allowed in the cemetery, but rather left outside without a Christian burial. For this, Mary appeared to a priest and reprimanded him for not burying "her cleric" and demanded a procession for him with "mourning and devotion" for such a great error. The priest quickly complied, telling the other priests of the miracle and had them sing. Then, suddenly a flower sprung from the mouth of the dead monk. This miracle, the poetic voice explains, occurred because of the Virgin's intercession. The other priests then concluded by lifting their dead brother and dancing.

Anglés calls this melody "very popular and very pretty, surely proceeding from folklore, and the troubadours from the king's court utilized it to sing this new text, without reforming the rhythm." This description makes this *cantiga* particularly worthy of further examination. The refrain and verse both end on an F, and a B-flat is in the signature. The refrain begins on an A with a neighboring figure to the B-flat. A short melisma occurs on the word "non" (not) and then the melody proceeds to a few leaps of a 3rd. The range of the refrain is C to B-flat. Already in the verse, beginning on an F, the melody leaps and then scales up to the D before returning, though soon goes back up to C. This repeats, and then the melody from the refrain repeats. The music is thus in the form of a virelai, with accompanying poetry in the form of a zéjel.

Indeed, this *cantiga* is a straightforward virelai, and the music quite typical, i.e. mostly syllabic with a few adorning melismas, assuredly leading Anglés to call it "very pretty." The music is not long, and its repetitiveness would have made it easy to sing. Even within the text there is repetition, as in the first verse, which begins "non pod errar," repeating a portion of the refrain. In this same verse, the melisma that occurred on "non" then repeats on "miragre" (miracle). In the following verse it occurs on "Virgen," then in the next on "Maria," demonstrating the importance of this melisma, which constantly reinforces the refrain: "Madre de Deus, non pod' errar / quen en ti á fiança" (Mother of God, cannot err / He who trusts in you).

(6) Muit' amar devemos en nossas voontades (CSM 36, To 37)

This narrative tells the story of how Mary saved the seamen aboard a sinking ship in the English sea. ⁹¹ The refrain instructs believers "We should all love with all our will the Lady who frees us from troubles and storms." The narrative emphasizes that Mary's miraculous power outdoes all other saints. The speaker tells us that the ship's crew, like all other men, was in search of fortune. Unfortunately, a great storm came upon them in the dark night and they became certain they would die. They began to weep and pray to each of the saints, begging for mercy. The narrator then states that aboard the vessel was a holy abbot, who told them they were "committing a great folly" for not remembering Holy Mary; after hearing him, all the men invoked her name. The narrative's resolution immediately unfolded: a light appeared by the mast, the wind and sea became calm and the sky cleared.

This *cantiga* is the typical virelai-zéjel combination. Anglés indicates that the melody to this cantiga "was composed imitating the character of a liturgical melody." The refrain and verse end on a D. The refrain begins on an E, reaching the A above it and dipping to the C below, giving it the range of only a 6th. The verse begins on A and goes up to the C above it and then to the C below it, making a range of an octave. This melody is extremely syllabic. There are no melismas, only twice in the refrain and five times in the verse (two being plicas) are there syllables with two pitches. Thus, the melody is not merely "liturgical," as many chant genres were melismatic or at least neumatic, but rather, if Anglés is correct, it takes its influence from the syllabic genres, perhaps a sequence.

⁹¹ This cantiga presents Mary as "Stella Maris, the Star of the Sea and the queen of Heaven." It is associated with the important hymn "Ave, maris stella;" Pelikan, 94, 151.

Like the last *cantiga*, CSM 36 is also a very straightforward virelai. Both the refrain and verse lines begin with an ascending third, but are distinguished by the opening pitch. The first half of the verse lines are in a higher range than the refrain melody, again giving an aural distinction to the return of the latter. Because of its zejel form, the connection to the refrain is even further reinforced at the end of the verse, when the text rhymes with that of the refrain: "Muit' amar devemos en nossas voontades / a Sennor, que coitas nos toll' e tempestades" (We should all love with all our will / The Lady, who frees us from troubles and tempests).

Category 3. Local miracles without evidence of extramural diffusion

(7) Por nos de dulta tirar (CSM 18, To 16)

The narrative of this *cantiga* is based on a Segovian legend. The refrain text presents a benevolent Holy Mary, who is pleased to perform her "beautiful miracles every day" in order "to free us from doubt." This miracle takes place in Segovia, in the region of Extremadura, according to the text of the *cantiga*.⁹² The cantiga tells us about a woman who wove silk, but had little silk because she had lost her silkworms. She asked the Virgin to help her revive her industry, promising her a silk veil to honor her image on an altar. The narrative continues, explaining that the silkworms proliferated and did not die, but the woman forgot her promise. Then, on the Feast of the Assumption, the woman went to pray before the image of Mary; she suddenly

⁹² In the twelfth century, Extremadura referred to the frontier region between the Douro and Tagus rivers, which included Segovia, territories that Castile had reconquered from the Muslims. By modern times, Extremadura's boundaries had receded to the southwesternmost area of Spain, thus no longer including Segovia.

remembered her unfulfilled promise and ran home crying. When she arrived, she saw the silkworms working on the veil. The woman, with great happiness, called upon the people to come see the miraculous veil. They all praised Mary, proclaiming the miracle out on the streets. The silkworms continued working, making another veil so there would be a pair. It was the more beautiful one that King Alfonso later took to his chapel and brought it out on feast days in order to show to those who doubted the Virgin. It is particularly important that Alfonso is a participant in this miracle: not only does he manifest his great loyalty to the Virgin, but by taking and cherishing the miraculous veil, he is also a recipient of Mary's favor.

Anglés has described the melody of CSM 18 as "typical of a *cantiga* that reminds of popular song." It is both a virelai and a zéjel, making it typical in form. The refrain ends on a D and begins on an F and has a range of C to C. The verse also ends on a D, but begins on the D an octave above it; it has a range of C to D (a 9th). There are several short melismas in this melody, and almost all the words have syllables with two or more pitches. There is a particularly long melisma on the word "Maria" in the refrain. The melody is very versatile, with several leaps, neighboring figures, and even several escape tones.

As a virelai, the refrain melody returns in the form of a cauda at the end of the verse, reminding the listeners of the refrain: "Por nos de dulta tirar / praz a Santa Maria / de seus miragres mostrar / fremosos cada dia" (To free us from doubt / it pleases Holy Mary / to perform her beautiful miracles / every day). As in other cantigas, the initial range of the verse is much higher than that of the refrain; in this

case, the first note of the verse is a 6th higher than the first of the refrain. The octave jump from the refrain final to the beginning of the verse is a clear aural marker.

(8) Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer (CSM 63, To 51)

This narrative is the first of a group of four local miracles found together in To. I will be discussing the first two. Unlike the other three, this local miracle does appear in a few other sources, probably because it took place in a much-contended frontier town during the centuries-long Reconquista. Notably, the poetic voice also calls it a "gran miragre" (great miracle), elevating it to the status designated by Alfonso in the Siete Partidas, but whose criteria is not always followed in the CSM.93 The miracle takes place outside the town of San Esteban de Gormaz in the province of Soria, where a siege occurred in 989.94 The poetic voice tells us that there was a knight who was valiant, unequalled in arms, and virtuous. When Almanzor⁹⁵ was conquering San Esteban de Gormaz, this knight accompanied Count don García Fernández of Castile to defend the town. The voice then continues to praise the count and the knight. The latter went to hear Mass three times before the battle but because the rituals were taking so long, he feared he was going to miss the fight, which meant he would be disgraced. He asked Mary to spare him the dishonor, as he was her servant. When the last Mass was finished, the knight rode off and met the

⁹³ W.R. Davis, "Another aspect of the Virgin Mary in the Cántigas de Santa María," *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 8 (1974): 95-96.

⁹⁴ Kulp-Hill, 80.

⁹⁵ Almanzor (938-1002): powerful al-hajib (after 976) of Hisham II, the Umayyad Caliph of Cordoba, who ruled at the height of Muslim power in Iberia; the modern spelling of his name is al-Mansur.

count, who congratulated him on all the Moors he had killed, stating that they would have been defeated had it not been for him. The count tells him to go seek his physician from Montpellier to care for his wounds. Others echoed the words of praise to the knight, just when he thought he would die of embarrassment. When he noticed that his weapons were battered, he realized that it had been a miracle and that Mary had saved him from disgrace.

Anglés calls this melody "typical of a cantiga, reminiscent of Gregorian." The poetry is in the form of a zéjel and the music in that characterized by Ferreira as Andalusian rondeau. The refrain and verse end on an F and there is a B-flat in the signature. The refrain begins on a G and reaches the C above it, giving it a range from C to C. The verse then repeats the "B" section of the refrain. The melody only reaches the high C in the "A" section, which begin differently but then repeat an A four times. In the refrain, this repeated pitch begins on the word "Madre" (Mother). The melody is mostly scalar, though there are several leaps. There are also several melismas, most notably over the word "morrer" or "die" in the refrain. They also occur over the words "Santa," "Maria," and "Deus" in the second line of the verse. The refrain teaches the listener that "Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar" (He who very well wants to protect what he loves / Should commend it to Holy Mary). Because this is an Andalusian rondeau, the music is extremely repetitive and the melodic material is all exposed in the refrain, thus continuously preaching the moral.

(9) Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar (CSM 64, To 54)

This is the *cantiga* with the famous "cobras e son" line. It is well-known because the poetic voice is understood to be Alfonso himself as he states that he set this miracle to "verse and music." It is one of the few instances in the entire CSM that original composition is declared, as opposed to a dictado, a dictated or already circulated account. It is telling that the statement would be made with a local miracle. The narrative begins by describing a beautiful lady in Aragón, who married a nobleman. When the nobleman received a letter calling him to war, the wife begged for a protector while she was alone. The couple went to Mass and the husband prayed to Mary, asking her to protect his wife and grant him a speedy return. The poetic voice then speaks to us directly, asking, "what do you suppose the crafty devil did to tempt that lady's virtue? He contrived to make a knight fall in love with her." This knight was able to persuade his servant to send the lady fine shoes made of Cordovan leather, but she refused them. The sly old servant was able to finally convince her after "a thousand arguments" and the young lady finally tried on the shoe, "a foolish thing to do." Once she put on the shoe, she could not take it off as it clung to her, and remained so for over a year. When her husband returned, she confessed and he told her not to worry because Mary had protected her. He himself took off the shoe.

Anglés states that this is a newly composed melody, which he most likely inferred from the "cobras e son" line, as previously explained. He also says it "follows the outline of popular song." The poetry follows the form of a zéjel and the music an asymmetrical virelai because it only repeats the second half of the refrain

("B"), thus truncating the cauda. The refrain and verse end on an E. The refrain begins on a G and only moves up to the A above it, but then eventually scales down to the B below, giving it a range of a 7th. The melody has several leaps of a third and the contour moves up and down several times. The melismas are very short, only up to three pitches on one syllable in the entire refrain, though most syllables have two pitches. The verse also begins on a G but goes up to the C above it and then dips to the B below, giving it a range of a 9th. There are no melismas in the new material of the verse, though like the refrain, most syllables have two pitches.

The cauda reminds us of the second half of the refrain: "a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar" (Should commend it to Holy Mary). Instead of repeating the music of the first half of the refrain, "Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar" (He who very well wants to protect what he loves), Alfonso, the presumed composer, adds a line of new melody ("C"). There are only a handful of asymmetrical virelais in To. Therefore, melodic innovation, rather than moralistic repetition, is brought to the forefront in this cantiga.

(10) Nunca ja pod' aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer (CSM 104, To 96)

This *cantiga* is from the second group of local narratives found in the main body of To *cantigas*. There are no other sources for it. José Filgueira Valverde states that it perhaps is derived from oral tradition, especially since the poetic voice says he heard it ("que eu oý"); he clarifies that it is a recent occurrence ("non á y mui gran sazon") and at the time in Caldas, where it took place, there is "no memory of it

in popular tradition."⁹⁶ He suggests that Alfonso "may have heard the tale during his childhood stay in Galicia" although "we do not know if he was ever in Caldas." The miracle addressed the "superstitions practices using the Sacred Host" and there were other cities in the region where similar miracles had occurred.

