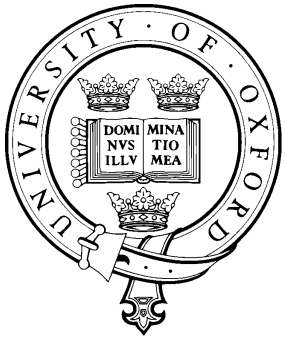
Accommodating Poetic, Linear Narratives with Cyclical, Repetition-Based Musical-Poetic Structures in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*

Volume 1

A thesis presented by

Henry T Drummond

submitted in partial fulfilment of the
requirements of the degree of *Doctor of Philosophy*
in the *Faculty of Music* at the *University of Oxford*.



Merton College
University of Oxford
October 2017

Declaration

This doctoral thesis is my own work and includes nothing that is the work of others, except where specifically referenced in the text.

Including notes, appendices and bibliography—but excluding song texts and translations—it does not exceed 100,000 words in length.

Contents

Abstract

Central to the world of thirteenth-century Galician-Portuguese song are the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (*CSM*), of which the *cantigas de miragre* are the focus of this study. This body of Marian miracle narratives is not without its hermeneutical complications. The songs' musical-poetic forms largely comprise alternations between a refrain, and strophes that finish by reiterating the refrain's metre, rhymes and melody. Combining the strictly linear narrative of the miracle *cantiga* with this cyclical framework poses manifold complications. Seemingly self-contained narrative logic is divided by interstrophic refrains, and chains of thought are divided. This setup in the *cantigas de miragre* is rendered all the more curious, given that few comparable instances of cyclical structure and linear narrative occur elsewhere in late-medieval vernacular repertory. In essence, concatenating the linear with the circular does not typically work in narrative song.

This thesis is the first scholarly work that examines how the *cantigas de miragre* navigates this dichotomy. Parsing the musical, poetic and narrative structures of a selection of songs, Part I of the thesis demonstrates how the sonically tenacious refrain, when recapped within strophes, works to highlight the narrative thrust of a miracle story. The memorially marked recurrence of refrain metre, rhymes and melody functions as a device to separate the narratively central from the extraneous. It thereby exposes a miracle song's essential message to its audience. Given late-medieval attitudes towards sonic repetition and memory—as well as a deeply ingrained awareness of the power of rhetoric—it is understandable that such a manner of declamation arose from the *cantiga de miragre*'s cyclical form. As Part I sets out this theory, songs are considered in more detail in the case studies that make up Part II. Here, the multifaceted nature of the repertory is shown to influence the way Part I's theory is applied. These case studies all comprise different musical-poetic structures

that manipulate the *cantiga de miragres*' approach towards sonically turning back. The way these diverse structures coexist alongside their narratives indicates that the *cantigas de miragres*' text-music relationships are far more intimate and complicated than existing scholarship has considered up until now.

List of Manuscript Sigla and Abbreviations

***RISM* sigla**

A-Wn	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien
B-BRs	Stadsbibliotheek, Brugge
D-Mbs	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, München
D-Mst	Münchner Stadtbibliothek, München
DK-Kk	Det Kongelike Bibliotek på Slotsholmen, København
E-Bac	Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona
E-Mn	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
E-Mrae	Real Academia Española, Bibioteca y Archivo, Madrid
E-E	Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial
E-SI	Biblioteca de la Abadía de Santo Domingo de Silos
E-Tc	Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares de la Catedral de Toledo
F-AS	Bibliothèque municipale, Arras
F-RS	Bibliothèque municipale, Reims
F-CHRm	Bibliothèque municipale, Chartres
F-Pa	Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris
F-Pn	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
F-T	Bibliothèque municipale, Troyes
F-VENbm	Bibliothèque municipale, Vendôme
GB-Cu	Cambridge University Library, Cambridge
GB-Lbl	The British Library, London
GB-Ob	Bodleian Library, Oxford
I-Bu	Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna
I-Fl	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Firenze
I-Fn	Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Firenze
I-Fr	Biblioteca Riccardiana, Firenze
I-CT	Biblioteca del Comune e dell' Accademia Etrusca, Cortona
P-La	Biblioteca do Palácio Nacional da Ajuda, Lisboa
P-Lant	Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisboa
P-Ln	Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, Lisboa
US-Cu	University of Chicago, Joseph Regenstein Library, Chicago, IL
US-NYpm	The Morgan Library & Museum, New York City, NY

V-CVbav	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Città del Vaticano

<u>*CSM* sigla</u>

To	**E-Mn, 10069**
T	**E-E, T.i.1**
F	**I-Fn, B.r.20**
E	**E-E, B.i.2**

<u>*Cantigas profanas* sigla</u>

A	**P-La, Ajuda**
B	**P-Ln, 10991**
R	**US-NYpm, M.979**
T	**P-Lant, CX.20.2**
V	**V-CVbav, lat. 4803**

<u>*Laude* sigla</u>

Cort.	**I-CT, 91**
Mgl^{I}	**I-Fn, B.r.18**

<u>*MNS* sigla</u>

I	**E-SI, 110**
F	**E-Mrae, 4**
M	**E-Mn, 13149**

<u>*Parisiana poetria* sigla</u>

B	**B-BRs, 546**
C	**GB-Cu, LL.1.14**
M	**D-Mst, lat. 6911**
O	**GB-Ob, lat. misc. d.66**
P	**F-Pn, lat. 11867**
V	**A-Wn, lat. 3121**

<u>*Stella maris* sigla</u>

I	**B-Brs, 546**

M	**GB-Lbl, Royal 8.c.iv**

Bibliographical abbreviations

Anglés	(Anglés 1943–64)
Mettmann	(Mettmann 1959–72)

Further abbreviations

CAmi	*Cantiga d'amor*
CAmo	*Cantiga d'amigo*
CEM	*Cantiga de escarnio y maldizer*
CSM	*Cantigas de Santa Maria*
FJC	*Festas de Nostro Sennor*
FSM	*Festas de Santa Maria*
MND	*Les miracles de Nostre Dame*
MNS	*Los milagros de Nuestra Señora*
OSM	*Outras cantigas de Santa Maria*
R	Refrain (only in Volume 2)
SER	Strophe-end recap (only in Volume 2)
SM	*Stella maris*

List of Figures

Acknowledgements

I would like to recognise a number of individuals and institutions who have aided my course of research and writing. My greatest debt of gratitude must go to my doctoral supervisor Elizabeth Eva Leach, for her intellectual rigour, valuable supervision, and unfailing confidence in my academic abilities. This thesis would be much the poorer but for the stimulating discussion, analytical inquiry and critical unpacking that she has offered over the past four years. From my time as an MSt student, she has given steadfast encouragement and advice, and I am certain that I would not be the thinker I am now without her untiring support.

I was incredibly fortunate to spend part of my DPhil working as a Research Attachment at the Institució Milà i Fontanals (CSIC) in Barcelona. Tess Knighton was the most inspirational mentor, and gave hours of invaluable feedback on parts of my second and fourth chapters. She has also been an incomparable source of intelligence on Iberian musical life, and taught me the value of archival research. Ascensión Mazuela-Anguita and Emílio Ros Fabregas patiently encouraged my forays into both the Spanish language and Barcelona's musicological environment during my time at the IMF. To Juan Carlos Asensio Palacios I also extend my greatest appreciation in making it possible to see codices **T** and **E** at the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial.

Throughout this course of study, other scholars have brought fresh perspectives through discussions, suggestions and comments. My assessors—Emma Hornby, Jeremy Llewellyn, Christian Leitmeir, Owen Rees and Stephen Parkinson—gave frank and helpful comments, and provided much encouragement in the structure of the thesis. Margaret Bent has brought fresh perception at academic seminars and facsimile sessions, and she kindly promised me the first offer that I buy her old copy

of Anglés's musical edition and critical studies. Although she may not realise this, Susan Rankin's advice that I pursue graduate studies at the end of my time at Cambridge was the main motivation in making me consider starting a DPhil. I am indebted to Sarah Johnson for her extensive knowledge of all things *CSM*-related, and for her reassurance during some of the most nerve-wracking times. Particular gratitude is also due to Martin Cunningham, who has offered valued counsel and imaginative outlooks on many of the ideas that made up this thesis's second and third chapters. He has also been an encyclopaedic authority on Galician-Portuguese phonetics.

Numerous institutions have made this DPhil possible, both through financial and practical assistance. My thanks extend to Merton College, Oxford for their significant offer of a Music Award, and to the Clarendon Fund for appointing me as a Scholar. I must mention the Faculty of Music for its supportive academic community and exceptional administrative staff, most particularly Alec Sims. The Biblioteca Nacional de España, the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, and the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze courteously obliged in allowing me to reproduce images from codices **To**, **T**, **F** and **E**. I also offer my appreciation to the staff of the Taylor Institution Library, the Faculty of Music Library, and Merton College Library for their unfailing wisdom in navigating stacks and taming photocopiers. For access to the Wulstan Library and its treasure trove of manuscript facsimiles, I must acknowledge the kind help of Matthew Thomson and St Peter's College, Oxford.

While in academia, I have been nourished intellectually by an inspiring group of scholars and colleagues. I am particularly grateful to those who have shared ideas at reading groups, participated alongside me at conferences, and offered much appreciated feedback on my work. Above all, I must thank Joseph Mason, Meghan Quinlan, Matthew Thomson, Henry Hope, Samantha Blickhan, Elizabeth Nyikos,

Eleanor Giraud, David Murray, Katherine Butler and Mikhail Lopatin. They have been humbling in their encouragements, generous in their time, and invaluable in their insight. Academia is a transient field where scholars come and go, and Oxford frequently seems to represent this chaos in microcosm. Although time spent with many of my colleagues has been brief, I am nevertheless appreciative of their inspiration, advice and reassurance. My thanks here extend to Brianne Dolce, Anne Levitsky, Philippa Ovenden, Alison Campbell and Carina Venter.

This thesis would not be what it is today were it not for a superlatively brilliant group of proofreaders. Helena Kaznowska, Floris Verhaart, Lisa-Maria Brusius, Matthew Clarke, Anouska Wilkinson, Trevor Penoyer-Kulin and Emma Pauncefort all gave honest and discerning comments on my chapters, and asked daring questions that have led to fruitful ideas. William Drummond was a fount of knowledge in the manipulation of Sibelius software. My musical examples would look far more pedestrian were it not for his exceedingly sharp eye and technical expertise. I was also overwhelmed with gratitude at the small army of people who volunteered to proofread my hastily-assembled *CSM* translations: Lottie Bagnall, Eleanor Brown, Harry Buckoke, Colin and Margaret Drummond, Andrew Frampton, Fanny Franchini, Madelaine Jones, Angela Kynaston, Saskia Rubin and Christine Scarsbrook.

Some of the most cherished memories over the past three years will be of friends who have made the experience worthwhile. Thesis stress was much alleviated due to frequent yoga and spinning classes with Radhika Patel, and running sessions with Floris Verhaart, Joseph Mason and Maximilian Schüßler. Thanks must also go to William Drummond, Helena Kaznowska, Benjamin Schneider, Philip Dittmann, Michael Hopkins, Anouska Wilkinson and others for multiple ~~heroic Oxford escape attempts~~ long hikes into the country. My linguistic abilities have been kept sharp due to the very best Spanish and German tandem partners Oxford can offer: Íris Carballo

Calvo and Maximilian Schüßler. Chamber music friends Avishag Müller, Christine-Marié Louw, James Orrell, Samuel Whitby, Emily Tan, Benjamin Yadin, and Lisa-Maria Brusius have frequently reminded me that occasionally playing music is just as fun as attempting to analyse it. I am also thankful to Kristina Gedgaudaitė (for tapas cooking sessions), Samuel Coles (for political debates), Cyrus Nayeri (for Tuesday drinks), Matthew Clarke (for intense Woolf and Lynch conversations), Sophie Allan (the very best college wife), and Saskia Rubin and Angela Kynaston (for numerous *faux-pas* and camping mishaps). However, above all I must thank my family: my parents Colin and Margaret, and my siblings George and Isobel. Without their unquestioning financial, practical and emotional backing, undertaking a DPhil would not have been conceivable, and it is to them that this thesis is dedicated.

London, 1 February 2018

Henry T Drummond

Notes to Volumes 1 and 2

Referring to the *CSM*

I abbreviate the ***Cantigas de Santa Maria*** to ***CSM*** throughout, except at first mention and in main titles. Singular, non-specified songs are referred to either as *CSM*, songs, or are defined further by their genre. ***Cantigas de miragre*** and ***cantigas de loor*** refer to sub-genres within the *CSM* collection. Mettmann's catalogue system is used in the identification of specific songs within the *CSM* (i.e., CSM 39).[1] For a song mentioned in the context of a specific *CSM* source, I give the song number within the source for clarity (i.e., To 43). ***Cantigas profanas*** only ever refer to Galician-Portuguese songs that are not part of the *CSM* collection. These include **the *cantiga d'amigo***, the ***cantiga d'amor*** and the ***cantiga d'escarnio y maldizer***. These styles apply to my written text, while quotations from other publications retain their own styles. In the case of ambiguity, I clarify further in footnotes.

Although Mettmann lists 427 *CSM*, this study concludes that there are 420 texts and 414 melodies. I count the two *CSM* prologues and the prologue to **E**'s *FSM* as independent *CSM*, rather than as preliminaries to the main *CSM* collection.[2] **To** therefore contains 129 *CSM* texts and 128 melodies, counting the two prologues (CSM 428 and CSM 429) at the beginning of the manuscript. The count of 420 texts also discounts the nine *CSM* that are found twice in **E**.[3] Mettmann, who bases his numbering on **E**, lists these nine *CSM* as separate songs. The count of 414 melodies discounts the five *CSM* that have no musical notation: two of these appear only in **E**, two in **F**, and one in both **F** and **E**.[4] Two *CSM* are contrafacta, containing the same

[1] (Mettmann 1959–72), (Mettmann 1986–9).
[2] Respectively, CSM 428, CSM 429 and CSM 410.
[3] CSM 165 and CSM 395; CSM 187 and CSM 394; CSM 192 and CSM 397; CSM 210 and CSM 416; CSM 267 and CSM 373; CSM 289 and CSM 396; CSM 296 and CSM 388; CSM 340 and CSM 412; CSM 349 and CSM 387.
[4] Respectively, CSM 365 and CSM 402; CSM 408 and CSM 409; CSM 298.

melody with different texts.[5]

Navigating the thesis

This thesis is divided into two volumes. **Volume 1** contains the text of the main thesis body, bibliography and relevant graphs. It is further subdivided into Part I: Theory and Part II: Studies, followed by an Epilogue. **Volume 2** contains the appendices, which comprise editions of texts and music, and facsimile scans. The reader should navigate Volume 2 by looking up a song or text's appendix number in the **Index of Appendices**. This index provides information on a song or text's primary sources. It also indicates page numbers in relevant textual and musical editions. Finally, it indicates the page numbers where a song may be mentioned in both volumes of the thesis. A song's appendix number is given in bold and within brackets in Volume 1 as (**App. 'n'**), particularly at points where the reader may find it necessary to consult a text, translation, score or scan.

Sections in Part I are demarcated visually by bold type and underlining. They are indicated firstly by the chapter in which they appear (i.e., 2.iv, as the fourth section of Chapter 2). Sub-divisions within these sections are indicated first by Roman number, then by Arabic number. This ordering style is repeated *ad infinitum* (i.e., 2.iv.2.iii). This manner of indicating successively smaller divisions is applied to source material, with the largest divisible subsections given first as Roman numerals (i.e., II.4.ii.3).

Editions in the Appendices

Textual editions of the *CSM* are consulted from (Mettmann, 1959–72). In the index, this is abbreviated to *Mettmann*-'n', with 'n' signifying the volume number. This is applied

[5] CSM 213 and CSM 377.

similarly to the musical editions, which are derived from (Anglés, 1943–64), abbreviated to *Angles*-'n'.

Text editions deviate from (Mettmann, 1959–72) in the omission of editorial italics, and the consistent use of single spacing after elision marks (‘). I also lay out strophes so that Mettmann's internal rhymes appear as divisions between individual musical-poetic lines. This is distinct from the edition of MNS 9, which amalgamates compound poetic lines. Translations are my own. I have attempted to align them with the syntax of individual musical-poetic lines, although this cannot be achieved consistently throughout. Musical editions of the *CSM* refer to (Anglés, 1943–64) for musical pitches. Pitch variants between the *CSM* sources are rare, but the curious reader can find all variations in Anglés's edition. Modern clef signs are used throughout. The musical scores in Volume 2 do not attempt to mimic Anglés's rhythmic interpretations of the songs, which would be beyond the purview of this thesis. The paradigmatic layout of the musical scores attempts to highlight similarity of melodic lines, and is reflective neither of the layout in musical editions, nor of the original sources.

Analytical Notes

The songs that I use as a basis for analysis have been selected due to their structural

and narrative interest. While I seek to establish general behavioural principles within the *CSM*—especially in Part I of the thesis—I make no claim of my samples being completely representative of the repertory. Prior to assembling my thesis, I analysed all 420 texts and 414 melodies of the *CSM*. I logged all metric, rhyme-based and melodic structures into a database, where I also noted each song's ambitus, tonal terminuses and distinguishing melodic segments in both refrain and strophe sections. Finally, I scored each strophe of every song from 1–10 based on whether narrative form followed a musical-poetic strophe-end recap structure. The findings for the songs I discuss in this thesis are summarised at the very back of Volume 2. Songs that are analysed in Part I of Volume 1 generally follow the theoretical trends I lay out in my thesis (although I note several remarkable divergences in Chapter 3). The songs discussed in Part II are less representative, and are therefore interesting to analyse.

In my musical analyses, **lines** refer to musical-poetic units, usually determined by a combination of syllable count, rhyme scheme and melody. I refer to lines by Arabic numbers. Refrain line numbers are prefixed by 'R', and the number of the preceding strophe. Refrain lines at first mention (i.e., prior to any strophes) appear as 'R1', 'R2', etc. I refer to refrain lines that appear in the middle of a song (i.e., subsequent to strophes) by the strophe number that has immediately preceded. Thus 'line 8.R4' refers to line 4 of the refrain immediately following strophe 8. Lines within specific strophes are clarified when there is potential for ambiguity: in shortened form, '4.3–4' refers to strophe 4, lines 3–4. In deeper melodic analysis, smaller motivic **segments** are referred to by lower-case Roman numbers, in italics (i.e., 'segment *iv*'). Roman letters given in inverted commas refer either to melodic or rhyme-based line units for the purpose of describing structure. They must not be confused with pitch names, which are given according to the Guidonian Gamma–Ut system in italics.

Graves	Acutes	Superacutes
Γ A B C D E F G	*a b c d e f g*	*aa bb cc dd ee ff*

I do not refer extensively to terms such as ***zejel***, ***muwassah***, ***virelai***, ***mudanza*** or ***vuelta***, since I believe them to be analytically unhelpful, as I discuss in section **3.ii.** A fundamental term throughout the thesis is **strophe-end recap**, which is also discussed in section **3.ii.** I use the verbal term **recap**, and the gerund **recapping**, specifically as a reference to strophe-end recap. Repetition that is not strophe-end recap is referred to as repetition, reiteration, or similar.

Sources

Lines in song analysis are not to be confused with **systems**, which refer to units determined by line breaks within a manuscript. Systems of text can appear either with or without musical notation. Text that appears in a manuscript with notation is referred to as **underlaid**, whereas any text that does not appear with its notation is **residual.** I use the term **scribe** to refer to people who wrote texts into a manuscript. While the role of a scribe may encompass writing musical notation, I use the term **notator** when textual and musical features are organised according to different criteria. The term **compiler** refers to people responsible for the layout of musical-poetic elements on a page. Manuscripts are stated first by their RISM siglum, followed by library shelf mark.[6] I then give specific sigla (i.e. *CSM* sigla) at first mention, and thereafter refer to manuscripts by these, except when there is a risk of confusion between several different siglum systems. Manuscript names are given in bold throughout.

[6] (International Inventory of Musical Sources 1989–).

Miscellaneous

I use the Spanish name spelling for the Catalan musicologist Higinio Anglés, although the alternative Catalan spelling, Higini Anglès, is frequently found elsewhere. Spanish, Portuguese and Catalan surnames are normally given in full (i.e., 'Laura Fernández Fernández'), unless a person is more commonly known by an abbreviated form of their surname (i.e., 'Higini Anglès i Pàmies'/'Higinio Anglés Pamies' to 'Higinio Anglés').

Gender-neutral pronouns are used throughout when referring to poets, musicians, scribes, notators and compilers, except in the rare case where gender may comfortably be assumed (i.e., when speaking of Alfonso X as implicit *CSM* narrator).

The writing and referencing styles are consistent throughout the thesis, except when quoting text from another source, in which case the original styles have been retained.

Accommodating Poetic, Linear Narratives with Cyclical, Repetition-Based Musical-Poetic Structures in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*

Part I: Theory

Chapter 1

Introducing the *CSM*: Problems of Linear Narrative and Cyclical Structure

'It is mainly through the correspondence of melodic and poetic syntax that medieval musicians conveyed their readings of the poetry they sang. They did not go out of their way to achieve that; it was for them the central compositional process, the natural way of articulating meaning'.[7] Treitler's words address a central musicological debate: do music and poetry work as vehicles to articulate textual and narrative meaning? Alternatively, are such structural parameters incidental to a song's hermeneutical logic? Treitler concludes that music and poetry can indeed elucidate textual narrative, yet historically such a stance has been far from universal. In his study of musical contrafaction, Spanke argues that 'it would be wrong to consider the melody of a song as essential to its form'.[8] Under Spanke's reasoning, melodic and poetic structures are autonomous, with music subservient to text: 'in the first instance we should rather determine songs by their metrical structure, and not by the musical form'.[9] More crucially, since he does not consider music and poetry as integrated structures, Spanke is unable to conceive them working together to interpret narrative.

---

[7] (Treitler 2003, 460).

[8] 'Notwendig ist diese Bestätigung nicht, denn die Melodie gehört nicht zum streng gefaßten Wesen der Strophe als Form; oft läßt sich feststellen, daß ein Lied in handschriftlich oder zeitlich verschiedenen Teilen der Ueberlieferung verschiedene Melodien aufweist,–ohne daß seine Strophenform dadurch ihren eigenen Charakter verlöre.

Dementsprechend wäre es verfehlt, wollte man die Melodie eines Liedes als notwendigen Bestandteil seiner Formeigenschaften betrachten.' (Spanke 1936, 3). My translation.

[9] 'Es ist also nicht nur zweckmäßiger, sondern auch im Prinzip richtiger, wenn man eine zusammenfassende Betrachtung, die Typen ermitteln und mit Nachbargebieten vercliechen soll, nicht auf die musikalische, sondern in erster Linie auf die metrische Struktur aufbaut.' (Ibid., 4). My translation.

More recent scholarly debate has disagreed less on whether links between musical and textual logic might coexist, as to the degree of such interactions. Stevens has made the first major survey of text-music relations in the late Middle Ages, analysing chant, Latin songs, sequences, the *planctus*, and songs in the vernacular from the Christian West. In this wide-ranging analysis, Stevens notes that musical-poetic structure interacts with narrative inconsistently, even within individual genres.[10] Rankin's smaller study of monophonic songs in Carolingian repertory likewise considers the 'diversity and subtlety of "words and music" relationships'.[11] The songs in her sample are 'sometimes more concerned with semantic expression, sometimes less, sometimes respecting the detail of text structure, sometimes obscuring it, some melodies elevating the text through elaborate textures and/or tonal idioms, others altogether simple'.[12] Text-music relations are obfuscated even more when compositional intent is considered. If a song's musical-poetic structure does interact with narrative logic, is this a conscious decision from the author or, rather, is this part of an intuitive compositional language? In his analysis of text and melody in the *ars antiqua*, Arlt reasons that aspects of compositional language were 'reflected only partially or indirectly', and warns against conflating noticeable facets of a song's text organisation with a consciously conceived style.[13]

This thesis applies such hermeneutical questions of text-music relations to the Marian miracle songs—or *cantigas de miragre*—of the thirteenth-century Galician-Portuguese collection, the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (*CSM*). These songs were fashioned in royal scriptoria under the supervision of Alfonso X, known as 'el Sabio',

[10] (Stevens 1986).
[11] (Rankin 2003, 342).
[12] (Ibid.)
[13] 'Und zu den Ergebnissen neurer Arbeiten gehört eben die Einsicht, daß in der Musik des Mittelalters in beachtlichem Umfang Aspekte des Komponierens realisiert sind, die in der allgemeinen Vorstellung erst mit späteren Zeiten verbunden werden und in jedem Fall im Mittelalter selbst nur partiell oder mittelbar reflektiert wurden.' (Arlt 2000, 88). My translation.

in the 1260s to 1280s. They represent the cultural acme of late-medieval Iberian song, both for the quality and quantity of song transmitted, as well as their beautiful presentation in four surviving codices.[14] The respect this collection commands, and the scholarship generated as a result, has furthered understanding of poetic form, musical structure, manuscript witnesses, the crafting of decorated miniatures, and a plethora of other subfields within *CSM* studies. Productive though these specialist focusses may be, the isolated nature of scholarly disciplines has made for a lack of engagement between fields of musicology, poetry studies and narratology. As a result, interdisciplinary questions of text-music relations—which hint at the very functionality of the repertoire—have not been sufficiently addressed. While *CSM* scholars have become adept at understanding individual components of the repertoire—melodies, notation, rhyme schemes—what is absent is an understanding of what these songs meant, and how they worked holistically as narrative songs when performed.

A holistic manner of enquiry is crucial to the *CSM*, precisely because the balance between their narratives and musical-poetic structures is precarious. The majority of *cantiga de miragre* structures depend upon a highly cyclical form, frequently referred to as the *zejel*, *virelai*, or *Andalusian rondeau*.[15] This musical-poetic setup typically combines alternations between a strophe and refrain on the one hand, with recap of the refrain's musical and poetic features at the end of each strophe on the other. A typical rhyme scheme would be aa|(bbba|aa), combined with a standard musical form of ab|(ccab|ab). Rhyme schemes of a typical *cantiga de miragre* are mirrored by similar metrical patterns in the number of syllables per line, as expressed more clearly in tabular form below, in **Fig. 1.i**. Such a musical-poetic structure does not sit so well with the lengthy, linear narratives for which the *cantigas*

[14] See section **1.iii.1: Primary Sources**.
[15] See section **3.ii: Assessing Musical-Poetic Form in the *Cantiga de miragre***.

de miragre are known. These narratives typically introduce a perilous situation that is rectified when central characters appeal to the Virgin Mary for help. They normally start at one point in time, and move forwards chronologically: hence, they are linear in conception. Unlike the strophes, the refrains are non-narrative, and normally offer somewhat general statements on the Virgin's power, or argue why believers should hold Mary in reverence. Given that strophes alternate with refrains, the *cantiga de miragre*'s linear narrative is incessantly interrupted, and so its comprehensibility risks being compromised.

Lines	**R1**	**R2**	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**R1**	**R2**
Metrics	**8**	**8**	6	6	8	8	**8**	**8**
Rhyme	**a**	**a**	b	b	b	a	**a**	**a**
Music	**a**	**b**	c	c	a	b	**a**	**b**

Fig. 1.i (above)**:** Comparison between musical, metrical and rhyme-based forms, as commonly found in a *cantiga de miragre*.

These concerns are demonstrated in the shortest narrative *cantiga de miragre*, CSM 32, (**App. 6**). This song tells the story of a priest who does not know how to sing any mass except the Virgin's. A bishop dismisses the priest (3.1–9), but then reappoints him at Mary's command (6.1–9), when she appears to the bishop in a dream (4.1–5.9). In this particular song, the unchanging, non-narrative refrain tells of the wisdom of those who praise the Virgin ('Quen loar podia / … / a Madre de quen / o mundo fez, / seria de bon sen' R.1–5). While it may obliquely reflect upon the wise priest of the narrative—who praises Mary, even if he cannot sing any other mass—the refrain is extraneous to the main narrative of the strophe. In this thesis, I will consider how such linear narratives are meant to be communicated and consumed,

despite the consistent interruption of refrains that are unconnected to the basic plot of the miracle.

The insistent disruption of narrative is particularly problematic in the longer *CSM* songs that are commonly known as quints. In all four *CSM* manuscripts, the *cantigas de miragre* are ordered into groups of nine, forming a song decade with the addition of a non-narrative *cantiga de loor*.[16] Quints are the fifth songs of each decade, as they appear in codices **T**, **F** and **E**.[17] Parkinson notes how compilers of **T**, **F** and **E** selected these songs specifically for their length, creating a lavish centrepiece to each decade.[18] Some of these longer quints contain upwards of 40 strophes or more.[19] In such songs, the gulf between structure and narrative sense is exacerbated, as a song's plot is interrupted by a non-narrative refrain typically every four to eight lines. Song narratives in the *CSM* also suffer from frequent cases of interstrophic enjambment, which creates a more intense effect of narrative interruption. Chisman notes that rather than being self-contained, grammatical clauses are often extended across strophes, particularly in the case of longer syntactical passages.[20] Frequently, the refrains dissect the logic of such self-contained sentences. In extreme cases, refrains may even bifurcate syllables between words. This is already seen in strophes 4 and 5 of CSM 32 ('E poren // Te dig' e ti mando / que destas perfias / te quites;', 4.9–5.3), but a more severe instance is demonstrated in CSM 252 ('e come quen serra // Porta, assi ensserrados / foron todos,', 2.8–3.2) (**App. 26**).

[16] Since the first *CSM* in **To**, **T** and **E** is a *cantiga de loor* (CSM 1), the first decade contains eight rather than nine *cantigas de miragre* (see footnote 41).
[17] **To**, the earlier *CSM* codex, does not adopt the same ordering system for quints as **T**, **F** and **E**. Although the quints do appear in **To**, they are distributed randomly throughout song decades.
[18] Parkinson discusses the organisation strategies of quints in **T** and **E** in (Parkinson 2000).
[19] Particularly lengthy quints include CSM 5 (26 strophes), CSM 65 (50 strophes), CSM 75 (34 strophes). Longer songs that are not quints also exist, such as CSM 411 (30 strophes) and CSM 369 (24 strophes).
[20] (Chisman 1974). See also (Chisman 1976).

This clumsy and paradoxical structure has lent the *CSM* an awkward place in studies of late-medieval song. In the critical notes of his 1922 edition and **To** facsimile, Ribera states, 'there is something factitious about the *Cantigas*. There is a lack of homogeneity between subject and poetic form, even though poetic and musical pattern be a perfect fit'.[21] In cases of interstrophic enjambment, this is made clear: Chisman notes that 'the *Cantigas* are striking in the loose "fit" of grammatical clause to poetic line....The extreme lack of concern that a line be co-terminous with a complete grammatical construction is quite unprecedented in the vernacular poetry of Spain and France in the late Middle Ages.'[22] As Chisman suggests, part of why the *CSM* are so readily viewed askance by scholars is that the cohabitation between linear narrative and cyclical form is unparalleled.[23]

1.i: Points of Comparison

The pre-eminent setup for long, linear narratives in the later Middle Ages is the through-composed prose or poetic text.[24] Such forms may deploy elements of musical-poetic organisation—for instance, sequences of rhymed couplets—yet they overwhelmingly lack repetition-based components such as interpolated refrains. As a genre, most miracle narratives are naturally inclined towards this rigid structure through a presubscribed framework. By the twelfth century, such miracle narratives

[21] (Ribera 1922), trans. (Hague and Leffingwell 1929, 191–2).
[22] (Chisman 1974, 1).
[23] There are several lesser comparisons to be made. Faroese *kvæði* are narrative ballades that alternate linear strophe narratives with non-narrative refrains. *La Chanson de Roland* is a *chanson de geste* where a repetitive structure arguably interrupts the linear narrative. There are also narrative *ballate* from the mid-fourteenth century onwards in Italy. Since these forms originate from cultures that are both geographically and temporally distinct from the *cantiga de miragre*, I do not incorporate them into this discussion.
[24] For instance, saints' offices, which may recount the official version of a saint's life, or *vita*, in a special office on the saint's feast day. These accounts are typically interspersed with antiphons, responsory chants and hymns. However, unlike the *cantiga de miragre*, these hagiographical narratives incorporate a mixture of prose, verse and song. They also do not function as self-contained narratives like the miracle song, since they are intrinsically crafted in emulation of—and hence, are still structurally dependent upon—a pre-existing model in the liturgical office. See (Swanson 2015, 127–9).