As can be inferred from above, this miracle takes place in a town called Caldas de Reyes in Pontevedra, Galicia. The refrain states that "no one can so displease the Virgin as the one who tries to offend Her Son, God," a clear reference to Mary as Theotokos.⁹⁷ The poetic voice tells us that a squire kept a concubine; when he married another woman, the distressed concubine asked for the advice of neighbors, who they told her if she stole a host, her lover would return to her. Thus, the woman went to a church dedicated to the Virgin and received communion from an unsuspecting priest. The woman kept the consecrated host-the Body of Christ-in her mouth without swallowing it, and as soon as she left the church, she took it out and put it in her headdress. Suddenly, warm red blood began running down her headdress, and people who saw her inquired why she was bleeding. When she realized what had occurred she confessed, acknowledging that she deserved punishment. The people all praised Mary for the miracle and the woman returned to the church, prostrating herself before a statue of the Virgin and explaining that it was the devil who had made her sin. She then went to a convent and became a nun.

⁹⁶ José Filgueira Valverde, "El Texto," in *El 'Códice Rico' de las Cantigas de Alfonso X el Sabio: MS. T. I. 1 de la Biblioteca de El Escorial*, vol. 2 (Madrid: Edilán, 1979), 179-80.

⁹⁷ Literally, Greek for "God-bearer;" the more common translation is "Mother of God." The Council of Ephesus in 431 established the doctrine that Mary is Theotokos, because her son Jesus was both completely man and divine. See Pelikan, 55-66.

This cantiga is a zéjel and an Andalusian rondeau. Higinio Anglés calls this melody "semi-Gregorian" in character. The refrain begins on an F and ends on a D, its range extends from C to D, giving it a range of a 9th. The variation of "A" in the verse actually has a smaller range, unlike other cantigas in which the verse has a larger range. There are a few melismas of four pitches in the melody, notably at the end of the "B" section on the word escarnecer, which means both "to mock" and "to affront." In the variation of "A" in the verse, there is also a figure that was syllabic in the refrain but is now a melisma, in the first stanza first on the word fazer (to do, to try) and then on escarno (mockery, affront). While much of this cantiga is syllabic, many syllables have two pitches, and in addition to the longer four-pitch melisma, there are a few three-pitch melismas.

As an Andalusian rondeau, the first half of the refrain is used as the melodic material for the verse before the cauda, driving home that "Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer / como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer" (No one can so displease the Virgin / as the one who tries to offend her Son, God).

CONCLUSION

King Alfonso X the Wise and his court's scholars compiled the *Cantigas de* Santa María amidst the burst of Marian devotion that began in the twelfth century and reached its zenith in the thirteenth. The victories of the Christian Reconquista during Alfonso's youth, under the leadership of Alfonso's father, Ferdinand III, further fueled Alfonso's personal Marian devotion, which he channeled through significant cultural pursuits. Coincidentally, written vernacular poetry and monophonic music had also been developing significantly since the twelfth century, giving Alfonso and his court the lyrical tools necessary to compose the CSM. As the ten examples from the Toledo Codex here examined demonstrate, they contain a unique blend of Marian miracle narratives, from both Spain and the rest of Europe, set to melody through musical forms that reinforce their devotional intent. Each song has a refrain whose melody is repeated within the verse, and those that use the Andalusian rondeau form only use the melodic material from the refrain, emphasizing even further the moral of the narrative. In this way, the refrain, and thus the moral, infiltrate the narrative of the verses. Through this mixture of lyric and narrative via the repeated refrain melody, Alfonso could propagate his devotional message.

In many of the examined cantigas, the range of the music that appears only in the verse differs from the range of the refrain, and thus the return of the refrain is clearly marked aurally. These examples also represent the variety of sources for the To, with an emphasis on the significant inclusion of local miracles. That these local

miracles were included in Alfonso's collection for personal devotion highlights their importance for this king and medieval Spain.

The CSM pushed the lyrical language even further by solidifying the virelai and Andalusian rondeau forms, which featured strict repetition schemes. In this way, the music intertwined the narratives and devotional praise, cementing together the lyric of predecessors, such as trouvère songs and Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, with the narratives of popular tradition (the local stories that could even insert the learned King himself), Latin *Mariale* collections, and Gonzalo de Berceo's *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*. Notwithstanding the numerous literary merits of the songs, the innovative music is the key element that allowed the CSM to fulfill simultaneously its paired goals of praising the Virgin Mary and celebrating her miraculous power through the marriage of music, lyric, and narrative. Most significantly, the refrain form allowed the melody of the refrain to connect the moral of the song, expressed lyrically during the refrain, to the miracle narrative.

APPENDIX

MUSICAL EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS OF SELECTED CANTIGAS

My edition of music of the ten *cantigas* analyzed in this thesis appears in this appendix.⁹⁸ Above each note is a neume representative of the original. Given the ongoing debate about rhythm in the CSM, my editions are solely melodic: I have placed each pitch as a simple notehead.

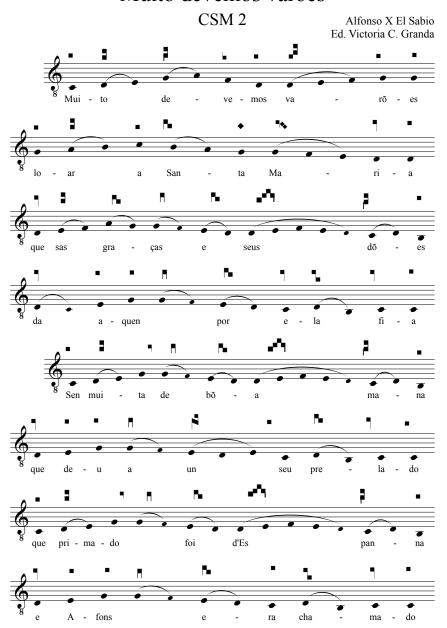
Following each musical edition of a *cantiga* is a corresponding English-language translation. These translations are my adaptations of Kathleen Kulp-Hill's prose version, which I have updated and, in some instances, corrected. ⁹⁹ Kulp-Hill presents the poems in paragraph form and does not offer the original text for comparison. Because I consider it much more useful for discerning readers to have access to side-by-side text and translation of the various songs, I have honored the phrase order found in the original Galician-Portuguese verses.

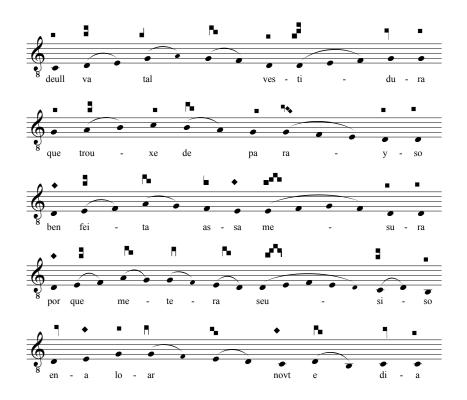
⁹⁸ See Table 1.

⁹⁹ See footnote 86.

(1) Muito devemos varões **CSM 2 To 2**

Muito devemos varões





Esta é de como Santa Maria pareceu en Toledo a Sant' Alifonsso e deu-ll' hua alva que trouxe de Parayso, con que dissesse missa.

Muito devemos, varões, loar a Santa Maria, que sas graças e seus dões dá a quen por ela fia.

Sen muita de bõa manna, que deu a un seu prelado, que primado foi d'Espanna e Affons' era chamado, deu-ll' hua tal vestidura que trouxe de Parayso, ben feyta a ssa mesura, porque metera seu siso en a loar noyt' e dia. Poren devemos, varões loar Santa Maria, que sas graças e seus dões dá aquen por ela fia.

Ben enpregou el seus ditos, com' achamos en verdade, e os seus bõos escritos que fez da virgiidade daquesta Sennor mui santa, per que sa loor tornada foi en Espanna de quanta a end' avian deytada judeus e a eregia.

Poren devemos, varões loar a Santa Maria, que sas graças e seus dões dá aquen por ela fia.

Mayor miragre do mundo ll' ant' esta Sennor mostrara, u con Rey Recessiundo ena precisson andara, u lles pareceu sen falla Santa Locay', e enquanto ll' el Rey tallou da mortalla, dissel' "Affonsso santo, per ti viv' Sennor mya." Poren devemos, varões loar a Santa Maria, que sas graças e seus dões dá aquen por ela fia.

Porque o a Groriosa achou muy fort' e sen medo en loar sa preciosa virgiindad' en Toledo, This is how Holy Mary appeared in Toledo to Saint Ildefonso and gave him an alb that she brought from Paradise, with which he would say Mass.

Much should we, men,
Praise Holy Mary
That her graces and her gifts
She gives to those who trust in her.

Being much in good favor
She gave one of her prelates,
A primate from Spain
That was called Ildefonso,
One vestment
That she brought from Paradise
[and] was well cut to his measure.
Because he was devoted,
Praising her all day and night.
Thus should we, men,
Praise Holy Mary
That her graces and her gifts
She gives to those who trust in her.

He employed his sermons well
As we find is true
And his good writings
About the virginity
Of that very holy Lady
For which praise returned
To Spain despite
All that had said
The Jews and heretics.
Thus should we, men,
Praise Holy Mary
That her graces and her gifts
She gives to those who trust in her.

Greatest miracle of the world
That before this Lady showed
With King Reccevith
Walked in procession,
And before them appeared
Saint Leocadia
And the king grabbed her shroud
Telling holy Alfonso
"My Lady lives for you"
Thus should we, men,
Praise Holy Mary
That her graces and her gifts
She gives to those who trust in her.

Because the Glorious One Found him very strong and fearless In praising her Virginity in Toledo, deu-lle porend' hua alva, que nas sas festas vestisse, a Virgen santa e salva e, en dando-lla lle disse "Meu Fillo esto ch' envia." Poren devemos, varões loar a Santa Maria que sas graças e seus dões dá aquen por ela fia.

Pois ll'este don tan estrayo ouve dad' e tan fremoso, disse Par Deus, muit eayo seria e orgulloso quenss en esta ta cadeira, se tu non es, sassentasse, nen que per nulla maneira est' alva vestir provasse, ca Deus del se vingaria. Poren devemos, varões loar a Santa Maria que sas graças e seus dões dá aquen por ela fia.

Pois do mundo foi partido este confessor de Cristo, Don Siagrio falido foi Arcebispo, poys isto, que o fillou a seu dano; ca porque foi atrevudo ensse vestir aquel pano, foi logo mort' e perdudo, com' a Virgen dit' avia. Poren devemos, varões loar a Santa Maria que sas graças e seus dões dá aquen por ela fia.

She gave him an alb
To wear on her feast days,
The holy and saved Virgin
And, while giving it to him, said:
"My Son sends this to you."
Thus should we, men,
Praise Holy Mary
That her graces and her gifts
She gives to those who trust in her.

Once this rare gft
She had given him, and so beautiful,
She said "For God, if anyone else
Seriously and proud
Should in this chair,
Who is not you, sit,
Or for any reason
Try on this alb,
God will avenge him.
Thus should we, men,
Praise Holy Mary
That her graces and her gifts
She gives to those who trust in her.

Then departed from this world Was this confessor of Christ, And the ruined Don Siagrio Became Archbishop. It was his own undoing Because he dared Wear that garment And was then dead and lost Like the Virgin had said. Thus should we, men, Praise Holy Mary That her graces and her gifts She gives to those who trust in her.

(2) *O que a Santa Maria mais despraz* **CSM 12, To 13**

na sa

fes - ta

que

no mes

d'A

sto jaz

O que a Santa Maria mais despraz CSM 12 Alfonso X, el Sabio Ed. Victoria C. Granda que Ma - ri - a des - praz quen seu E da - quest un gran mi - ra-gre eu o - ra vosquen ce - o do Re - in - na quis en To - le mos trar - no di - a a Deus foi rõ que co -

Esta é como Santa Maria se queixou en Toledo eno dia de ssa festa de agosto, por que os judeus crucifigavan ua omagen de cera, a semellança de seu fillo.

O que a Santa Maria mais despraz, é de quen ao seu Fillo pesar faz.

E daquest' un gran miragre | vos quer' eu ora contar, que a Reinna do Ceo | quis en Toledo mostrar eno dia que a Deus foi corõar, na sa festa que no mes d'Agosto jaz.

O que a Santa Maria mais despraz, é de quen ao seu Fillo pesar faz.

O Arcebispo aquel dia | a gran missa ben cantou; e quand' entrou na segreda | e a gente se calou, oyron voz de dona, que lles falou piadosa e doorida assaz.

O que a Santa Maria mais despraz, é de quen ao seu Fillo pesar faz.

E a voz, come chorando, | dizia: «Ay Deus, ai Deus, com' é mui grand' e provada | a perfia dos judeus que meu Fillo mataron, seendo seus, e aynda non queren conosco paz.»

O que a Santa Maria mais despraz, é de quen ao seu Fillo pesar faz

Poi-la missa foi cantada, | o Arcebispo sayu da eigreja e a todos | diss' o que da voz oyu; e toda a gent' assi lle recodyu: «Esto fez o poblo dos judeus malvaz.» O que a Santa Maria mais despraz, é de quen ao seu Fillo pesar faz.

Enton todos mui correndo | começaron logo d'ir dereit' aa judaria, | e acharon, sen mentir, omagen de Jeso-Crist', a que ferir yan os judeus e cospir-lle na faz.

O que a Santa Maria mais despraz, é de quen ao seu Fillo pesar faz.

E sen aquest', os judeus | fezeran a cruz fazer en que aquela omagen | querian logo põer. E por est' ouveron todos de morrer, e tornou-xe-lles en doo seu solaz. O que a Santa Maria mais despraz, é de quen ao seu Fillo pesar faz.

This is how Holy Mary lamented in Toledo on the day of her feast in August, because the Jews crucified a wax image, in semblance of her son.

What most offends Holy Mary Is a wrong done to her Son.

I wish to tell you of this great miracle That the Queen of Heaven here in Toledo showed On the day that God crowned her That is her feast which is in the month of August What most offends Holy Mary Is a wrong done to her Son.

On that day the archbishop sang well a great Mass And when he began the secret and the people quieted themselves
They heard a lady's voice that spoke to them
[which] was piteous and sorrowful
What most offends Holy Mary
Is a wrong done to her Son.

And a voice, as if crying, said "Oh God, oh God, How great and proven is the perfidy of the Jews Who killed my Son, being part of his own, And still they do not want peace with him." What most offends Holy Mary Is a wrong done to her Son.

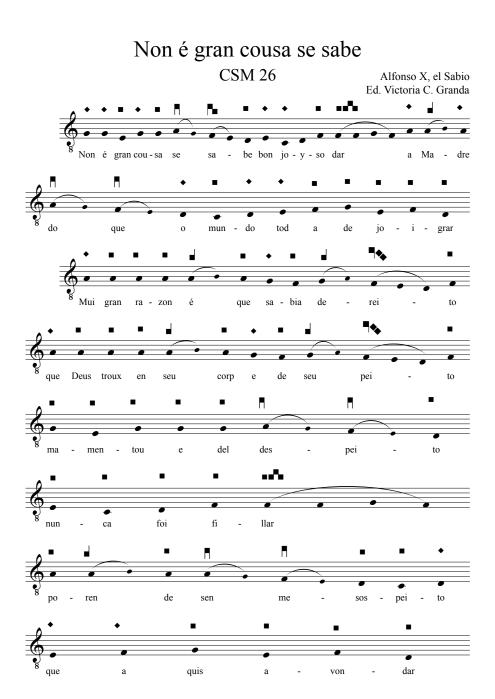
After the mass was sung, the archbishop left The church and said to all what he heard the voice say,

And all the people responded, "The evil Jewish people did this." What most offends Holy Mary Is a wrong done to her Son.

Then they all ran and left there
Directly to the Jewish quarter and found, no lies,
The image of Jesus Christ, whom
The Jews were hitting and spitting on.
What most offends Holy Mary
Is a wrong done to her Son.

And also, the Jews had made a cross That they wanted to hang that image on. And for this deed they all died And their pleasure turned to grief. What most offends Holy Mary Is a wrong done to her Son.

(3) Non é gran cousa se sabe **CSM 26, To 26**



Esta é como Santa Maria juigou a alma do romeu que ya a Santiago, que sse matou na carreira por engano do diabo, que tornass' ao corpo e fezesse pedença.

Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.

Mui gran razon é que sábia dereito que Deus troux' en seu corp' e de seu peito mamentou, e del despeito nunca foi fillar; poren de sen me sospeito que a quis avondar.

Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.

Sobr' esto, se m' oissedes, diria dun joyzo que deu Santa Maria por un que cad' ano ya, com' oý contar, a San Jam' en romaria, porque se foi matar.

Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.

ya a Santiago de verdade; pero desto fez maldade que ant' albergar foi con moller sen bondade, sen con ela casar. Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.

Este romeu con boa voontade

Pois esto fez, meteu-ss' ao camo, e non sse mãefestou o mesqo; e o demo mui festo se le foi mostrar mais branco que un armo, polo tost' enganar.

Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.

Semellança fillou de Santiago e disse: «Macar m' eu de ti despago, a salvaçon eu cha trago do que fust' errar, por que non cáias no lago d' iferno, sen dultar. This is how Holy Mary deemed that the soul of the pilgrim who, on his way to Santiago, killed himself because the devil tricked him, should return to his body and he should do penance.

It does not take much to know/good judgment has the Mother of He who in the world/judges everything.

It is great reason that wise judgement has She who carried God in her body and from her breast

nursed Him, and displeasure from him never had.

Thus I trust He Gave her discretion.

everything.

everything.

It does not take much to know/good judgment has the Mother of He who in the world/judges everything.

Concerning this, if you will hear me, I shall tell How Holy Mary brought judgment On a man who every year, As I heard tell, Made a pilgrimage to Santiago Because he killed himself It does not take much to know/good judgment has the Mother of He who in the world/judges

This pilgrim went with good faith
To Santiago, truly,
But once he committed a sin.
Before he left,
He spent the night with a dishonest woman
To whom he was not married
It does not take much to know/good judgment has
the Mother of He who in the world/judges
everything.

After this, he set out on his way
Without going to confession.
The devil soon
Appeared to him,
Whiter than an ermine,
To deceive him.
It does not take much to know/good judgment has
the Mother of He who in the world/judges

He took the form of Saint James And said "Although I am displeased with you, I offer you salvation From your waywardness So that you will not fall into the lake Of hell, without doubt. Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.

Mas ante farás esto que te digo, se sabor ás de seer meu amigo: talla o que trages tigo que te foi deytar en poder do emigo, e vai-te degolar.»

Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.

O romeu, que ssen dovida cuidava que Santiag' aquelo lle mandava, quanto lle mandou tallava; poi-lo foi tallar, log' enton se degolava, cuidando ben obrar.

Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.

Seus companneiros, poi-lo mort' acharon, por non lles apõer que o mataron, foron-ss', e logo chegaron a alma tomar demões, que a levaron mui toste sen tardar.

Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.

E u passavan ant' ha capela de San Pedro, muit' aposta e bela, San James de Conpostela dela foi travar, dizend': «Ai, falss' alcavela, non podedes levar Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.

A alma do meu romeu que fillastes, ca por razon de mi o enganastes; gran traiçon y penssastes, e, se Deus m' anpar, pois falssament' a gãastes, non vos pode durar.»

Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.

Responderon os demões louçãos:

It does not take much to know/good judgment has the Mother of He who in the world/judges everything.

But first you will do as I say
If you are to be my friend:
Cur off that member of yours
Which caused you to fall
Into the enemy's power,
Then cut off your throat.
It does not take much to know/good judgment has the Mother of He who in the world/judges
everything.

The pilgrim, truly believed
That it was St. James who commanded him,
What he had been told
He cut off,
And then slit his own throat
Thinking he acted rightly.
It does not take much to know/good judgment has
the Mother of He who in the world/judges
everything.

His companions, when they found him dead, So that they would not be accused of killing him, Fled, and then arrived, To claim his soul, Demons, who took it Away without delay. It does not take much to know/good judgment has the Mother of He who in the world/judges everything.

As they passed by a chapel
Of St. Peter, very holy and beautiful,
St. James of Compostela
Rushed out of it
Saying: "Oh vile ilk,
You cannot take away
It does not take much to know/good judgment has
the Mother of He who in the world/judges
everything.

The soul of my pilgrim which you have seized, For you deceived him by impersonating me. You plotted a great treason, And, as God is my aid, Since you falsely took it, You shall not keep it."

It does not take much to know/good judgment has the Mother of He who in the world/judges everything.

The demons insolently responded:

«Cuja est' alma foi fez feitos vãos, por que somos ben certãos que non dev' entrar ante Deus, pois con sas mãos se foi desperentar.» Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.

Santiago diss': «Atanto façamos: pois nos e vos est' assi rezõamos, ao joyzo vaamos da que non á par, e o que julgar façamos logo sen alongar.»

Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.

Log' ante Santa Maria veron e rezõaron quanto mais poderon.
Dela tal joiz' ouveron:
que fosse tornar
a alma onde a trouxeron,
por se depois salvar.
Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar
a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar.

Este joyzo logo foi comprido, e o romeu morto foi resorgido, de que foi pois Deus servido; mas nunca cobrar pod' o de que foi falido, con que fora pecar. Non é gran cousa se sabe | bon joyzo dar a Madre do que o mundo | tod' á de joigar. "The one to whom this soul belonged committed misdeeds.

Because of which we are certain

That he must not enter

Before God, because with his own hands,

he killed himself."

It does not take much to know/good judgment has the Mother of He who in the world/judges everything.

St. James said, "Let us do the following: Since we and you are in dispute, Let us go before the judgment Of she who has no peer And abide by Her decision."

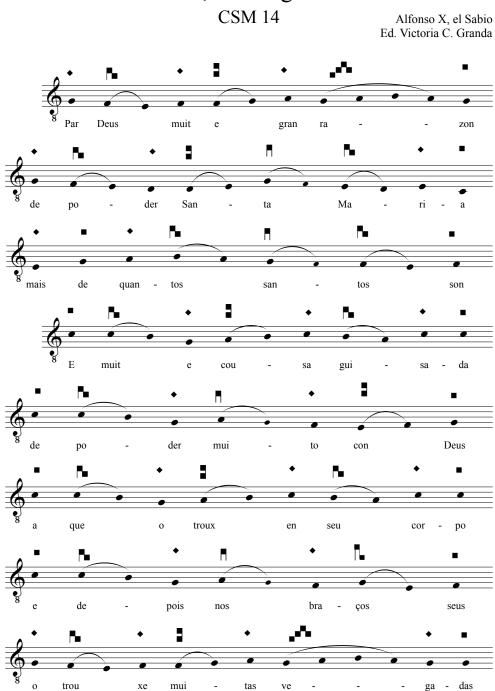
It does not take much to know/good judgment has the Mother of He who in the world/judges everything.

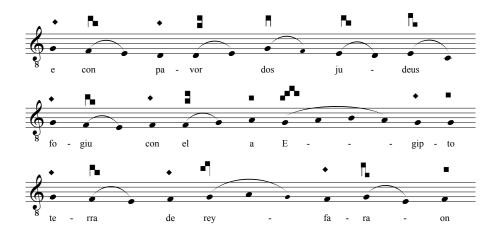
They arrived at once before Holy Mary And argued their case as best they could. They heard this judgement from her: That the soul was to be returned To where it came In order to be saved thenceforth. It does not take much to know/good judgment has the Mother of He who in the world/judges everything.