Source	Date	Author	Language	Metre	Rhyme	Music
GB-Lbl, Add. 35112	c.12		Latin			
GB-Lbl, Cotton Cleopatra C.x	c.12		Latin			
Liber de miraculis (ed. Pez, 1731)	c.12		Latin			
P-Ln, Alcobacense 149	c.12		Latin			
US-Cu, 147	c.12		Latin			
DK-Kk, Thott 128	c.13		Latin			
E-Mn, 110	c.13		Latin			
F-RS, 1400	c.13		Latin			
F-VENbm, 185	c.13		Latin			
GB-Lbl, Add. 15723	c.13		Latin			
GB-Lbl, Cotton Vespasian D.xix	c.13	Nigel of Canterbury	Latin			
De miraculis beatae virginis Mariae	ca.1135	William of Malmesbury	Latin			
GB-Lbl, Arundel 346	ca.1200		Latin			
Dialogus miraculorum	ca.1219–23	Caesarius of Heisterbach	Latin			
GB-Lbl, Royal 20.b.xiv	ca.1230–50		Anglo Norman			
I-Bu, 1794	ca.1245	Bartholomew of Trent	Latin			
E-Mn, 9503	ca.1250	Juan Gil de Zamora	Latin			
Legenda aurea	ca.1260	Jacobus da Varagine	Latin			
Les miracles de Nostre Dame	ca.1218–36	Gautier de Coinci	French	x	x	
Los milagros de Nuestra Señora	ca.1230–64	Gonzalo de Berceo	Castilian	x	x	
Stella maris	ca.1248	John of Garland	Latin	x	x	
F-CHRm, 1027	ca.1252–62	Jean Le Marchant	French	x	x	
Las Cantigas de Santa Maria	ca.1270–84	Alfonso X	Galician Portuguese	x	x	x

Fig. 1.ii (above)**:** Table of contemporary miracle collections that also contain the miracle narrative in CSM 32. Authored collections that have more than one manuscript witness are listed by their title. Sources are listed according to degree of musical-poetic organisation.

Fig. 1.iii (overleaf): Table of miracle concordances between the *CSM*, *MND*, *SM* and *MNS*. Miracles are identified by their miracle key, as assigned by the list of legends in (Wilson, 1946).

CSM	**Miracle Key**	*MND*	*SM*	*MNS*
2	Hildefonsus	II Mir. 5	38	1
3	Theophilus	I Mir. 11	60	24
4	Little Jewish Boy	I Mir. 3		
5	Chaste Empress	II Mir. 9	14	
6	Murdered Chorister	II Mir. 4	43	
7	Pregnant Abbess	I Mir. 20	1	21
8	Minstrel of Rocamadour	II Mir. 12		
9	Sardonay	II Mir. 30		
11	Drowned Sacristan	I Mir. 33	36	2
12	Toledo		9	18
13	Ebbo	I Mir. 21	61	6
14	Monk of Saint Peter's at Cologne	I Mir. 24		7
15	Julian the Apostate	II Mir. 2	24	
16	A Hundred Aves a Day	I Mir. 32		
17	Incest	I Mir. 18	20	
19	Three Knights			17
21	Son Restored to Life		4	
23	Mead		11	
24	Clerk of Chartres	I Mir. 6	22	3
25	Jew Lends to Christian	II Mir. 18	19	23
26	Pilgrim of Saint James	I Mir. 25	50	8
27	Libia		17	
28	Siege of Constantinople	II Mir. 3		
32	**Priest of One Mass**	**I Mir. 5**	**25**	**9**
33	Pilgrim in the Sea	II Mir. 28	10	22
34	Virgin's Image Insulted	I Mir. 13	18	
36	Light on the Masthead	I Mir. 26	34	
39	Fire at Mont-Saint-Michel		41	14
42	Ring on the Finger of the Mary–Image	I Mir. 12	8	
45	Will Taken for Deed	I Mir. 19	55	
46	Saracen and Mary Image	I Mir. 32	7	
47	Devil in Three Beasts Shapes	I Mir. 16	5	20
51	Arrow Intercepted	I Mir. 25	26	
53	Boy Carried to Heaven in Vision	II Mir. 13		
54	Milk: Monk Laid out as Dead	I Mir. 31		
56	Five Psalms Daily	I Mir. 23		
58	Mouth of Hell Shown to Nun	I Mir. 17	39	
61	Foolhardy Cowherd Avenged	II Mir. 14	44	
62	Mother whose Son was Rescued		57	
66	Saint Bon and his Vestment	I Mir. 36		
67	Devil in Service	I Mir. 29		
68	Wife and Mistress	I Mir. 33		
71	Eulalia	I Mir. 20		
74	Painter and the Devil		54	
75	Rich Man and Poor Widow	I Mir. 10		
81	Nose Restored	II Mir. 24	45	
87	Hieronymus Papiensis			13
89	Jewess Helped in Childbirth		37	
105	Maid of Arras	II Mir. 27	33	
115	Boy Devoted to Devil	I Mir. 22	52	
132	Clerk of Pisa	II Mir. 20		15
139	Bread Offered to Christ–Child		49	
187	Barns Filled in Time of Famine		6	

231	Columns Raised by Three Schoolboys		13	
255	Murderous Mother-in-Law	II Mir. 26		
404	Milk: Tongue and Lips Restored	I Mir. 17		
405	Saturday	II Mir. 32		

were being assembled into large collections in monastic houses across Europe. Numerous collections survive from centres of compilation in Paris, as well as monastic houses in the rest of France, England, Italy, Spain and Portugal.[25] While many early collections are written in Latin prose, there are several that survive in verse, both in Latin and in vernacular tongues. These networks of miracle collections serve as convenient reference points, demonstrating how the *CSM*'s treatment of linear narrative is perhaps unusual for the genre. **Fig.1.ii** shows the late-medieval miracle collections that also contain the narrative of the priest in CSM 32. Of these 22 accounts, only the collections by Gautier de Coinci, John of Garland, Gonzalo de Berceo, and the anonymous **F-CHRm, 1027** are set to poetry. Extracts of these collections with known authors are included in the appendix, and form the basis for subsequent discussion of how linear miracle narratives are usually organised.

The first comparison (**App. 45**) comes from Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame* (*MND*). This extensive collection of Marian miracles was probably written around 1218, while Gautier was a prior at the Priory of St Leocade at Vic-sur-Aisne. It is of particular interest to musicologists, since it incorporates 18 songs that interpolate the main body of narrative miracle poems.[26] The *MND* collection is also central to *CSM* studies, given that both miracle networks contain common narratives, as indicated on the preceding pages, in **Fig. 1.iii**. All the miracle poems in the *MNS*

[25] For a survey of some of the most significant earlier monastic collections, see (Mussafia 1886), (Mussafia 1887), (Mussafia 1889), (Mussafia 1890), (Mussafia 1898) and (Wilson 1946). More recent work on Marian and hagiographical miracle collections is found in (Bayo 2004).

[26] 1 Ch. 1–7 appear at the beginning of the first book, and 1 Ch. 8–10 at the end; 2 Ch. 11–7 appear at the beginning of the second book, and 2 Ch. 19 at the epilogue. Unlike Koenig, I distinguish between the *chansons* and *miracles* by the abbreviated Ch. and Mir., and then providing the number of the work within its own genre (rather than as an aggregate within each book).

share the same simple structure: rhyming couplets of eight-syllable lines, which are otherwise organised in a through-composed manner, without strophes. Quite simply: these miracles work as read or recited narratives purely because of their simple structure. As CSM 32's equivalent (1 Mir. 5) demonstrates, the simple succession of line pairs and lack of interposing refrains allows a narrative of 94 poetic lines to flow seamlessly, and without interruption. Syntactical structures generally align themselves with poetic lines, and there is scant indication of destabilising interlinear enjambment, as seen in CSM 32. If the *MND* were organised with interpolated refrains, this directed, linear narrative would be bisected, compromising its potential to transmit a miracle story.

John of Garland's *Stella maris* (*SM*) provides the second comparison with CSM 32. The *SM* was probably written around 1248 while Garland was teaching at the University of Paris.[27] As **Fig. 1.iii** above indicates, the *SM* contains several miracles that also appear in the *CSM*. However, unlike the *CSM* the Latin poems of the *SM* are all set to the same rigid poetic structure, which differs substantially from the simple paired lines seen in the *MND*. Garland's poems comprise strophes of two rhymed lines of eight syllables each, followed by one line of seven syllables. Often, these sets of three lines are grouped into larger units, where pairs of seven-syllable lines share the same rhyme, as seen in CSM 32's equivalent, SM 25 (**App. 46**). Also distinct from the *CSM* are the very short settings of narrative in the *SM*. For instance, SM 11 contains only two sets of three lines amalgamated into a single strophe. SM 11's counterpart in the *CSM*—CSM 23—is far more extensive with six strophes of four 14-syllable lines, allowing for a greatly expanded narrative. However, a reduced structure effectively creates a succinct plot that subdivides narrative according to poetic structure. In SM 25, the four trios of lines in turn address the priest's devotion, his

[27] (Wilson 1946, 77–9).

singing, his dismissal, and his return. This is achieved through the alignment of poetic and syntactical units: clausal phrases terminate alongside the ends of poetic lines. Any interposing refrain—as in CSM 32—would disrupt this clear progression of narrative and its synchrony with poetic form.

The final comparison comes from the *Milagros de Nuestra Señora* (*MNS*) of Gonzalo de Berceo. This collection was written around 1260 in Old Castilian, probably at the Monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla in the province of La Rioja. Scholars have frequently compared the *CSM* to the *MNS*, since both comprise Marian miracle narratives set to verse. Berceo's collection of 25 poems shares many of the earlier miracles that first appear in **To**, as demonstrated in **Fig. 1.iii**. Like CSM 32, the miracle narrative in MNS 9 (**App. 47**) is set to regularised strophes. These strophes adopt the *cuaderna vía* typical of the *mester de clerecía* genre: that is, regular four-line strophes set to Alexandrine verse of 14 syllables per line.[28] Also typical of the *cuaderna vía* is uniform, consonant rhyme and metre, which MSN 9's aaaa rhyme scheme mirrors. Unlike CSM 32, there is no interpolating refrain, nor is there a refrain at the beginning of the poem that could potentially have been sung or omitted. Such a structure effectively articulates long, linear narratives precisely because of its simplicity. Grouping a linear narrative into regularised blocks of four lines adds rhythmic regularity, directing readers and listeners through the story. This *mester de clerecía* genre was cultivated by clerics and its literature written down primarily for the purpose of preaching to lay readers and listeners. Hence, it required a simple structure to help a potentially illiterate audience digest a long narrative. Curtis highlights the genre as 'fundamentally rhetorical, constituting a pious process of reading and composition in which both author and audience actively participate'.[29]

[28] (Weiss 2006, 1–25). Within the context of the *mester de clerecía* genre, Alexandrine or *alejandrino* refers to a line of 7+7 syllables.
[29] (Curtis 2014, 10).

When conveying a complex narrative to a lay audience, interpolated refrains would serve as interruptions from the essential plot. The participatory element that Curtis emphasises is key to the genre and would otherwise be lost, hindering its prime objective.

In turn, cyclical musical-poetic structures akin to the *cantigas de miragre* tend to lack linear narratives, and instead have short, lyrical texts. The poetic *lauda* is an interesting point of comparison with the cyclical *cantiga de miragre* form, since it is approximately contemporary and also Marian in nature.[30] Originating in Italy as a primarily monophonic, hymn-like song form in the early thirteenth century, its timing with the Albigensian Crusade has led scholars to assume that it originated in Provence, and was disseminated following troubadours fleeing the persecution of the Cathars.[31] Scholars of the *lauda*, like those of the *CSM*, attribute much of the repertory's formal structures to the *zejel*.[32] In order to tie such repertories to specific origins, such authorities have commonly argued that both forms stem ultimately from either the *muwassah* and *zejel* of classical Arabic poetry, or the Italian *ballata*.[33] Like the *zejel*, most *laude* are strophic with interpolated refrains, and when tabulated (**Fig. 1.iv**), the identical features between both forms and the *cantiga de miragre* are clear.

[30] The *lauda* as a genre originated in the thirteenth century. However, *laude* were being written by *laudesi* companies as both monophonic and polyphonic songs well into the fifteenth century. (Wilson 2007–).
[31] (Ibid.).
[32] (Dürrer 1996, Vol. 1, 22–7).
[33] 'Das arabische *zagal* geht auf die ältere Form des *muwaššah* zurück…Die *zagal*–Strophe scheint metrisch tatsächlich verblüffende Analogien zu den entsprechenden romanischen Formen (aprov: *dansa*, *balada*; afrz: *virelai*; span: *estribote*–Form, *villancico*; ital: *ballata* aufzuweisen).' (Ibid., Vol. 1, 22–3). My translation.

	Refrain		**Strophe**				**Refrain**	
CSM	**A**	**A**	b	b	b	a	**A**	**A**
Lauda	**A**	**A**	b	b	b	a	**A**	**A**
Zejel	**A**	**A**	b	b	b	a	**A**	**A**

Fig. 1.iv (above): Comparison of rhyme schemes common to the *cantigas de miragre* of the *CSM*, the *lauda*, and the *zejel*.

While the division between the *lauda*'s *volta* and the *mutazioni* is far from consistent, the overriding principle stands that 'the refrain or the final refrain rhymes appear at the end of the strophe'.[34] This is consistent amongst the main *lauda* manuscript witnesses. For instance, the majority of the *laude* in **I-CT, 91** (**Cort.**) and **I-Fn, B.r.18** (**Mgl**[I]) codices contain at least a poetic *volta*: Dürrer's catalogue of *Reimschema* lists 82 different poetic structures, of which eight forms (9.75%) do not reprise the final rhyme of the refrain at the conclusion of each strophe.[35] These forms appear exclusively in **Mgl**[I] as structural unica, comprising eight out of 88 songs (9.09%) in the entire manuscript.[36] While the melodic *volta* is less prominent, Dürrer nevertheless acknowledges its importance, arguing that it 'signifies to the choir the return of the refrain after the soloistic strophe passage'.[37] Of the 154 extant or partially extant *laude*, over half (52%) contain a reprise of the refrain's melody at the end of each strophe.

Despite its similarity to the *cantiga de miragre*, however, the *lauda* does not deploy the same form of narrative. Texts of the *lauda* are typically—as the name

[34] 'Als »gemeinsamer Nenner« der verschiedenen Erscheinungsformen kann eigentlich nur das Vorhandensein eines Refrains und die Wiederaufnahme des letzten Refrainreimes am Ende der Strophe konstatiert werden.' (Ibid., Vol. 1, 9). My translation. The terms *volta* and *mutazioni* are analogous to the terms *vuelta* and *mudanza* commonly deployed within the *CSM* and *cantigas profanas*.
[35] (Ibid., Vol. 1, 137–46). These forms are 7, 29, 49, 56, 68, 96, 81 and 82.
[36] (Ibid., Vol. 2, 61–199). Corresponding to Mgl[I] 71, 32, 64, 35, 47, 80, 4 and 18 respectively.
[37] 'Die Funktion einer derartigen »Reprise« wird in allgemeinen damit erklärt, daß dem Chor nach der solistisch vorgetragenen Strophe der Wiedereintritt des Refrains signalisiert werden soll.' (Ibid., Vol. 1, 13). My translation.

suggests—preoccupied with praise or invocation, along similar lines as the *cantiga de loor*. This is illustrated in 'Ave, regina gloriosa' (Cort. 6), of which twelve strophes are provided in **App. 44**. Instead of providing a linear narrative, this song praises various elements of the Virgin. In the first strophe, there are comparisons to pearls, roses and fragrances, which establish Mary's pleasant appearance ('fresca rosa ed aulorita', 1.5–6). The second strophe focuses on her holiness bestowed from on high ('poi ke fosti salutata', 2.5–6), whereas the third strophe emphasises how the safety she grants comes through the godhead that is her son ('scala per la quale / descese la Deïtade', 3.1–2). While we see a similar segmentation of syntactical units by the strophe, the difference with the *cantiga de miragre* is that this narrative is not linear. It is rather abstracted from a clear chronological framework, hence there is no linear storyline for a refrain to unsettle. *Laude* that do incorporate elements of linear narrative are rare, suggesting that such forms were not considered logical structures to sustain such complex plots.[38]

These comparisons indicate that the *cantigas de miragre* occupy an uncomfortable middle ground in the world of narrative song. On the one hand, they deploy the linear narratives common to other miracle texts. A miracle's linearity is essential to its being understood by the intended audience, as demonstrated from the case studies in the works of Gautier de Coinci, John of Garland and Gonzalo de Berceo. However, this is juxtaposed with an intrinsically cyclical musical-structure. A cyclical structure such as the *lauda* may be easier to comprehend as a sonic entity; however, it does not work sufficiently well as a vehicle for linear narrative. The

[38] There are exceptions to the rule. Some songs, such as Cort. 6/Mgl[I] 25, Cort. 27/Mgl[I] 22, and Cort. 25/Mgl[I] 14, adopt a narrative form with interposing refrains. These typically tell of familiar stories such as the death and resurrection of Christ, and the Annunciation. These common narratives may have been familiar enough not to be problematised when bisected by interstrophic refrains.

paradoxical combination between the *cantiga de miragre*'s linear narrative and cyclical structure is made all the more apparent given that few repertories adopt this setup.

1.ii: Introducing the *CSM*

So far, this chapter has addressed the problems in understanding the *cantiga de miragre*. Not only is the combination of cyclical structure and linear narrative unusual in itself, but the lack of contemporary models that mirror this combination suggests that such a setup was considered unfitting for narrative declamation. Instead of casting the *CSM* aside as an oddity, this thesis aims to question how such a problematic dichotomy functions. Key to probing the interaction between linear narrative and cyclical structure, I argue, is a holistic approach that integrates musical, poetic and narratological analysis. This analytical methodology is essential, since so much of the pre-existing *CSM* literature has not adopted a comprehensive method of enquiry. Therefore, in this section I provide a brief literature review of *CSM* studies. I begin by surveying the four manuscript sources, and the various editions and secondary literature that have been made since the first major advances into *CSM* scholarship in the nineteenth century. Earlier in this chapter I emphasised scholars' monodisciplinary approaches towards the *CSM*, and a further objective of this section is to demonstrate the unrealised potentials for a more holistic investigation into the repertory. I do this by showing the lack of interdisciplinary engagement throughout current *CSM* studies: firstly in the work of poetry and music editors, and secondly in the literature that follows on from these editions. I then close this section by suggesting how cooperation between the various fields of music, poetry, notation, codicology and miniatures might inform us better of how the *CSM*'s audiences and performers interpreted narrative song.

To understand properly the relationship between music, poetry and narrative in the *CSM*, a holistic approach is necessary that mimics the processes of song and manuscript creation. Parkinson and Jackson have argued that the *CSM* manuscripts depended upon a threefold holistic process of collection, composition and compilation.[39] Most scholars believe that the *cantigas de miragre* were written expressly for their manuscript compilations.[40] Therefore, processes of song creation were most likely just as holistically conceived as the procedures of incorporating them into their manuscript witnesses. Parkinson and Jackson's use of the term collection refers to 'the process of procuring narrative or literary materials', whereas composition entails the tripartite 'process of production of narratives' that incorporates text, music and miniature schemes.[41] The final procedure, compilation, is 'the assembly of the component narratives into the ordered and structured sequences found in the MSS'.[42] This incorporates the bringing together of words and music, layout, images, and paratextual features. While the creation of music, poetry, rubrics and miniatures likely depended upon specialists in each field, the fact that they happened together within the communal system of the medieval scriptorium—ostensibly under the control of Alfonso X—means that the collection was at least envisaged on a more integrated level than is currently understood. In the following section, I make a survey of significant *CSM* editions, and hope to demonstrate how discipline-specific focusses in these editions is not only misleading, but also leads to a limited understanding of musical-poetic and narrative connexions in the surrounding literature.

[39] (Parkinson and Jackson 2006), (Parkinson 2014).
[40] (Parkinson 2011), (Fernández Fernández 2011), (Fernández Fernández 2013).
[41] (Parkinson and Jackson 2006, 160).
[42] (Ibid., 161).

1.ii.1: Primary Sources

It is essential to assess the four main manuscript witnesses of the *CSM* in order to discuss prevailing analytical trends in the repertory. Most studies of the *CSM*—regardless of the disciplines from which they come—begin by considering their surviving sources.[43] The first of these, the Biblioteca Nacional's **E-Mn, 10069**, resided at the Catedral Primada Santa María de Toledo from the eighteenth century until 1869. It is hence known as the *Códice de Toledo*, or **To**. Fernández Fernández and Ferreira date **To**'s compilation around 1270, assuming it to have been the earliest of the four surviving *CSM* sources.[44] Measuring 31.5cm by 21.7cm and containing 160 folios, **To** is the smallest *CSM* manuscript in size, as well as in contents. Its first section comprises 100 *CSM* organised into ten sets of ten, in which the first nine are *cantigas de miragre*, and each decadal song is a *cantiga de loor*.[45] This set is preceded by two prologues (CSM 428 and CSM 429) and followed by a *Petiçon* (CSM 401).[46] This basic pattern is one that is mirrored in both **T–F** and **E**. Following the *Petiçon* on f.136 of **To** are three sets of songs to be sung on feast days. The first two contain five *CSM* each, and are dedicated to the Virgin and to Jesus respectively.[47] Following these is a third appendix containing sixteen additional *CSM*.[48] In total, there are 129 *CSM* in the codex, 128 of which contain melodies.

---

[43] In addition to these four there exists two later manuscript copies made of **To** and **T** respectively. **E-Mn, 13055** (1755) and **E-Mn, 5982–3** (1860).

[44] (Ferreira 1994, 93–4), (Fernández Fernández 2013, 88–9). **To** has received inconsistent datings. Cueto posited sometime after 1257, while Anglés assumed a compilation date in the early fourteenth century owing to use of *brevis* and *semibrevis* note forms, (Cueto 1889, Vol. 1, 6), (Anglés 1943–64, Vol. 2 (1943), 16–26). Johnson also suggests an earlier date from 1264, (Johnson 2014, Vol. 1, 80). López Elum follows Mettmann, who thinks that **To** was based upon an earlier collection, but was compiled after **T**, **F** and **E**, (López Elum 2005, 50, 61), (Mettmann 1987, 257).

[45] To 1 (CSM 1) is an additional *cantiga de loor* (see footnote 16).

[46] In **To**, Prologue A (CSM 428) is followed by an index of the first hundred *CSM* that appear in the manuscript. The prologues, *Petiçon*, *FSM*, *FJC* and *OSM* are not listed in **To**'s index.

[47] These are the *Festas de Santa Maria* (*FSM*), ff.136–44v, and the *Festas de Nostro Señor Jesu Cristo* (*FJC*), ff.144v–8.

[48] These are the *Outros Cantigas de Miragres de Santa Maria* (*OSM*), ff.148–60v.

The pair of manuscripts **E-E, T.i.I** and **I-Fn, B.r.20** are known by their sigla **T** and **F**.[49] They are both physically larger than **To**, with 256 and 131 folios respectively and measuring approximately 49cm by 32.6cm in the case of **T**, and 45cm by 32cm in the case of **F**.[50] Both include at least one folio of lavish miniatures for each *CSM*, with each of these folios containing six miniatures divided into two columns and three rows. This lavish decoration scheme has made **T** known as the *Códice rico*.[51] Adopting the sequence of decadal *loores*, **T** and **F** also place longer *CSM* as the fifth of every decade (here termed quints), for which two or sometimes even three sides of miniatures are required. Neither source is finished. Ostensibly, both were intended to contain 200 *CSM*, with **F** following on from **T**.[52] Unfortunately, this ambitious project was far from realised: **T** contains 194 *CSM* with 192 melodies, and **F** only has 104 non-notated texts.[53] While **T** does contain musical notation, **F** only has ruled staves. Their incomplete state has led many scholars to assume that **T–F** were part of a project that was abandoned following Alfonso's death in 1284. Ferreira has posited 1279 to 1284 as compilation dates, although Johnson has suggested that work on these codices could have begun as early as 1270.[54] Meanwhile, Fernández Fernández assumes that **F** was started after **T** around 1279, its greater proximity to Alfonso's death explaining its greater state of incompleteness.[55]

---

[49] **T** is sometimes referred to as $\mathbf{E}_2$, as the second of the two codices kept at the Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de El Escorial, along with **E** ($\mathbf{E}_1$). **F**'s siglum comes from its location in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze. I use **T–F** when referring to both when conceived as a pair. Although there is no concrete evidence that suggests **T–F** were definitely part of the same manuscript pair, referring to **F** as a successor volume to **T** has been an accepted part of *CSM* discourse since (Menéndez Pidal 1962, 30).

[50] **F** contains discrepancies in its pagination: the codex is missing 35 folios, (López Serrano et al. 1979, Vol. 2, 27).

[51] **F**, based in Florence, is also known informally as the *Códice de Florencia*.

[52] (Parkinson 2000), (Domínguez Rodríguez and Treviño Gajardo 2007), (Fernández Fernández 2008–9).

[53] Excluded in this count are T 50, T 150 and T 151, which are missing (although T 151's miniatures exist). T 113 is not notated. **F** contains seven *CSM* with incomplete texts.

[54] (Johnson 2014, Vol. 1, 80–5).

[55] (Fernández Fernández 2013, 113–4). Also (Fernández Fernández and García 2011).

At 40.4cm by 27.5cm and with 361 folios, **E-E, B.i.2** is the largest of the *CSM* manuscripts. With 408 *CSM* and 403 melodies, it is also the most extensive in aggregate number of songs.[56] It adopts a similar ordering to **T** and **F** with decadal *loores* and longer quints.[57] Decadal *loores* also include a miniature of one or two musicians above their rubrics, and it has hence been referred to as the *Códice de los músicos*.[58] The date of compilation is most commonly estimated as being from the early 1280s: Anglés gave the range of 1280–3, based on similar flourishings found in the *Libro de ajedrez* manuscript.[59] Ferreira considers **E** to have been started around 1281, and finished soon after 1284.[60] Both Fernández Fernández and Schaffer have proposed that **E** and the latter stages of **F** represent a hurried attempt to collate all the *CSM* before Alfonso's death in 1284.[61] This may also explain its more consistent poetic *zejel* scheme and breakdown of longer quints in **F**, and after E 200.[62]

1.ii.2: Secondary Sources and Major Scholarship

Access to these primary sources has been made possible due to several published facsimiles. Ribera published a facsimile edition of **To** in 1922: this was part of his larger musical study and transcription, and serves as a third volume alongside Cueto's

[56] See 'Notes to Volumes 1 and 2'. Excluded in the count of texts are the nine duplicated *CSM*. Excluded in the count of melodies are the nine duplicates and the single contrafacted melody. E 298 (CSM 298) and the *Petiçon* (CSM 401) both appear without notation.
[57] Prefacing this main body are a prologue (CSM 410) and 12 *FSM* (ff.1v–12), followed by the index to the main body (ff.13–26v). The main body itself consists of the two *CSM* prologues and 402 *CSM* (ff.28v–361), including the *Petiçon* and CSM 402. **To**'s *FSM* are replicated in those of **E**, although in a new order.
[58] Also referred to as $\mathbf{E}_1$ (see footnote 49).
[59] (Anglés 1943–64, Vol.1 (1964), 3). The manuscript in question is **E-E, J.t.6.**
[60] (Ferreira 1994, 71). Ferreira notes that CSM 393 could not have been written prior to 1282.
[61] (Fernández Fernández 2013, 334–5), (Schaffer 2000, 209–11).
[62] (Johnson 2014, Vol. 1, 84–5). This theory suggests that time constraints led poets and composers to adopt a more regularised musical-poetic structure. A structural standard would, in theory, make for faster composition and fewer *mise en scène* complications when compiled into manuscripts.

two-volume textual edition of 1889.[63] This was followed by a full scan of **E** in 1964, published by Anglés as the final part of his four-volume edition of the *CSM*.[64] Fifteen years later, Edilan made a colour facsimile edition of **T**, followed after a decade by Testimonio's facsimile of **F**, also in colour.[65] Since the 2000s, higher quality facsimiles have been made available: in 2003, Monteagudo published a full colour, high resolution facsimile edition of **To**.[66] A new colour facsimile of **T** was made in 2011 along with accompanying essays, reproducing the codex in great detail.[67] More recently, a digitised colour copy of **To** has been made available on the Biblioteca Nacional's digital site, although Monteagudo's 2003 facsimile is of a higher resolution, and hence more useable for codicological work.[68]

Editions of the *CSM*—as for editions of any late-medieval song collection—typically approach the corpus from the stance of one specific discipline. Of the early editions, most focus either on the poetry of the songs, or on their melodies. Cueto was the first to claim a complete textual edition of the *CSM*, although his two-volume publication based on **E** does not include all of the texts from **To** and **F**.[69] It is clearly set up as an edition of poetry: its first volume contains an extensive discussion of poetic genres and origins, and its second volume ends with a glossary of words for the purposes of poetic analysis.[70] On the plausible links with the music of the troubadours, Cueto hypothesises that the *CSM* imitate 'not only their fine verses, but also improve upon them, and at times prefer to adopt them in versification forms of

[63] (Ribera 1922). Ribera's edition is divided into two parts: the first comprises facsimiles and the second a musical edition. Part one is itself subdivided into two sections, the first of which gives facsimile scans of all the musical notation in **To** (ff.9v–160). Part two gives scans of twelve *CSM* from **E**.
[64] (Anglés 1943–64, Vol.4 (1964)).
[65] (López Serrano et al. 1979), (Domínguez Rodríguez, Santiago Luque, and Chico Picaza 1989).
[66] (Monteagudo 2003).
[67] (Fernández Fernández, Ruiz Souza, and Fidalgo 2011).
[68] (BNE 2014–).
[69] (Cueto 1889). Cueto followed up his edition with a critical study, (Cueto 1897). This gives To OSM1, To OSM12, To 50, To 76 and To 79 in an appendix, but does not include **To**'s *FJC*.
[70] (Cueto 1889, 5–cxxviii), (Cueto 1897, 607–799)

indigenous character'.[71] However, he makes no mention anywhere of the musical links between these repertories. This is representative of both volumes: throughout, Cueto makes scant reference to any musical feature, and offers no suggestions about music's relation to textual narrative. The texts of the songs themselves appear solely as texts, with no accompanying musical notation.

It was not until 1922 that Ribera transcribed the *CSM* melodies as part of his facsimile of **To**.[72] This was largely intended to be a companion volume to Cueto's textual edition of **E**, and as its title suggests—*The Music of the Cantigas. A Study concerning its Origin and Nature*—the work is largely musical in outlook. Ribera prefaces his editions with a lengthy commentary on musical life in Spain, particularly concerning Arabic music in al-Andalus.[73] This is used to bolster Ribera's claim that the lyric *zejel* pattern is the basis for musical as well as poetic forms in the *CSM*.[74] Despite claiming to address both poetry and music, however, Ribera's stance comes largely from musicology. His transcriptions are ostensibly intended to disseminate the *CSM* repertory for its melodic interest, and to make the songs more readily available for musical performance. Part three of the appendix even provides harmonisations of selected songs for the purposes of parlour entertainment, dressed up with an eccentric yet questionably appropriate piano accompaniment.[75] Meanwhile, no part of the edition includes texts for any of the 55 songs transcribed in the appendix. Thus, his edition shows no clear interest in establishing links between musical structure and textual narrative.