This judgment was obeyed,
And the dead pilgrim was revived
In fulfillment of God's will.
He never recovered
The missing part
With which he had sinned.
It does not take much to know/good judgment has the Mother of He who in the world/judges everything.

(4) Par Deus, muit'é gran razon **CSM 14, To 15**

Par Deus, muit'é gran razon





Esta é como Santa Maria rogou a seu fillo pola alma do monge de San Pedro, por que rogaran todo-los santos, e o non quis fazer senon por ela.

Par Deus, muit'é gran razon de poder Santa Maria | mais de quantos Santos son.

E muit' é cousa guysada | de poder muito con Deus a que o troux' en seu corpo, | e depois nos braços seus

o trouxe muitas vegadas, | e con pavor dos judeus fugiu con el a Egipto, | terra de rey Faraon.

Par Deus, muit'é gran razon

de poder Santa Maria | mais de quantos Santos son.

Esta Sennor groriosa | quis gran miragre mostrar en un mõesteir' antigo, | que soya pret' estar da cidade de Colonna, | u soyan a morar monges e que de San Pedro | avian a vocaçon. Par Deus, muit'é gran razon de poder Santa Maria | mais de quantos Santos son.

Entr' aqueles bõos frades | avia un frad' atal, que dos sabores do mundo | mais ca da celestial vida gran sabor avia; | mas por se guardar de mal beveu ha meeza, | e morreu sen confisson. Par Deus, muit'é gran razon de poder Santa Maria | mais de quantos Santos son.

E tan toste que foi morto, | o dem' a alma fillou dele e con gran lediça | logo a levar cuidou; mas defendeu-llo San Pedro, | e a Deus por el rogou que a alma do seu monge | por el ouvesse perdon. Par Deus, muit'é gran razon de poder Santa Maria | mais de quantos Santos son.

Pois que San Pedr' esto disse | a Deus, respos-ll' el

«Non sabes la profecia | que diss' o bon rei Davi, que o ome con mazela | de peccado ante mi non verrá, nen de mia casa | nunca será conpannon?»

Par Deus, muit'é gran razon de poder Santa Maria | mais de quantos Santos son. This is how Holy Mary prayed to her son for the soul of the monk of St. Peter, because all the saints had prayed for it, and he would not grant it but for her.

By God, it is very right that the power of Holy Mary is more than those of the saints.

It is a fitting thing that she have great power with God

Who bore him in her body and after held him in her arms

Many times and that for fear of the Jews Fled with hi to Egypt, land of the King Pharaoh By God, it is very right

that the power of Holy Mary is more than those of the saints.

This glorious Lady who performed a great miracle In an ancient monastery that used to be near The city of Cologne, where dwelt Monks, whom had a vocation to St. Peter By God, it is very right that the power of Holy Mary is more than those of the saints.

Among those good friars there was a certain friar Who for the pleasures of the world than the celestial Life he favored; in order to cure himself of an illness

He drank medicine and died without confession. By God, it is very right that the power of Holy Mary is more than those of the saints.

As soon as he was dead, the devil seized his soul And with great delight planned to carry it away But St. Peter defended him and begged God To pardon the soul of the monk By God, it is very right that the power of Holy Mary is more than those of the saints.

For what St. Peter was saying, God responded as such:

"Do you not know the prophecy said by the good King David

that the man tainted with sin before me shall not come, nor ever dwell in my house?" By God, it is very right

that the power of Holy Mary is more than those of the saints. Mui triste ficou San Pedro | quand' esta razon oyu, e chamou todo-los Santos | ali u os estar vyu, e rogaron polo frade | a Deus; mas el recodiu ben com' a el recodira, | e en outra guisa non. Par Deus, muit'é gran razon de poder Santa Maria | mais de quantos Santos son.

Quando viu San Pedr' os Santos | que assi foran

enton a Santa Maria | mercee lle foi pedir que rogass' ao seu Fillo | que non quisess' consentir que a alma do seu frade | tevess' o dem' en prijon. Par Deus, muit'é gran razon

de poder Santa Maria | mais de quantos Santos son.

Log' enton Santa Maria | a seu Fill' o Salvador foi rogar que aquel frade | ouvesse por seu amor perdon. E diss' el: «farey-o | pois end' avedes sabor; mas torn' a alma no corpo, | e compra ssa profisson.»

Par Deus, muit'é gran razon de poder Santa Maria | mais de quantos Santos son.

U Deus por Santa Maria | este rogo foi fazer, o frade que era morto | foi-ss' en pees log' erger, e contou ao convento | como ss' ouver' a perder, se non por Santa Maria, | a que Deus lo deu en don. Par Deus, muit'é gran razon de poder Santa Maria | mais de quantos Santos son.

Very sadly, St. Peter left when he heard this response

And he called all the saints from where he could find them

To pray for the poor friar to God, but he responded With the same response that he gave before.

By God, it is very right

that the power of Holy Mary is more than those of the saints.

When St. Peter saw that the saints had therefore failed

He asked Holy Mary for her mercy

That she might beg her Son that he might not allow The soul of the friar to be held by the devil in prison By God, it is very right

that the power of Holy Mary is more than those of the saints.

At once Holy Mary went to her son the Savior And requested that that friar for the sake of her love Be pardoned. He said: "Mother, I shall do it to please you.

Restore the soul to his body and let him fulfill his calling."

By God, it is very right

that the power of Holy Mary is more than those of the saints.

When God for Holy Mry answered this prayer The friar who was dead rose to his feet And told his convent how he would have been lost Had it not been for Holy Mary, to whom God entrusted him.

By God, it is very right that the power of Holy Mary is more than those of the saints.

(5) Madre de Deus, non pod'errar **CSM 24, To 17**

Madre de Deus, non pod' errar



Esta é como Santa Maria fez nacer ha fror na boca ao crerigo, depois que foi morto, e era en semellança de lilio, porque a loava.

Madre de Deus, non pod' errar quen en ti á fiança.

Non pod' errar nen falecer quen loar te sab' e temer. Dest' un miragre retraer quero, que foi en França. Madre de Deus, non pod' errar quen en ti á fiança.

En Chartes ouv' un crerizon, que era tafur e ladron, mas na Virgen de coraçon avia esperança.

Madre de Deus, non pod' errar quen en ti á fiança.

Quand' algur ya mal fazer, se via omagen seer de Santa Maria, correr ya là sen tardança. Madre de Deus, non pod' errar quen en ti á fiança.

E pois fazia oraçon, ya comprir seu mal enton; poren morreu sen confisson, per sua malandança. Madre de Deus, non pod' errar quen en ti á fiança.

Porque tal morte foi morrer, nono quiseron receber no sagrad', e ouv' a jazer fora, sen demorança. Madre de Deus, non pod' errar quen en ti á fiança.

Santa Maria en vison se mostrou a pouca sazon a un prest', e disse-ll' enton: «Fezestes malestança, Madre de Deus, non pod' errar quen en ti á fiança.

Porque non quisestes coller o meu crerigo, nen meter no sagrad', e longe põer o fostes por viltança. Madre de Deus, non pod' errar This is how Holy Mary caused a flower to be born from the mouth of a cleric after he died, that was similar to a lily, because he praised her.

Mother of God, cannot err, He who trusts in you.

He cannot err Who praises and fears you. On this, I wish to relate a miracle That occurred in France. Mother of God, cannot err, He who trusts in you.

In Chartres, there was a novice priest Who was a gamber and a thief. However, for the Virgin, in his heart He had hope.

Mother of God, cannot err,
He who trusts in you.

Whenever he went off to do wrong, If he saw the image Of Holy Mary, he would run To it at once.

Mother of God, cannot err, He who trusts in you.

After he prayed,
He continued onto his evildoing.
It happened that he died without confession because of his sinful ways.
Mother of God, cannot err,
He who trusts in you.

Because he died in this way, They would not receive him In holy ground, and he was left Outside without delay Mother of God, cannot err, He who trusts in you.

Holy Mary in a vision Appeared to a priest And said: "You acted wrongly" Mother of God, cannot err, He who trusts in you.

"Because you would not take in my cleric, nor bury him in sacred ground, and placed him far away scornfully" Mother of God, cannot err, quen en ti á fiança.

Mas cras, asse Deus vos perdon, ide por el con procisson, con choros e con devoçon, ca foi grand' a errança.»

Madre de Deus, non pod' errar quen en ti á fiança.

O preste logo foi-ss' erger e mandou os sinos tanger, por ir o miragre veer da Virgen sen dultança. Madre de Deus, non pod' errar quen en ti á fiança.

Os crerigos en mui bon son cantando «kyrieleyson», viron jazer aquel baron, u fez Deus demostrança. Madre de Deus, non pod' errar quen en ti á fiança.

Que, porque fora ben dizer de ssa Madre, fez-lle nacer fror na boca e parecer de liro semellançá. Madre de Deus, non pod' errar quen en ti á fiança.

Esto teveron por gran don da Virgen, e mui con razon; e pois fezeron en sermon, levárono con dança. Madre de Deus, non pod' errar quen en ti á fiança. He who trusts in you.

"But, may God pardon you, go fetch him in a procession with mourning and reverence for your error was great."

Mother of God, cannot err,
He who trusts in you.

The priest got up at once And had the bells rung, And hastened to go see the miracle Which the Virgin had surely performed. Mother of God, cannot err, He who trusts in you.

The priests harmoniously
Singing "Kyrie eleison"
Saw the man lying
Where God had manifested his grace.
Mother of God, cannot err,
He who trusts in you.

Because the priest had always praised His Mother, he caused A flower to be born in his mouth, That seemed like a lily. Mother of God, cannot err, He who trusts in you.

This took place because of the great gift Of the Virgin, and rightly so. After they said the sermon, They lifted him with dancing. *Mother of God, cannot err, He who trusts in you.*

(6) Muit' amar devemos en nossas voontades **CSM 36, To 37**

Muit' amar devemos en nossas voontades



Esta é de como Santa Maria pareceu no maste da nave, de noite, que ya a Bretanna, e a guardou que non perigoasse.

Muit' amar devemos en nossas voontades a Sennor, que coitas nos toll' e tempestades.

E desto mostrou a Virgen maravilla quamanna non pode mostrar outro santo, no mar de Bretanna, u foi livrar ha nave, u ya gran companna d'omees por sa prol buscar, no que todos punnades. Muit' amar devemos en nossas voontades a Sennor, que coitas nos toll' e tempestades.

E u singravan pelo mar, atal foi ssa ventura que sse levou mui gran tormenta, e a noit' escura se fez, que ren non lles valia siso nen cordura, e todos cuidaron morrer, de certo o sabiades. *Muit' amar devemos en nossas voontades a Sennor, que coitas nos toll' e tempestades.*

Pois viron o perigo tal, gemendo e chorando os santos todos a rogar se fillaron, chamando por seus nombres cada un deles, muito lles rogando que os vessen acorrer polas ssas piedades.

Muit' amar devemos en nossas voontades a Sennor, que coitas nos toll' e tempestades.

Quand' est' oyu un sant' abade, que na nave ya, disse-lles: Tenno que fazedes ora gran folia, que ides rogar outros santos, e Santa Maria, que nos pode desto livrar, sol nona ementades. *Muit' amar devemos en nossas voontades a Sennor, que coitas nos toll' e tempestades*.

Quand' aquest' oyron dizer a aquel sant' abade, enton todos dun coraçon e da voontade chamaron a Virgen santa, Madre de piedade, que lles valvess' e non catasse as suas maldades. Muit' amar devemos en nossas voontades a Sennor, que coitas nos toll' e tempestades.

This is how Holy Mary appeared on the mast Of a ship, at night, which was on its way to Britain, and saved it from sinking.

We should all love with all our will
The Lady, who frees us from troubles and tempests.

Concerning this, the Virgin performed a wonder that

No other saint could perform. On the sea of Britain, She delivered a ship, on which went a great company

Of men in search of fortune, for which you all strive.

We should all love with all our will
The Lady, who frees us from troubles and tempests.

While they sailed through the sea, such was their luck

That a great storm sprang up, and the night grew dark.

Their wisdom and good sense did not assist them And they all thought they would die, you may be sure.

We should all love with all our will The Lady, who frees us from troubles and tempests.

When they saw such danger, moaning and weeping,

They prayed to all the saints, calling
Each by their name, begging for them
To come save them and have mercy.
We should all love with all our will
The Lady, who frees us from troubles and tempests.

When this heard a holy abbot who was on the ship, He told them: "I think you are making a great folly, To pray to other saints, and Holy Mary, Who can deliver us from this, is not mentioned." We should all love with all our will The Lady, who frees us from troubles and tempests.

When they heard this that the abbot said, Then all with one heart and will Called on the Holy Virgin, Mother of Mercy, That she might save them and overlook their misdeeds

We should all love with all our will The Lady, who frees us from troubles and tempests. E dizian: «Sennor, val-nos, ca a nave sse sume! E dizend' esto, cataron, com' er é de costume, contra o masto, e viron en cima mui gran lume, que alumava mui mais que outras craridades. *Muit' amar devemos en nossas voontades a Sennor, que coitas nos toll' e tempestades.*

E pois lles est' apareceu, foi o vento quedado, e o ceo viron craro e o mar amanssado, e ao porto chegaron cedo, que desejado avian; e se lles proug' en, sol dulta non prendades. *Muit' amar devemos en nossas voontades a Sennor, que coitas nos toll' e tempestades*.

They said: "Lady, save us, for the ship is sinking!" While they said this, they gazed, as is the custom, At the mast, and saw a great glow at the top Which shone brighter than anything else. We should all love with all our will The Lady, who frees us from troubles and tempests.

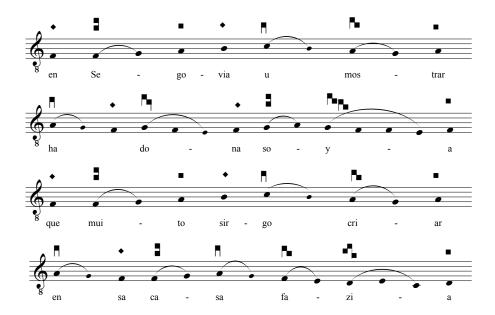
And when this appeared to them, the wind was calmed.

And they saw the clear sky and the calmed sea, And they soon arrived at port, as they had desired, And they were overjoyed, as you should not doubt. We should all love with all our will The Lady, who frees us from troubles and tempests.

(7) Por nos de dulta tirar **CSM 18, To 16**

Por nos de dulta tirar

CSM 18 Alfonso X, el Sabio Ed. Victoria C. Granda de dult nos rar San Ma ri seus mi ra gres mos trar 4 mo - sos da di ca a fa - zer por nos ve er tu pos ra foi fa gre zer Е stre ma du



Esta é como Santa Maria fez fazer aos babous que crian a seda duas toucas, porque a dona que os guardava lle prometera ha e non lla dera.

Por nos de dulta tirar, praz a Santa Maria de seus miragres mostrar fremosos cada dia.

E por nos fazer veer sa apostura, gran miragre foi fazer en Estremadura, en Segovia, u morar ha dona soya, que muito sirgo criar en sa casa fazia. Por nos de dulta tirar, praz a Santa Maria de seus miragres mostrar fremosos cada dia.

Porque os babous perdeu e ouve pouca seda, poren prometeu dar ha touca per' a omagen onrrar que no altar siia da Virgen que non á par, en que muito criya. Por nos de dulta tirar, praz a Santa Maria de seus miragres mostrar fremosos cada dia.

Pois que a promessa fez, senpre creceron os babous ben dessa vez e non morreron; mas a dona con vagar grande que y prendia, d' a touca da seda dar senpre ll' escaecia. Por nos de dulta tirar, praz a Santa Maria de seus miragres mostrar fremosos cada dia.

Onde ll' avo assi ena gran festa d' Agosto, que vo y con mui gran sesta ant' a omagen orar; e ali u jazia a prezes, foi-lle nenbrar This is how Holy Mary made the silkworms spin two veils, because the lady who kept them had promised her one and had not given it to her

To free us from doubt, It pleases Holy Mary To perform her beautiful Miracles every day

And for us to see
Her worth,
A great miracle she did
In Extremadura,
In Segovia, where living
There was a lady
Who produced much silk
In her home.
To free us from doubt,
It pleases Holy Mary
To perform her beautiful
Miracles every day

Because she lost the silkworms
And had little
Silk, she thus promised
To give a veil
To honor the image
That was on the altar
Of the Peerless Virgin,
In whom she believed very much.
To free us from doubt,
It pleases Holy Mary
To perform her beautiful
Miracles every day

After she made this promise,
Always grew
The silkworms well ever since
And did not die;
But the lady would wander
Far from her promise
Of the silk veil
She'd always forget.
To free us from doubt,
It pleases Holy Mary
To perform her beautiful
Miracles every day

Then it happened
On the great feast
Of August, that she came
At midday
To pray before the image;
As she lay there
On her knees, she remembered

a touca que devia. Por nos de dulta tirar, praz a Santa Maria de seus miragres mostrar fremosos cada dia.

Chorando de coraçon foi-sse correndo a casa, e viu enton estar fazendo os bischocos e obrar na touca a perfia, e começou a chorar con mui grand' alegria. Por nos de dulta tirar, praz a Santa Maria de seus miragres mostrar fremosos cada dia.

E pois que assi chorou, meteu ben mentes na touca; des i chamou muitas das gentes y, que vessen parar mentes como sabia a Madre de Deus lavrar per santa maestria. Por nos de dulta tirar, praz a Santa Maria de seus miragres mostrar fremosos cada dia.

As gentes, con gran sabor, quand' est' oyron dando aa Madre loor de Deus, sayron aas ruas braadar, dizendo: «Via, via o gran miragre catar que fez a que nos guia.» Por nos de dulta tirar, praz a Santa Maria de seus miragres mostrar fremosos cada dia.

Un e un, e dous e dous log' y veron; ontre tanto os babous outra fezeron touca, per que fossen par, que se alguen queria a ha delas levar, a outra leixaria. Por nos de dulta tirar, praz a Santa Maria de seus miragres mostrar

The veil she owed.
To free us from doubt,
It pleases Holy Mary
To perform her beautiful
Miracles every day

Weeping from her heart
She left running
Home, and then saw
To be working
The silkworms, and laboring
On the veil diligently,
And she began to cry
With much happiness.
To free us from doubt,
It pleases Holy Mary
To perform her beautiful
Miracles every day.

And after she so cried,
She examined
The veil; then she called
Many people
To come see
How ably
The Mother of God worked
With holiful skill.
To free us from doubt,
It pleases Holy Mary
To perform her beautiful
Miracles every day.

The people, with great joy,
When they saw this,
Praised the Mother
Of God, they left
To the streets shouting,
Saying "See, see
The great miracle
Performed by she who is our guide"
To free us from doubt,
It pleases Holy Mary
To perform her beautiful
Miracles every day.

One by one, and two by two
They came and saw;
Meanwhile the silkworms
Made another
Veil, so that there be a pair,
And if someone wished
To take one of them,
To leave the other one.
To free us from doubt,
It pleases Holy Mary
To perform her beautiful

fremosos cada dia.

Poren don Affons' el Rei na ssa capela trage, per quant' apres' ei, end' a mais bela, que faz nas festas sacar por toller eregia dos que na Virgen dultar van per sa gran folia. Por nos de dulta tirar, praz a Santa Maria de seus miragres mostrar fremosos cada dia.

Miracles every day.

Therefore Don Alfonso, the King,

To his chapel Took, as I learned,

The most beautiful of them;

That he has brought out on holy days

To eradicate heresy

Of those who doubt the Virgin,

To see their great folly.

To free us from doubt,

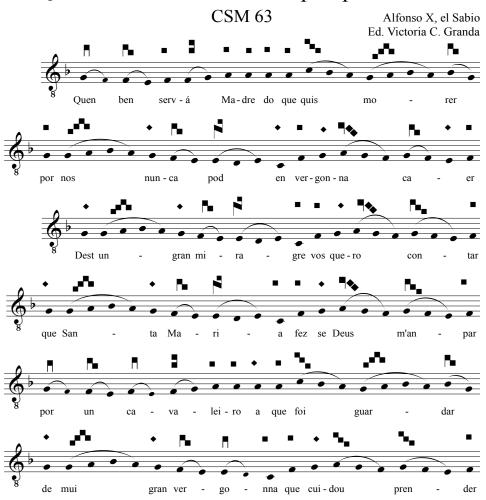
It pleases Holy Mary

To perform her beautiful

Miracles every day.

(8) Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer **CSM 63, To 51**

Quen ben servá Madre do que quis morrer



Como Santa Maria sacou de vergonna a un cavaleiro que ouver' a seer ena lide en Sant' Estevan de Gormaz, ve que non pod' y seer polas suas tres missas que oyu.

Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Dest' un gran miragre vos quero contar que Santa Maria fez, se Deus m'anpar, por hun cavaleiro a que foi guardar de mui gran vergonna que cuidou prender. Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Este cavaleiro, per quant' aprendi, franqu' e ardid' era, que bes ali u ele morava nen redor dessi d'armas non podian outro tal saber.

Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

E de bõos costumes avia assaz e nunca con mouros quiso aver paz; porend' en Sant' Estevão de Gormaz entrou, quand' Almançor a cuidou aver, Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Con el conde don Garcia, que enton tya o logar en aquela sazon, que era bon om' e d'atal coraçon que aos mouros se fazia temer. Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Este conde de Castela foi sennor e ouve gran guerra con rei Almançor, que Sant' Estevão tod' a derredor lle vo çercar, cuidando-lla toller. Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Mais el conde defendia-sse mui ben, ca era ardido e de mui bon sen; e poren do seu non lle leixava ren, mais ya-os mui de rrijo cometer. Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Mais o cavaleiro de que vos faley tanto fez y d'armas, per quant' end' eu sei, que non ouv' y lide nen mui bon torney u se non fezesse por bõo ter. How Holy Mary prevented the disgrace of a knight who was to be in the battle in San Esteban de Gormaz but could not appear due to the three masses he heard.

Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died For us, can never fall in disgrace.

About this, a great miracle, I wish to tell you, That Holy Mary performed, if God helps me, For a knight whom she spared From a very great disgrace he thought befell him. Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died For us, can never fall in disgrace.

This knight, as I learned,
Was very generous and valiant, in the place
He lived and around him
No other had his knowledge of arms.
Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died
For us, can never fall in disgrace.

He lived with good virtues, And never hosted Moors, So to San Esteban de Gormaz He went, when Almonzar tried to take it. Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died For us, can never fall in disgrace.

With Count don García, who then
That place he held.
He was a good man with such great courage
That he caused the Moors to tremble.
Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died
For us, can never fall in disgrace.

This count was the Lord of Castile
And waged a great war with King Almanzor
Who surrounded San Esteban on all sides
Planning to capture it.
Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died
For us, can never fall in disgrace.

But the count defended his place well,
For he was good and wise
And he did not give him any territory
But began to attack the Moors vigorously.
Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died
For us, can never fall in disgrace.

But the knight of whom I told you Did so many feats with arms, as I learned, That there was no battle or tournament Where he did not prove his prowess. Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

E avo-ll' un dia que quis sayr con el conde por na hoste ir ferir dos mouros; mais ante foi missa oir, como cada dia soya fazer.

Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Pois foi na ygreja, ben se repentiu dos seus pecados e a missa oyu de Santa Maria, que ren non faliu, e outras duas que y foron dizer, Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Que da Reynna eran espirital.

Mais un seu escudeiro o trouxe mal dizendo: «Quen en tal torneyo non sal com' aqueste, nunca dev' apareçer.»

Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Por nulla ren que lle dissess' aquel seu escudeiro, ele nulla ren non deu, mais a Santa Maria diz: «Sõo teu, e tol-me vergonna, ca ás en poder.»

Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

As missas oydas, logo cavalgou e ena carreira o conde achou, que ll' o braço destro no colo deitou dizend': «En bon ponto vos fui connocer. Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Ca se vos non fossedes, juro par Deus que vençudos foramos eu e os meus; mais tantos matastes vos dos mouros seus del rei Almançor, que ss' ouv' a recreer. Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

E tanto fezestes por gãardes prez, que ja cavaleiro nunca tanto fez nen soffreu en armas com' aquesta vez soffrer fostes vos polos mouros vençer. Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Mas rogo-vos, porque vos é mui mester, que de vossas chagas pensedes, senner; e eu ey un meje dos de Monpisler que vos pode cedo delas guarecer.» Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died For us, can never fall in disgrace.

One day he intended to go forth
With the count to attack
The Moors, but beforehand he went to hear Mass,
As he did every day.
Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died
For us, can never fall in disgrace.

When he had entered the church, he repented His sins and heard a Mass Of Holy Mary, omitting nothing, And then two others were said. Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died For us, can never fall in disgrace.

That were of the Queen who was spiritual. But his squire reprimanded him, Saying "He who does not go forth in a contest Like this, should never again show himself." Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died For us, can never fall in disgrace.

He paid no heed to the urgings of that Squire, but rather prayed To Holy Mary saying "I am yours, Spare me this shame, for you have the power." Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died For us, can never fall in disgrace.

When the Masses were heard, he rode away And encountered the count on the road, Who threw his right arm around his neck, Saying, "It was a good thing to have met you." Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died For us, can never fall in disgrace.

"For were it not for you, I swear to God, My men and I would have been defeated, But you killed so many Moors Of King Almanzor, that he had to surrender." Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died For us, can never fall in disgrace.

"And you did so much to earn merit
That no knight has ever done so much
Nor suffered fighting as you this time
Suffered to defeat the Moors."
Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died
For us, can never fall in disgrace.

"But, I beseech you, for it is urgent, To take care of your wounds, lord. I have a medic among those from Montpellier Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Disse-ll' est' el conde, e mui mais ca tres lle disseron aquesta razon medes; e el deles todos tal vergonna pres que con vergonna se cuidou ir perder. Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Mais pois que sas armas viu e couseçeu que feridas eran, logo connosçeu que miragre fora, ca ben entendeu que d'outra guisa non podia seer.

Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Pois est' entendudo ouve, ben foi fis que Santa Maria leixa-lo non quis caer en vergonna; e maravidis e outras offrendas lle foi offreçer.

Quen ben serv' a Madre do que quis morrer por nos, nunca pod' en vergonna caer.

Whom you can let cure them."

Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died
For us, can never fall in disgrace.

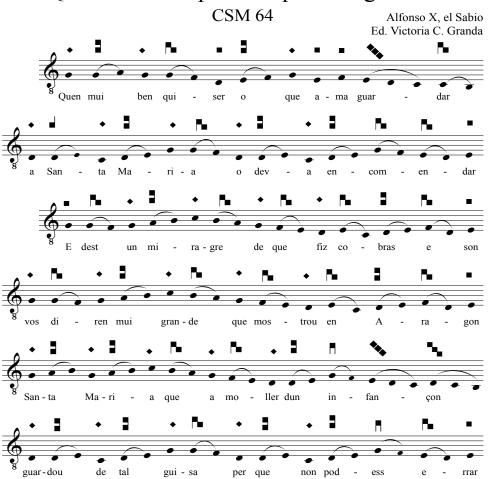
The count told him this and more than three Others said the same thing to him. He was so embarrassed by them that he thought He would die of embarrassment. Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died For us, can never fall in disgrace.

But when he saw his weapons and realized That they were battered, he knew that It had been a miracle, for he well understood That it could not have happened any other way. Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died For us, can never fall in disgrace.

When he understood this, he was sure That Holy Mary had saved him from Falling into disgrace; and maravedis And other gifts he offered her. Whoever serves well the Mother of He who died For us, can never fall in disgrace.

(9) Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar **CSM 64, To 54**

Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar



Como a moller que o marido leixara en comenda a Santa Maria non podo a çapata que lle dera seu entendedor meter no pee nen descalça-la.

Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

E dest' un miragre, de que fiz cobras e son, vos direi mui grande, que mostrou en Aragon Santa Maria, que a moller dun infançon guardou de tal guisa, por que non podess' errar.

Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

Esta dona, per quant' eu dela oý dizer, aposta e ninna foi, e de bon parecer; e por aquesto a foi o infançon prender por moller, e foi-a pera sa casa levar. Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

Aquel infançon un mui gran tenp' assi morou con aquela dona; mais pois s' ir dali cuidou por ha carta de seu sennor que lle chegou, que avia guerra e que o foss' ajudar. Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

Ante que movesse, diss-ll' assi sa moller: «Sennor, pois vos ides, fazede, se vos prouguer,

que m' encomendedes a alguen, ca m' é mester

que me guarde e que me sábia ben consellar.»

Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

E o infançon lle respondeu enton assi: «Muito me praz ora daquesto que vos oý; mais ena ygreja mannãa seremos y, e enton vos direi a quen vos cuid' a leixar.» Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

Outro dia foron ambos a missa oyr, e pois foi dita, u se lle quis el espedir, chorand' enton ela lle começou a pedir que lle désse guarda por que ouvess' a catar. Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

E ar ele, chorando muito dos ollos seus,

How the woman whose husband left her in the care of Holy Mary could neither put on nor take off the shoe her suitor had given her.

He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

And this miracle, that I set to verse and music, I will tell you, was very great, who in Aragon Holy Mary performed, that the wife of a nobleman She protected in such a way that she could not err. He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

This lady, according to what I heard said about her, Was gentle and young, and of good looks, And for that reason the nobleman wished Her for a wife, and took her into his house. He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

That nobleman lived a long time With that lady, but then he prepared to leave Because he received a letter from his lord That there was a war and he should go help him. He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

Before moving, his wife spoke to him in this way: "Lord, since you are leaving, if you please, commend me to someone, for I need one who will protect me and advise me well." He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

The nobleman then responded like this:
"I am very pleased to hear you say this,
but we shall go to a church tomorrow,
and then I shall tell you to whom I will entrust you.
He who very well wants to protect what he loves,
Should commend it to Holy Mary.

The next day they both went to hear mass, And after it was said, and they bid farewell, crying, she then began to ask him For one to watch over her.

He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

And he, weeping a good deal from both eyes,

mostrou-ll' a omagen da Virgen, Madre de Deus.

e disse-ll': «Amiga, nunca os pecados meus sejan perdõados, se vos a outri vou dar. Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

Senon a esta, que é Sennor Espirital, que vos pode ben guardar de posfaz e de mal; e porende a ela rog' eu, que pod' e val, que mi vos guarde e leix' a min cedo tornar.» Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

Foi-ss' o cavaleiro logo dali. Mas, que fez o diabr' arteiro por lle toller seu bon prez a aquela dona? Tant' andou daquela vez que un cavaleiro fezo dela namorar. Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

E con seus amores a poucas tornou sandeu; e porend' ha sa covilleira cometeu que lle fosse bõa, e tanto lle prometeu que por força fez que fosse con ela falar. Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

E disse-ll' assi: «Ide falar con mia sennor e dizede-lle como moiro por seu amor; e macar vejades que lle desto grave for, nona leixedes vos poren muito d' aficar.» Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

A moller respos: «Aquesto de grado farei, e que a ajades quant' eu poder punnarei; mas de vossas dõas me dad', e eu llas darei, e quiçay per esto a poderei enganar.» Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

Diss' o cavaleir': «Esto farei de bon talan.» Log' as çapatas lle deu de bon cordovan; mais a dona a trouxe peor que a un can e disse que per ren non llas queria fillar. Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

Mais aquela vella, com' era moller mui vil e d' alcayotaria sabedor e sotil, por que a dona as çapatas fillasse, mil razões lle disse, trões que llas fez tomar. Showed her the image of the Virgin, Mother of God, And told her: "Lover, may my sins never Be forgiven, if I entrusted you to anyone else." He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

If not her, she who is the Spritual Lady, can keep you well from dishonor and harm. And I pray to her, who is powerful and worthy, That she keep you for me and grant me a speedy return."

He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

The knight then departed. But what do Suppose the crafty devil did to tempt That lady? He contrived to make A knight fall in love with her. He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

And with his passion he almost went mad, And thus he persuaded a servant To do him a favor, and promised her so much That she was forced to speak to her. He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

He told her: "Go speak with my lady And tell her how I die for her love, And though you see that this does not please her, Do not cease to insist." He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

The woman replied: "I shall gladly do this, And try my best so that you may have her, But give me some gifts and I shall give them to her. And perhaps this way I will trick her." He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

The knight said: "This I shall do gladly." So he gave her some shoes of fine Cordovan [leather],

But the lady scorned her like a dog And said she absolutely would not put them on. He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

But that old woman, as she was very base And knowing and skilled at as a go-between, Gave the lady, to try on the shoes, a thousand Reasons, until she took them. Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

Mais a mesquinna, que cuidava que era ben, fillou logo as çapatas, e fez y mal sen; ca u quis calça-la ha delas, ja per ren fazer nono pode, nena do pee sacar. Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

E assi esteve un ano e ben un mes, que a çapata ao pee assi se ll'apres que, macar de toller-lla provaron dous nen tres

nunca lla poderon daquel pee descalçar. Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

E depos aquest' a poucos dias recodiu seu marid' a ela, e tan fremosa a viu que a logo quis; mas ela non llo consentiu ata que todo seu feito ll' ouve a contar. Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

O cavaleiro disse: «Dona, desto me praz, e sobr' esto nunca averemos senon paz, ca sei que Santa Mari', en que todo ben jaz, vos guardou.» E a çapata lle foi en tirar. Quen mui ben quiser o que ama guardar, a Santa Maria o dev' a encomendar.

He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

But the poor girl, thinking it could do no harm, Took the shoes, a foolish thing to do.
When she tried to put one of them on, she Could not get it on, not take it off her foot.
He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

And thus she remained for a year and a month, For the shoe clung so tightly to her foot, That although two or three people tried, They could never get it off.

He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

And after a few days passed Her husband returned, and found her so beautiful that he desired her at once, but she would not consent

Until she had told him what she had done. He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

The knight said: "Lady, I am pleased at this, And we shall have no trouble over it, For I know that Holy Mary, in whom all goodness lies

Protected you." And he took off the shoe. He who very well wants to protect what he loves, Should commend it to Holy Mary.

(10) Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer CSM 104, To 94

Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer



Como Santa Maria fez aa moller que queria fazer amadoiras a seu amigo con el corpo de Jhesu-Cristo e que o tragia na touca, que lle corresse sangui da cabeça ata que o tirou ende.

Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer, como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer.

E o que o fazer coida, creed' aquesto por mi, que aquel escarno todo á de tornar sobre si. E daquest' un gran miragre vos direi, que eu oý que fezo Santa Maria; oyde-mio a lezer: Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer, como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer.

Aquesto foi en Galiza non á y mui gran sazon, que ha ssa barragãa ouve un escudeiron; e por quanto s' el casara, tan gran pesar ouv' enton, que con gran coita ouvera o siso end' a perder. Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer, como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer.

E con gran pesar que ouve foi seu consello buscar enas outras sas vezas, e atal llo foron dar: que sol que ela podesse ha ostia furtar das da eigreja, que logo o poderia aver. *Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer, como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer.*

Pois que lle tal ben queria. E ela toste, sen al, foi-sse a ha eigreja da Virgen espirital, que nas nossas grandes coitas nos guarda senpre de mal,

e diss' enton que queria logo comoyon prender. Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer, como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer.