---

[71] '[N]o sólo imitar sus primores métricos, sino que los aumenta, y á veces adopta con preferencia en la versificacion formas de carácter indígena.' (Ibid., 186).
[72] (Ribera 1922). Also included are 12 *CSM* transcribed from **E**, and presented in facsimile in the first part of the volume, 193–283. (Hague and Leffingwell 1929) incorporate 43 of the 295 songs Ribera transcribed in their English translation.
[73] (Ibid., chs. 1–12).
[74] (Ibid., chs. 15–6).
[75] (Ibid., 287–320).

In 1943, Anglés published a new musical edition, aiming to reassess the provenance and rhythmic interpretation of the *CSM* after Ribera. Anglés's edition was bolstered further by the two volumes of critical studies published in 1958, and the 1964 facsimile.[76] In the first instance, Anglés transcribed the *CSM* from **E**, overlaying them with the manuscript's original note shapes.[77] Anglés not only thought **E** the only complete witness of the *CSM*, but he also considered it to be the *codex princeps*.[78] Following Cueto, Anglés put *CSM* found only in **To** in his appendix, and ordered the main section of his edition according to **E**'s own sequencing.[79] An overriding theme of Angles's critical commentary is the problematics of notational transcription, summarised in the opening chapter of his second volume, 'Twenty Years of Study in Search of the Rhythm and Musical Beauty of the *Cantigas*'.[80] Notationally, Anglés considered the *CSM* to be mensural, although he expressed some doubt over the extent to which mensural schemes were applied.[81] Accompanying Anglés's transcription is an extensive section devoted to specific interpretation of individual

[76] (Anglés 1943–64).
[77] Anglés also gives variants for **To** and **T** in both original and modern note forms.
[78] (Anglés 1943–64, Vol.2 (1943), 33). 'Por su notación mensural perfectísima y por su contenido, debe ser considerado como el códice musical más importante de la monodía cortesana religiosa de la Europa medieval', (Ibid., Vol. 1 (1964), 2).
[79] Two *CSM* found only in **F** are not notated (CSM 408 and CSM 409), and hence are not included in Anglés's edition. Anglés does at times consider **T** to be superior in its notational style to **E**. 'Por otra parte, la notación de $\mathbf{E}_2$ [**T**] es muchas veces más perfecta que la de $\mathbf{E}_1$ [**E**]; su presentación, tan lujosa, hace presumir que el rey personalmente había dado orden de que todo este repertorio mariano complete fuera copiado con tanta profusion de miniaturas y de lujo,' (Ibid., Vol. 3.1 (1958), 144). Diverging from Cueto, however, Anglés thought **To** a later, fourteenth-century copy of an original hypothetical collection of 100 *CSM*, owing to its use of more modern *breves* and *semibreves*, 'Los dos códices escurialenses son los más antiguos de los cancioneros gallego-portugueses, no precisamente como repertorio, sino como manuscritos más vetustos', (Ibid., Vol. 1 (1964), 2).
[80] 'Veinte años de estudios en busca del ritmo y de la belleza musical de las cantigas', (Ibid., Vol.2, 1–13). My translation.
[81] (Ibid., Vol.2 (1943), 1–13). Anglés refers to extensive discussions with Ludwig as early as 1924 over the applicability of mixed modal rhythm. Initially working with his teacher, Anglés concluded that the *CSM* were mensural while transcribing them in Munich in 1936–9. Anglés nevertheless treats the issue of rhythm extensively: see (Spanke 1958). Rossell has also observed Anglés's gradual integration of mensural features in the 39 retranscribed *CSM* in the 1958 third volume, (Rossell 1985).

graphemes in all three sources.[82] Unfortunately, the upshot of Anglés's preoccupation with notational transcription is that it eclipsed his understanding of these works as songs. While he goes one step further than Ribera in providing some of the *CSM* texts, he only includes the texts of first strophes. Patently, the text and narrative are accessories to a musical study, and subsequent strophe texts are redundant.

More recent studies of the *CSM* texts depend upon the two separate textual editions of Mettmann, the first of which was published in Portugal in 1959–72, and the second in Spain in 1986–9.[83] Like Anglés, these textual editions treat **E** as the complete, authoritative source in the first instance, but also incorporate textual variants from the other manuscripts.[84] It was Mettmann who introduced the *CSM* numbering system—largely based upon the ordering of **E**—which has since been used by most other publications when referring to specific *CSM*. Like Cueto before him, however, Mettmann's edition is conceived for poetry scholars, and not for musicologists. His two editions contain no reference to melodic structure, and—as is expected—do not consider how the narrative is organised within the songs' poetic structures. In the preface to his 1959–72 edition, Mettmann refers to previous textual editions—Cueto and Lapa—and yet gives no consideration of Ribera, or even of Anglés's recently published musical edition.[85] While they provide authoritative,

[82] (Ibid., Vol.2 (1943), 37–92). See also (Anglés 1962).
[83] (Mettmann 1959–72), (Mettmann 1986–9).
[84] Mettmann is less reliant upon **E** in his later edition. 'Como consecuencia de las conclusiones obtenidas al examinar nuevamente la filiación de los manuscritos, no nos hemos atenido con la misma fidelidad como antes al texto básico *E*, sino que hemos concedido más peso a los casos en los cuales los otros manuscritos ofrecen una versión que parece más satisfactoria, sobre todo en cuanto a la métrica', (Mettmann 1986–9, Vol.1 (1986), 47).
[85] 'A edição que, por mandado da Academia Espanhola e após dezassete anos de trabalhos preparatórios, publicou setenta anos atrás Leopoldo de Cueto, marquês de Valmar, acha-se há decénios esgotada.' (Ibid., v), 'As deficiências da edição de Valmar foram eliminadas na antologia de 34 cantigas, que M. Rodrigues Lapa publicou e que devia constituir o primeiro passo para uma edição completa, de harmonia com as exigências da moderna crítica textual.' (Ibid., vi).

critical studies of the texts, Mettmann's editions are of limited use for scholars who wish to examine relations between the songs' music and their poetry.

Cueto and Mettman have made the most substantial contributions towards editing the *CSM* texts. However, there is also a wealth of partial editions. Like Cueto and Mettmann, their audiences are primarily literary scholars, and so they prioritise textual over musical and narrative analysis. Filgueira Valverde and Fernández Fernández et al. have published textual editions of the *CSM* from **T**, while Schaffer has made an edition of the texts in **To.**[86] Smaller anthologies of the *CSM* have been made by Magne, Lapa, Cunqueiro, Beltrán, Montoya Martínez, Núñez, and Ferreiro Fernández, amongst others.[87] More recently, Parkinson has commenced a full critical edition in anthologised volumes, 'governed by criteria of narrative, linguistic and metrical interest', of which the first volume was published in 2015.[88] Little more needs to be said of these textual editions, aside from what has already been observed in Cueto and Mettmann. Like the textual editions that precede them, these later editions are intended to be used by poetry scholars. All present the text as divorced from melody, without musical notation, making any study of text-music relations impossible.

Translations too feed into this text-focussed stance. They may be useful for scholars attempting to comprehend a *CSM*'s narrative in their own language; however,

---

[86] (Filgueira Valverde 1985), (Fernández Fernández, Ruiz Souza, and Fidalgo 2011), (Schaffer 2010). In both Filgueira Valverde editions, **T**'s missing *CSM* (CSM 40, CSM 150–1, CSM 196–200) are taken from **E**. Filgueira Valverde also provides editions of the 24 *CSM* (CSM 2–25) that appear in **T** with Castilian prose *glosas*. Further editions of **T**'s *glosas* include (Cárdenas 1987) and (Rogers 1991).

[87] (Magne 1920), 22 *CSM*; (Lapa 1933), 34 *CSM*; (Cunqueiro 1980), 25 *CSM;* (Beltrán 1988), 43 *CSM*; (Montoya Martínez 1988) 39 *CSM*; (Montoya Martínez and Juarez Blanquer 1988) 71 *CSM*; (Paredes Núñez 1992), 10 *CSM*; (San Pastor 1992), 11 *CSM*; (Ferreiro Fernández and Martínez Pereiro 1996), 95 *CSM*; (Beltrán 1997), 43 *CSM*. These counts include any prologue texts. Critical apparatus vary substantially in their scholarly rigour. Several of these listed (Cunqueiro 1980, Beltrán 1988) function principally as translations, but also contain separate edited texts. These editions frequently borrow the edited texts of Mettmann 1986–9 with minimal alterations.

[88] (Parkinson 2015, vii). 46 *CSM*. Unlike many that precede it, this edition does not follow the *CSM* ordering created by Mettmann.

very few present the original and/or translated text alongside melody. They hence provide no opportunity to consider how narrative might work alongside musical structure. The only complete English translation of the *CSM*, Kulp-Hill's non-scholarly publication, presents a translation with neither the original aligned text nor any musical notation. Despite its bold pretentions as 'an aid to teaching, research, musical interpretation, and general enjoyment of this most remarkable work', the translation offers little other than vague narrative resemblance to the original.[89] There is no critical apparatus, and several lexical and grammatical divergences are made from the original, such that the only thing that resembles most of the *CSM* texts is a loose plot, with no links between narrative structure and the poetic strophe. Parkinson's forthcoming complete edition comes with parallel-text translation, which will be more useful for scholarly work when published in its entirety.[90] However, it too fails to provide any mention of musical notation other than cursory references to Anglés's musical edition. Filgueira Valverde made a Spanish translation in the 1979 critical edition of **T**, with a separate translation appearing in 1985.[91] However, beyond acknowledging a combination of 'Galician expression, rich versification, the matchless combination of the melodies and a great number of miniatures', Filgueira Velverde treats the *CSM* solely as literature.[92] Additionally, there are numerous partial translations into modern Spanish, English, French and Galician, all of which typically appear with no musical notation.[93] Hundreds more translations of individual *CSM* have been made into numerous languages for sleeve notes in commercial audio

[89] (Kulp-Hill 2000, xv).
[90] (Parkinson 2015).
[91] (Filgueira Valverde 1985).
[92] 'uniendo a la dúctil expresión gallega, con rica versificación, el conjunto inigualable de las melodías y un acervo magno de miniatura' (Ibid., vii). My translation.
[93] Spanish: (Beltrán 1988), (Beltrán 1997); English: (Cunningham 2000); French: (Cunningham 2000); Galician: (Cunqueiro 1980).

recordings, and the Medieval & Music Arts Foundation maintains a full discography of translations related to the *CSM*, last updated in 2017.[94]

There are some editions of the *CSM* that attempt a more holistic approach. The monumental 1979 edition of **T** by López Serrano et al. is multi-authored, and incorporates a textual edition, translation into modern Spanish, musical transcription, commentary on miniatures, and codicological information.[95] Its aim, the preface alleges, is to provide a complete survey of all facets of the *CSM*.

> Nevertheless, even though all had recognised the musical-poetic interest in these compositions and the artistic and archaeological importance of the miniatures that illustrate them in the Escorial codex T.i.1—the *Códice Rico* of the *Cantigas*—nobody had yet dared to reproduce [the codex] holistically in a full-colour facsimile edition at its proper size, as is required of such a rare combination of features interwoven in these old parchment pages.[96]

However, even here the multi-authored nature of the volume falls short of proper engagement between disciplines. Lloréns Ciseró's musical transcriptions and discography fall in the latter part of the volume, whereas Filgueira Valverde's textual edition appears near the beginning.[97] Since Lloréns Ciseró only gives the first refrain and strophe as the underlaid text in his musical transcription, readers must switch between the textual and musical editions to look at the underlay patterns of subsequent strophes. There are also frequent conflicts of argument between musical and poetic structure in specific songs that are left unchallenged. For instance, CSM 32 is described by Lloréns Ciseró as a musical *virelai*, yet there is no place for discussing how this corresponds to a clear poetic *zejel*. In essence, then, this volume is a

[94] (Roberge and McComb 1994–). Building upon Roberge and McComb, see also (Weber 2017-).
[95] (López Serrano et al. 1979).
[96] 'Sin embargo, aun reconocidos por todos el interés poético-musical de esas composiciones y la importancia artística y arqueológica de las miniaturas que las ilustran en el códice escurialinse T.i.1—el códice "rico" de las *Cantigas*—,nadie se había atrevido aún a reproducirlo integramente, en edición facsímil a todo color y a su tamaño real, como reclama esa infrecuente suma de valores entretejidos en sus viejos pergaminos.' (Ibid., .9).
[97] (Ibid., 321–96, 51–264).

compendium of several discipline-specific editions of the same manuscript, presented in succession.

Cunningham has published a critical edition of the *cantigas de loor* using **E** as a base manuscript, borrowing texts from Mettmann and providing his own English translations.[98] His transcriptions look at each *loor* on its own terms, using whichever scheme—modal, mensural, or mixed—fits best to each *CSM*. Like Anglés, he discusses the variability of these schemes within single *CSM*, and provides guidelines for transcribing individual notational graphemes in various rhythmic and melodic contexts.[99] Cunningham's sole authorship and his attempts to analyse each song on its own terms makes for a more cohesive approach in his edition, as the preface declares.[100] The musical results of Cunningham's transcriptions are arguably hypothetical, since they are taken with the assumption that the *CSM* are part mensural, part modal, and that notational forms are consistent within the codices.[101] However, the focus of this review is to assess not Cunningham's transcriptions, but his position and methodology. In terms of methodology, Cunningham's offering the most comprehensive, presenting each *cantiga de loor* fully underlaid with all strophes, followed by a parallel text translation. He then offers a fair commentary on musical and notational features, as well as an overview of the poetry of each song. He distinguishes further between textual and musical structures, which are laid out in simple tabulated form for each song. The result—while melodically open to debate—is perhaps the most satisfying in terms of holistic approach.

Many more recent editions claim to consider poetry and music on an equal footing, and some even discuss the relationship between musical-poetic structure and

---

[98] (Cunningham 2000).
[99] (Ibid., 19–58). For instance, Cunningham provides a conjectural transcription of CSM 10, in which the starting tone *D* in **T** and **E** is transposed up a fifth in the refrain and lines 3–4 of the strophe, allowing for a smoother melodic transition between sections.
[100] (Ibid., vii).
[101] (Ibid., 19–58).

narrative in the interest of performance practice. Elmes's four-volume edition comprises all of the *CSM*, and aims to provide transcriptions that 'balance "performability" with an attempt to stay as close as possible to the set of literal values for the notation in the manuscript'.[102] As with Cunningham, this requires a liberal alteration between metrical and modal schemes, as well as other rhythmic groups.[103] Elmes's stated aim is 'to present the Cantigas in an affordable published form to those interested in performing more than the handful of transcriptions readily available'.[104] However, it is no small wonder how the performer—let alone the scholar interested in musical-poetic narrative—is expected to know the text, since only the first strophes are provided for each song. López Elum too expresses interest in musical-poetic analysis: the first section of the preface includes a brief summary of courtly lyric and chant texts that aims to provide a contextual backdrop to the methodology of his musical transcriptions.[105] He diverges from almost all of the more recent editors, in that he considers **To** to be mensural and the latest in compilation date.[106] However, while he considers **To** a later source, he views **E**'s notation as superior. The mensural transcription—bolstered by theory from Lambertus and Franco of Cologne—only includes the *CSM* contained in **To**, and yet he uses **E** as a base for transcription.[107] The result is a problematic mix of the two codices: the ordering of **To** is combined with pitches and note values derived from a reading of **E**.[108] Despite López Elum's attempts to consider poetry as well as music, this edition's primary aim, as its title suggests, is to interpret the music of the *CSM*, rather than the text or narrative. Like Anglés and

[102] (Elmes 2004, Vol. 1, 8).
[103] Cases given include 'Binary' (CSM 25), '3+2' (CSM 10), '3+3+2+2' (CSM 9) and '3+3+2+2+3+3' (CSM 15), (Ibid., Vol. 1, 9).
[104] (Ibid., Vol. 1, 7).
[105] (López Elum 2005, 21–41).
[106] (Ibid., 176). This is based on **To**'s use of *breves* and *semibreves* (see footnote 44).
[107] Ed. (Desmond 2017), (Reaney and Gilles 1974).
[108] (López Elum 2005, 302–14), notes that eleven *CSM*, when read from **E**, cannot be transcribed mensurally. These are **To**'s *FJC*, as well as OSM1 and OSM14. Also included are To 50, To 76, To 79 and To 101. These are transcribed non-mensurally.

Elmes, he only gives the text for initial strophes and refrains, and the remaining text is not included in an appendix. There is no critical apparatus to the texts, which is in stark contrast to the long prefatory chapter on notational transcription.[109]

Pla Sales's complete edition of the *CSM* adopts a more radical methodology, whereby poetic structure rather than musical notation determines each song's rhythm. This partially relates to the theory of free declamation proposed by Van der Werf, who claims that notation from this period is not prescriptive enough to show a regularised rhythmic scheme.[110] Departing somewhat from Van der Werf, however, Pla Sales draws from metrical theory in Augustine of Hippo and Francisco de Salinas.[111] Musical rhythm is then derived from each *CSM*'s metrical scheme. To claim that poetic structure underpins the musical form itself is a far more holistic approach than that seen from any other editor. However, Pla Sales still offers a transcription that focusses primarily on the music: like Anglés, Elmes and López Elum, he does not include any song texts beyond the first strophes. This puts into question his professed holistic stance, and to justify omitting subsequent strophe texts surely weakens significantly his own claim that poetic and musical structures are related.

In the twenty-first century, editors have databases at their disposal, and several have provided new platforms for editions that can be easily modified. Casson's motivation for his online database is that at the time of creation 'no full edition of the Cantigas de Santa Maria existed that reconciled all of the text with all of the music into one consistent package'.[112] He provides an edition of normalised, non-mensural

---

[109] (Ibid., 83–149).

[110] (Pla Sales 2001, 128–9). 'It may not be of great significance that, in the Cantigas manuscripts, the stems of the notes are so faint and thin that many of them are hardly visible, whereas they are very clear in mensurally notated motets. It is important, however, that discrepancies among the three Cantigas sources often concern duration, rarely pitch. Placing a note correctly on the staff appears to have been mandatory, while it was of secondary importance whether a stem was present or not.' (Van der Werf 1987, 232).

[111] Ed. (Jacobsson and Dorfbauer 2017), (Kastner 1958).

[112] (Casson 2011–).

notation, without note stems or other indications of rhythm. This is given alongside a 'Transcription View', where one can see all notational variants in the sources. In addition to providing complete texts of all songs, his edition also allows browsers to select the underlay of specific strophes, rather than all appearing at the same time. He also provides an index to pronunciation—along similar lines to Cunningham—and includes poetic and musical summaries, concordance finders, and links to online digitisations of the manuscript witnesses. Although academics are not the primary audience for the database, Casson's is arguably one of the more integrated *CSM* resources available which, if used carefully, can lead to satisfying interdisciplinary approaches to song narrative.

1.ii.3: Section Summary

Given the precedent set in editions of the *CSM*, it is easy to understand how modern scholars have been unable to conceive of these song narratives holistically. Relying, for instance, on Anglés's musical editions leads to productive although purely musicological studies of melody. Both Huseby and Johnson, for instance, make exceedingly valuable contributions towards the taxonomisation of the *CSM*'s melodies, yet their analyses are primarily of melodic behaviour.[113] Like Ribera's 1922 musical edition, Huseby and Johnson focus on songs' melodic features: it is hence understandable that that none of the pieces they analyse should appear with their texts, which would be beyond the scope of their studies. Likewise, poetic analyses of problematic songs—such as Parkinson's study of the Castrojeriz set—typically rely on the poetic editions of Mettmann.[114] They hence analyse the *CSM* without reference to melodic behaviour. In the context of the Castrojeriz set, this is surely a lost

[113] (Huseby 1983), (Johnson 2014).
[114] (Parkinson 1997).

opportunity: in Chapter 4 I demonstrate how narrative disjunction in the Castrojeriz songs can only be rationalised with the help of melodic repetition patterns.

These discipline-specific approaches have only exacerbated the *CSM*'s image as a challenging repertory that sacrifices narrative logic at the expense of a cyclical musical-poetic structure. Yet the *CSM* songs do not need to be viewed as structural or narrative outsiders. In the remainder of Part I, this thesis shows that, when considered holistically, the disjunction between narrative and musical-poetic structure can be navigated through performance. With an understanding of the *CSM* as performed song—a sonic entity consisting of poetry, music and rhetorical gesture—we can begin to comprehend how this difficult repertory was rationalised by its singers, and communicated to its audience.

1.iii: Structure of the Thesis

Having established the necessity of looking at the *cantigas de miragre* holistically, I set up a theory in the remainder of Part I that suggests how a dichotomy between cyclical structure and linear narrative is navigated. In Chapter 2, I argue that the narrative ordering—or *dispositio*—of the *cantiga de miragre* works alongside its memorially marked musical-poetic structure. Sections of the *cantiga de miragre* that are sonically distinctive consistently contain material that is narratively novel and significant. Thus, the musical-poetic structure works as a vehicle to guide the performer and listener aurally through the song. The manner in which memorially marked sections highlight narratively emphatic passages is in line with Classical rhetoric, specifically in the ordering or *dispositio* of a speech. These principles of *dispositio* are somewhat modified to adapt to the *cantiga de miragre*'s cyclical refrain form. The first part of Chapter 2 contextualises rhetorically regulated narrative in the *cantiga de miragre* by discussing the central place of Classical rhetoric in late-medieval Spain. Previous

studies such as Faulhaber reveal a sophisticated knowledge of Ciceronian texts in teaching institutions, universities, libraries, and within the Alfonsine court.[115] These studies show that rhetoric was taught in a modified form to those studying the *ars praedicand*i and *ars dictaminis*. In particular, the Ciceronian ordering (or *dispositio*) of a speech survived due to its malleability to legal and clerical texts, and its widespread adoption into Alfonsine literature.

In the second half of Chapter 2 I move to the *cantigas de miragre* themselves, and consider how rhetorical ideas were adapted to narrative song. Just as medieval rhetoric of the *ars dictaminis*, *ars praedicandi* and *ars poetria* reduced the Ciceronian *dispositio*'s six constituent parts to five, the writers of the *cantigas de miragre* deployed a scaled-down *dispositio* of *exordium*, *narratio* and *peroratio* to their song narratives. The examples in this chapter demonstrate how elements of the *exordium* and *peroratio* were adapted to a song's opening and closing strophes. Meanwhile, middle strophes locate novel, significant and dramatic narrative material at the sonic recap of the refrain melody and rhymes. These sonically distinctive—or memorially marked—sections demarcate the narratively significant texts set to them. If such units stand out against less sonically tenacious material, then a concise, direct and linear narrative is distinguished to the listener, thereby fulfilling the requirements of the Classical *narratio*. While these features are not universally applied to the *cantigas de miragre*, the circular structure is one that frequently allows an altered version of the Classical *dispositio* to rationalise a linear narrative.

The hypothesis of Chapter 2 is lent additional support by a review of the role of sonic repetition and memory within medieval literature. This enquiry is the focus of Chapter 3. In the first section I consider the significance of sound to the late-medieval listener, with particular attention to the links between musical and rhyme-

[115] (Faulhaber 1972).

related repetition, and its associations with memory. The capacity of music and verse to stir the hearts and aid memorisation of texts has long been acknowledged, and I start by analysing theoretical works by the St Emmeram Anonymous, Leonin, and their contemporaries. I then turn to later, more contextually relevant writing from poetry treatises by Ramon Vidal, Joifre de Foixà and others. Since melodic repetition plays a key role in the structure of the *cantigas de miragre*, I conclude by examining the writings of Isidore of Seville and John of Garland on musical sound. I also consider how their ideas of musical power may link to those of accord in poetic verse.

In the second section of Chapter 3, I examine the case for recapped refrain material being marked as distinctive by focussing on several case studies from the *CSM*. These case studies show how the lack of exact congruence between musical and poetic returns in a *cantiga de miragre*'s strophe structure does not necessarily constitute a problem. Rather, looking at *cantigas de miragre* individually suggests that an overall principle of **strophe-end recap** is at play. This principle allows for a gradually intensified expectation of the refrain towards the end of a strophe, brought about by the gradual introduction of the refrain's musical-poetic elements. These familiar elements can be distinguished by melodic *ambitus*, reuse of tonal terminuses, and the repurposing of melodic segments or motifs, as well as reuse of a refrain's metre and rhymes.

We have limited evidence that the *CSM*'s performers and audience understood these structures as sonically distinctive. However, the scribes of the *CSM* manuscripts have left clues that suggest that the refrain was both distinctive and memorable. The remainder of Chapter 3 addresses the presentation of such refrains and locations of strophe-end recap in codices **To**, **T**, **F** and **E**. I demonstrate how the refrain in a manuscript was something demarcated by rubrication—signifying distinction—yet was also abbreviated, altered and curtailed when necessary. This proves that refrains

were sonically tenacious entities that were to be expected, but which also required minimal amounts of prompting, implying they were somewhat imprinted in the memories of both interpreters and listeners. Codicological case studies of *CSM* strophes also suggest that compilers recognised the sonically distinctive nature of strophe sections that recap a refrain's metre, rhyme and melodies without explicitly mirroring its text. This indicates that melody and rhyme can be memorially marked when recapped partially—as in a strophe—as well as when restated precisely in the refrain.

Part II of the thesis consists of three case studies that develop the theoretical framework established in Chapters 2 and 3 of Part I. In each of these studies, I examine a small group of songs that are grouped by subject matter, narrative features, and musical-poetic structure. In Chapter 4, I analyse the four *cantigas de miragre* that are set in the Castilian fortress town of Castrojeriz. These songs make for bizarre reading on account of their interstrophic enjambment and pervasive grammatical infelicities. In my analyses I show how the cyclical structures of these four songs provide an obvious opportunity for narrative irony, where dramatic suspense is augmented by the refrain's division of syntactical units. Moreover, the refrain's interruption of narrative lends alternative meaning to the basic story. It thereby offers moral commentary that draws in the listener to become an active participant into the song.

Similar moralistic glossings appear in the two miracles that are the focus of Chapter 5. Both miracles deal with similar anti-Semitic themes, encompassing persecution, blood libel and conversion. They also show the powerful function of rhyme, and the intertextual references that may implicitly be generated when musical-poetic structures interact with cited Biblical names. CSM 4, the first song to be considered, tells of a Jewish boy saved by the Virgin from a fiery furnace. This

simple narrative is peppered throughout with references to Old Testament characters: Abel, Rachel, Samuel, Abednego and Daniel. These references to Biblical figures provide moralistic commentary upon the song's basic narrative, offering a deeper message of the righteousness of Christianity over the Jewish religion. Rhyme placement is the crucial tool that makes these references sonically distinctive, and I argue that this is aided by CSM 4's strophe-end recap structure. This song is compared with CSM 22, a miracle that tells of a farmer saved by the Virgin from a group of vengeful knights. In my analysis of this song, I show that what initially seems like a simple narrative of a man saved from death can be interpreted as a complex allegorical tale of Jewish deicide and forced conversion. This is made possible—as with CSM 4—by the alignment of refrain rhymes with Biblical characters. These Biblical characters can be identified both with figures of Jewish identity, and those who are believed to have converted to Christianity.

I conclude Part II with a chapter that deals with the structural problems of *cantigas de miragre*. While most *CSM* songs follow a principle of strophe-end recap, the three songs discussed in Chapter 6 deviate from this model. Here, musical-poetic lines function independently of each other in recapped refrain sections. Divergences between musical and poetic structures result in split or dislocated sound. Meanwhile, in other places sonic units are knitted together at the recap of a refrain. From codicological observation it is apparent that the scribes and notators recognised these songs' problems. They altered layout and punctuation accordingly, in an attempt to delineate both structural and narrative logic. Rather than considering these songs as debasements or aberrations from the norm, in this chapter I suggest that narrative sense can still coexist within such structural anomalies. I argue that the principle of strophe-end recap as laid out in Chapter 3 is a general principle that can be applied to the majority of miracle narratives. However, deviations from this standard are

common. The complex musical-poetic permutations in these three songs do not pose narrative complications as such. Rather, these songs' problematic structures arguably enhance their narrative themes of discord and synthesis. These songs may deviate from the *CSM* model on a structural level. Nonetheless, they prove that even analytically troublesome works can use musical-poetic structure as an effective vehicle for textual narrative.

In the three case studies in Part II, I demonstrate the applicability of the theory established in Chapters 2 and 3. However, these case studies also show that this theory cannot be applied rigidly to the entire corpus. Rather, they prove that memorially marked organisation of narrative is a potential tool that can be deployed if invited by each song's individual setup. This then destabilises commonly held taxonomical approaches that attempt to categorise all songs as either sustaining or contradicting a structural principle, such as a *zejel* or *virelai*. I argue instead for a spectrum-based approach, where individual songs can work around or even exploit musical-poetic form, based upon their precise narrative needs.

Chapter 2

Medieval Rhetoric and Rhetorically-Organised Narrative

To better understand how people conceived of and apprehended thirteenth-century narrative song, evaluating the medieval art of rhetoric is instructive. The art of Classical rhetoric—that is, the construction of discourse—survived into the late-Middle Ages owing to its inclusion in the three fundamental liberal arts known as the *trivium*. Alongside grammar (the regulation of discourse) and dialectic (the analysis of discourse), Classical rhetoric was taught in learned institutions for practical use in three major disciplines: namely, the *ars praedicandi* (sermon writing), the *ars dictaminis* (letter writing), and the *ars poetriae* (prose or poetry writing).[116] Traces of Classical rhetoric were therefore subsumed—albeit in a heavily altered state—into legal texts, religious doctrine, and late-medieval literature. The aims of this chapter are to assess how Classical rhetoric might have influenced the narrative structure of the *CSM*. While rhetoric's influence on the *Setenario* and *Partidas* has already been considered substantially, I demonstrate the need to consider links between rhetorical teaching and the wider Alfonsine corpus of works.

I begin with an overview of rhetoric's relevance to Western Europe—and more specifically Spain—in the later thirteenth century. I then address evidence of rhetorical understanding—chiefly through the *ars dictaminis* and *ars praedicandi*—at universities, religious institutions, and courts throughout Europe. Having established a general overview within Europe, I focus more locally on the Alfonsine court, and consider works contemporary to the *CSM* that evidence clear understanding of Classical rhetoric influenced by Ciceronian texts. Having established the discipline's

[116] (Murphy 1974).

significance, I then turn to the *CSM*, demonstrating how rhetorical precepts—most specifically the process of *dispositio*—are at play in the direction of the narrative *cantiga de miragre*. While all six parts of the Ciceronian *dispositio* may arguably be present in the *cantiga de miragre*, I focus on three key sections that are the most distinctive: namely, the *exordium*, *narratio* and *peroratio*. These three sections of the *dispositio* are clearly integrated into the cyclical musical-poetic structure, as I establish in the latter part of this chapter, as well as in Chapter 3. I therefore demonstrate how an altered *dispositio* realigns a *cantiga de miragre*'s narrative to make sense with its cyclical structure.