E o crerigo sen arte de a comungar coidou; mai-la ostia na boca aquesta moller guardou, que per neha maneira nona trociu nen passou, e punnou quanto mais pode de sse dali log' erger. Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer, como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer.

Pois que sayu da eigreja, os dedos enton meteu ena boca e tan toste tirou-a end' e odeu a ostia ena touca; e nada non atendeu, ante se foi muit' agynna por provar est' e veer. Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer, como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer.

Se lle disseran verdade ou se lle foran mentir

How Holy Mary caused a woman who wanted to make love potions for her friend with the body of Jesus-Christ, when she removed it from her headdress, to have blood flowing from her head.

No one can so displease the Virgin As the one who tries to offend her Son, God.

And if anyone tries to do it, believe this I say, The offense will turn against him.

About this, I will tell you a great miracle, I heard, That Holy Mary performed. Hear me please.

No one can so displease the Virgin

As the one who tries to offend her Son, God.

This happened in Galicia, not very long ago, That a lusty squire kept a concubine, And because he married another, she was so pained

That she almost lost her mind with sorrow. No one can so displease the Virgin As the one who tries to offend her Son, God.

In her great suffering, she sought consel From some neighbors, and they gave her this advice:

That if only she could steal a host From the church, she could have him at once. No one can so displease the Virgin As the one who tries to offend her Son, God.

Since she loved him so much. Withou delay, She went to a church of the spiritual Virgin, Who always keeps us from great troubles, And said that she wished to take communion. No one can so displease the Virgin As the one who tries to offend her Son, God.

The priest unsuspectingly gave her communion, But this woman kept the host in her mouth And did not chew or swallow it, And left there as quickly as she could. No one can so displease the Virgin As the one who tries to offend her Son, God.

When she left the church, she put her fingers In her mouth and quickly took out the Host, put it in her headdress. Without delay, She hastened to try the charm.

No one can so displease the Virgin

As the one who tries to offend her Son, God.

To see if she had been told the truth or had lied

aquelas que lle disseran que lle farian vir log' a ela seu amigo e ja mais nunca partir dela se ja poderia, e de con ela viver.

Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer, como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer.

E entrant' a ha vila que dizen Caldas de Rey, ond' aquesta moller era, per com' end' eu apres' ey, avo en mui gran cousa que vos ora contarey; ca lle viron pelas toucas sangue vermello correr. *Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer, como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer.*

E a gent' enton dizia, quando aquel sangue viu: «Di, moller, que foi aquesto, ou quen te tan mal feriu?»

E ela maravillada foi tanto que est' oyu, assi que nunca lles soube niha ren responder. Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer, como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer.

E pos a mão nas toucas, e sentiu e viu mui ben que era sangue caente, e disso assi poren: «A mi non me feriu outre senon queno mundo ten en seu poder, por grand' erro que me ll' eu fui merecer».

Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer, como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer.

Enton contou-lles o feito, tremendo con gran pavor, todo como ll' avera; e deron poren loor todos a Santa Maria, Madre de Nostro Sennor, e a seu Fillo beyto, chorando con gran prazer.

Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer, como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer.

A moller se tornou logo à eigreja outra vez, e deitou-ss' ant' a omagen e disse: «Sennor de prez, non cates a meu pecado que mi o demo fazer fez.» E log' a un mõesteiro se tornou monja meter. Nunca ja pod aa Virgen ome tal pesar fazer, como quen ao seu Fillo Deus coida escarnecer.

Those who had told her it would make her Her lover come back and never again leave Her and live with her.

No one can so displease the Virgin As the one who tries to offend her Son, God.

When she entered a town called Caldas de Rey, Where she lived, so I learned, A great thing happened to her, that I tell you now. Red blood began to run down her headdress. No one can so displease the Virgin As the one who tries to offend her Son, God.

The people said, when they saw that blood: "Tell, woman, what happened. Who has wounded you so badly?"

She was greatly surprised when she heard this, So did not know what to respond. No one can so displease the Virgin As the one who tries to offend her Son, God.

She put her hand on her headdress, and felt it and saw well

That it was warm blood, and thus said:
"The One who wounded me was none other than
He who holds great power in the world. Because of
my great error, I deserve this punishment."
No one can so displease the Virgin
As the one who tries to offend her Son, God.

Then she told them what she had done, trembling with great freight,
How it all happened. Thus they all praised
Holy Mary, Mother of Our Lord,
And her blessed Son, weeping with great joy.
No one can so displease the Virgin
As the one who tries to offend her Son, God.

The woman returned at once to the church again, And prostrated herself before the statue, saying: "Worthy Lady,

Blame me not for my sin, for the devil made me do it."

And soon she went to a convent and became a nun. No one can so displease the Virgin As the one who tries to offend her Son, God.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

CSM Manuscripts

- To Códice de Toledo. Biblioteca Nacional de España, MS 10069
- T Códice Rico. Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS T.I.1
- E Códice de los músicos. Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial, MS B.I.2
- F Códice de Florencia. Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale de Firenze, MS B.R.20

CSM Editions

- Alfonso X, el Sabio. *Las Cantigas de Santa María*. 2 vols. Edited by Laura Fernández Fernández and Carlos Ruiz Souza. Madrid: Testimonio Compañía Editorial, 2011.
- _____. Cantigas de Santa María: Nueva transcripción integral de su música según la métrica latina. Edited by Roberto Pla. Madrid: Música Didáctica, 2001.
- _____. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. 3 vols. Edited by Walter Mettmann. Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1986-1989.
- _____. El 'Códice Rico' de las Cantigas de Alfonso X el Sabio: MS. T. I. 1 de la Biblioteca de El Escorial. 2 vols. Edited by Matilde López Serrano. Madrid: Edilán, 1979.
- Anglés, Higinio. La música de las Cantigas de Santa María del rey Alfonso el Sabio: Facsímil, transcripción y estudio crítico. 3 vols. Barcelona: Diputación Provincial de Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, 1943-1964.
- Ribera y Tarragó, Julián. *La Música de las Cantigas: Estudio sobre su origen y naturaleza con reproducciones fotográficas del texto y transcripción moderna*. Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos, 1922.
- Cueto, Leopoldo Augusto de, Marqués de Valmar. *Estudio histórico, crítico y filológico sobre las 'Cantigas' del Rey D. Alfonso el Sabio.* 2 vols. Madrid: Real Academia Española, 1889.

Secondary Sources

- Acosta, Francy. "The *Cantigas d'Amigo* by Martin Codax in the Vindel Manuscript" D.M.A. thesis, Case Western Reserve University, 2004.
- Álvarez, Rosario. "Los instrumentos musicales en los códices alfonsinos: Su tipología, su uso y su origen. Algunos problemas iconográficos." In *Symposium Alfonso X El Sabio y la Música*, 67-104. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1987.
- Anglés, Higinio. "El canto popular en las melodías de los trovadores provenzales" *Anuario Musical* 15 (1960).
- _____. Las Cantigas del rey Alfonso el Sabio, fiel reflejo de la música cortesana y popular de la España del siglo XIII. Murcia: La Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1952.
- _____. La música española desde la edad media hasta nuestros días. Barcelona, Spain: Diputación Provincial de Barcelona, Biblioteca Central, 1941.
- Apel, Willi. "Rondeaux, Virelais, and Ballades in French 13th-Century Song." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 7, no. 2 (1954), 121-130.
- Aubrey, Elizabeth. *The Music of the Troubadors.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000.
- Bayo, Juan Carlos. "Las colecciones universales de milagros de la Virgen hasta Gonzalo de Berceo." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 81, no. 7-8 (2004): 849-871.
- Bleiberg, Germán, Maureen Ihrie, and Janet Pérez, eds., *Dictionary of the Literature of the Iberian Peninsula*, vol. 2 "L-Z." Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., 1993.
- Bouterse, Curtis Carlisle. "Literacy, Orality, and the Cantigas: Toward an Ethnomusicology of Medieval Europe." PhD diss., University of Maryland, 1996.
- Burke, James. "Medieval Spanish Prose." In *The Cambridge History of Spanish Literature*. Edited by David T. Giles, 95-114. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Burkard, Richard. The cult of the virgin in the 'Milagros' of Gonzalo de Berceo: its type and purpose. Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 2011.
- Burns, S.J., Robert I., ed. *Emperor of Culture: Alfonso X the Learned of Castile and His Thirteenth-Century Renaissance*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania

- Press, 1990.
- Capdepón Verdú, Paulino. "Música en la época de Alfonso el Sabio: Las Cantigas de Santa María." *Alcanate: Revista de estudios alfonsíes* 9 (2010-2011): 181-214.
- Centre for the Study of the Cantigas de Santa María of Oxford University: Cantigas de Santa María Database. http://csm.mml.ox.ac.uk/
- Campbell, Alison D. "Words and music in the Cantigas de Santa Maria: the Cantigas as song." MLitt thesis, University of Glasgow, 2011.
- Carpenter, Dwayne E. "Jewish-Christian Social Relations in Alphonsine Spain: A Commentary on Book VII, Title xxiv, Law 8 of the Siete Partidas." In *Florilegium Hispanicum: Medieval and Golden Age Studies.* Edited by John S. Geary, 61-70. Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Ltd., 1983.
- Chiong Rivero, Horacio. "La domna celestial: las imágenes sacroprofanas en las cantigas de loor de Alfonso X." In Pedro M. Piñero Ramírez, ed. *Dejar hablar a los textos: Homenaje a Francisco Márquez Villanueva*, 65-76. Seville: Publicaciones de la Universidad de Sevilla, 2005.
- Clarke, Dorothy Clotelle. "Versification in Alfonso el Sabio's Cantigas." *Hispanic Review* 23, no. 2 (April 1955): 83-98.
- Collet, Henri and Luis Villalba. "Contribution à l'étude des 'Cantigas' d'Alphonse le Savant." *Bulletin Hispanique* 13, no. 3 (1911): 270-290.
- Cummins, John G. "The practical implications of Alfonso el Sabio's peculiar use of the zéjel." *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 47 (1970): 1-9.
- Davis, W. R. "Another aspect of the Virgin Mary in the Cántigas de Santa María." *Revista de Estudios Hispánicos* 8 (1974): 95-105.
- Dexter, Elise Forsythe. "Sources of the Cantigas of Alfonso el Sabio." PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1926.
- Dronke, Peter. *The Medieval Lyric*. London: Hutchinson & Co. 1968.
- Elmes, Chris. *Cantigas de Santa Maria of Alfonso X, el Sabio: A Performing Edition*. 3 vols. Edinburgh, Scotland: Gaïta, 2004-2010.
- Estoria de Espanna que fizo el muy noble rey don Alfonsso fijo del rey don Fernando et de la reyna donna Beatriz. In Alfonso X, el Sabio. Primera Crónica General, Vol. 1. Edited by Ramón Menéndez Pidal. Madrid: Bailly-Baillière é hijos, 1906.

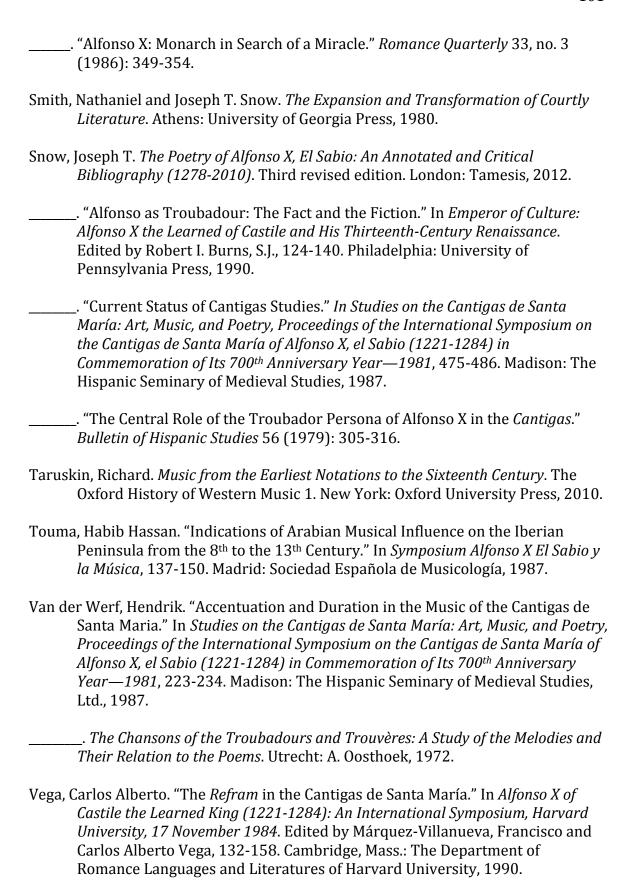
Farmer, Henry George. <i>Historical Facts for the Arabian Musical Influence</i> . Hildesheim, Germany: Georg Olms Verlag, 1970.
Fernández de la Cuesta, Ismael. "Las Cantigas de Santa María, precedente del Villancico Hispano: música de un trovador para la liturgia sacra." <i>Alcanate: Revista de estudios alfonsíes</i> 9 (2010-2011): 163-180.
"La interpretación melódica de las Cantigas de Santa María." In Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María: Art, Music, and Poetry, Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Cantigas de Santa María of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221-1284) in Commemoration of Its 700 th Anniversary Year—1981, 155-188. Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Ltd., 1987.
"Las Cantigas de Santa María: Replanteamiento Musicológico de la Cuestión." In <i>Symposium Alfonso X El Sabio y la Música</i> , 15-37. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1987.
"Los elementos melódicos en las Cántigas de Santa María." <i>Revista de musicología</i> 7, no. 1 (1984): 5-44.
Ferreira, Manuel Pedro. "Alfonso X, compositor." <i>Alcanate: Revista de estudios alfonsíes</i> 5 (2006-2007): 117-135.
"A propósito de una nueva lectura de la música de las Cantigas de Santa María." <i>Alcanate: Revista de estudios alfonsíes</i> 5 (2006-2007): 307-318.
Cantus Coronatus: 7 cantigas by King Dinis of Portugal. Translated by David Cranmer. Kassel: Edition Reichenberger, 2005.
"Andalusian Music and the Cantigas de Santa María." In <i>Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria.'</i> Edited by Stephen Parkinson, 7-19. Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre of the University of Oxford, 2000.
"Influence of Chant on CSM." Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria 11-12 (1999-2000): 29-40.
"Rondeau and virelai: The Music of Andalus and the Cantigas de Santa Maria," <i>Plainsong and Medieval Music</i> 13, no. 2 (2004), 127-140.
"The Stemma of the Marian Cantigas: Philological and Musical Evidence." Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria 6 (1994): 58-98.
The Sound of Martin Codax: On the musical dimension of the Galician Portuguese lyric (XII-XIV Centuries). Lisbon: Unisys Imprensa Nacional – Casa de Moeda, 1986.

- Flory, David A. *Marian representations in the miracle tales of thirteenth century Spain and France*. Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2000.
- Fradejas Lebrero, José. "Alfonso X humanista." In *La Lengua y la Literatura en tiempos de Alfonso X: actas del congreso internacional: Murcia, 5-10 marzo 1984*, 211-218. Murcia: Sucesores de Nogues, 1985.
- Franco, Ángela. "Las cantigas de Santa María, la plástica, la iconografía y devociones en la Baja Edad Media." *Alcanate: Revista de estusios alfonsíes* 7 (2010-2011):103-146.
- Gaunt, Simon and Sarah Kay. *The Troubadours: An Introduction*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Gómez Muntané, Maricarmen. *La música medieval en España.* Kassel: Ediciones Reichberger, 2001.
- Guerrero Lovillo, José. *Las Cántigas: Estudio arqueológico de sus miniaturas*. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1949.
- Hall, Linda B. *Mary, Mother and Warrior: The Virgin in Spain and the Americas.*Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004.
- Huete Fudio, Mario. "La religiosidad popular en la plena Edad Media a través de las Cantigas de Santa María (s. XIII)." In *Religiosidad popular en España: Actas del Simposium 1/4-IX-1997*, II, 135-1578. San Lorenzo de El Escorial: Instituto Escurialense de Investigaciones Históricas y Artísticas, 1997.
- Huot, Sylvia. From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987.
- Huseby, Gerardo Victor. "The 'Cantigas de Santa María' and the Medieval Theory of Mode." PhD diss., Stanford University, 1982.
- _____. El parámetro melódico en las *Cantigas de Santa María*: Sistemas, estructuras, formulas y técnicas compositivas." In *El Scriptorium alfonsí de los libros de astrología a las 'Cantigas de Santa María,*' III: 215-270. Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1999.
- _____. "Musical Analysis and Poetic Structure in the Cantigas de Santa Maria." In *Florilegium Hispanicum: Medieval and Golden Age Studies*. Edited by John S. Geary, 81-101. Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1983.

- Johnson, Sarah. "'Porque trobar e cousa en que jaz entendimento': Pattern and Melody in the Cantigas de Santa Maria." Paper presented at annual meeting of the American Musicological Society, New Orleans, November 2012.
- Katz, Israel J. "The Study and Performance of the CSM: A Glance at Recent Musicological Literature." *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria* 1, no. 1 (1987): 51-60.
- _____. The Traditional Folk Music and Dances of Spain: A Bibliographical Guide to Research. New York: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 2009.
- ______. "The Threefold Impact of the Cantigas de Santa María: Visual, Verbal, and Musical." In Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María: Art, Music, and Poetry, Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Cantigas de Santa María of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221-1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th Anniversary Year—1981, 8-33. Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Ltd., 1987.
- Kinkade, Richard P. "Alfonso X, Cantiga 235, and the Events of 1269-1278." Speculum 67, no. 2 (1992): 284-323.
- Krause, Kathy M., and Alison Stones, eds. *Gautier de Coinci: Miracles, Music, and Manuscripts.* Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2006.
- Kulp-Hill, Kathleen, trans. Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, The Wise: A Translation of the Cantigas de Santa María. Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2000.
- Llorens Cisteró, José María. "El ritmo musical de las Cantigas de Santa María: Estado de la cuestión." In *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María: Art, Music, and Poetry, Proceedings of the International Symposium on the Cantigas de Santa María of Alfonso X, el Sabio (1221-1284) in Commemoration of Its 700th <i>Anniversary Year—1981, 203-221*. Madison: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, Ltd., 1987.
- López Elum, Pedro. *Interpretando la música medieval del siglo XIII: Las Cantigas de Santa María*. Valencia: Universitat de Valencia, 2010.
- Márquez Villanueva, Francisco and Carlos Alberto Vega. *Alfonso X of Castile the Learned King (1221-1284): An International Symposium, Harvard University, 17 November 1984.* CambridgeThe Department of Romance Languages and Literatures of Harvard University, 1990.
- Martínez Torner, Eduardo. *Lírica hispánica: Relaciones entre lo popular y lo culto.* Madrid: Editorial Castalia, 1966.

- Menéndez Pidal, Ramón. *Poesía Juglaresca y Juglares: Aspectos de la historía literaria y cultural de España.* Madrid: Espasa-Calipe, S.A., 1969.
- Mettmann, Walter. "Algunas observaciones sobre la génesis de la colección de las Cantigas de Santa María y sobre el problema del autor," in *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa María*. Edited by Israel I. Katz and John E. Keller, 355-66. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies, 1987.
- Montoya Martínez, Jesús. "Los Loores y la teología mariana del tiempo." *Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria* 11-12 (1999-2000): 15-27.
- _____. Composición, estructura y contenido del Cancionero Marial de Alfonso X. Murcia: Real Academia Alfonso X el Sabio, 1999.
- O'Callaghan, Joseph F. *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa María: A Poetic Biography*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Koninklijke Brill NV, 1998.
- O'Neill, Mary. Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in the Trouvère Repertoire. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006.
- Parkinson, Stephen. "Alfonso X, miracle collector." In *Alfonso X El Sabio: Las Cantigas de Santa María*. Edited by Laura Fernández Fernández and Carlos Ruiz Souza, II: 341-57. Madrid: Testimonio, 2011.
- ______, ed. Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria.' Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre of the University of Oxford, 2000.
- _____. "Phonology and metrics: aspects of rhyme in the *CSM*." In *Proceedings of the 10th Colloquium of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar*, 131-44. London: Queen Mary and Westfield College, 2000).
- ______, ed. Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria.' Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre of the University of Oxford, 2000.
- Parkinson, Stephen, and Deidre Jackson. "Collection, Composition, and Compilation in the Cantigas de Santa María." *Portuguese Studies* 22 (2006): 159-72.
- _____. "Putting the Cantigas in Context: tracing the sources of Alfonso X's 'Cantigas de Santa Maria." Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre of the University of Oxford, 2005.
- Pelikan, Jaroslav. *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture*. New Haven Conn: Yale Univ. Press, 1996.

- Pérez de Tudela Velasco, María Isabel. "La piedad mariana en las Cantigas de Alfonso X el Sabio: según la versión literaria." *In Devoción mariana y sociedad medieval: actas del simposio, Ciudad Real, 22 al 24 de marzo, 1988*, 471-482. Ciudad Real: Instituto de Estudios Manchegos, 1988.
- Procter, Evelyn S. *Alfonso X of Castile: Patron of Literature and Learning*. Westport: Greenwood Press Publishers, 1980.
- Randel, Don M. "La teoría musical en la época de Alfonso X el Sabio." In *Symposium Alfonso X El Sabio y la Música*, 39-51. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Musicología, 1987.
- Remensnyder, Amy G. "Marian Monarchy in Thirteenth-Century Castile." In *The Experience of Power in Medieval Europe, 950-1350*. Edited by Robert F. Berkhofer III, Alan Cooper, and Adam J. Kosko, 252-270. Hampshire: Ashgate Publishig Limited, 2005.
- Ribera y Tarragó, Julián. *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain: Being La Música de las Cantigas*. Translated and abridged by Eleanor Hague and Marion Leffingwell. 1929. Reprint, New York: Da Capo Press, 1970.
- Rossi, Germán and Santiago Disalvo. "El trovador y la rosa: huellas de las chansons marianas de Gautier de Coinci en las Cantigas de Santa María de Alfonso X." Medievalia 41 (2009): 42-59.
- Rossell i Mayo, Antoni. "Las Cantigas de Santa María (CSM) y sus modelos musicales litúrgicos, una imitación intertextual e intermelódica." In *Literatura y cristiandad: homenaje al profesor Jesús Montoya Martínez (con motivo de su jubilación): Estudios sobre hagiografía, mariología, épica, y retórica*. Edited by Manuel José Alonso García et al, 403-412. Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2001.
- _____. "Algunos aspectos musicales de las Cantigas de Santa María de Alfonso X a partir de las transcripciones manuscritas de Higinio Anglés." In *La Lengua y la Literatura en tiempos de Alfonso X: actas del congreso internacional: Murcia, 5-10 marzo 1984*, 518-530. Murcia: Sucesores de Nogues, 1985.
- Rothenberg, David J. *The Flower of Paradise: Marian Devotion and Secular Song in Medieval and Renaissance Music.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Rubin, Miri. *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009.
- Scarborough, Connie L. *A Holy Alliance: Alfonso X's Political Use of Marian Poetry*. Newark, Delaware: Juan de la Cuesta, 2009.



- Vesga Cuevas, Juan. "Las advocaciones de las imágenes marianas veneradas en España: Ensayo de una teología popular mariana en España." PhD diss., Pontificia Universitas Lateranensis, 1985.
- Wolf, Ferdinand Josef. *Historia de las literaturas castellana y portuguesa*. Translated by Miguel de Unamuno and annotated by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo. Madrid: La España Moderna, 1896.
- Wulstan, David. "The Rhythmic Organization of the Cantigas de Santa María." In *Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria,'* ed. Stephen Parkinson, 31-65. Oxford: European Humanities Research Centre of the University of Oxford, 2000.