2.i: Historical Context of Rhetorical Understanding in Europe

Before tracing rhetoric's significance in the later Middle Ages, one must address a much longer historical context of rhetorical teaching from Antiquity. Ideas of Classical rhetoric filtered into medieval teaching specifically via the survival of a small corpus of texts. However, the sources in today's rhetorical canon are far from illustrative of those used in the thirteenth century. Greek rhetorical texts—Isocrates, Plato and Aristotle—received very limited reception in the Christian West, largely due to their exclusive survival in Arabic sources.[117] Three key Ciceronian works—*Orator*, *De oratore*, and *Brutus*—survived either incompletely or (in the case of *Brutus*) were unknown until Gerardo di Landriani discovered them complete in a now-lost manuscript in 1421 at Lodi Cathedral.[118] Likewise, Quintilian's first-century *Institutio oratoria* was fragmentary until Poggio Bracciolini unearthed a complete version in 1419

[117] (Murphy 2005). Aristotle's *Rhetoric* had increasing influence after being translated in the 1270s by William of Moerbeke. This *translatio Guillelmi* survives in 96 manuscripts. Before Moerbeke, there only existed the *translatio vetus* (possibly by Bartholomew of Messina), which survives in three manuscripts (Copeland 2014, 96), (Murphy 1974, 93–4), (Lacombe 1955, Vol. 1, 177–9, Vol. 2, 1348).

[118] (Murphy 1974, 360–1). Cicero's *Topica* only survived in Boethius's commentary, *De topicis differentiis*.

at the Abbey of St Gall.[119] Based upon existing sources, then, Cicero's *De inventione* was by far the most influential manual for medieval rhetoricians. In the mid-twelfth century, the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium*—claimed at the time as Cicero's *Rhetorica secunda* or *Rhetorica nova*—was added to the *De institutione*, largely for its list of *figurae* in its fourth book. Together, the *Rhetorica vetus* and *Rhetorica nova* comprised the central corpus of rhetorical texts until the mid-thirteenth century.

Proof of these texts' relevance in the later Middle Ages is adduced not solely by their appearance in manuscripts, but also by their reworking, either through translations, glossed versions, or citations in newly worked treatises. Early glossed versions of the *Rhetorica vetus* include those by Fortunatianus, Victorinus's *Commenta*, and Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*. Meanwhile, early encyclopaedic works on rhetoric, such as Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* and Boethius's *De differentiis topicis*, borrowed Cicero's ideas indirectly in their discussion of the *trivium*. After the year 1000, Cicero's authority appears to be more widespread: Murphy notes nearly 600 late-medieval commentaries (with 79 complete explications) that preserve Ciceronian texts.[120]

These rhetorical texts persisted due to their everyday deployment in three core branches of knowledge: the writing of letters and notarial documents (*ars dictaminis*), the composition of poetry and prose (*ars poetriae*), and the preaching of sermons (*ars praedicandi*).[121] The value of these disciplines to late-medieval society meant that rhetoric, along with grammar and dialectic, was taught at universities, religious houses

[119] (Ibid., 357–60). Murphy notes that Quintilian's reception was limited mostly to France and England during the twelfth century, largely due to its republican sentiments (Murphy 2005, 11).
[120] (Murphy 2005, 10). Evidence of the *ars dicatminis* is perhaps the most concrete: Worstbrock identifies 201 extant manuscripts plus ten that have been lost (Worstbrock, Klaes, and Lütten 1992).
[121] (Murphy 1974, 135–355).

and schools, starting from the eleventh century.[122] From the 1080s, the *ars dictaminis* came into increased prominence due to the growth of feudal and ecclesiastical powers.[123] The *ars poetriae* arose around the 1170s, typified by Matthew of Vendôme's *Ars versificatoria*, John of Garland's *Parisiana poetria*, and seemingly the most influential, Geoffrey of Vinsauf's *Poetria nova*.[124] Finally, the *ars praedicandi*, stemming from Judeo-Christian preaching practice and Hrabanus Maurus's *De institutione clericorum*, fused the art of biblical preaching with Ciceronian rhetorical precepts from around the year 1200.[125]

2.ii: Rhetorical Understanding in Thirteenth-Century Castile

The Iberian Peninsula held a unique position in the appreciation of rhetoric. This was partially due to the confluence of rhetorical ideas from the northern French schools on the one hand, and the translation of Arabic texts around Toledo on the other.[126] A limited picture of rhetorical understanding in Spain can be obtained by contemplating where rhetorical texts survive, and where the art may have been taught. Faulhaber's comprehensive 1972 study details 37 copies of 12 Classical rhetorical works. These include seven copies of *De inventione* and eight of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* across Spain, all from around the twelfth century.[127] Aristotle also makes an appearance, with six translations of the *Rhetoric* from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and one

[122] (Faulhaber 1972) and (Murphy 2005) note presence of rhetorical teaching, particularly applied to *disputatio*, at Paris in 1215.
[123] (Ibid., 13–6).
[124] (Ibid., 16–9). Murphy notes more than 100 manuscripts of the *Poetria nova*.
[125] (Ibid., 19–24).
[126] On the influence of the Toledo school of translators, see (Gil 1985).
[127] It should, however, be noted that Faulhaber's study has its limitations: he adduces that rhetoric had a limited appreciation in Spain through reasoning that absence of sufficient evidence signifies evidence of absence. He also fails to address the situation beyond Castile, and therefore denies the significant role of Catalan and Arabic sources in the transmission of rhetorical understanding on the Peninsula. See (Impey 1975).

copy of the *Poetics* from around 1278.[128] Faulhaber also reveals rhetorical teaching at schools, universities and *studia generale* all across Castile. The earliest such institutions include the *studium generale* of Palencia (ca.1212) and the University of Salamanca (which was awarded a charter in 1218, but assumed to be teaching much earlier). Early privilege documents are more enlightening: one from Alfonso X to Salamanca in 1254 stipulates three masters of canon law, one of civil law, two of dialectic, two of grammar, two of medicine and one of organ.[129] While there existed no master of rhetoric, Faulhaber notes that rhetorical precepts were assumed under the *ars dictaminis*, which was within the remit of legal studies. Other fields also incorporated rhetorical teaching: grammar, for instance, was subdivided into grammar and rhetoric (just as dialectic was subdivided into pure logic and the *summulas*). This hence widens the number of potential cases of rhetoric being taught at such institutions.

More tentatively, rhetorical teaching can be assumed at the schools founded across Spain in the later Middle Ages.[130] Seville's grammar school was founded in 1254 for the study of Latin and Arabic, while Sancho IV opened one in Alcalá de Hanares in 1293. Several grammar schools were attached to cathedrals, and hence would have required rhetoric to instruct in the *ars praedicandi*. These include Palencia, Tui, Calahorra (1260), Logroño (1260), León (one in 1224; two in 1241), Catalayud (1242), Oviedo (1242, mentioned in archival documents in 1254, 1296 and 1300), and Toledo (1265). Some had chairs of grammar, into which rhetoric would have been incorporated, such as Sigüenza (1269), Lugo (1271), Cordoba (1277), and Cuenca (1289). While many of these institutions may have only had chairs for grammar, Faulhaber

[128] (Faulhaber 1972, 48–9), cit. (Boggess 1970). Faulhaber also notes definite references the following in Spanish manuscripts from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries: *De inventione* four times, *Rhetorica ad Herennium* twice Aristotle once, the *ars dicatminis* six times, the *artes praedicandi* three times, and one reference to the *ars versificatoria*, (Faulhaber 1972, 45).
[129] (Beltrán de Heredia 1953). See also (Ajo González de Rapariegos y Sainz de Zúñiga 1957) and (Ajo González de Rapariegos y Sainz de Zúñiga 1967).
[130] (Faulhaber 1972, 31–5).

notes that grammar as a distinct discipline continually encroached onto the other fields of the *trivium*.

Cathedral libraries often mention rhetorical books from the mid-thirteenth century, such as Santiago de Compostela (1226), Toledo (ca.1260), Salamanca (1267), Cordoba (1274) and Burgos de Osma (c.13). Santiago de Compostela's library inventory mentions two rhetoric books, which may have been the *Rhetorica vetus* and *Rhetorica nova*.[131] From a 1242 inventory, Sigüenza Cathedral library lists 20 books with none on rhetoric, yet an early-fourteenth century inventory lists 144 books, with two on rhetoric, namely Alain de Lille's *Summa de arte praedicatoria* and Magister Bernard's *Summa dictaminis*. While Toledo's inventory of ca.1260 does not mention rhetorical books, a later one from 1455 lists the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, the *De inventione*, as well as the *Tabula de arte dictandi* of the thirteenth-century Italian notary Ricardo of Pofi. These could quite conceivably have been in the library since the late-thirteenth century.[132] A late-thirteenth century inventory at Burgo de Osma notes two copies of *De inventione*, one of which may be a twelfth-century manuscript that survives in the chapter library.[133]

Several rhetoricians were active in Spain prior to the time of Alfonso X. One of the most significant was Petrus Compostellanus, who was working in Galicia in the 1140s and 1150s.[134] His *De consolatione rationis*, based upon Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*, comprises a mix of prose and verse. In the *De consolatione rationis*, Rhetoric is summoned through Reason, who instructs the sleeping author how to escape lascivious pleasures. Her solution is the seven liberal arts, assuming the form of

[131] (Ibid., 36–46).
[132] (Foradada y Castón 1877, 371–2), cit. (Faulhaber 1972, 42). **E-Mn, 10070** is a thirteenth-century rhetorical treatise, and **E-Tc, 43–3** a fourteenth-century *Ars dicataminis* manual. Faulhaber notes these could have been in the cathedral library from the fourteenth century.
[133] (Rojo Orcajo 1929, 660, 706).
[134] (Faulhaber, 54–7).

handmaidens who aid the sleeper, indicating the prominence of the *trivium* to cathedral education. A further noteworthy figure was Dominicus Gundisalvus, a French bishop based at Toledo and Segovia, who also worked at the community of scholars translating texts in Toledo. His *De divisione philosophiae* was written around 1150. This treatise is clearly influenced by Thierry of Chartres's *Heptateuch*—an encyclopaedic work on the seven liberal arts—while Thierry took Gundisalbus's text almost verbatim in the introduction to his commentary on *De inventione*.[135] Gundisalvus's treatise also mentions Quintilian (as author of *De instructionibus oratoris*), and Cicero, citing *De inventione* several times.[136] At this time, there were also rhetoricians coming from France, suggesting that French rhetorical teaching may have been crossing the Pyrenees into Spain. One such character was Geoffrey of Vinsauf, whose *Poetria nova* of ca.1208–13 was a hugely popular work, judging from surviving copies. The *Poetria nova* spread rhetorical ideas as part of the *ars poetica*, which bore largely on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, and Faulhaber notes that three manuscripts of this source survive from Spain around the time of the *CSM*'s compilation.[137]

The Alfonsine court serves as a condensed study of rhetorical understanding within a small sector of society. Here mingled some of the most esteemed minds of the day, and many showed clear rhetorical understanding. Several court figures held posts that involved instructing in the arts of the *trivium*. These posts were likely influenced by the roles of *magistri* laid out in the second book of Alfonso's *Partidas*. Here, Alfonso writes that a *magister* would be expected to instruct in the arts of grammar, dialectic,

---

[135] (Haring 1964, 280).

[136] Gundisalvus always refers to I.5.vi from *De instructionibus oratoris*. He cites Quintilian four times, but two of these are actually I.5.vi of Cicero's *De inventione*. He gives five parts (Faulhaber 1972, 66), then the five *instrumentum* of the oration (Ibid., 67). Gundisalvus details the *exordio*, *narracione*, *particione*, *confirmacione*, and *epilogacione*—not the *peroratio*. This was perhaps due to Vicorinus's commentary on *De inventione*.

[137] (Faral 1924, 28) says there are 43, but 'est très loin d'être complète'. Faulhaber adds three more Spanish sources to this list, all of which show strong reliance on the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*.

rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry and astronomy (II.31.i).[138] A significant figure who probably fulfilled such a role at the early Alfonsine court was one Ponce (or Pontius) de Provence (fl.1252). Ponce was a rhetorician skilled in the *ars dictaminis* who had connections with the University of Toulouse, as well as the schools at Orléans and Montpellier.[139] His *Epistolarium*, written in the year of Alfonso's succession, reveals specifically his role as the young king's teacher. He further indicates that the king was versed in the rhetorical art, and that the treatise was written for Alfonso's use.

> The year of Our Lord 1252. I, master Ponce of Provence, who composed this letter writing treatise which begins 'on teaching doctrine suitably' ordered and composed this present *Epistolarium* according to the teaching and order of highest and greatest present, the noble man named Alfonso, who is a beloved student.[140]

Ponce of Provence gives perhaps the most conclusive evidence as to the rhetorical understanding likely to have been prevalent in the society that created the *CSM*. Even if Alfonso had not composed the majority of *CSM* songs himself, it is likely that the rhetorical ideas Ponce grounded in him were influential in the collection that he personally supervised.

One of the most noteworthy figures in the Christian West who specialised in the art of rhetoric was the Englishman Geoffrey of Everseley. Geoffrey was the Roman and English ambassador, who was resident in Spain between 1276 and 1283. While at the Castilian court Geoffrey was a confidant and notary of the king, as well a crucial link

---

[138] Ed. (Real Academia de la Historia 1807, Vol. 2, 340), trans. (Scott and Burns 2001, Vol. 2, 527).
[139] (Salvador Martínez 2009, 57–8).
[140] 'Anno domine MCCLII ego magister Poncius Provincialis qui composueam summam dictaminis qui incipit de competenti doctrina dogmate ordinavi et composui presens epistolarium secundum doctrinam et ordinem summe superius nominate ad instantium viri nobilis Adefonsi discipuli predilecti', ed. (Haskins 1929, 7). My translation. Haskins also lists seven complete or partial sources for this treatise: **F-Pn, lat. 18595, 8653** (ff.1–212), **1252**; **F-Pa, 3807, 1132**; **GB-Lbl, Arundel 515**, f.54; **D-Mbs, cod. lat. 22293**, f.278; **F-T, 1556; D-Mbs, cod. lat. 16122**, ff.11v–16v; **F-AS, 433**; **A-Wn, 2512**; **E-Bac, Ripoll 190**; **F-Pn lat. 11386**, f.13. One additional manuscript cited in (Kristeller 1963–96, Vol. 1, 96), **I-Fl, Ashburnham 1545**, ff.2–36.

with Alfonso's brother-in-law, Edward I.[141] His *Ars epistolaris ornatus*, dedicated to Alfonso, is a dictaminal treatise in which the king's own personal correspondences are quoted as examples to the reader.[142] Specifically, Geoffrey takes the opening *exordium* from a letter addressed to the Emir of Niebla—Suayb ibn Mahfuz—along with the emir's reply.[143] His treatise cites Cicero twice, but Geoffrey also references Quintilian, Priscian, Matthew of Vendôme and William of Conches.[144] The *Ars epistolaris ornatus* also demonstrates how Ciceronian rhetoric was adapted—and, if necessary, altered—to suit the medieval *ars dictaminis*. For instance, rather than restating the six Ciceronian components of *dispositio*, Geoffrey reduces the number to four, with an added address (*salutatio*, *exordium*, *narratio*, *petitio* and *conclusio*).[145]

Juan Gil de Zamora has received significant attention from Alfonso's biographers, despite his tenuous links with the court. Salvador Martínez rejects González Dávila's earlier datings, and instead posits that he held a place at court from the 1260s before becoming a Franciscan.[146] His *Dictaminis epithalamium* follows the altered *dispositio* seen in Geoffrey of Everseley's *Ars epistolaris ornatus*, although Zamora subsumes the *exordium* under the *salutatio*.[147] Like Geoffrey's treatise, it cites Cicero—namely *De inventione* (II.59.clxxviii), and *De officiis* (IX.5.xix–xxviii)—as well as Quintilian's *Institutiones* (II.3.clxxvi), and works by Terence, Seneca, Ovid, Juvenal, Sallust, and Claudianus.[148]

---

[141] (Salvador Martínez 2009, 58–9).
[142] (Ibid., 7–15). The source survives as **I-PEc, F.62**. Salvador Martínez cites (Bertolucci Pizzorusso 1968, 7–12), on Geoffrey's completion dates for the treatise, likely around 1270. On the dedication, (Ibid., 14), notes a letter dated 1 April 1279 from Geoffrey to Alfonso.
[143] (Langlois 1897, 431), 'Et tamen…salutationes per grammaticam exprimere debeant'. (Bertolucci Pizzorusso 1968, 52).
[144] (Ibid., 25–33).
[145] A five-part *dispositio* was common in the later Middle Ages, as noted in (Murphy 2005).
[146] (Salvador Martínez 2009, 60–1), (González Dávila 1771).
[147] (McNabb 2003). **E-SAup, cart. S.XV**.
[148] (Faulhaber 1972, 28).

Zamora has been a source of interest for *CSM* scholars due to his rhetorical training, as well as his *Ars musica* and involvement in Marian miracle collections. In his *Liber de Jesu et Mariae*, several miracles duplicate those found in the *CSM*.[149] However, his significant involvement in court life for any serious length of time has been problematised by more recent biographical studies.[150] Specific documentary references to the relationship between Alfonso and Zamora are scarce and limited to the end of the king's reign: namely, a legal article confirming him as advisor to Sancho IV from 1278 and, by Zamora's own admission, a note that he is 'scriptor suus' to the Infante in the prologue to his *De preconiis Hispaniae*.[151] One may only speculate as to whether Zamora was working at the court from the 1260s to 1278, and whether his works had any significant impact upon Alfonso or Sancho.

An overlooked figure with more concrete connections to Alfonso was Hermannus Alemannus, who probably translated texts at the school in Toledo from around 1240 to 1256. Following an interlude at the court of Manfred, King of Sicily, Hermannus returned to Spain as a naturalised Castilian in 1266 and was Bishop of Astorga until 1272.[152] As a rhetorician, he is best known for translating most of Aristotle's *Rhetoric* into Latin from Averroes's Arabic version, sometime before 1256.[153] This translation is interspersed with Averroes's own commentary of Aristotle, as well as fragments from Avicenna and al-Farabi. Hrmannus also translated Aristotle's *Ethica Nichomachea* and various commentaries on the *Poetics*, completed Averroes's commentaries to Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, translated the *Psalterio* from Hebrew to Castilian, and translated the *Summa Alexandrinorum* from Arabic to Castilian.

---

[149] For a fuller bibliography on Zamora's *Liber de Jesu et Mariae* see (Wilson 1946), (Marchand 1998), (Bayo 2004). For the *Ars musica* see (Robert-Tissot 1974).
[150] (Faulhaber 1972, 103), (Carreras i Artau and Carreras i Artau 1939–43, Vol. 1, 13), (Ballesteros Beretta 1984, 302).
[151] (Faulhaber 1972, 105), (Salvador Martínez 2009, 61–3).
[152] (Pérez González 1992).
[153] (Akasoy and Fidora 2002).

There are further rhetoricians whose connections with Alfonso and the Alfonsine court are less certain. Faulhaber cites Peter of Blois (c.12) and Stephan of Tournai (c.12) as figures who used rhetoric in Castile to instruct in the *ars dictaminis*. Although scholars are uncertain whether he actually taught rhetoric, Gonzalo Garcia de Gudiel was active in the court as Castilian royal notary in 1270. Two inventories of his books survive: one from 1273 (to Cuenca), and the other in 1280 (to Toledo).[154] In 1273 he owned 'a notary's book' and 'some rhetorical treatises of the old and new Tullio in a single volume'.[155] The 1280 inventory mentions an '*ars notaria*' along with Aristotle's *Rhetoric*, yet not the Ciceronian books—likely the *Rhetorica vetus* and *Rhetorica nova*—from the 1273 inventory.[156]

Such a large number of rhetoricians nearby resulted in rhetoric's dispersion throughout the social milieu at court. For instance, Alfonso X's own letters from 1270 mention possession of grammatical works that incorporate Ciceronian rhetoric, such as Donatus's *Barbarismus* and the *Priscianus major*.[157] Several Alfonsine works also hint at the centrality of rhetorical teaching as a way of creating an intellectual court identity. In the *General Estoria*, for instance, rhetoric is consistently allegorised by the Roman god Mercury. He is described as the lord of 'the three wise men who teach men to speak and behave with wisdom' (II.89), clearly drawing rhetoric into prominence as the chief art within the *trivium*.[158] This comparison between rhetoric and Mercury

[154] (Procter 1934).
[155] '[U]n libro de notaria [...] unos tratados retorica de tullio vieya et nueva en un volumen', ed. (Alonso Alonso 1941, 303–4), cit. (Faulhaber 1972, 40).
[156] (Ibid., 305–6).
[157] (Rodriguez 1851, 257–8), repr. (Pérez de Guzmán 1905, 116). Faulhaber notes, however, that Donatus, Virgil and other *auctores* cited were not that uncommon in such texts.
[158] '[L]os tres saberes que ensennan all omne fablar e seer bien razonado'. Ed. (. Further references to rhetoric and the *trivium* depicted as Mercury occur in II.89, ed. (Solalinde, Kasten, and Oelschläger 1957–61, Vol. 1, 213), cit. (Faulhaber 1972, 86); II.62, ed. (Ibid., Vol. 1, 88); I.4.ix, ed (Solalinde 1930, 90); I.4.ix, ed. (Solalinde 1930, 91); II.36, ed. (Solalinde, Kasten, and Oelschläger 1957–61, Vol. 1, 57–8); I.7.xxxv, ed. (Solalinde 1930, 194). (Faulhaber 1972, 86) notes further similarities to the distinction of rhetoric in *De inventione*, I.1.i.

takes inspiration from Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*.[159] This hugely influential late-antique work draws upon Ciceronian ideas on eloquence's (and the *trivium*'s) link with wisdom (and the *quadrivium*), respectively allegorised by Mercury and Philology. This work influenced multiple late-medieval writers: in his *Didascalicon*, Hugh of St Victor refers to the liberal arts as the 'seven maidens whom Mercury accepted from Philology as a dowry'.[160] However, Mercury's appearance in Alfonsine literature is particularly prominent, and the many comparisons made between rhetoric and the god of eloquence serve to make a statement about rhetoric's prestige. Rhetoric is a determiner of intellectual capability, and a monarch versed in the art is able to exercise sufficient judgement and authority to wield influence at court.

It is unsurprising, therefore, that rhetoric should have filtered down into Alfonsine literature, much of which was ostensibly crafted under the king's direction. Rhetoric is consistently represented as a positive attribute that is held to the highest degree by the monarch. As such, rhetorical prowess is mentioned to bolster Alfonso's legitimacy to rule. In the second of his *Partidas*, Alfonso asserts the essential features of good governance. Describing how *infantes* should be brought up to make suitable rulers, Alfonso stresses the importance of intelligence and the ability to use language rationally (II.7.vii).[161] Such rationality, Alfonso maintains, is acquired through proper instruction in dialectic, rhetoric and grammar: that is, the three arts of the *trivium*. Written in the 1250s and 1260s, most likely by jurists working at the royal chancellery, the *Siete partidas* were designed as a legal code for the subjects within Alfonso's realm. They therefore give a valuable insight into what was desirable within courtly society.

[159] Ed. (Dick 1925), cit. (Willis 1983).
[160] '[S]eptem ancillae quas Mercurius a Philologia in dotem accepit', ed. (Buttimer 1939, 39), trans. (Taylor 1961, 75), cit. (Faulhaber 1972, 87).
[161] Ed. (Real Academia de la Historia 1807, Vol. 2, 48–9), trans. (Scott and Burns 2001, Vol. 2, 304).

The rules laid out in the *Partidas* extended not only to young *infantes*, but to the king himself. In the fourth title of the second *Partida*, Alfonso advises on the essential qualities of monarchs. Here, he states that a king is bestowed with the potential for decisive judgement because, like all men, he is gifted with the rationality of speech. This, combined with his superior education, makes him capable of ruling his realm.

> Speech is a grace which man, and no other animal, possesses. Wherefore, since in the preceding title we have stated what the kind should be in his thoughts; we desire to mention here what he should be in his words which arise from them. II.4.Prol.[162]

Emphasising the significance of rational speech, Alfonso invites distinction between the intelligent man and illiterate, irrational beast. Judging from other Alfonsine works, this appears to have been a popular trope. However, noting the discrepancies between man and beast is not entirely novel: this passage from the second *Partida* mirrors two similar statements from the first book of Cicero's *De inventione*.

> For there was a time when men wandered at large in the fields like animals and lived on wild fare; they did nothing by the guidance of reason, but relied chiefly on physical strength; there was as yet no ordered system of religious worship nor of social duties....Certainly only a speech at the same time powerful and entrancing could have induced one who had great physical strength to submit to justice without violence....This was the way in which at first eloquence came into being and advanced to greater development. I.2.[163]

> Furthermore, I think that men, although lower and weaker than animals in many respects, excel them most by having the power of speech. Therefore that man appears to me to have won a splendid possession who excels men themselves in that ability by which men excel beasts. And if, as it happens, this is not brought about by nature alone nor by practice, but is also acquired from

[162] 'Palabra es donayre que los homes han tan solamente, et non otra animalia ninguna. Onde pues que en el título ante deste fablamos qual debe el rey seer en sus pensamientos, queremos aqui decir quál ha de seer en las palabras que nacen dellos.' Ed. (Real Academia de la Historia 1807, Vol. 2, 21), trans. (Scott and Burns 2001, Vol. 2, 283).

[163] 'Nam fuit quoddam tempus cum in agris homines passem bestiarum modo vagabantur et sibi victu fero vitam propagabant, nec ratione animi quicquam, sed pleraque viribus corporis administrabant; nondum divinae religionis, non humani offici ratio colebatur...Profecto nemo nisi gravi ac suavi commotus oratione, cum viribus plurimum posset, ad ius voluisset sine vi descendere...Ac primo quidem sic et nata et progressa longius eloquentia.' Ed. and trans. (Hubbell 1949, 4–7).

> some systematic instruction, it is not out of place to see what those say who have left us some directions for the study of oratory. I.4.[164]

The *General estoria*, anticipated for a more universal audience, quotes the same passage from the *De inventione*. Here, it makes a specific reference towards Tullio, or Cicero. Again, distinction is drawn between the irrationality of the beast, and the superior intellect of man.

> And they live more in the manner of beasts, who are unlike men, just as Tullio tells us in his first *Rhetoric*, and as many other wise men inform us. I.3.x.[165]

The widespread adoption of this trope in Alfonsine works indicates the practical use, and therefore relevance, of key Ciceronian rhetorical texts within sectors of the court. Faulhaber argues that rhetoric's brief appearance in the *Partidas* and *General estoria* was for 'instrumental value, as a useful tool in problems of administration'.[166] While Faulhaber is right in arguing that rhetoric had instrumental use, citations such as these also demonstrate that rhetorical understanding was exhibited by Alfonso as a sign of educated status and intellectual legitimacy to rule.

Exhibition of Ciceronian rhetoric can also indicate knowledge of patristic and medieval texts that gloss the *Rhetorica vetus* and *Rhetorica nova*. Cicero is highlighted a second time in the same chapter of the *General estoria*, where Alfonso explicates the value of two later works: Eusebius's *Chronicon*, and Gottfried von Viterbo's *Liber universalis*. These influential pieces—both summaries of universal history—adopt the

---

[164] 'Ac mihi quidem videntur homines, cum multis rebus humiliores et infirmiores sint, hac re maxime bestiis praestare, quod loqui possunt. Quare praeclarum mihi quiddam videtur adeptus is qui qua re homines bestiis praestent ea in re hominibus ipsis antecellat. Hoc si forte non natura modo neque exercitatione conficitur, verum etiam artificio quodam comparatur, non alienum est videre, quae dicant ei qui quaedam eius rei praecepta nobis reliquerunt.' Ed. and trans. (Hubbell 1949, 12–3).

[165] 'E biuien mas a maneras de costumbres de bestias que non de omes, assi como cuenta Tullio enla su primera Rectorica, et otorgan con el muchos otros sabios.' Ed. (Solalinde 1930), 62, cit. (Niederehe 1975), 118.

[166] (Faulhaber 1972, 97).

same trope of distinguishing man from beast. As in the first excerpt, Alfonso specifically highlights the *Rhetorica vetus*—the *De inventione*—as the source from which this comparison is drawn.

> And what is more we read in the second part of the Pantheon, and Eusebius says it too in his *Chronicon*, and Tullio at the beginning of his first *Rhetoric*, that in the age of Emperor Nero the people lived more like beasts than like men. I.3.xxv.[167]

Together, the *Partidas* and *General estoria* illustrate a limited although common knowledge of key Ciceronian works and glossed commentaries. However, many of the passages that deal with rhetoric invoke other Classical rhetoricians as *auctores* to lend further intellectual gravitas. By appearing as purported author of Alfonsine literature—and therefore the authorial voice referencing these Classical *auctores*—Alfonso is presented to the reader as an *auctor* himself. This works to bolster the display of his intellectual prowess over the court. A well-known call to Classical *auctores* appears in the fourth *Partida*, where Alfonso references several rhetoricians, in addition to Cicero. These references indicate an extremely broad rhetorical curriculum in Spain, and attempt to establish Alfonso's court as more intellectually rigorous than elsewhere in the Christian West. The discussion of friendship begins by drawing upon Cicero, again cited as Tullio, in IV.27.iii and IV.27.v. This citation does not come from a rhetorical treatise, but is presumably a reference to *De amicitia*. In laws 27.v and 27.vi, Alfonso then draws upon Aristotole's *Nichomachean ethics*, Solomon's *Ecclesiastes* and Augustine's *Confessiones*. (IV.27.iii–vi)[168] Similarly, in the

[167] 'E sobresto leemos lo en la setenta parte del Pantheon, et dize lo Eusebio en su Cronica e Tullio enel comiençó dela su primera Rectorica, que en tiempos deste rey Nino que las yentes mas uiuien como bestias que como omnes.' Ed. (Solalinde 1930, 76), cit. (Niederehe 1975, 118). Further passages on the same theme can be found in I.20.iii, ed. (Solalinde 1930, 550), and VII.42, ed. (Ibid., 198).
[168] Ed. (Real Academia de la Historia 1807, 147–9), trans. (Scott and Burns 2001, Vol. 4, 1004–60).

second *Partida*, Alfonso's preface gives advice on how a king should speak by an invocation to a pseudo-Aristotle.

> According to what wise men have said, speech is something by which, when it is properly uttered, he who utters it explains what he wishes to say, and what is in his heart....On this subject Aristotle spoke to King Alexander, in the way of criticism, when he told him it was not becoming for a king to be a great talker, and that he should not utter what he had to say in a loud tone, except in a place where it was suitable. II.4.i–ii.[169]

This citation from a pseudo-Aristotle likely came from the *Secretum secretorum*, which was first written in Arabic as the *Kitab Sirr al-Asrar* in the tenth century.[170] The earliest translations into Latin from the twelfth century indicate transmission on the Iberian Peninsula, years before the work became influential across western Europe.

Aristotle also appears in another Alfonsine text—the *Setenario*—again as an *auctor* on the authority of the *trivium* (XI).[171] Within the same law, Alfonso explicates the significance of the *trivium* as a precursor to studying the *quadrivium*.[172] Here he provides a more expanded commentary on rhetoric's importance from *Partida* II.4.ii, emphasising that when his speech is authoritative, a king may have the means to move the hearts of his listeners.[173] Despite not citing pseudo-Aristotle explicitly in his discussion of rhetoric, Alfonso's advice that a king speak neither too loudly nor too weakly is clearly similar to that of the *Secretum secretorum* and the second *Partida*. A

---

[169] 'Segun dixieron los sabios palabra es cosa que quando es dicha verdaderamente muestra con ella aquel que la dice lo que tiene en el corazon...Et sobre esta razon fabló Aristóteles al rey Alexandre como en manera de castigo, quandol dixo que non conviene á rey de ser muy fablador, nin que dexiese á muy grandes voces lo que hobiese de decir, fueras ende en lugar do conviniese.' Ed. (Real Academia de la Historia 1807, Vol. 2, 21), trans. (Scott and Burns 2001, Vol. 2, 283).

[170] (Forster 2006, XI.2), 'O Alexander, quam speciosum est et honorificum in rege abstinere se a multiloquio, nisi necessitas hoc deposcat.' Ed. (Steele 1920, 49), 'O Alexander, how good it is and honourable when a king refrains himself from speaking too much, unless great need require it.' My translation.

[171] (Vanderford 1945, 27).

[172] (Ibid., 29–30), in which Alfonso addresses the arts of grammar and dialectic.

[173] Ed. (Vanderford 1945, 30–1).

similar instance to this appears in the advice for tutors in an earlier part of the second *Partida* (II.7.vii).[174]

This is significant since it highlights how rhetoric was ingrained into the process of learning at the Alfonsine court via texts that drew inspiration both from Cicero, and from other rhetoricians. Mentioning a wide range of rhetoricians as *auctores* also had political significance, demonstrating the wise king's right to rule as an intellectually superior being, familiar with scholarly texts. Although Aristotle is cited less frequently than Cicero, his mentions in the *Partidas* and *Setenario* showed perhaps a higher level of rhetorical appreciation and understanding in Spain than elsewhere in the Christian West. Significant translations from Arabic texts at the Toledo school of translators surely aided such awareness. However, the relative novelty of these newly found Aristotelian texts would also have been an obvious motivation for Alfonso mentioning them in the first place. Such works were valued owing to their relative rarity within the Christian West. Here, the wise king could demonstrate his advanced erudition and intellectual right to rule not only to his courtiers, but also beyond the court to foreign neighbours.

In this brief survey, I have demonstrated the fundamental role that rhetoric had in both late-medieval Spain, and in the social environment of the Alfonsine court. As part of the *trivium*, rhetoric was a crux of basic education in the numerous literate institutions that proliferated throughout the realm. As a monarch who cultivated a learned society at court both for practical and political ends, rhetoric then assumed a central function. In a world dominated by the seven liberal arts, rhetoric would have been applied to the interpretation and composition of texts both consciously and subconsciously. Consciously, because learned societies used rhetorical understanding

[174] Ed. (Real Academia de la Historia 1807, Vol. 2, 49–50), trans. (Scott and Burns 2001, Vol. 2, 304).

as a marker of prestige; subconsciously, because such intensely ingrained attitudes would have been manifested as part of a natural compositional language. How these ideas might have been subsumed into dictaminal texts is obvious, given the clear transmission patterns established above. Transmitting rhetoric into a body of vernacular song that combines linear narrative and circular structure is perhaps less discernable.

2.iii: The Place of Rhetoric in the *CSM*

The Classical art of rhetoric and its influence on late-medieval vernacular song would be too broad a field to consider in its entirety.[175] In this section I demonstrate how rhetorical precepts—in particular, the rules of *dispositio*—were applied to the songs of the *CSM*, both in their composition and possible interpretation. Rhetoric consisted not only of stylistic gestures—*elocutio*—for which the art is better known today. Rather, rhetorical theory as taught under the *ars dictaminis* and *ars praedicandi* consisted of five canons that were derived from the Ciceronian texts: namely, *inventio* (discovery of arguments), *dispositio* (arrangement), *elocutio* (style), *memoria* (memory) and *pronuntiatio* (delivery).[176] The canon of *dispositio* and its application to thirteenth-century song repertory will be the main focus here, given that the clash between a linear *cantiga de miragre* narrative and a cyclical song form poses complications specifically in the arrangement of a miracle story. Within *dispositio*, I focus on three components—the *exordium*, *narratio* and *peroratio*—which I argue are the most relevant for the linear *cantiga de miragre* narrative. Although the majority of texts from the later Middle Ages display elements of opening, laying out and summarising, I argue that the

[175] Although rhetorical teaching and its relevance to vernacular song in the Christian West have been considered extensively elsewhere. See (Akehurst and Davis 1984, 400–20), (Spence 1988), (Spence 1999), (Spence 2007), (Leach 2010).
[176] *De inventione*, I.7, ed. and trans. (Hubbell 1949, 18-21), *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, I.2.iii, ed. and trans. (Caplan 1954, 6–7).

features of the rhetorical *exordium*, *narratio* and *peroratio* are formalised through following strict stylistic criteria. Evidence of such criteria being deployed are as apparent in the *cantiga de miragre* as in the speeches described by Cicero, Aristotle, and other antique rhetoricians.

Ciceronian parts of an oration	**Bolognese 'approved format' for a letter**
Exordium	*Salutatio*, or formal vocative greeting to addressee, followed by *Captatio benevolentiae*, or introduction.
Narratio	*Narratio*, or narration of circumstances leading to petition.
Divisio	[Omitted]
Confirmatio	*Petitio*, or presentation of requests.
Refutatio	[Omitted]
Peroratio	*Conclusio*, or final part.

Fig. 2.i (above): Comparison between a Ciceronian six-part *oratio* and the Bolognese 'approved format' of the *ars dictaminis*.

Dispositio, or rules for the marshalling of arguments within a speech, is mentioned as early as Aristotle's *Rhetoric*. Its lays out each of the four main divisions at great length as *exordium* (*προοίμιον*), statement (*πρόθεσις*), proof (*πίστις*) and epilogue (*ἐπίλογος*) in its final book (III.13.4–III.19.6).[177] Meanwhile, Ciceronian rhetoric frames the speech into six parts: namely, the *exordium* (introduction), *narratio* (narration), *partitio* (division), *confirmatio* (proof), *refutatio* (refutation) and *peroratio* (conclusion).[178] The most commonly consulted late-medieval authority, Cicero's *De inventione*, lists these sections explicitly after discussing the significance of *inventio* (I.13).[179] The remainder of *De inventione*'s first book addresses each of these sections in turn with a detailed summary.

[177] Ed. and trans. (Freese 1926, 426–7).
[178] (Murphy 2005, 2).
[179] Ed. and trans. (Caplan 1954, 38–41).

This is mirrored in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, in which the writer establishes how *inventio* can only be learned through the strictures of *dispositio* and its six divisions, again occupying the majority of its first book (I.2.iii).[180]

While the Ciceronian six divisions remained influential in the teaching of *dispositio*, late-medieval *ars dictaminis* treatises did not advocate this method consistently. Hugh of Bologna, Adalbert of Samaria and other members of the Bolognese tradition of dictaminial treatises advocated a five-part format (**Fig. 2.i**, above), which Murphy regards as an adaptation from the Ciceronian six-part *oratio*. This is relevant since it shows that medieval writers were more than ready to shape the Ciceronian strictures to suit their own everyday needs. Along with the *ars dictaminis*, the Classical art of rhetorical *dispositio* was readily incorporated—and further altered—into the practical fields of the *ars praedicandi* and *ars poetria*, including into vernacular poetry. As I demonstrate in the remaining sections of this chapter, the standardised linearity of the miracle narrative provides a suitable framework to accommodate a Ciceronian *dispositio*, even when compromised by the circularity of the *cantiga de miragre* form. The main sections of a *cantiga* narrative, I argue, relate to the Classical *exordium*, *narratio* and *peroratio*, and I divide the remainder of this chapter thematically following each of these structural divisions.

2.iii.1: *Exordium*

A large proportion of *cantigas* display a consistent scheme for introducing material in the first one or two strophes, and these opening strophes often parallel the *exordia* of Classical Antiquity and the *ars dictaminis*. The writer of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* outlines that the *exordium*'s purpose is to render the listener attentive, and that this can be done subtly (*insinuatio*) or directly (*quod Graece* '*prooemium*' *appellatur*), depending

[180] Ed. and trans. (Ibid., 8–9).

on whether the listener has been persuaded by the speaker's opponent or not (I.4.vi).[181] In the *De inventione*, Cicero lays out the purpose of *exordia* by faulting those who make them too general (*vulgare*), common (*commune*), interchangeable (*commutabile*), tedious (*longum*), unconnected (*translatum*) and out of place (*contra praecepta*). He continues by arguing that such *exordia* would rail against common rhetorical principles, namely, '[they render] the audience neither well-disposed, nor attentive, nor receptive, or [produce] the opposite result' (I.18.xxvi).[182]

The interrelations between the opening of each *cantiga de miragre* and the Classical *exordium* is complicated, since the *cantiga de miragre*'s opening strophes do not necessarily represent their beginning. Each *cantiga de miragre* begins with a rubric that outlines the basic narrative of each song, followed by the initial statement of the refrain. Rodríguez argues that the rubrics form a sub-narrative in their own right, presenting 'an anticipatory summary of the narrative, a synopsis focussed on the presentation of human characters and their actions'.[183] The initial iteration of the refrain and the first strophe, then, form a second sub-narrative, which 'suggests an anticipation of the principal part of the narrative: the narrative in its strictest sense that comprises the climax or final argumental point'.[184] While Rodríguez is correct in arguing for these sub-narratives having 'complete sense in themselves', I would argue that her second sub-narrative is further divided between the refrain and first strophe, since the former must return throughout the main narrative in the succeeding strophes. How then could a *cantiga de miragre* opening—subdivided between rubrics, opening strophes, and

[181] Ed. and trans. (Caplan 1954, 10-3).
[182] Ed. and trans. (Hubbell 1949, 52–3). See also comparable passages in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (I.4.vii), ed. and trans. (Caplan 1954, 12–6).
[183] (Rodríguez 2011, 7), 'un resumen anticipatorio de la historia, una sinopsis centrada de la presentación de los personajes humanos y sus acciones'. My translation.
[184] (Ibid., 7), 'supone una anticipación de una parte nuclear de la historia: el milagro propiamente dicho que constituye el clímax o último nudo argumental'. My translation.

returning refrains—ally itself with the simple, unadulterated *exordium* of the Classical *oratio*?

Rather than problematising the *exordium*'s integration into the *cantiga de miragre*, I see instead the web of sub-narratives in the *cantiga*'s opening strophes as parameters that encourage the Classical structure to be moulded. The malleability of the Ciceronian *exordium* was far from unprecedented: as the Bolognese dictaminal treatises attest, the Classical *exordium* subsumed both a *salutatio* (formal vocative greeting) and the *captatio benevolentiae* (introduction), as seen earlier in **Fig. 2.i**. In his dictaminal treatise, John of Garland allows for a broad definition of the *exordium*, incorporating both the Bolognese *salutatio* and *captatio benevolentiae* as everything that precedes the main narrative story (IV.96–7).[185] In keeping with any text written under the rules of the *ars poetriae*, a *cantiga de miragre* would incorporate elements of the *exordium*, but with the understood notion that elements of the narrative summary would need to be reiterated later, as following the form's structural demands. However, such a reiterative structure provides an obvious affordance for the incorporation of praise, moralistic messages or exhortations. Far from detracting from a conventional *dispositio*, the reiteration of a narrative summary, a proclamation of divine providence, or a moral encouragement could instead strengthen the moral message of a song's narrative.

The *exordium*'s role of introducing is also partially realised through the style—or *elocutio*—of the passage. Garland offers several stylistic examples according to high and low registers. He states that the exordium can begin with a proverb or proverbial reference (IV.24–43, **Fig. 2.ii.1**), an example (IV.44–49), a comparison (IV.50–56, **Fig. 2.ii.2**), a similitude (IV.57–64) or a conditional mood (IV.65–72, **Fig. 2.ii.3**), or with particular words such as 'since' or 'while'. When compared with opening strophes of

[185] Ed. and trans. (Lawler 1974, 62–3).

the *CSM*—as for the six cases in **Figs. 2.ii.1–3**—it is clear that the cases from Garland's treatise below share similar stylistic patterns. The similarities between Garland's models and the *CSM* examples suggest not that the *Parisiana poetria* was a direct rhetorical prototype; rather, that there existed common knowledge as to how texts should be introduced. These methods for opening speeches, books, or poems borrowed structural and stylistic techniques from Classical as well as more recent rhetorical sources. Such borrowings may have been interpreted through late-medieval—and, specifically, Christian—lenses. Nevertheless, their adoption of antique rhetorical ideas suggests the influence of Ciceronian views on the nature of the *exordium*.

Fig. 2.ii.1 (below): Use of the proverb in the *Parisiana poetria* and the *CSM*.

> The First Way of Beginning: with a Proverb. If you begin with a proverb—and it ought to be genuine, not made up—suppose it has two verbs; build your narration around the connotations of the first verb by repeating after the proverb that same verb, or its general sense. Then develop your subject to a conclusion, and in the conclusion put the last verb, or the general sense of that verb.
>
> IV.24–9.[186]

	Case 1: CSM 382 (**App. 39**)		**Case 2:** CSM 4 (**App. 2**)
R1	**Verdad' éste a paravoa**	**R1**	**A Madre do que livrou**
R2	**que disse Rey Salamon**	**R2**	**dos leões Daniel,**
R3	**que dos reys as voontades**	**R3**	**essa do fogo guardou**
R4	**enas mãos de Deus son.**	**R4**	**un menÿo d' Irrael.**

[186] Ed. and trans. (Ibid., 58–9).

Fig. 2.ii.2 (below): Use of the comparison in the *Parisiana poetria* and the *CSM*.

> The Third Way: with a Comparison. You can also begin a letter with a comparison that will shed light on the narration. For example, a king may say to some knight:
>
> As the tips of flame rage in a furnace, so the heat of wrath and the forge of indignation shall flame out in our breast until the Knight G. be punished as we desire for the affronts he has committed against us.
>
> IV.50–6.[187]

	Case 1: CSM 13 (**App. 4**)		**Case 2:** CSM 147 (**App. 17**)
R1	**Assi como Jesu-Cristo,**	**R1**	**A Madre do que a bestia**
R2	**estand' ena cruz, salvou**	**R2**	**de Ballam falar fez**
R3	**un ladron, assi sa Madre**	**R3**	**ar fez pois hũa ovella**
R4	**outro de morte livrou.**	**R4**	**ela falar hũa vez.**

Fig. 2.ii.3 (below): Use of the conditional mood in the *Parisiana poetria* and the *CSM*.

> The Fifth Way: with a Conditional. Begin with a conditional in this manner: 'If the laws of the wise man keep silence, nothing is left safe among men'; and go on from there in whatever direction the subject matter demands'.
>
> IV.65–7.[188]

	Case 1: CSM *238* (**App. 23**)		**Case 2**: CSM *237* (**App. 22**)
R1	**O que viltar quer a Virgen**	**R1**	**Se ben ena Virgen fia[r]**
R2	**de que Deus carne fillou,**	**R2**	**o peccador sabudo,**
R3	**se pois del filla vinga[nç', a]**	**R3**	**querrá-o na morte guardar**
R4	**maravilla nono dou.**	**R4**	**que non seja perdudo.**

[187] Ed. and trans. (Ibid., 60–1).
[188] Ed. and trans (Lawler 1974, 60–1).

The *exordium* has a further role: namely, making listeners receptive and willing to listen, as highlighted in the passages referenced above from the *De inventione* and *Rhetorica ad Herennium*. This exhortation to the reader or listener is laid out quite literally in the initial strophes of most *cantigas de miragre*. In opening strophes the narrator states his wish to narrate ('E daquest' un gran miragre / vos quer' eu ora contar, / que fezo Santa Maria / por un monge, que rogar-', CSM 103, 1.1–4).[189] This commonly comes with an account as to where the miracle was located ('per com' eu escrit' achey / se me quiserdes oyr.' CSM 59, 1.5–6), how the narrator set it to song ('que foi e é gran verdade, / ca por as[s]i o achei / provad'; e porende quero / del un bon cantar fazer', CSM 361, 1.5–8; 'de que fiz cantiga nova / con son meu, ca non allẽo, / que fez a que nos [a]mostra / por yr a Deus muitas vias', CSM 347, 1.5–8) or emphasising its existence in written form ('Un miragre desto que escrit' achei / en un livr' antigo vos ora direi', CSM 265, 1.1–2).[190]

Further tropes for these opening strophes are an urging on the part of the narrator that the listeners pay attention to the song and its message ('e vos punnad' en oý-lo / por aquel que pod' e val, / ca per ele saberedes / Santa Maria guardar', CSM 316, 1.5–8; 'na ygreja do Porto; / e quem mi oyr quiser / direi-lle com' avẽo, / se mio ben ascoitar.', CSM 372, 1.5–8) and not to think of anything else that may distract them from the main narrative ('a Virgen Santa Maria, / ond' aqueste cantar fiz; / e por Déus, parad' y mentes / e non faledes en al.', CSM 266, 1.5–8).[191] All of these tropes create stylistic conventions of the *cantiga de miragre*'s own *exordium* that mirror those laid out in the passage above from the *Rhetorica vetus*.

[189] **App. 14**.
[190] **App. 9**, **App. 27**, **App. 34**, **App. 37**.
[191] **App. 28**, **App. 32**, **App. 38**.

2.iii.2: *Narratio*

Following the *exordium*, a *cantiga de miragre* proceeds to the central process of *narratio*. The *narratio* is where the vital components of the miracle narrative are profiled in a coherent manner—typically in the central strophes—and this in turn precedes the final strophes of praise (to be discussed later in section **2.iii.3**, under *peroratio*). The Classical *narratio* is 'an exposition of events that have occurred or are supposed to have occurred' (*De inventione*, I.19).[192] Speaking from a legal standpoint, Cicero argues here that comprehensibility of the *narratio* is crucial in convincing members of a jury. Cicero's calls for clear, directed, convincing narrative are also taken up in poetry treatises in the later Middle Ages. John of Garland's *Parisiana poetria*, for example, reiterates these passages when talking of the types of narrative ('De speciebus narrationum', V.303–32).[193] Meanwhile, Thierry of Chartres (I.4.v) glosses over the same passages in his commentary on the *De inventione* (I.19).[194]

In the *cantigas de miragre* too there is clear borrowing of the Ciceronian *narratio*. Sequences of events tend to be linear to aid clear understanding, with a coherent division of ideas according to strophe and strophe section. This is in keeping with Cicero's ideas of periodic rhythm from his mature works, which existed only in part in the later thirteenth century. Statements from *De oratore* are enlightening: Cicero claims that 'if a continuous flow of verbiage unrelieved by intervals must be considered rough and unpolished, what other reason is there to reject it except that nature herself modulates the voice to gratify the ear of mankind?' To Cicero, the only way that such texts can be saved is if they contain 'an element of rhythm' (III.48.clxxxv).[195] Rhythm in this sense—Cicero argues—is a way of dividing up, or making a break in the periodic

[192] Ed. and trans. (Hubbell 1949, 54–5).
[193] Ed. and trans. (Lawler 1974, 98–101).
[194] Ed. (Fredborg 1988, 69), trans. (Copeland and Sluite 2009, 428–9).
[195] Ed. and trans. (Rackham 1942, 148–9).

structure of the work, 'for "period" is the Greek name for these turning-points of speech'. (III.48.clxxxvi).[196] Such periodicity is easily perceived by listeners, 'for everybody is able to discriminate between what is right and what wrong in matters of art and proportion by a sort of subconscious instinct' (III.48.clxxxviii).[197] Ideas both of periodicity and innate structure are clearly mirrored in the self-contained nature of the poetic strophe itself. This is because strophes function within a poem or song as a way of dividing up a text, in a way analogous to how Cicero suggests in *De oratore*. The way to achieve this, Cicero reasons in the *Orator*, is to 'make fair "porches" and gorgeous approaches to [one's] narration. And when [one] has gained attention by the introduction, [they] will establish [their] own case, refute and parry the opponent's argument, choosing the strongest points for the opening and closing, and inserting the weaker points in between.' (XV.49).[198] For Cicero, as with the poets of the *CSM*, a long *narratio* is rationalised not only by its linearity, but also by its periodic division into units of sense—that is, by the strophe.

Yet the *narratio* is also precisely where narrative difficulties occur. The sense of period to which Cicero alludes in a legal *dispositio* does not work alongside a strophic structure that also alternates with refrains, as with the *cantiga de miragre*. The refrain that interrupts the linear narrative of the *cantiga* has nothing to do with its plot in real time. Furthermore, such an intermission raises the likelihood of the preceding strophe's significant details being forgotten.[199] In the remainder of this section I

[196] Ed. and trans. (Ibid., 148–9). In the same passage, Cicero continues by arguing that 'the later clauses must…be equal to the preceding ones, and the last ones to the first'.
[197] Ed. and trans. (Ibid., 154–5).
[198] Ed. and trans., (Hubbell 1952, 342–3).
[199] Contemporary literature indicates that refrains were frequently associated with interruption or breaking, particularly in genres such as the *chanson avec des refrains*. In her analysis of Jaufre Rudel's 'Qan lo rius de la fontana' (PC 262–5), Peraino notes mentions of returning and refining of both the nightingale and lover's songs ('e·l rossignoletz el ram / volv e refraing et aplana / son doutz chanter, et afina / dreitz es q' ieu lo mieu refraigna', 1.4–7). While 'refraing' refers ostensibly to repeating and tempering of melody, Peraino notes its derivation from the Latin 'frangere' (to break, separate, shatter), mirroring themes of

illustrate the ways the *cantiga de miragre* navigates such a 'back-and-forth' structure, via a memorially marked section within each strophe.

2.iii.2.i: Memorially Marked Narrative Ordering

The *cantiga de miragre*'s strophe is typified by a sonic sense of turning back: a vacillation between the familiar, and the less familiar. Specifically, the first section of the strophe contains melodic and poetic material that—in contrast to recapped sections—initially seems sonically less familiar. Even when recapped and non-recapped sections have been heard multiple times, these first sections of strophes are heard as a contrast to the more sonically tenacious latter sections. Meanwhile, sonic elements recapped from the refrain fall in the second section of the strophe. Since there is a general pattern of recapped refrain material at the ends of strophes, these sections acquire a memorially marked status.[200] This conforms to an ordering of narrative material in the strophe: in short, narratively significant material is demarcated and made sonically distinctive by being located in latter sections of strophes that recap refrain material. I summarise this visually in **Fig. 2.iii**, below.

The significance of the memorially marked sections of a *cantiga de miragre* should not be underestimated, since memory is the fourth pillar of the Classical art of rhetoric. Memory is discussed in the third book of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (III.16–24), in which the writer gives advice to the speech giver in the memorisation of their *oratio*.[201] Here, the author indicates how the listener too can be made more receptive by a memorable speech (III.23).[202] This general statement on the use of memory in the

separation in the song's theme of 'amor de lonh' (love from a distant land). See (Peraino 2011, 38–42) and {Hollander, 1985 #1978}.

[200] For a fuller explanation of how strophe-end recap acquires its memorially marked nature, see section **3.ii**.

[201] Ed. and trans. (Caplan 1954, 205–25).

[202] Ed. and trans. (Ibid., 205–25).

spoken word applies specifically to the orator in a Classical, legal context, and is adopted wholesale into the late-medieval rhetorical training of the *ars dictaminis*. Rhetoric as taught in the medieval *ars praedicandi* also applied the pillar of *memoria*, both as an active and receptive tool: that is, *ars praedicandi* treatises advised just as much on how to make speeches memorable to auditors, as to how a priest should memorise a sermon. Thomas of Chobham's *Summa de arte praedicandi*, for instance, emphasises how words must not only be intelligible to a congregation, but also resonate with them so that they can predict what the priest will say. Creating a sermon with anticipatory power, Thomas argues, means that its messages are likely to be better internalised (VII.2.ii).[203]

	Structure	**Narrative**
Refrain 0	**A**: Unfamiliar	**A**: Moralistic
Strophe 1	**B**: Unfamiliar	**B:** *Exordium*, inessential
	A^{I}: More familiar, expecting	**C**: Novel, hence significant
Refrain 1	**A**: Same as Refrain 0	**A**: Moralistic
Strophe 2	**B**: Less familiar	**C^{I}**: Rephrased C, hence inessential
	A^{I}: More familiar, expecting	**D**: Novel, hence significant
Refrain 2	**A**: Same as Refrain 0-1	**A**: Moralistic
Strophe 3	**B**: Less familiar	**D^{I}**: Rephrased D, hence inessential
	A^{I}: More familiar, expecting	**E**: Novel, hence significant
Refrain 3	**A**: Same as Refrain 0-2	**A**: Moralistic

Fig.2.iii (above)**:** Simplified hypothetical model showing links between a *cantiga de miragre*'s musical-poetic structure and narrative across three strophes from the perspective of a listener. Novel and significant material is consistently allied with recapped refrain material, and has hence acquired memorially marked status. See section **3.ii** for a fuller analysis of strophe-end recap.

[203] Ed. (Morenzoni 1988, 296–7), trans. (Copeland and Sluite 2009, 632).

Such memorially marked signposts were incorporated into the metricised and rhymed structures of poetry, although as Chapter 3 demonstrates, this practice is more obvious through analysis than by reading explicitly codified medieval theory. For instance, Gálvez has highlighted how in the *estribote* structure of the *Libro de buen amor*, 'the association of each stanzaic rhyme…with the refrain…shifts the *estribillo*'s meaning after each stanza according to the new progression of the narrative'.[204] She goes on to underline how the concatenation of refrain and final line rhymes furnish additional meaning and reflective power between the crucifixion theme of the passage's refrain ('Mis ojos non verán luz / pues perdido he a Cruz.', 115–7) and the more sensual love of the associated strophes.[205]

In a similar way, the *cantiga de miragre*'s structure controls a linear story by parsing narratively novel passages and aligning them with sonically memorable strophe sections. Narrative material that is being mentioned or described for the first time—and which is therefore novel and significant—is typically located towards the ends of strophes, where the recapped refrain material makes it sonically distinctive. On the other hand, narrative sections that have been repeated—i.e., which have lost their novelty—are located in sections that do not recap the refrain melody and/or poetic form. These narratively superfluous sections are often distinguished by opening formulae such as 'pois que' and 'quand' est', and usually followed by past participles, signifying something that has been completed ('feito') or said ('dito'). This enforces a further distinction—grammatical this time—between past participles in the first sections of strophes, and the narratively dynamic use of third person preterite in the later memorially marked sections (i.e., 'fezo', 'fezerán').

[204] *Estribote* refers to the poetic form aa|(bbbaa|aa) within the *Libro de buen amor*, and *estribillo* signifies the refrain section within this form.
[205] (Galvez 2012, 49–50).

This structure also differentiates the narratively crucial from the redundant. Unnecessary material that merely qualifies something beyond its fundamental narrative value is typically situated in the initial sections of strophes. Typical instances include glorification of characters, such as the Virgin Mary ('Virgen, Madre de Deus', 'Virgen, que é Sennor de gran prez'), rhetorical gestures, like 'com apres ei', or subjective, personal accounts of the narrator in the first-person singular ('quero contar'). Often these are placed so as to suit the rhyme scheme, normally occupying at least an entire line. They then allow more narratively decisive material to align with the start of a new poetic line. More significant narrative content in the sections of recapped refrain material is demarcated by introductory phrases ('e ouve de', 'e lóg'), which commonly accentuate the sudden nature of the event, often falling at the opening of lines. Key narrative agents—and their direct speech—also typically emerge at the beginning of lines, occurring at the recap of the refrain's melody and/or poetic material. They thereby stress the narrative significance of a particular character and their actions.

In the examples that follow I demonstrate how new and crucial material is sited in the sonically tenacious recap of refrain melody and rhymes that are conventionally placed at the end of strophes. While the barriers between the following criteria are fluid, I thematise the given examples by ones that best illustrate division according to novelty, significance, and speech.

2.iii.2.ii: Narrative Novelty

CSM 113 **(App.** 15**)** is a *cantiga de miragre* set at the Benedictine Monestir de Santa Maria de Montserrat, which is located on the side of the Montserrat mountain near Barcelona. It tells of how the Virgin of Montserrat protected its ancient monastery from a large rock that fell from the cliff face above. This *cantiga de miragre* is a clear example

of a condensed narrative form that lacks an opening strophe devoted entirely to an *exordium*. Strophe 1 transitions between an opening introductory quartet of lines 1.1–4, and the concluding lines 1.5–6, which initiate the *narratio*. As such, its opening strophe clearly demarcates between the conventional yet narratively superfluous *exordium*, and the crucial opening *narratio*. Lines 1.1–4 state the narrator's wish to recount the tale ('Desto direi un miragre', 1.1) and the location of the miracle, yet the two lines that are narratively key—i.e., that mention the rock's descent—fall in lines 1.5–6. The return of the refrain melody in the first strophe thus sets about a pattern of association whereby memorially marked melodic and rhyme-related material is allied with continuance of the miracle's plot.

This final pair of lines is sonically akin to the refrain in its adoption of eight metrical feet. These are distinct from lines 1–4, which function as two-line pairs of 16 syllables each.[206] Likewise, both lines 5 and 6 adopt the 'a' rhyme of the refrain and recap the melodies of R3 and R4, as opposed to the quadruple reiteration of R2-derived melodic material in strophe lines 1 to 4. The sonic result when performed is four melodically stunted lines with an ambitus that—relative to the rest of the song—is limited within a narrower range of *C* to *a*. Their repetitive nature makes this section familiar yet unremarkable. In contrast, the arrival of lines 5 to 6—with their recap of lines R3 and R4, the full *C* to *d* ambitus, and the '-er' verbal infinitive rhymes—comes as an anticipated and uplifting return.

The first strophe includes the speaker's stated will to narrate, and specifies the location of the miracle. These are relegated to the longer, less sonically distinctive lines 1.1–4. A new clause states the subject of the miracle—that is, the stone losing its place on the cliff, initiated by 'dũa pena'—at the outset of the complete melodic return of the

[206] Lines 1 and 3 do not rhyme consistently. Mettmann categorises these as sub-lines in his edition, (Mettmann 1959–72, Vol. 2 (1961), 33–4).

refrain in line 1.3. In strophe 2, the continuation of this event is given in lines 2.1–4: the stone, having begun to fall at the end of strophe 1 ('e [ar] leixou-sse caer', 1.4), merely continues in its downward gravitational plunge ('Esta caeu en tal guisa,', 2.1), endlessly falling through the interminably long two lines of the strophe. Interesting yet narratively redundant material—a hypothetical statement, qualified by the subjunctive 'podéra' that, were the stone to fall on any church, it would destroy it no matter how well built a building ('que podera a eigreja / toda tan toste destroir', 2.3–4)—is located in the first half of the strophe. Instead, the return to lines 5 and 6 is met with the reassurance that, despite these hypothetical fears, God did not in fact let such a thing happen ('mais Deus non quis esto sofrer', 2.6). In summary, the refrain melody's return offers the sonic recall that propels its listeners to ally it with dramatic action and novelty.

A similar instance is CSM 232 (**App. 20**), looking from strophe 2. This song tells of a knight who loses his pet goshawk while out on a hunt. After bringing a waxen figure of the bird to the Virgin's church in Villa-Sirga, his pet is miraculously returned to him. Here there is a clear division between that which has already been mentioned—and which is therefore dramatically superfluous—always relegated to lines 1 to 4. Conversely, the fundamental elements of the plot appear consistently from lines 5 or 6 of each strophe. We therefore hear a continuous alteration between the new and meaningful, and the established and inessential. In strophe 2 the reader first learns of the goshawk's skills in the strophe's latter half ('que era fremos' e bõo, / demais era sabedor', 2.5–6). In the same final pair of lines in the following strophe the reader then learns that while hunting, the hunter lost it one day ('e un dia, pois jantar, / foi con el fillar perdizes / e ouve-o de perder.', 3.6–8). Note, meanwhile, that the two preceding lines are merely an elaboration of the positive qualities listed about the bird, i.e., that it is handsome and a good flier ('era mui fremoso / e ar sabia voar', 3.1–2).

Strophe 4 reiterates that the goshawk is lost ('mais per ren nono achou;', 4.2), but the final four lines increase the narrative drive by mentioning the hunting party sent out to find the bird, coinciding again with the memorially marked second section ('busca-lo a muitas partes,', 4.5). This material is reiterated in the following four lines of the next strophe, after which the plot develops by the hunter resolving to take the waxen figure to Villa-Sirga ('e con coita mandou cera / fillar e disso assy: / «Faça-m' un açor daquesta, / ca o quer' yr offerer', 5.5–8). The following strophe includes stock repetitive phrases, such as a reaffirmation that such an act will result in the miracle occurring ('ca sey / que sse eu aquesto fazo, / que meu açor acharei.', 6.2–4). This material is dramatically inessential, and hence is primarily located in the less sonically tenacious first part of the strophe. The knight carrying out his pilgrimage, again in lines 5 to 8 of strophe 6, is made more dynamic by the use of the emphatic 'lógo'. The entreaty to the Virgin in strophe 7 divides essential and non-essential direct speech: while the words of the hunter are introduced in line 3, this material initially includes an address to Mary as Merciful Virgin, and Mother of God ('«Piadosa / Virgen [e] Madre de Deus', 7.3–4). In fact, the actual substance and entreaty in the prayer is only revealed in the sonically distinctive second half of the strophe, 'mostra dos miragres teus / por que meu açor non perça, / ca ben o podes fazer.', 7.6–8.[207]

The final strophe in the main *narratio* includes material that re-establishes the preceding storyline. These passages are useful after the interpolating refrain that would have interrupted the narrative flow. For instance, we hear again that this deed has been achieved in 8.1 with the initiating clause 'Pois que'. This passage serves to

[207] Notable here is that points of narrative and new syntactical units drive frequently align with line 6 of strophes (i.e., in all cases save strophes 1 and 5). These units do not align directly with the introduction of strophe-end recap in lines 5–6. Nevertheless, the principle stands that moments of narrative emphasis appear in memorially marked sections. Moreover, the gradual introduction of strophe-end recap that is central to its sense of play may better complement the staggered or delayed entry of narratively central material.

prepare for the inevitable revelation of the miracle: the hunter returns home ('ar tornou-ss' enton / a ssa casa u morava,', 8.2–3), but with no indication that the miracle has actually happened, for he is still crying ('chorando de coraçon;', 8.4). It is only at the beginning of line 5, where the refrain melody returns, that the following clause denotes the prayer as successful. The hunter opens the door to his house and discovers the goshawk on his perch ('e viu seu açor na vara / u xe soya põer.', 8.7–8). The opening of the door ('e pois entrou pela porta,', 8.5) acts as a clear bridge between that which is non-evident from outside the house, and which is only revealed once the metaphorical door has been opened to the audience, revealing the miracle that has occurred. This revelation is just as apparent to the song's audience in real time, as to the huntsman in the miracle: the musical-poetic structure thus organises narrative flow as much for the characters in the miracle as for the listeners to the song.

2.iii.2.iii: Narrative Significance

In addition to emphasising the novel, the memorially marked refrain melody works within the strophes of a *cantiga de miragre* to highlight the narratively significant. This may include specification of noteworthy agents and locations, or highlighting their redeeming features in contradistinction to their more negative qualities. CSM 225 (**App. 19**), for example, tells the story of a prelate who miraculously survives after swallowing a spider from the communion chalice. This song is particularly notable in using strophe 1's second half to clarify location ('dentro en Cidad-Rodrigo.', 1.7). It also deploys the same section of the following strophe to elucidate its non-Marian agent and his defining attribute of always saying the Virgin's mass ('que dizia senpre missa / da Madre do Rei Celeste; / e porque a ben cantava,', 2.5-7). Like CSM 113, then, it demarcates the transfer from *exordium* to *narratio* sonically, acting as an auditory guide to the recollective capabilities of the listeners.

The sections set to strophe lines 1 to 4 coincide in both instances with stock *exordium* material—namely the narrator's wish to relate the story ('un gran miragre / vos sera per mi contado,', 1.1–2), a promise of its interest ('e d' oir marvilloso,', 1.3), and a final instruction to pay attention ('pois oyde-o de grado,', 1.4) in the first strophe. This is restated in the equivalent location of the second strophe: the narrator stating for a second time his will to narrate is given in 2.3 ('o que vos contarei ora'), preceded by a further promise of its interest to the audience over the others they have presumably already heard ('Ontr' os outros que oystes,', 2.1). The specification that the main character is a priest falls at the end of line 2.4 ('que avẽo a un preste'), yet its position at the end of the line means that it coincides with the rhyme. It is thus made sonically distinctive in anticipation of the character's development through the *narratio* of the following line.

CSM 348 (**App. 35**) offers a comparable situation. It tells of a conveniently anonymous king (but evidently Alfonso X himself) who is recompensed for writing songs to the Virgin by the miraculous appearance of some buried gold and silver. The shift from *exordium* to *narratio*—and the introduction of the main protagonist—is instigated not only by the preposition 'contra' at the beginning of line 1.5, but also by the grammatical shift from first person future verbs ('direi', 1.1) to third person preterite ('levava', 1.6). As in the cases already seen, this occurs at the recap of the refrain melody and its familiar *E* and *C* tonal terminations.

In several of the *cantigas de miragre*, there is an even more condensed introduction. These introductory sections often merge with the *exordium*, providing overviews of the *narratio* while lacking non-essential features, such as the narrator's wish to speak. One case is CSM 117 (**App. 16**), which tells of a woman who is reprimanded by the Virgin for sewing on the Sabbath day, despite her promise not to. Rather than introduce the miracle from the narrator's voice, the audience is directed

straight to the main *narratio* with the introductory phrase 'Dest' un fremoso miragre', 1.1. This *cantiga* is of such shortened dimensions—only seven strophes—that elements frequently considered crucial to the narrative (i.e., the protagonist) are downgraded to the less sonically distinctive line 1.2 ('por hũa mollér que jurad' avia'). Rather, the woman's act of not doing work ('que non fezesse no sabado obra sabuda', 1.3) is considered more narratively significant than the woman's identity. It thus sets about an association between refrain recap and narrative thrust for the remainder of the miracle.

2.iii.2.iv: Direct Speech in Narrative

The division between memorially marked and non-memorially marked melody and rhyme is also mirrored in how direct speech is presented. Frequently, significant direct speech is given prime place in the sonically tenacious second sections of strophes. While this is not achieved as consistently as the prioritisation of novel or critical narrative, a clear majority of *cantigas de miragre* present direct speech that is narratively substantial—particularly that which furthers the plot—at the recap of the refrain rhymes and melody. While direct speech does materialise throughout *cantiga de miragre* narratives, in those replete with direct speech there is often a clear ordering of essential and non-essential material. Such is the case of CSM 305 (**App. 31**), which tells the tale of a poor woman who seeks a loan from a moneylender. When the moneylender offers to lend as many coins as are equal in weight to her certificate of confession, the woman begrudgingly accepts. The certificate miraculously weighs more than an entire fortune, since it was issued because of her faith in the Virgin.

Lines 7.1–4 reiterate descriptive material that has already been heard in strophe 6, identifying the moneychanger as primary agent, and detailing his wealth of various coins ('E ynda daquestes novos / e dos pretos e da Guerra;', 7.1–2). The direct speech, introduced by 'El disse:', falls at the beginning of line 7.5—not only because it is direct

speech, but also because it is narratively novel, and therefore extends the plot. This pattern of restating material in the first half of the following strophe is continued in strophe 8: here, the moneychanger's statement that he will verify the woman's letter falls in 8.5, in contradistinction to lines 8.1–4, in which the woman reaffirms that this letter is all she has in the world ('esta carta, / que é de mia pẽedença.', 8.3–4). This in turn reaffirms the role of the recapped refrain melody as a sonically active cue to the listener.

Meanwhile, CSM 165/CSM 395 (**App. 18**) tells of how Mary protected the city of Tartus from a Moorish army in 1270–1. There is clear ordering of direct speech—as opposed to reported action—in strophe 7. Here, the return of the refrain melody in line 5 also highlights narrative development: the crowd's consternation that they are few in number ('contaron-se quantos eran, mais poucos s' acharon y.', 7.3–4)—something the listeners learn earlier in the song—is positioned in the first half of the strophe, and the recurrence of the refrain melody instigates new text that contains direct speech. In this outcry, the citizens of Tartus exclaim that Mary's absence will be an outrage ('preit é mui descomũal.»', 7.8), a development from the previous strophe's direct speech, where the citizens merely plead that Mary give them a sign ('mostra algun gran sinal.»', 6.8). In summary, it offers an audible guide to the listener: rather than repeating itself, the refrain melody indicates which material has been siphoned off from the superfluous material elsewhere in the strophe. In so doing, it reinforces the Virgin's essential role to the miracle.

This selective appearance of important direct speech at the return of the refrain material is also used to distinguish simple addresses from orders, pleas and statements of thanks. This is demonstrated in CSM 295/CSM 388 (**App. 30**), which tells of a vision the Virgin showed to a king. In strophe 7 the Virgin appears to a crowd of people, and the recap of the refrain rhyme in line 8 is used to introduce her direct speech, which

includes a promise that she will react to their pleas provided that the king comes ('farey-o, se al Rei vir.»', 7.8). The following strophe develops this plot further, with a clear division between the narratively logical elaboration from the previous strophe (i.e., the king's summoning and arrival) and the miraculous—that is, the Virgin's statue bending down to the king and asking (via reported speech) that she might kiss his hands ('e as mãos que beijasse / lle começou a pedir.', 8.7–8).

The king's exclamation in the following strophe makes clear a division between the significant and cosmetic elements of his own direct speech. The reintroduction of the refrain melody in line 5, and its rhymes in line 8, separate his stated desire to kiss her hands and feet ('beijarei pees e mãos,', 9.5) from a simple formal address ('«A ti, Sennor, que es luz,', 9.4). The following strophe introduces the Virgin's response. Again, that which is narratively necessary—her explicit reason that she kiss his hands for the honour he pays her son—is distinguished from the narratively peripheral clause that precedes it in lines 1 to 5. The case of intrastrophic enjambment—that is, the awkward placing of clauses over lines 10.4 to 10.5—allows for a clearer distinction of the narratively vital: that is, the Son, placed at the beginning of line 10.5 ('Fillo, que é Deus e ome;'). The complication of narrative created by this enjambment is therefore rationalised and made sense of at the very moment that the sonically distinctive refrain melody is recapped. This prefigures the arrival of the central message—that the Virgin shall place the king in God's care after his death ('e poren no reino seu / vos meterei pois morrerdes,' 10.6-7)—in the sonically-charged second half of the strophe.

2.iii.3: *Peroratio* and Final Praise

Classical rhetorical texts have clearly prescribed guidelines for the final part of a speech, known as the *peroratio* in Latin, or *ἐπίλογος* in Greek.[208] This form is typically

[208] *De inventione*, I.52–6, ed. and trans. (Hubbell 1949, 146–63) *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, II.30–1, ed. and trans. (Caplan 1954, 144–53).

tripartite, consisting of a summing up (*enumeratione*), amplification (*amplificatione*) and appeal to pity (*commiseratione*). While this form may suit legal speeches, the form of *peroratio* in the *cantiga de miragre* requires an altogether different conclusion, one in which praise is incorporated into the typical *enumeratione* and *amplificatione*. This bears similarity to the *perorationes* from *ars praedicandi* treatises: two statements in particular from Thomas of Chobham's *Summa de arte praedicandi* illustrate the changes that the Classical *peroratio* underwent in the late-medieval sermon (VII.1, VII.3).[209] Like these sermons, the ends of *cantigas de miragre* frequently fall into the same formulaic phrases. Miracle narratives always conclude with the success of the miracle, and so the conclusion's rhetorical structure is presumed in a way that is less typical of other narrative sections. This therefore meant that adopting a praise-centred *peroratio* was both relevant and uncomplicated to the *cantiga de miragre*. The final strophes typically incorporate the revelation of the miracle with a collective praising of the Virgin, while giving thanks for her generosity. Since much of the miracle plot has already been revealed to the listener in previous sections of the song, the new element—that of praise—is given prominent place in relation to that which surrounds it.[210]

Such a case is illustrated in CSM 355 (**App. 36**). This song has a very long narrative concerning a man who has been erroneously sentenced to death by to hanging, but who is saved because of a stone he had promised to the Virgin's church in Villa-Sirga. The final strophes depict the people of the town arriving at the scene and beholding the protagonist hanging from the gallows, miraculously still alive. Here the people assume the protagonist to be dead right up to line 23.3, where they have come to take his body down from the gallows ('polo deçe[n]deren dela,'). From line 23.5—where the refrain melody is recapped—they see that he is standing upon a stone ('e

[209] Ed. (Morenzoni 1988, 267–8, 303), trans. (Copeland and Sluite 2009, 630, 638).
[210] Moving from *narratio* to a praise-centred conclusion or doxology is not unseen in other hagiographical texts, such as sequences. See (Lockett 2003, 113–5).

viron so el o canto'). At the recap of the refrain's rhyme in line 23.8 the man expresses his surprise and thanks on behalf of the crowd with praise to God ('«Deus loado'). Thus, the combination of the refrain melody and rhyme is thrust forward sonically in the narrative at the realisation that the hanged man still lives. This makes the structure engraved in the minds of the listeners.

CSM 355 is a quint: that is, the fifth of every group of ten songs. The quints are normally allowed more folio space and decorative miniatures, according to the pagination regimes of **T–F**. As such, the longer narrative allows for further opportunity for the narrator himself to reveal what happened to the crowd. Strophe 25 recounts the crowd cutting down the man. The reuse of 'decender' of strophe 23, in its past participle form 'decendudo', recalls the original purpose for which the crowd had arrived, thereby allying the first two lines of the strophe with earlier material. The final four lines initiate a new development: the crowd asks the man what happened ('preguntaron como fora,' 25.5) and he explains ('e el ouve retraudo / daqueste feito a verdade,', 25.6–7). As is typical of many *cantigas de miragre*, the final strophe includes a bipartite division between simple astonishment at the hands of the crowd, and a genuine, active acknowledgement of thanks and praise to the Virgin in the latter half: in lines 26.3–5, the crowd moves from its state of surprise ('foron ên maravillados', 26.3) to immediate praise ('e deron todos loores', 26.5). As in the previous strophes, this passage allies the sonic recurrence of lines 5–8 with the dramatic transfer from *narratio* to *peroratio* and praise.

Similar organisation of praise material occurs in CSM 322 (**App. 33**), in the closing strophe in which there is a clear move from the main *narratio* of the miracle. Here, a man who has had a rabbit bone stuck in his throat has had it miraculously dislodged, as is revealed in the penultimate strophe. The final strophe introduces narrative but unoriginal material in lines 1–4: we have already heard that the man, at

the point of death, has been saved at the Virgin's hand in strophe 8 ('non quis que morresse / ali daquela vegada,', 8.7–8). While the final strophe does provide greater explanation of how this occurred, the suspense has already been lifted. The man, coughing violently during the mass, manages to dislodge the bone ('en tos[s]indo / lle fez deitar mantẽente / aquel osso pela boca,', 9.1–3). What is most typical of this final type of strophe is the departure from narrative exegesis or development to a conclusive emphasis on praise. Line 5 introduces a sudden change: the crowd as a whole recognises the miracle and gives thanks for such an act ('e tan toste / loores de bõa mente / deron a Santa Maria,' 9.5–7). The suddenness is emphasised by 'e tan toste' near the end of line 9.5, at the point where the refrain melody is recapped and perceived as such by the listeners. The combination of the sonically charged refrain melody and rhymes and the introduction of grammatical markers therefore proffers cues to the listener that the dramatic action has proceeded beyond *narratio* to praise.

A related case is CSM 393 (**App. 40**), which tells of a boy in El Puerto de Santa Maria, who is inexplicably cured of rabies in the Virgin's church. The final strophe gives a clear delineation between the general astonishment of the crowd of onlookers, and self-conscious praise in thanks for the miracle. Again, the instigation of praise in line 5—and its immediate act as a consequence to the miracle—is given by the trigger word 'log' at the very opening of the line ('e log' a Santa Maria / porende loores davan,', 8.5–6). There is thus a sharp division between the *narratio* of the miracle's main section, and the conventional formula of praise, reinforcing the expectation that is generated in the listener when the auditory impactful refrain melody and rhymes emerge for the final time.

2.iv: Summary

In this chapter I have demonstrated how the unexpected cohabitation between linear narrative and cyclical musical-poetic structures can function harmoniously through adoption of antique rhetorical precepts, altered to suit the cyclical structure of the *cantiga de miragre*. Just as medieval rhetoric as taught under the *ars dictaminis*, *ars praedicandi* and *ars poetria* adapted rhetorical ideas from Antiquity to suit their specific needs—moulding and reshaping the art as necessary—the writers of the *CSM* adapted the six-part Ciceronian speech to make sense of their unique song form. This involved stripping it of its legal superfluities and fitting a general three-part process of *exordium*, *narratio* and *peroratio* to the push-pull of the *cantiga de miragre* structure. In the examples I have shown how placement of significant material within the *narratio* section is keenly sensitive to the sonic properties of the strophe, allying fresh, significant and dramatic material to the sonic drive of the recapped refrain. That this fusion between rhetorical *dispositio* and a sense of sonic power should have existed in the Alfonsine court is unsurprising, given the serious level of rhetorical study and appreciation taken by courtly society in thirteenth-century Spain, as indicated in the first section of this chapter. The Alfonsine court's awareness of memorially marked structures' abilities to organise narrative is discussed more fully in Chapter 3, where I address the links between aural repetition and memory in sections of strophe-end recap.

These short analyses do not prove that a sonically regulated *dispositio* is used in the entire *CSM* song body. The *cantigas de loor*, for instance, are largely non-narrative in form, and do not deploy so overwhelmingly uniform a musical-poetic structure as the *cantiga de miragre*. Even within the body of miracle *CSM*, I argue that the techniques outlined in this chapter are used to varying degrees when required by a song's narrative. In the case studies that follow in Part II of this thesis, I offer a glimpse into

the myriad ways in which these principles may function, regulated by a diversity of structural and narrative conditions.

Chapter 3

Memorially-Marked Structures Implicit in Sections of Strophe-End Recap

Organising a *cantiga de miragre* narrative through a memorially-marked *dispositio* requires fulfilment of several major conditions. Should analysis conclude that a cyclical *CSM* is in no way memorially marked, it then follows that prioritising narratively novel or significant material within these structures cannot work. Thus, there must be sufficient ground to argue that sections of a cyclical *cantiga de miragre* structure are indeed sonically distinctive. Equally, the principles I established in Chapter 2 would be attenuated considerably, were medieval sources not to acknowledge potential links between musical-poetic reiteration and memory. The state of field of *CSM* studies is such that very few studies have addressed the links between memory and the songs' cyclical structure. This study must then ascertain that sonic distinctiveness had strong enough recollective potential for listeners in the thirteenth century. In the current chapter, I assess these two crucial conditions, lending additional support to the arguments laid out in Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 is tripartite. In the first section, I offer a contextual backdrop to appreciation of sonic reiteration at the Alfonsine court. I consider the significance of sound to the late-medieval listener, with particular attention to the links between musical-poetic sound and memory. Music and verse's ability to stir the hearts and aid memorisation through repetition has long been acknowledged. The writings that form the focus of this first section demonstrate that medieval writers were aware of these tools, and deployed them consciously in their compositions. I start by analysing earlier, theoretical works on poetry by the Saint Emmeram Anonymous, Leonin, and others. Since the majority of surviving poetry is in Latin, and such versified Latin

texts usually scan but do not rhyme, the conclusions made from these writers concern the role that versification alone has on memory. Memorable reiteration need not be restricted within the bounds of melody and rhyme, and the examples addressed show that memory was associated just as much with recurrence of poetic metre. I then turn to later, more contextually relevant writing from specific poetry treatises by Ramon Vidal, Joifre de Foixà and others, of which many also deal with the function of rhyme. Since melodic repetition plays a key role in the structure of the *cantigas de miragre*, I conclude by examining the writings of Isidore of Seville and John of Garland on musical sound, and how ideas of musical proportion correspond with those in poetic rhythm.

Sonic repetition, be it manifested through metre, rhyme or music, plays a major role in the *cantigas de miragre*, and the nature of repetition in the *CSM* is something I discuss in the second section of Chapter 3. This section challenges previous attempts to codify the *CSM* under rigid structural paradigms such as the poetic *zejel*, or musical *virelai*, and instead argues for a more general principle that I term **strophe-end recap**. This principle dictates that the musical-poetic structures in the majority of the *cantigas de miragre* involve reiteration of almost all refrain material—in the order in which it originally appeared—towards the ends of strophes. I show how the lack of exact congruence between musical and poetic returns in a *cantiga de miragre*'s strophe structure does not necessarily constitute a problem. Instead, the principle of strophe-end recap allows for a gradually intensified expectation of the refrain towards the end of a strophe, brought about by a gradual insertion of familiar refrain material. It is the staggered introduction of melody, metre, and rhyme that plays with a listener's perception and expectation of sonic recall. When realised through performance—which is intrinsically forward

moving and process oriented—these strophe-end recap sections are made all the more sonically tenacious.

Current analytical methodology risks examining medieval repertories through contemporary lenses. However, traces of analysis are also manifested through a song's composition and compilation. When compiled into their surviving manuscript witnesses, the *CSM*'s scribes had to rationalise—and, in a sense, analyse—musical-poetic structure, in order to display it coherently on the page. This is particularly apparent in the presentation of refrains in the four surviving *CSM* codices, where there is consistent codicological evidence that evidences the role of the refrain as a sonically distinctive and memorially marked device. In the remainder of Chapter 3, I address the appearance of both refrains and locations of strophe-end recap in codices **To**, **T–F** and **E**. I demonstrate how the refrain in a manuscript was something demarcated by rubrication—signifying distinction—yet was also abbreviated, altered and curtailed when codicological grounds required it. This implies that refrains were significant sonic entities that were to be expected, but which also required minimal amounts of prompting. It can thus be inferred that they were somewhat imprinted in the memories of the song's performers and listeners. Codicological case studies of *CSM* strophes in **T–F** also suggest that compilers recognised the sonically distinctive nature of sections that restate refrain rhymes and melodies without overtly copying their texts. These studies imply that when a refrain's metre, rhyme and melody are contrafacted with a different text—as in a strophe-end recap structure—such a format nevertheless preserves the potential to be perceived as memorially marked.

3.i: Literary and Theoretical References to Sound and Memory

In this section, I address the role that poetry and music played in the minds of later medieval listeners. Contemporary texts—many of which come from fields as functional and unpoetic as law—reveal much about the power of the sonic, with particular emphasis on its heightened effects in regulated forms of verse and song. When used in a repetitive manner, sound is consistently regarded as a tool to aid memory, and this is demonstrated by poetry and music central to literate upbringing in the later Middle Ages.[211] The examples I give below include mnemonics, didactic works, treatises and literature, all of which make use of memorially marked sound, while commenting on its significance in the learning of texts.

Given that the memorially marked nature of the *cantiga de miragre* is determined by repetition of a refrain's metre, rhyme and music, this section assesses all three of these facets in turn. I begin with the simplest: that is, unrhymed verse set to metre. Unrhymed poetry or song is also the most common form of regulated text, appearing in both Latin and vernacular tongues since Antiquity. Versified text is beautiful, a gloss to Alexander de Villa Dei's *Doctrinale puerorum* explains, and this is one reason for the widespread use of verse in late-medieval texts. Such beauty and conciseness make versified text approachable, and therefore more easily digested. Crucially, the writer states, such an accessible form has great potential to be memorised.

> A discourse in verse is considered useful for easier reception, charming and lucid brevity, and stronger memory.[212]

This link between verse and memory is a powerful tenet of the later Middle Ages, and manifests itself far beyond artistically conceived poetic or musical forms. Dinkova-Bruun has noted the extensive use of versification as a practical tool deployed in the

---

[211] (Riché 1985). See also the discussions on organised sound in (Dillon 2012) and (Leach 2009).
[212] 'Sermo metricus utilis factus est ad faciliorem acceptionem, ad uenustam et lucidam breuitatem et ad memoriam firmiorem.', ed. (Thurot 1869, 102), cit. and trans. (Dinkova-Bruun 2010, 115).

sermo metricus.[213] In such texts, 'composed with didactic and mnemonic purposes…melodic rhythm helped the mind, pleased the intellect, and delighted the soul'.[214] Meanwhile, Carruthers and Law have analysed versed grammar books, canon law decretals, moral treatises and calendars, as well as martyrologies and hagiographical texts.[215] Here, the use of verse as a mnemonic device likely comes from advice issued in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, Cicero's *De oratore*, and the eleventh book of Quintilian's *Institutio oratoria*.[216] In the words of Carruthers, mnemonics are an intrinsic part of the rhetorical art of *memoria*: this art signified, at that time, 'trained memory, educated and disciplined according to a well-developed pedagogy that was part of the elementary language arts—grammar, logic, and rhetoric.'[217]

Versification, then, can aid memorisation for one reading a text, which explains its widespread use throughout literate society in the later Middle Ages. Theoretical treatises offer perhaps the clearest indication of metre's power and its connexions with memory. The majority of treatises examined below do not derive from Spain, nor are they exactly contemporary with the *CSM*. Nevertheless, they likely indicate common pedagogical methods within ecclesiastical institutions, which largely remained unchanged throughout the Christian West. Thus, what they say about verse is of potential use when evaluating awareness of regulated sound within the Alfonsine court. Setting a treatise to verse is done for more than mere decorative gloss: rather, it acts as a representation in itself of the very thing that is being taught. The Saint Emmeram Anonymous's treatise *De musica mensurata* survives in **D-Mbs, clm 14523**, and is presented as a didactic poem of 407 Leonine hexameters with interlinear glossed interjections, accompanied by a commentary. It is a significant

[213] (Dinkova-Bruun 2010), (Dinkova-Bruun 2007).
[214] (Dinkova-Bruun 2012, 363).
[215] (Carruthers 2008, 153–94), (Carruthers 1998), (Law 1997), (Law 1999). See also (Franklin-Brown 2012a) and (Franklin-Brown 2012b) for verse in encyclopaedic texts.
[216] (Carruthers 2008, 153–5).
[217] (Ibid., 8).

late-thirteenth century musical treatise and one of the most extensive of its time. The unusual feature of setting the treatise to verse—a practice largely unseen in contemporary musical treatises—is something noted by both Yudkin and Busse Berger.[218] Despite adopting an unprecedented form, the author of the treatise gives clear explanation as to why this is done.

> I propose to put it together in verse, because a poem put together in verse more easily stimulates the minds of those who are hearing it to remember; [whence it is said] The metres help the minds; they comprise much in little.[219]

While this treatise incorporates versification but not rhyme, there still exists a link between a sonically regulated form of text and its potential to aid memorisation. The metre of the *De musica mensurata* acts as a way of stirring the mind. This mental stimulus provokes recognition, and it is this sense of recollection that makes the listener participate in the performance and internalisation of the text.

A second treatise is even more explicit. The *Historiae veteris testamenti* originates from twelfth-century Paris, and was written by one Leonin, believed by Wright to be the same Magister Leoninus of the *ars antiqua*.[220] It survives in eight different French manuscripts, and the example below is taken from **V-CVbav, Vat. Reg. 283**.[221] Its text, which gives a summarised narrative account of the Bible in 14,065

---

[218] (Busse Berger 2005, 97–8), (Yudkin, 4–5).

[219] 'Propono metrice compilare, quia carmen metrice compilatum ad retinenda levius mentes excitat auditorum. Metra iuvant animos, comprendunt plurima paucis.', ed. (Sowa 1930, 1–2), trans. (Yudkin 1990, 4), cit. (Busse Berger 2005, 98–9). Busse Berger also refers to the *Florilegium Treverense*, which paraphrases the same passage in the Saint Emmeram Anonymous, 'Metra iuvant animos, comprendunt plurima paucis, / pristina commemorant et sunt ea grata legenti. // Nota: metrum valet ad tria, scilicet ad delectionem, ad memoriam firmiorem et ad brevitatem. // Delectat, breviat, retinetur firmius: istas ob causas metrum gracius esse solet.' ('The meters help the minds; they comprise much in little / recall the original, and are pleasing to the reader. // Note: The metre is capable of three (things), that is, of delighting, of better memory, and of brevity. // It delights, it shortens, it helps you to remember better: / It is usually done in metre because it is more pleasing.'), ed. (Klopsch 1980, 75), trans. (Busse Berger 2005, 181).

[220] (Wright 1986, 16–31).

[221] (Haye 1997, 294–6) provides a detailed account of the eight surviving sources of the *Historiae veteris testamenti*.

verses from Genesis to Ruth, was likely intended for a patron in a religious order, as Dinkova-Bruun notes from her analysis of the work's prologue.[222] Like the Saint Emmeram Anonymous, the author of the *Historiae veteris testamenti* recognises the retentive values of verse. The text notes—like the *De musica mensurata*—that versified texts generate pleasure, and hence assist in memorisation:

> I strive to celebrate in song and in simple verse the acts of sacred history since the origin of the world, which Moses and his successors thought sufficient to set down in prose and in accustomed words, but I take pleasure in bringing pleasing sound to the ear by the laws of poetry so that the history may be no less useful to the mind, which, delighted by the brevity of the poetry and by the song, may hold it more firmly the more it enjoys it.[223]

Leonin is distinct from the Saint Emmeram Anonymous, in that he specifies pleasure as the crucial reason that versified texts are so easily memorised. Whereas the Saint Emmeram Anonymous merely notes a 'stirring' ('excitat'), for Leoninus the fleeting pleasure ('brevitate metri que delecta') of the verse is the decisive tool that allows performers and listeners to memorise a text's message.

Verse is also commonly deployed by those reciting texts for the benefit of those listening. Such texts may deploy both metricised lines and rhyme to sustain attention in their audiences. Here, the mnemonic element of poetry is not only realised internally as imagined sound, but also performed aurally to listeners. It is no small wonder, then, that both metre and rhyme were readily subsumed within the *ars praedicandi*. Here, rhyme and metre were deployed as much for the guidance of listeners as for the sermon-giver. Advice on the power of sonic agreement is given by Robert of Basevorn, who cites subdivisions of a sermon on the Passion based upon

---

[222] (Dinkova-Bruun 2005, 298).

[223] 'Hystorie sacre gestas ab origine mundi / res canere et versu facili describere conor; / quas habuere satis moses mosenque secuti / auctores mandare prose verbisque solutis / lege metri sed me iuvat uti carmine gratum / auribus ut sit opus nec sit minus utile menti / que brevitate metri que delectata canore / firmius id teneat quanto jocundius hausit.', ed. (Busse Berger 2005, 181), trans. (Wright 1986, 18–9). See **V-CVbav, Vat. Reg. 283**, fol.1

the five vowels. These vowels function as mnemonic devices when made to accord sonically with select Bible passages that form the crux of Basevorn's sermon.

> Take note of these divisions: the utility of the Passion, "Jesus"; the power of His suffering, "crying out"; the truth of His humanity, "in a loud voice"; His freedom to suffer, "sent forth"; the pain of separation, "His spirit."
>
> Then [the theme] is subdivided as follows: There are five vowels, AEIOU, which make up every word. Just so the five wounds of Christ make up every cry whether of joy or of sorrow. Behold "In His hands" the A and the E: "with loving-kindness I have drawn thee" and Isaiah, "Behold, I have graven thee upon the palms of my hands"; "in His side" the I: such a mark the wound of the lance imprinted, that is "the door of the Ark" which [was] "in the side," etc. in Genesis; and in John: "reach hither thy hand and thrust it into my side, and be not unbelieving"; the O and U "in his feet": "thou hast put all things under his feet". So as you follow out [these links] you may say in fact: "My foot has held his steps".[224]

The examples given in his treatise had practical implications beyond Basevorn's own work. Johnson draws a link between Basevorn's and Ramon Llull's use of similar *concordantiae*. On Llull's use of 'evangelical rhetoric', he notes that 'preachers were evidently using rhymed terms in *distinctiones* and habitually consulting rhyme lists to find these terms'.[225] Johnson also ties Basevorn's and Llull's use of rhyme to encyclopaedic uses of *concordiantiae*—as in Thomas Waleys's *De modo componendi sermones*—adding that 'it is difficult to ignore the parallel between the examples cited by Waleys and the system of suffixes created in Ramon Llull's terminology of "innate correlatives"'.[226] Even if these writers fail to mention conscious deployment of rhyme-

---

[224] 'Hic notantur: Passionis utilitas, *Jesus*; patientis potestas, *clamans*; humanitatis veritas, *voce magna*; patiendi libertas, *emisit*; separationis acerbitas, *spiritum*. / Subdivitur tunc sic: Quinque sunt vocals, scilicet *A E I O U*, quae omnem vocem faciunt. sic quinque vulnera Christi omnem sonum, sive doloris sive gaudii faciunt. Vide *in minibus A* et *E*: [Jer. 31:3] "Attraxi te miserans" etc. [Is. 49:16] "Ecce in minibus meis descripsi te"; *I in latere*: talem enim figuram imprimit vulnus lanceae, hoc est "ostium arcae" quod "in latere," etc. in Gen. [6:16] et in John [20:27]: "Infer digitum tuum huc et mitte in latus meum, et noli esse incredulus," etc.; *O* et *U in pedibus*: [Ps. 8:6] "omnia subiecisti Deus sub pedibus ejus." Ideo ut consequaris dicas facto: [Job 23:11] "Uestigia ejus secutus est pes meus."' ed. (Charland 1936, 311–2), cit. (Carruthers 2008, 132), trans. (Ibid., 405–6). See also (Carruthers 1998, 99–138, 439, 446).
[225] (Johnson 1996, 89–90).
[226] (Ibid., 90).

based structures, they do suggest a common understanding of rhyme as a rhetorical device, which extended across the Christian West.

The Occitanian poetry treatises of the *troubadours* provide greater information about rhyme's sonic association with memory within literature. The earliest surviving—Ramon Vidal's *Razos de trobar*—was completed around 1210, and according to Marshall it provided the model for later theoretical works such as Joifre de Foixà's *Regles de trobar*, Terramagnino da Pisa's *Doctrina d'acort*, and the anonymous *Doctrina de compondre dictats*.[227] Vidal's *Razos* frames its explication of rhyme and *razos* within the responsibilities of the listener. These charges include understanding and responding appropriately to the works they hear. He claims that 'all people wish to listen to troubadour songs and to compose (*trobar*) them', including Christians, Saracens, Jews, emperors, princes, kings, dukes, counts, viscounts, vavassours, knights, clerics, townsmen, and villeins, inviting the possibility that people of varying levels of literacy listened to songs and were expected to make similar efforts to comprehend.[228] To ensure that these disparate people understand troubadour poetry, Vidal makes a special case for rhyme, which for him is essential to bring even bad texts to life.

> And all the good and evil things of the world are made memorable by the troubadours. And you won't find a well-expressed or badly expressed idea

[227] (Marshall 1972). A more extensive summary of Ramon Vidal, along with other Occitan grammars, is provided by (Gaunt and Marshall 2005). In addition to those cited above, Gaunt mentions Uc Faidit's *Donatz poensals*, Raimon de Cornet's *Doctrinal de trobar*, Berenguer de Noya's *Mirall de trobar*, Jaume March's *Dictionari de rims*, Luis de Averçó's *Torcimany*, along with the surviving poems of the Consistori de Gai Saber, the Consistori Doctrinal, and the Consistori de Barcelona.

[228] 'Totz gens cristianas, iusieuas et sarazinas, emperador, princeps, rei, duc, conte, vesconte, contor, valvasor, clergue, borgues, vilans, paucs et granz, meton totz iorns lor entendiment en trobar et en chantar, o q'en volon trobar o q'en volon entendre o q'en volon dire o q'en volon au/zir', ed. (Marshall 1972, 2), trans. (Page 1997, 644). There are two versions of the *Razos*, which show reasonably close resemblances. The section quoted comes from **I-Fl, 151.42, E.c.14** (**B**), f.79, corresponding with **I-Fr, 2814, L.c.16** (**H**), f.24.

> that, once a troubadour has set it to rhyme, will not be remembered forever.
> For composition and song are what move all exceptional bravery.[229]

Vidal partially achieves this through the Limousin dialect's dependence on inflected forms. Similar noun and verb endings, arrayed within a rhyming structure, not only sound harmonious, but are also grammatically correct, and therefore rational. This is demonstrated by the extensive passages devoted to agreement of verbs, nouns and adjectives in the Occitan troubadour treatises.[230] The grammatically correct—and by extension, the sonically reiterative—all move the listener to rational interpretations of the text, to remember them and, by extension, to commit noble and valiant deeds. As Kay reasons, 'In Limousin, rhyme is inseparable from inflecting forms. Inflecting forms manifest substance and its predicates; they enable one to form propositions through which one can achieve rational understanding.' Thus, rhyme makes moral arguments memorable, and articulates a form of logical reasoning, such that 'poetry defined by rhyme [*trobar*] is an expression of reason [*razo*]'.[231]

Ramon Vidal's treatise, although highly influential, is not the closest authority to Galician-Portuguese song. One work that may share even closer connexions to the *CSM* is the anonymous *Arte de trovar*, which survives in the sixteenth-century manuscript copy, **P-Ln, 10991** (**B**), ff.3–4v.[232] The manuscript comprises one of the five surviving Galician-Portuguese sources for medieval *cantigas profanas*.[233] Copied

---

[229] 'Et tuit li mal e·l ben del mont son mes en remembransa per trobadors. Et ia non trobares mot [ben] ni mal dig, po[s] trobaires l'a mes en rima, qe tot iorns [non sia] en remembranza, qar trobars et chantars son movemenz de totas galliardias.', ed. (Marshall 1972, 2), trans. (Kay 2013, 29).
[230] See (Haye 1997) for examples.
[231] (Kay 2013, 31), paraphrasing the opening section of Vidal's treatise. See (Marshall 1972, 2–11)
[232] The exact connection to the *CSM* is contentious. There is no proof that Colocci did not acquire the *Arte de trovar* text from a source other than the one used for the majority of the poetry texts that survive in **B**. There is no consistent dating for the *Arte de trovar* source, and no knowledge of the treatise's author. See (Tavani 2002).
[233] The remaining are **V-CVbav, lat. 4803** (**V**) with 1,205 *cantigas*, **P-La, Ajuda** (**A**) with 310 *cantigas* and the fragments **P-Lant, cx.20.2** (**T**) with seven *cantigas*, and **US-NYpm, M.979** (**R**) with seven *cantigas*. **T** contains notation in all songs, and **R** is notated in six out of seven. **V**,

around 1526 in Italy by Angelo Colocci, **B** is ostensibly modelled on an older manuscript from the Alfonsine period, although the *Arte de trovar* may have originated from a source distinct to the main songbook exemplar.[234] Of the original 1,664 songs that once existed in the manuscript, only 1,567 remain. Alfonso X is relatively prominent in the source: 45 *cantigas* are attributed to him, one of which (B 467) also appears in the *CSM*, as CSM 40.[235] The codicological circumstances surrounding the inclusion of the *Arte de trovar* are largely unknown. However, since Alfonso X's own secular *cantigas* appear in the manuscript alongside the treatise, Alfonso's lyric works may have been viewed as reflective of the treatise by those who decided to compile them together into the same sixteenth-century copy.

The *Arte de trovar* precedes the main body of songs in **B**, and its main focus is explaining how one writes secular *cantigas profanas*.[236] Either **B** or the source from which it was copied lost the opening of the treatise, which starts midway through a section devoted to the classification of genres.[237] Although the question of genre occupies much of the surviving segments of the source, several sections reveal ontological ideas regarding song. In section IV.4, the author describes the role of *findas*, which bear resemblance to the French *envois*. The *finda* consists of a short strophe at the end of a *cantiga*, usually between one and three lines in length, which

---

like **B**, is a sixteenth-century Italian copy of an older source. Tavani provides a brief summary of all sources in (Ibid.).

[234](Cintra 1982).

[235] These are numbered B 456–B 496, B 512, B 1624.

[236] An edition and translation into modern Portuguese is given along with critical notes in (Tavani 1999). See also (Dinkova-Bruun 2007).

[237] From f.3 of **B**, the *Arte de trovar* starts midway through what appears to be the fourth section of chapter III (which once comprised nine sections). Chapter IV has six sections, V has two, and VI has three. See facsimile and introductory notes in (Cintra 1982). Unlike the Occitanian treatises of Vidal and Joifre, the *Arte de trovar* appears to have had a clearly defined structure. Chapters are divided into genre classification (III), versification and syllables (IV), tempo and rhyme (V), and composition errors (VI). Within chapter III, each genre is assigned a section: while *cantigas de amor* and *cantigas de amigo* were ostensibly discussed earlier in the lost portions, surviving sections address *cantigas de escárnio* (III.5), *cantigas de maldizer* (III.6), *tencões* (III.7), *vilãas* (III.8), and *seguirs* (III.9). This organisation is discussed further in (Manero Sorolla 1975).

concludes or summarises what is being said.[238] Central to the idea of the *finda* is reprising the final rhyme sounds of the preceding strophe.[239] This, the author states, can be applied to *cantigas* with and without refrains, and with different distribution of rhyme groups.

> And if it is a *cantiga de meestra*, the *finda* should rhyme with the final strophe; and if it is a [*cantiga de*] *refram*, it should rhyme with the refrain. IV.4[240]

A closing structure determined by rhyme is hardly unusual. There is some resemblance to the more common *tornada* of troubadour poetry, although without the latter's expression of authorial subjectivity.[241] However, more fundamental to the *finda* is summing up narrative material, generated by rhyme. That is, rhymes common to the *finda* and preceding strophes forge narrative links throughout the *cantiga*. Listening to a *cantiga* with a *finda* is therefore a process whereby narrative comprehension is attained through cumulative exposure to the same rhyme. The same chapter of the *Arte de trovar* explains this in greater detail, noting that rhymes at the end of a strophe are analogous to narrative logic, or *razom*.

> *Findas* are a thing that troubadours always used to put at the end of their *cantigas* to conclude and better finish the ideas they express in their *cantigas*, calling them *findas* because they mean to conclude with a *razom*. IV.4.[242]

---

[238] *Findas* are atypical of the *CAmo*, appearing more frequently in the *CAmi* and *CEM*. See (Tavani 2002, 190–263), and CEM 43 as an example (Videira Lopes 2002, 71–2).

[239] Common rhyme forms for *cantigas profanas* are aaaabb, aaabcc or abbacc. The rhymes reiterated within the *finda* usually take the final pair of end rhymes that do not vary between strophes. See (Cohen 2009).

[240] 'E se for cantiga de meestria, deve a finda rimar com a prestumeira cobra; e se for de refram, deve de rimar com o refram.' ed. (Tavani 1999, 48–9). My translation.

[241] (Peraino 2011, 33–75). As noted in (Tavani 2004, 17), *tornadas* are far more common in troubadour poems (63%) than *findas* are in the *cantigas profanas* (27%).

[242] 'As findas som cousa que os trobadores sempre usarom de poer em acabamento de sas cantigas pera concludirem e ecabarem melhor e<m> elas razões que disserom nas cantigas, chamando-lhis "fi<n>da" porque quer tanto diz<er> come acabamento de razom.' ed. (Tavani 1999, 48). My translation. Note that *razom* (cognate with the Occitan *razo*) is not to be confused with the *razo* genre of troubadour lyric. See (Gaunt and Marshall 2005).

Razom, cognate with the Latin *ratio*, signifies a logical thought within a text. However, the passage above distinguishes between *razom* in its typical meaning, and that which provides a moralistic message within a *cantiga*.[243] This moralistic *razom* is usually summarised at the end of a poem ('come acabamento de razom'), either in the final strophe or the concluding refrain. The author of the *Arte de trovar* signifies not only that this concluding *razom* should echo the sentiments of the *finda*, but that it should also represent its rhyme. Thus, in the *cantigas profanas* there is an association between ends of strophes, refrains and the optional concluding *findas*, and all of these may be united both sonically and rationally. The author concludes by noting that some *cantigas* end without *findas*, but that the presence of one—and presumably the sonic as well as rational accord that comes alongside—makes them more satisfying ('pero a finda é mais comprimento').[244]

The *Arte de trovar* also offers brief commentary on musical borrowing, in discussion of the *cantiga de seguir* in chapter III.9. This is a genre designed to mimic other songs by imitating their poetic and musical structures. With 'seguir' commonly translated as 'imitate', such songs can therefore be referred to as poetic or musical contrafacta. The *Arte de trovar* describes three different classes of *seguir*, ranked in order of sophistication. First come songs that repurpose another's melody (*som*) without mirroring the rhymes ('fazem-lhe outras palavras tam iguaes come as outras'). Such songs are the least sophisticated ('de menos em sabedoria'). These are followed by *seguirs* that also reproduce the rhymes of words ('que faça a cantiga nas rimas da outra cantiga que segue'), and which also mirror the versification ('e sejam iguaes e de tantas silabas ũas come as outras'). The final form is said by the author to be the most laudable.

---

[243] (Mettmann 1959–72, Vol. 4 (1972), 259).
[244] 'E taes i houve que as fezerom sem findas, pero a finda é mais comprimento.', ed (Tavani 1999, 49). My translation.

> Yet another way of echoing is when the lines do not echo those [of the other song, in that] they set them to other rhymes, [although they make them] equivalent to the original ones, so as to fit the music; but other [lines] of the song that is being echoed should be used or assumed, giving it the same meaning although in a different way; and even better is using the same [refrain] in a different sense, with the same lines: this is the best way of echoing because through the very same lines the refrain takes on another meaning in using the lines of the stanza to agree with it. III.9.[245]

The *Arte de trovar* is at best a vague, restrospective attempt to codify poetic practice in late-medieval Galician-Portuguese *cantigas profanas*. However, these descriptions of the three types of *cantiga de seguir* offer new perspectives on the links between sonic reiteration and meaning. They suggest that replication for the sake of replication—as in the first style of *cantiga de seguir*—demonstrates far less technical expertise. The worthiest *cantiga de seguir* is that which attempts to imitate another while also borrowing its meaning ('dar aquele mesmo ou otre entendimiento'), as in the third style of song. Imitation is thus only valued when it is used to expand upon—or offer alternative meaning to—a text, whereas songs that contrafact or replicate merely for reasons of aesthetic beauty are not so highly prized.

Key features in the *findas* and *seguirs* of the *Arte de trovar* are mirrored in the *CSM*: namely, similar end rhymes at the conclusion of each strophe, which in turn accord with refrains. While these sonically repetitive structures are manifested differently in the *CSM*, both repertories associate rhyme-based reiteration with rational understanding, or *razom*. Song's effectiveness at conveying meaning in a cogent manner is much imputed to its adherence to repetition-based musical-poetic

[245] 'E outra maneira i há de "seguir" em que nom segue<m> as palavras, <Estas cantigas> fazem-as das outras rimas, iguaes daquelas pera poderem caber no som; mais outra<s> daquela cantiga que seguem as devem de tomar, outra<s> mecer, <e> fazerem-lhe dar aquel entendimento mesmo per outra maneira. E pera maior sabedoria pode<m>-lhe dar aquel mesmo, em outro entendimento per aquelas palavras mesmas: assi é a melhor maneira de seguir, porque dá ao refram outro entendimento per aquelas palavras mesmas, e tragem as palavras da cobra a concordarem com el.' ed. (Tavani 1999, 45), trans. (Ferreira 1986, 16–9).

structures—as the author of the *Arte de trovar* clarifies—in which rhyme and music are repeated as part of a memorially marked device.

I turn now from texts that deal with versification and rhyme to those that deal more specifically with musical sound. Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* offers perhaps one of the most telling attitudes to the relation between repetitive sound and memorisation. Paraphrasing Augustine's *De ordine*, Isidore comments on the power of literate musical sound in song, which comes from the muses and is imprinted in the mind.

> Music is so called through derivation from the word 'Muse,' for the Muses were named from *μάσαι*, that is, 'from inquiring', because, as the ancients would have it, they inquired into the power of songs and the measurement of pitch. The sound of these, since it is a matter of impression upon the senses, flows by into the past and is left imprinted upon the memory. Hence it was fabled by the poets that the Muses were the daughters of Jove and Memory. Unless sounds are remembered by man, they perish, for they cannot be written down. III.15.i.[246]

The rational organisation of *vox* through *musica*—that is, the pedagogical discipline of proportional sound to which Isidore refers—had the power to affect mind and memory via recollective impressions upon the mind. This is intrinsically tied up with *musica*'s wider function of setting rational proportion within the spheres of the sublunary world (*musica mundana*), as well as the concord between body, mind and soul (*musica humana*), as elucidated in Boethius's *De musica* (I.2).[247] Hence Cassiodorus—whose *Institutiones divinarum* were contemporary with Boethius—comments that 'indeed every word we speak, every pulsation of our veins, is related

[246] 'Et dicta Musica per derivationem a Musis. Musae autem appellatae ἀπὸ τοῦ μάσαι, id est a quaerendo, quod per eas, sicut antiqui voluerunt, vis carminum et vocis modulatio quaereretur. Quarum sonus, quia sensibilis res est, et praeterfluit in praeteritum tempus, inprimiturque memoriae. Inde a poetis Iovis et Memoriae filias Musas esse confictum est. Nisi enim ab homine memoria teneantur soni, pereunt, quia scribi non possunt'; ed. (Lindsay 1911, Vol. 1, leaf K6 [unsigned]), trans. (Strunk 1998, Vol. 2, 39), cit. (Carruthers 1998, 7). See also (Leach 2010) on the reuse of this quotation in numerous other theoretical texts in the Middle Ages. Strunk also references Augustine's similar version in *De ordine*, II.14, ed. (Green 2010), trans. (Strunk 1998, Vol. 2, 39).

[247] Ed. (Friedlein 1867, 187), trans. (Bower and Palisca 1989, 9–10), (Strunk 1998, Vol. 2, 30–1).

by musical rhythms to the powers of harmony' (V.2).[248] The proportions within rational music can mirror those that make us human, explaining music's special affinity with human consciousness and memory. Although Isidore is an early figure in sonic theory, adoption of his ideas in thirteenth-century texts demonstrates his continued relevance to the period that concerns us.[249]

Fewer theorists mention the crossover between music's somatic effects and those of verse. However, John of Garland does provide some commentary on the links between proportions of rhymes and musical intervals in his *Parisiana poetria*.[250] He hence demonstrates the relevance of Boethian and Isidorian teaching to thirteenth-century sonic theory. In the seventh chapter, John begins by stating that 'poetry is a branch of the art of music' (VII). This, Garland reasons, is because *musica instrumentalis* encompasses all types of organised sound that is audible. In this synthesis of Boethian and Isidorian teachings on *musica*, John of Garland summarises by saying that instrumental music 'includes melody, quantitative verse, and rhymed verse'.[251] He continues by explaining the ways in which ratios of metres distributed in verse accord with the ratios of sonic intervals in music.

> On Consonances and Proportions in Rhymed Poems. The rhymes in rhymed poems conform to the proportions of 2:3 and 3:4. Proportions of this kind occur in music: in the number two, or double one, as between two and three, where the proportion is 2:3; in the number four, as between three and four, where the proportion is 3:4. *Discantus* and *organum* also happen to employ consonances at intervals of a second, third, fourth, or fifth; and there is a

[248] '[Q]uidquid enim loquimur vel intrinsecus venarum pulsibus commovemur, per musicos rithmos armoniae virtutibus probatur esse sociatum.', ed. (Mynors 1937, 143), trans. (Herlinger 2001, 294–5).
[249] This is demonstrated by survival of sources that contain Isidore's work up until the later Middle Ages. See (Lawson 1938). Evidence of Augustinian theories on sonic power being transferred through Isidore can be found in (Fontaine 1960), (Díaz y Díaz 1980) and (Domínguez del Val 1961). For an excellent analysis on Isidore's reception on the Iberian Peninsula throughout the Middle Ages, see (Hornby 2016).
[250] (Donavin 2012, 100–14).
[251] 'Rithmica est species artis musice. Musica enim diuiditur in mundanam, que constat in proporcione qualitatum elementorum, et in humanam, que constat in proportione et Concordia humorum, et in instrumentalem, que constat in Concordia instrumentali. Hec diuiditur in mellicam, metricam, et rithmicam.', ed. and trans. (Lawler 1974, 158–61).

> likeness, too, to a diapente, which is made up of five tones, or a diatessaron, which is made up of four tones; or it can be like a diapason, which is a consonance consisting of several consonances, for it comprises a diapente and a diatessaron. VII.[252]

Garland is arguing that the proportions used in poetry accord with those that make up musical harmony. These ratios come from Antique music theory, which seeks to divide the octave into discrete tones based upon the Pythagorean tetrad 12:9:8:6. This comprises the ratios of the unison (1:1), octave (12:6, or 2:1), fifth (9:6 or 12:8, or 3:2), the fifth's inverse—the fourth (8:6 or 12:9, or 4:3)—and the tone (9:8).[253]

Such Pythagorean ideas were well known in the Middle Ages, thanks to early patristic works such as Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis* (I.11) and Boethius's *De institutione musica* (III.1–4).[254] These works all begin by relating audible proportions to those that bind together human bodies with their souls. Boethius, for instance, claims that rational beings are attracted to beautiful sonic proportions, since 'we hear what is properly and harmoniously united in sound in conjunction with that which is harmoniously coupled and joined together within us' (I.2). Dell argues that these ratios had 'ramifications for every aspect of human life: bodily, emotional, moral and spiritual'.[255] Although Garland does not cite the *De institutione musica* in this passage of the *Parisiana poetria*, his unmistakable invocation of Boethius as an authoritative

---

[252] 'De Consonanciis et Proporcionibus Rithmorum. Consonancie rithmales habent se ad proportionem sexquialteram et sexquiterciam, cuiusmodi proportiones contingent in musica: in secundo ut in duplo, sicut inter vnum et duo, ubi est dupla proportio; in tercio, sicut inter duo et iij, ubi est sexquialtera proportio; in quarto, sicut inter tria et quatuour, ubi est sexquitercia proportio. Cintingit etiam consonanciam esse in secundo et tercio, in quarto et in quinto, in discantu et organo; et hoc ad modum dyapente, que consistit in v vocibus, uel ad similitudinem dyatessaron, que consistit in iv uocibus, uel ad similitudinem diapason, que est consonancia consistens in pluribus; comprehendit enim dyapente et dyatassaron.' ed. and trans. (Lawler 1974, 164–5). Lawler incorrectly translates 'rithmales' as 'rhyme': instead, it refers to poetic metre.

[253] Garland lists the intervals of a fifth and fourth inversely: that is, as 2:3 and 3:4. Since these intervals refer to differing lengths of two vibrating monochords of the same tension and thickness, the order in which the numbers appear in each ratio does not affect the interval that sounds.

[254] Ed. (Eyssenhardt 1866, 6), trans. (Stahl, Johnson, and Burge 1971, 9–10); ed. (Friedlein 1867, 268–75), trans. (Bower and Palisca 1989, 88–95); cit. (Leach 2006, 1–2).

[255] (Dell 2016, 62).

figure is implied. Thus, it is understood that he too accepts sonic proportion as just one manifestation of the proportional rationality within the universal realm of *musica*.

But what is the relevance of this passage to the monophonic *cantigas de miragre*, when Boethius is ostensibly dealing with vertical (and therefore polyphonic) harmony created by monochords? Firstly, these proportions sound harmonious not only through their vertical alignment—as with musical intervals—but are also perceived linearly. The proportions of similar rhymes in a poem, for instance, can only be grasped through a process of listening that is intrinsically linear. Likewise, the close of a musical structure—commonly indicated by a return to unison terminal tones—can only be appreciated as a listener gradually acquires familiarity with a song. Secondly, it follows that in a horizontal, process-based method of listening, harmonious proportions are produced by the repetition—and gradual accretion—of familiar metre, rhyme and music. Musical and poetic harmony that is linear, and hence engendered by repetition, is therefore just as central to Garland as it is to the treatises discussed earlier. This can be seen through the use of one common emotion—pleasure—that is elicited in all multiple texts in response to linear consonance. Just as the Saint Emmeram Anonymous notes that metricised verse is pleasing—and hence suitably impactful to be committed to memory—Boethius argues that 'likeness attracts, whereas unlikeness disgusts and repels'.[256] Even though he does not outline these arguments explicitly, Garland's clear reference to Boethius as an authority figure means that similar assumptions are implied in the *Parisiana poetria*. Garland too accepts that sonic proportions—produced linearly via poetry and music—relate to the proportions that bind together body and soul. They too have the

[256] 'Cum enim eo, quod in nobis est iunctum convenienterque coaptatum, illud excipimus, quod in senis apte convenienterque coniunctum est, eoque delectamur, nos quoque ipsos eadem similitudine compactos esse cognoscimus....Amica est enim similitudo, dissimilitudo odiosa atque contraria.' ed. (Friedlein 1867, 180), trans. (Bower and Palisca 1989, 2).

potential to delight the listener, and hence can function as tools to commit their texts to memory.

Links between rhyme-based and melodic sound are rarely stated so explicitly in the large majority of medieval treatises, and Garland's statement consequently carries special weight. Here, Garland is arguing that all facets of *musica instrumentalis*—encompassing rhyme and metre, as well as musical intervals—relate to the proportions that form the adhesive between body and soul. Songs that contain recurring melodies and rhymes therefore influence, and accord more frequently with, their human listeners. These highly somatic impressions are therefore ingrained—via delight and memory—within the corporeal and incorporeal essences of rational beings. His interest in rhetoric, as well as his strong connections with the Alfonsine court, make it especially likely that Garland's thinking was instrumental in the rhetorical organisation of *cantiga de miragre* narratives.[257]

3.ii: Assessing Musical-Poetic Form in the *Cantiga de miragre*

Having established how poetic and musical repetition may relate to memory in late-medieval thought, I move on to consider how these ideas might have been applied to the *CSM*. In this section, I address the repetition-based structures in the *cantigas de miragre*, and argue that strophe passages that quote a refrain's metre, rhyme and melody are set up to be memorially marked. These sections of a *CSM* strophe—sections that I term **strophe-end recap**—are designed to play with a listener's sense of familiarity, which is intensified through a song's performance.

[257] There are only six manuscript witnesses to the *Parisiana poetria*—none of which are believed to have ever been near the Alfonsine court. (Lawler 1974, xix-xi). These are **B-BRs, 546**, ff.148v-74v, 145v (**B**), **GB-Cu, Ll.1.14**, ff.55-69 (**C**), **D-Mst, lat. 6911**, ff.1–22v (**M**), **GB-Ob, lat. misc. d.66**, ff.1–40v (**O**), **F-Pn, lat. 11867**, ff.46-57 (**P**), **A-Wn, lat. 3121**, ff.154v-8v (**V**). Several of these treatises survive in sources alongside dictaminal works: **P** sits with Thomas of Capua's *Summa dictaminis*, and an anonymous letter writing treatise; **O** contains five other dictaminal texts.

To assess the degree of memorially marked organisation in the *CSM*, past analytical approaches are a useful point of departure. Previous attempts to codify the *CSM*'s setup have resorted to pre-existing structural paradigms. Ribera's 1922 monograph made the first significant attempt to compare the *CSM* to Arabic musical-poetic forms such as the poetic *zejel* (aa|(bbba|aa)) and the five-strophe *muwashshah* (aa|bbbaa|cccaa|[...]|fffaa).[258] Ribera has proven influential: more recent studies by Wulstan, Ferreira, Parkinson and others have restated the *zejel*'s central place in current *CSM* scholarship.[259] Musical readings of the *CSM* have also highlighted structural similarities to the *virelai* (a|(bba|a)) from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century France.[260] However, such comparisons are problematic, since resorting to pre-existing terminology runs the severe risk of importing unhelpful scholarly biases. Ribera's comparisons to the *zejel* and *muwashshah*, for instance, may be considered distasteful remnants of early-twentieth century orientalist methodology. Such practices create false narratives of an embryonic, unsophisticated oriental culture as it is incorporated into and perfected by a superior Western civilisation.[261] Ribera's orientalising of the *CSM*—accompanied by implicit notions of *convivencia* between Christians, Muslims and Jews—ultimately belies deeply ingrained prejudice and appropriation in Iberian Spain throughout the thirteenth century, which was both religious and cultural in outlook.[262] Likewise, comparing *CSM* structures to the musical *virelai* may stem from Franco-centric academic trends that are arguably upheld today within both medieval studies and medieval musicology.[263] Regarding Spain as a peripheral centre of late-medieval musical culture results in flawed

[258] (Ribera 1922), trans. (Hague and Leffingwell 1929).
[259] (Wulstan 1982), (Ferreira 2004a), (Parkinson 2010), (Parkinson 2015).
[260] (Ferreira 2004b), (Campbell 2013)
[261] As summarised in (Said 1979, 31-41).
[262] (Wolf 2014), (Novikoff 2005).
[263] (Bergeron 1998), (Bain 2015).

methodologies that analyse songs based upon their likeness to geographically separate models.[264]

The upshot of such misguided approaches is that foreign prototypes may be selected more for their familiarity to contemporary scholars—or for their suitability to prevailing ideologies—rather than for their genuine relation to the intended object of analytical inquiry. Adhering to pre-existing structural models such as the *zejel* or *virelai* also enforces rigid degrees of canonicity. Analysis prompted by observable structural phenomena mutates into taxonomisation instigated by extraneous prototypes, and songs that diverge from these models risk being cast aside as structural outsiders. For instance, Parkinson lists 39 different structural models based on the *CSM*'s versification and rhyme schemes alone, of which 14 are said to be standard *zejels*, and 19 are structural variants.[265] Of these 19 variations, 11 are classed as polymetric, and eight are elaborated. A further six models do not adhere to the *zejel* archetype. While it is useful to note the similarities and differences between standard, polymetric and elaborated *zejels*, such a taxonomic approach risks imposing a hierarchy where songs that conform to a *zejel* standard are held to be better constructed, more representative, and worthier of analysis.

Moving away from rigid taxonomical approaches, I attempt in this thesis to identify key principles that appear in the majority of *CSM* forms, without imposing any adherence-based hierarchy. My focus here is how narrative works with a cyclical structure, and this reiteration-based form is predicated, I argue, by a principle that I term **strophe-end recap** (and which I expressed earlier in tabular form in **Fig. 2.iii**). By using this expression, I intend to signify a structure in which the end of each strophe recaps the metre, rhyme and music of the refrain, thus serving as an anticipation of the refrain proper that follows the strophe. This setup is contrasted

[264] (Ellis 2013), (Kreutziger-Herr 2003).
[265] (Parkinson 2015, 14).

with the earlier portion of each strophe, which may express either novel or refrain-based material. However, this earlier section is not considered as memorially marked as the strophe-end recap, largely because it may deploy different opening and terminal tones to the refrain, as well as dissimilar tonal ambituses.[266] Any refrain material expressed in this earlier section I do not regard as memorially marked, because this reiteration is normally partial, does not use significant tones or ambituses, and crucially may not express the refrain material in the order in which it originally appeared.[267]

In sections of strophe-end recap, the refrain's poetic and musical features need not reappear simultaneously, and I argue that expectation of the refrain is actually felt more profoundly when this sense of return is gradual. For instance, the revival of refrain versification and melody in a strophe's penultimate line may augur the reappearance of a refrain rhyme at the end of the final line. The gradual emergence of refrain features plays with a listener's conception of sonic homecoming, requiring more effort—and attention—to process ('Is this really what I think it is? Why does it not sound quite familiar? Ah, *there* it is!') It is this sense of uncertain expectation—and the mental effort that it demands—that makes these sections so memorially

[266] See (Huseby 1983b, 45–6) on the use of tonal ambituses in sections of strophe-end recap.

[267] Establishing whether something is memorially marked in a musical sense can be determined by distinct melodic behaviours. In the analyses that follow, I argue that a line terminus is perceived as sonically prominent. Given that most *cantigas de miragre* refrains are four lines in length—and that most strophes are based upon larger musical-poetic units determined by multiples of four lines—I claim that line terminuses of lines 4, 8, 12, etc., generally sound more prominent than other lines. This builds upon the analytical methodology used in (Johnson 2014). Tones may be further demarcated by use of cadential figures such as use of the terminal sub-tone, or highlighting of the tonal third surrounding the terminus, as mentioned in (McAlpine 2008). In the melodic analyses of chapters 3–6, I consider each melody as it might be perceived by a listener over time. Therefore, it is necessary to analyse these melodies in a chronological sense, first perceiving smaller musical segments and then rationalising them within larger tonal entities. Once this has been achieved, an analysis can begin arguing whether one section is more distinctive, has a greater sense of tonal balance, or is more likely to be remembered by a listener. Sections of strophe-end recap are primarily perceived due to their repetitive nature: memorially marked segments are determined by gradually acquired familiarity with more prominent tonal terminuses and ambituses, primarily because these sonically tenacious moments are heard far more frequently than non-memorially marked material.

marked, making a suitable locus to site text that is narratively significant. Of course, performing or listening to a *CSM* is an intrinsically linear process, laid out in time.[268] Such linearity makes strophe-end recap all the more powerful, as expectation is continually reaffirmed with each successive strophe. This process-based accumulation of sonic accords—to invoke Boethius and John of Garland—generates increasing satisfaction in the listener, and hence makes sections of strophe-end recap more memorially marked throughout the duration of a song. Just as has been observed earlier in the didactical works, repetition acts as a suitable tool to ensure a song is remembered.

In the following three examples, I demonstrate varied instances of the principle of strophe-end recap. While all can be said to incorporate elements of a musical-poetic *zejel* or *virelai*, the strictures imposed by such terminology mean that these songs risk being interpreted as peripheral or unorthodox. However, parsing the melodic and poetic behaviours of these songs, I demonstrate the versatility of strophe-end recap at play in each. Consistently, the opening of each strophe presents unfamiliar musical-poetic material; this is followed by a gradually intensified return of the refrain metre, rhymes and music in the second half of the strophe. This in turn prefigures the arrival of the real refrain. There is thus a steady escalation of familiarity towards the conclusion of the strophe, and this thereby focusses the listener's attention onto the relevance of the passage's text.

3.ii.1: CSM 233

In most cases of strophe-end recap, the memorially marked final strophe section restates the music—as well as the final rhymes—of the refrain. In a *cantiga de miragre* of the common poetic form aa|(bbba|aa), this is often superimposed by a musical

[268] See (Reckow 1986) on the centrality of *processus* to the analysis of medieval repertory.

structure aa'|(bbaa'|aa'). Although its musical-poetic setup is somewhat more complicated, CSM 233 (**App. 21**) shows this phenomenon clearly. However, in this case distinguishing the melody of strophe lines 1–2 from 3–4 is complicated, given that much motivic similarity is shared throughout the song. Strophe lines 1 and 3 both reuse musical segment *i* from lines R2 and R4, charting a *F* to *C* tetrachord, followed by the *C* to *G* pentachord. Likewise, the closing segment *ii* in line R4—charting the *F* to *C* tetrachord (derived from the figure seen previously in segment *i*) with a *D* primary terminus—is reiterated with its *G* anticipatory tone at the end of strophe lines 2 and 4.

This internal repetition, which is not untypical of most *cantigas de miragre*, is nonetheless sonically unremarkable in comparison to the complete recap of the refrain melody, which occurs in strophe lines 5 to 8. This section is distinctive since it defines the complete *C* to *d* ambitus of the refrain melody, in contrast to the *C* to *a* tonal ambitus of lines 1 to 4. Conjunct melodic intervals such as the hexachord *d* to *F* in lines R1, R3, 5 and 7, are likewise more distinctive than the pentachord *G* to *C* of lines 2 and 4 (due to the larger tonal ambitus). Moreover, the primary *D* and secondary *F* tonal terminuses in strophe lines 1 to 4 differ from the *D* and *a* terminuses in R1–R4, and strophe lines 5–8. The *a* secondary terminus is particularly prominent due to the variation of closing motifs on syllable pairs, which either meander around the *G* to *b*-mi third (segment *iiia*), restate the lower third *F* (segment *iiib*), or demarcate the terminal sub-tone *G* (segment *iiic*).

The return of the 'a' rhyme at the end of strophe line 8, then, acts as a focus within a focus. Here, the '-ados' rhyme finally emerges, anticipated by the refrain melody's slightly altered return from line 5. However, it also corresponds precisely with the expected homecoming to the *D* tonal terminus. Thus, while the poetic and musical returns are not exactly congruent, they work together to focus the listener's

attention to the very end of the strophe: first, by the music and metre, which heralds the eventual arrival of the 'a' rhyme. This arguably has a greater effect of expectation than were the refrain melody and rhymes to recur simultaneously at the beginning of strophe line 5.

3.ii.2: CSM 81

The combination of poetic and musical returns seen in CSM 233 is somewhat typical of songs in the latter folios of **F** and **E**. Parkinson notes that this may be due to songwriters and compilers finding and establishing a basic structure that can be mass-produced. A standardised structure may also have been useful while trying to complete **T–F**'s and **E**'s collection of 400 songs prior to Alfonso X's death.[269] Conversely, earlier songs—particularly those that appear in **To**, exhibit greater variety of musical and poetic structures. This may be due to there not yet being a '*CSM* house style'. It is also likely that the less hurried compilation projects typical of the 1270s meant more time to devise new musical-poetic form combinations.

CSM songs that existed earlier are therefore more likely to diverge from the standard typified by CSM 233. CSM 81 (**App. 13**), for instance, has an unusually imbalanced rhyme form of aa|(bcbcaa|aa), with a corresponding musical arrangement of aa'|(bcda''a'|aa'). This imbalance is facilitated by the uneven metrical structure 88|(767628|aa), allowing poetic lines 4 to 5 to be spliced together into a single musical line. Like CSM 233, this song only deploys the refrain melody and rhymes at the very end of the strophe in lines 4 to 6. Strophe lines 1 to 3 are mostly distinct from the refrain on a melodic level: they adopt a *D* to *b*-fa ambitus, in contrast to the refrain's range of *C* to *a*. The presence of the *b*-fa in strophe lines 1 and 3 stands out, whereas it is absent in lines R1–R2 and 4–5. This *b*-fa acts as a crucial tone that allows

[269] (Parkinson 1997), (Parkinson 2015), (Fernández Fernández 2009).

a terminal tone of *F*, which concludes these three lines. Strophe lines 1 to 3 also use *a*—highlighted in the refrain as the upper ambitus tone—as the primary terminus, with *F* as the secondary terminus. This stands in contrast to lines R1–R2 and 4–5, which set up *D* as primary tonal terminus, with *C* as a secondary terminal tone.

Unlike CSM 233, the recap of refrain rhymes and melody occurs simultaneously. Lines 4 to 5 begin with an opening *a* to *E* tetrachord figure—diverging from the repeated *F* tones of R1—but to all intents and purposes this is an altered reiteration of R1's melody, given that lines 4 and 5 incorporate R1's *F* to *C* tetrachordal descent at their close. This is followed by line 6, which is an exact replica of line R2. Here, the synchronism of familiar rhyme and melody is focussed towards the final syllable of line 5. The opening *a* to *E* tetrachord of line 4 renders the opening of this section unfamiliar, and realisation only dawns that this is a rehashed refrain melody around the arrival of the familiar secondary tonal terminus *C* of the refrain, with a simultaneous return of the 'a' rhyme, '-al', in line 5. This song therefore demonstrates that anticipating a refrain's rhymes by its melody—as in CSM 233—is not universal within the *CSM*. Familiar refrain rhymes can also anticipate a refrain melody, or both can emerge at the same time within a strophe. Despite diverging from the typical *CSM* model, songs such as CSM 81 follow the overriding principle of strophe-end recap: namely, melodic and poetic refrain material is reiterated at the very end of each strophe, as a way of anticipating the arrival of the refrain proper.

3.ii.3: CSM 38

Not all *cantigas de miragre* deploy the principle of strophe-end recap by reiterating the entire refrain melody and end rhymes. A case of partial strophe-end recap can be found in another earlier song that like CSM 81, first appears in **To**: CSM 38 (**App. 7**).

This song has a poetic structure of abab|(cdcdcdcb|abab), and a musical form of aa'ab|(cdcd'aa'ab|aa'ab). It thus reiterates the entire refrain melody within the strophe, but only the refrain's final 'b' rhyme '-ar'. That is, the strophe recaps only one quarter of the refrain's possible rhyme sounds available, whereas rhymes 'a', 'c' and 'd' are ignored. This is significant since it diverges from a common strophe-end recap structure where all refrain rhymes are given the chance to reappear in the strophe.

The refrain melody has a basic hexachordal range of *C* to *a*, which is mirrored in the final lines of the strophe in lines 5 to 8. A secondary terminus of *F* in line R2, and a tertiary terminus of *C* in lines R1 and R3 offset the primary tonal terminus of *D*. This melody is typified by much repetition: lines R1 to R3 all bear the same third ascent from *F* to *a*, followed by *G* to *a* alteration and a hexachordal descent of *a* to *C*. Line R2 varies this by appending the secondary terminus *F* at the end of this fall, which facilitates the line's paroxytonic rhyme ending. Strophe lines 1 to 4 contrast this by deploying the larger ambitus of *C* to *c*. The melody—essentially stated twice (in strophe lines 1–2 and 3–4)—is also far more exploratory. In contrast to the largely conjunct movement of lines R1 to R4, strophe line 1 makes a hexachordal descent from *c* to *E*, but not without constantly charting out of multiple thirds: *c–a–c*, *b–G–b*, *a–F–a*, and *G–E*. Line 2 then charts the third *G–E–G*, and highlights the *G–C–G* pentachord by stating it twice. This is largely in conjunct movement, save for an ascending third leap from *D* to *F* that serves to anticipate the *F* secondary terminus. This pattern is reiterated in lines 3 to 4, with the closing of line 4 shortened to give a *D* primary tonal terminus.

While the rhyming behaviour is quite distinct from the examples found in CSM 233 and CSM 81, CSM 38 shows how partial refrain rhyme reiteration can still function within strophe-end recap. The longer refrain melody is in this instance

reiterated in full, marking a distinction in range and melodic behaviour—not to mention versification structure—that gives clear warning of the approaching, partial return of the refrain's 'b' rhyme. The listener, while not exposed to four lines of 'a' and 'b' rhymes, is nevertheless prepared through melody and versification for the return of the refrain's rhyme in line 8. This serves to greater anticipate the eventual coming together of the refrain's rhymes, music and versification. Arguably, CSM 38's delayed onset of recapped refrain rhymes further enhances the expectancy of—and desire for—the refrain's rhymes, and ultimately the true refrain that inevitably follows.

3.ii.4: Section Summary

In the short analyses of these musical-poetic structures, I have demonstrated how sections within the *cantiga de miragre* frequently demarcate the sonically unfamiliar from the familiar as a gradual process. Through use of ambitus, motivic behaviour, deployment of conjunct intervals, as well as primary, secondary and tertiary tonal terminuses, most (although not all) *cantigas de miragre* deploy this overriding principle to varying degrees. Commonly in these songs, the return of the refrain melody and versification towards the end of the strophe prefigures the arrival of the refrain's rhymes, normally in the final line.

While the procedure of strophe-end recap is present in most *cantigas de miragre*, these case studies demonstrate the principle's versatility. Some songs demarcate clearly the return of the refrain melody by not using refrain-derived melodic material in the earlier sections of the strophe. Others, however, are subtler. In CSM 233, for instance, melodic lines in earlier strophe sections share motivic features with the refrain melody, without mirroring it directly. These motivic similarities are so numerous that it can often be hard to distinguish strophe-end recap other than by

subtle changes of ambitus, or a slightly different tonal terminus. Other songs may not use any material in the earlier strophe sections that has not already been heard in the refrain, further increasing the potential for strophe-end recap structures to be unnoticeable. Under such circumstances, strophe-end recap would only be signified by the reiteration of the whole (or part) of the refrain melody in its original order.

In these sorts of organically conceived songs, it would be interesting to assess whether a less sonically distinctive strophe-end recap structure would so congruently coincide with moments of narrative significance or dynamism. Addressing links between structure and narrative in such songs would be too momentous an undertaking for this thesis. However, parsing the narrative organisation in subtler strophe-end recap structures in future scholarship might give further clues as to whether structure and narrative were considered on an equal footing in the creation of these songs.

3.iii: Source-Based Indicators of Strophe-End Recap

Analysing the musical-poetic structures of *cantigas de miragre* is a useful if risky exercise. Contemporary analytical approaches may claim to expose memorially-marked topographies in a medieval song. However, are analysts genuinely discovering features of form, or erecting their own structural edifices? Is it clear that cases of strophe-end recap were perceived as such by thirteenth-century listeners, or are these analyses built upon shaky foundations, and just as subject to the changing sands of time?

Thankfully, fleeting traces of analytical understanding do survive in the four manuscript witnesses of the *CSM*. The process of compilation into a manuscript requires, in a sense, a degree of analysis by scribes and notators. In order to present songs clearly on a manuscript folio, scribes, notators and compilers needed to

understand their basic structural features. The results of these analyses then needed to be presented clearly on a page, so that readers can in turn digest the song while they are performing or reading it. In this section, I consider how the *cantiga de miragre*'s memorially marked structures might be presented on the manuscript page, for the benefit of readers. Discussion therefore moves from memory in a largely auditory sense to one that also considers the realm of the visual. Since techniques that taught the medieval art of memory were primarily visual, it is reasonable to assume that memorially marked structures might be demarcated in some way in their visible form. Identifying the distinguishing codicological practices of each manuscript is a useful point of departure. **To** and **E** follow distinct compilation practices from the **T–F** manuscript pair, and this can easily be perceived by non-specialists. As has been summarised in Chapter 1, codices **T–F** both incorporate a lavish miniature scheme, and every *CSM* starts on a new folio side. Conversely, **To** and **E** do not incorporate miniatures, and a *CSM* can start wherever on the page the preceding song might finish. These differences can be observed in CSM 45 (**App. 8**), appearing in three codices, respectively as To 83, T 45 and E 45.

These codicological features have far greater consequences beyond mere distribution of miniatures in these codices. As each song in **T–F** must start at the top of a new folio side, its compilers had to consider how the number of available systems of notated and residual text could fit onto each page.[270] Each page in **T–F** can usually accommodate 44 systems of residual text—as demonstrated in T 45—which permits seven four-line strophes with eight two-line refrains. For notated text, each system with its underlaid text normally makes up four systems of residual text: this translates into eleven systems of underlaid text per page. While there are exceptions to the rule—systems with underlaid text in T 160 are equivalent to five systems of

[270] (Parkinson 2000).

residual text—these are usually necessitated by very exceptional song structures.[271] Generally, *CSM* that are not quints only have one refrain and strophe notated, while quints may have several refrains and strophes presented with music. On the other hand, **To** and **E** are characterised by greater codicological flexibility. **To** can accommodate anywhere between 27 and 29 systems of residual text per page, whereas **E** accommodates 40. Almost all songs in **To** and **E** give the opening refrain and first strophe as notated text, and a system of notation plus underlaid text less consistently equals four systems of residual text, as in **T–F**.[272] However, the most noticeable thing that separates **To** and **E** from **T–F** is the lack of alignment between the start of each *CSM* and the beginning of a folio. The compilers of **To** and **E** are thus unhampered by restrictions of folio space, and the song texts in these witnesses undergo far less abbreviation and omission as a result.

When confronted with a *CSM* of less standard proportions, the compilers of **T–F** had to make concessions so that the following song could start at the top of the next available folio. For instance, CSM 192/CSM 397 is a song with a refrain of four rhymed lines, and a strophe of twelve.[273] In T 192, twelve strophes and fourteen refrains are accommodated across two folios (ff.251v–252), each with two columns of 44 systems. The residual text takes up 142 systems, and the underlaid 32, leaving two systems at the top of f.251v for the song rubric. To fit neatly onto two folios, however, the text of CSM 192/CSM 397 pays a hefty price. In the residual text, the four-line refrain is reduced to a one-line incipit, 'Muitas vegadas'. The refrain following the final strophe is expunged entirely. Meanwhile, the notated text is compressed to fit

[271] CSM 160, for instance, is a *cantiga de loor* with an exceptionally short refrain that follows eight short strophes. In T 160, these are all notated, with one strophe and refrain per system, leaving four systems at the top of the folio for the song rubric.
[272] Exceptions in **T–F** tend to be followed in **E**, but not in **To**, suggesting a common exemplar for the three later codices. **To** occasionally will compress staves plus underlaid text to the equivalent of three systems of residual text, (Parkinson 2000a, 246), (Parkinson 2000d).
[273] (Mettmann 1959–72, Vol. 2 (1961), 229–33).

onto eight staves, meaning that there is insufficient space to lay out poetic lines. The refrain following strophe 1 is notated, but here it is curtailed even more—to 'Muitas'—again, due to space restrictions. This practice is largely not observed in **To** and **E**: since songs do not need to start at the top of a folio, compilers do not need to compress or miss out refrain texts. In **To**, for instance, refrains are permitted two full systems when in residual text, meaning that several can be given in full. Underlaid text is usually laid out with one poetic line per staff, which requires more space but clearer presentation of musical-poetic structure for readers and performers.

To summarise, when manuscript compilers encounter spatial restrictions that necessitate abbreviating a *CSM*'s text—particularly in **T–F**—the first port of call is almost always the refrain. This is to be expected from wider repertory, given that refrains—unlike strophes—do not typically vary their texts. It also confirms that performers and listeners of the *CSM* were familiar enough with song refrains to require minimal prompting from the source they were reading. That is, refrains were considered memorially marked enough that a single word—notated or not—would have been sufficient to remind the reader of the rest of the refrain text and melody. T 192 is far from an isolated incident: notated refrains curtailed to single words and neumes are common (i.e., T 13, T 182, F 71), as are very short phrases (i.e., T 81, T 105, F 6).[274] Occasionally, partial refrain statements in **T–F** cut off mid-word, dismembering

[274] T 13 (CSM 13), ff.21–21v, 1.R1–4 to 'Assi' [unnotated]; T 182 (CSM 182), ff.240v–241, 1.R1–2 to 'Deus'; F 71 (CSM 218), ff.91–92, 2.R1–4 to 'Razon'; T 81 (CSM 81, **App. 13**), ff.118v–119, [1–4, 6].R1–2 to 'Par deus' [1.R–2 wrong initial, untexted], 5.R1–2 to 'Par deus tal'; T 105 (CSM 105), ff.150v–152, 1.R1–4 to 'Gran pia-'; F 6 (CSM 254), ff.6v–7v, 1.R1–4 to 'O nome da virgen'. Curtailing of refrains is also standard codicological practice in both underlaid and residual text in **E** (i.e, E 53 (CSM 53), ff.73v–74v; E 125 (CSM 125), ff.128–129v; E 143 (CSM 143), ff.142–142v). Several songs in **E** have underlaid refrains in curtailed form that are ruled but only partially notated (i.e., E 98 (CSM 98), ff.109v–110; E 350 (CSM 350), ff.313v–314). **To** typically underlays refrains and strophes just once, but curtailing of refrains longer than two lines long is common in residual text.

textual as well as musical-poetic logic (i.e., T 75, T 97).[275] Manuscripts frequently facilitate this by presenting refrains so that they stand out from adjacent text. The four *CSM* witnesses are typical here, in that residual refrains always appear in rubricated script. The boundaries between refrains and strophes are further demarcated by the use of initials in **T–F**. Large initials three lines high distinguish the beginnings of strophes from the rubricated refrains; meanwhile, in the underlaid text, initials draw attention to the openings of both refrains and strophes.[276] The way *CSM* refrains are presented in the manuscripts therefore indicates that they were both visual and auditory signposts, which could be interpreted fully even when condensed in their written forms.

What then of *CSM* strophe sections that recap a refrain's musical-poetic structure? Again, indications that these sections are memorially marked can be found in occasional codicological compression in **T–F**. Two songs in the **T** codex—T 80 (CSM 70) and T 69 (CSM 69)—are unusual for partially underlaying strophe text.[277] In both instances, scribes turn to residual text at memorially marked sections, indicating that musical notation was superfluous. T 80 (ff.117v–8) underlays the opening refrain, then the first four strophes and their subsequent refrains. Line 5.1 is underlaid, whereas lines 5.2–4 and 5.R1 are given in residual text, as shown in **App. 11**. Clearly, the final lines of CSM 70 have been reduced to residual text because of limited space. Accommodating the entire *CSM* on f.117v means that the corresponding pictorial narrative can appear on f.118. However, compressing a strophe midway from underlaid to residual text is also extremely unusual. This is

[275] T 75 (CSM 75) ff.128–131, 1.R1–4 to 'Cuidade con po-'; T 97 (CSM 97), ff.140v–141v, 3.R1–4 to 'A Vir- / -gen sempr aco-' ('A Vir-' without staves).
[276] In **To** and **E**, initials are only given for the beginnings of strophes in both notated and residual text.
[277] Similarly, To 38 (CSM 25), ff.49–51; To 40 (CSM 30), ff.52v–53; and To 41 (CSM 38), ff.53–55v underlay lines 2.1, leaving the remainder of the strophes as residual text. Of these instances, To 38 and T 40 prove blank staves with no notation.

only made acceptable because of the song's musical-poetic structure. With a poetic form of aa|(bbba|aa), and a musical structure of ab|(bbab|aa), the memorially marked strophe-end recap occurs in lines 3–4. The compilers reasoned that line 5.2—poetically and musically alike to line 5.1—could be curtailed and not present any issues to a performer or listener who might need to read the song from the manuscript, due to its identical melody to the previous line. Lines 3–4, where the music turns back to the refrain, represents a contrast of functional ambitus from *F* to *b*-fa, moving to a range of *G* to *e*, along with remote opening and terminal tones *c* and *G* in line 3. This comprises sufficient contrast to be potentially problematic for a listener, were this section not a memorially marked recap of the familiar refrain melody. It is precisely because the entire refrain melody has been heard no fewer than nine times already that these final lines are expected to carry the refrain melody. They can hence afford to be presented in residual text.

T 69 (CSM 69) is a similar case: here, the opening two folios (ff.101v–102) give the first six strophes with their subsequent refrains as notated text, along with the first two lines of strophe seven, as shown in **App. 10**. Continuing on to f.102v, lines 7.3–4 follow as residual text. Here, the distinction between the memorially marked strophe section in lines 3–4 is more apparent than in CSM 70. The return of the refrain melody reacquaints the listener with a wider functional ambitus of *D* to *d*, and the respective opening and closing tones of *D* and *F* in lines 3 and R1 represent the inverse of the corresponding tones *F* and *D* in strophe line 1. Clearly, it was easier to underlay entire pages and begin residual text at the start of a new folio. However, presenting lines 7.3–4 as residual text is also acceptable because the refrain melody would already have been heard 13 times before the arrival of this point in performance.

3.iv: Summary

In this chapter, I have summarised the significance of memorially marked structures in the *cantigas de miragre*. While these songs display a diversity of formal variants—making it difficult to pin down any structural standard—a general principle of strophe-end recap is readily perceived, through analysis of repetition patterns in song strophes. Referring to the theory of strophe-end recap is useful, since it avoids the biases implicit in imported terminologies, as occurs with the terms *zejel* and *virelai*. It is also more universal in scope, allowing the songs in the *CSM* to be analysed on their own terms, rather than being assessed based upon how successfully they adhere to a foreign prototype. Thus, the theory is versatile enough to account for inevitable cases where strophe-end recap cannot be applied so neatly. In short, strophe-end recap is a theory that should be applied generally to a repertoire, and in no way should be adhered to as an archetypical standard. Strophe-end recap is also a helpful means of assessing the *CSM* narratively, as it largely supports the altered *dispositio* observed in Chapter 2. It manages to do this because when experienced as a linear process, sections of strophe-end recap gradually acculturate familiarity in a listener. This increasing fulfilment of expectations allows sections of strophe-end recap to become more memorially marked as the performance of a song unfolds. It thus allows a cyclical musical-poetic song structure to function as a vehicle for the linear plot, where narratively significant material is generally aligned with these points of sonic prominence.

These features are not only discernible through contemporary methods of analysis: momentary codicological traces, particularly in codices **T** and **F**, suggest that scribes and compilers also understood these songs as memorially marked. Curtailing of refrains—a common practice in late-medieval manuscripts—suggests that they require minimal prompting when approached visually. However, devices that make

these passages stand out—such as rubrication and initials—imply that refrains were also moments of focus. Performers and listeners were hence meant to expect and observe the arrival of a memorable refrain as a significant sonic event. Sections of strophe-end recap were regarded in a similar way. Cases of reduction from underlaid to residual text in **T–F** are rare, yet they indicate that over a period of time, strophe-end recap was ingrained into the memories of compilers and readers, such that notational visual cues became redundant.

Linking repetition-based structures with memory is highly rational from a late-medieval perspective. There was a strong precedent set in other literature from the same period, from rhymed grammars and mnemonics, to poetry and music treatises. While their circumstances may differ substantially from those of the *cantiga de miragre*, the overriding principle is identical. Namely, that concordant sound—manifested through metre, rhyme and music—generates pleasure and satisfaction in a reader or listener. This pleasure allows an audience to focus its attention on harmonious sound, which is reinforced as a song is experienced linearly in time. It then follows that text set to these sections of strophe-end recap are delineated to a song's audience, and hence act as a guide throughout a linear narrative.

Part II: Studies

Chapter 4

Cognitive Confusion in the Miracles of Castrojeriz

Four *CSM* songs, set in the northern Castilian fortress town of Castrojeriz, recount a series of miracles at the Iglesia de Nuestra Señora del Manzano. These songs make for a set that is both independent and confusing, since they all contain vastly similar narratives concerning a series of accidents that took place over the turbulent course of the church's construction. CSM 242 and CSM 249 both tell the story of a stonemason who loses his footing on a scaffold inside the unfinished church. CSM 252 recalls how a team of masons, working underneath the church, is trapped by an avalanche of building material. Meanwhile, in CSM 266 a beam falls onto a congregation from precarious heights during a mass. That there should be four related stories about Castrojeriz is unsurprising, given the significance of the town and the church to the Castilian royal family.

[278] Alfonso X's grandmother, Berengaria of Castile (ca.1179–1246), was a particularly important patron of the Order of Santiago, which defended all towns that—like Castrojeriz—lay along the *Camino francés* of the Camino de Santiago. Berengaria's special devotion to the church of Santa María del Manzano is implied through her will of 1214, which commanded the construction of a new building. Given Alfonso X's close family relationship with his grandmother, it is understandable that a church in which she invested active interest should be mentioned several times in his own personal artistic and spiritual project.[279]

[278] Conquered from Aragon by Alfonso VII of Castile-León (1155–1214), the town was assimilated under Castilian rule in 1131. Santa María del Manzano, formerly part of a Benedictine monastery, was transferred to Burgos Cathedral by Alfonso VII and secularised under his grandson Alfonso VIII of Castile.

[279] More important, however, is the crucial role Berengaria played in the political makeup of the realm. Prior to 1230, Castile and León had existed as two independent political entities. They were divided after Alfonso VII's death amongst his sons Sancho III of Castile (1134–1158)

Case 1: CSM 242 (**App. 24**)

3.8 E ouve d'acaecer
3.R1 **O que no coraçon d' ome...**

4.1 Un dia en que lavrava
4.2 no mais alto logar y
4.3 da obr', e ambo-los pees
4.4 lle faliron e assi'

Case 2: CSM 252 (**App. 26**)

4.6 Mas acháronos assi
4.7 todos oraçon fazendo
4.8 aa Virgen que aterra
4.R1 **Tan gran poder a ssa Madre...**

5.1 O demo. E poren todos
5.2 foron logo dar loor
5.3 aa Virgen groriosa.

Case 3: CSM 252

2.7 as caeu logo sobr' eles
2.8 o mont', e come quen serra
2.R1 **Tan gran poder a ssa Madre...**

3.1 Porta, assi ensserrados
3.2 foron todos, e sen al
3.3 cuidaron que eran mortos

Case 4: CSM 266 (**App. 28**)

4.5 que caeu hũa gran trave
4.6 sobre la gente; mas non
4.7 quis a Virgen que ferisse
4.8 a nunll' om'. E quen viu tal
4.R1 **De muitas guisas miragres...**

5.1 Miragre! ca tan espessa
5.2 siya a gent' aly
5.3 aquele sermon oyndo,

Fig. 4.i (above): Four cases of interstrophic enjambment in the Castrojeriz set.

The Castrojeriz *CSM* are more perplexing when it comes to their poetic and musical construction. Parkinson notes copious grammatical errors that occur in all four songs, and several of these pose severe complications in the logic of sentence construction.[280] Even more problematic is interstrophic enjambment's effect on narrative cohesion, as demonstrated in the four cases in **Fig. 4.i**. While enjambment across lines and strophes is frequently used throughout the *CSM* as a whole, its use in the four Castrojeriz miracles is pervasive and bizarrely placed. The alternation of

and Ferdinand II of Leon (ca.1137–1188). Berengaria's marriage to Alfonso's grandfather Alfonso IX of León (ca.1171–1230) reunited the crowns of Castile and León after decades of political struggles, and it was partly due to Berengaria's political manoeuvring that her son Ferdinand III (ca.1199–1252) was able to inherit the Castilian throne outright through his maternal line. Following her husband's death, Ferdinand was able to inherit both Castile and León, thus passing on a united realm to Alfonso. Making reference within the *CSM* to a church whose construction she ordered, then, may have served as an implicit reminder of her role in a united Castile. Importance of Berengaria to Ferdinand III is highlighted further in (O'Callaghan 1998, 42–3).

[280] (Parkinson 1997, 76–80).

refrains and strophes means that narrative content enjambed across strophes is bisected, while trains of thought are broken. Could it be that there is an intentional parallel being made, which suggests that central narrative themes of construction relate to architectural problems in the setup of the songs themselves? I expand upon this analogy later in this chapter. For now, it must be stressed that while such an interpretation may seem fanciful, there is much evidence to support it that derives from the text-as-building metaphor.

4.i: The Text-as-Building Metaphor

The links between song manufacture and the construction of buildings were prominent in the later Middle Ages. In his *Ars rhetorica*, the rhetorician Fortunatianus compares the architectural *ductus*—that is, a channel used in the conveyance of liquids—to the *ductus* of rhetoric (I.8).[281] Both share the idea of leading, for a rhetorical *ductus* comprises elements of a speech that direct a listener to think in a particular way. Likewise, the musical *ductus* concerns something that leads one forward melodically.[282] Such close relations between rhetorically regulated song construction and the erection of edifices stem from Classical rhetoric. Cowling further notes how the ordering, framing and gathering of materials are compared between the architect and the poet in Plato's *Gorgias*, and that these passages are echoed in Dionysius of Halicarnassus's *De compositione verborum* (II).[283] The author and engineer Vitruvius' treatise *De architectura* borrows Ciceronian terms for order (*ordinatio*), arrangement (*dispositio*) and proportion (*eurythmia*) for the erection of buildings (I.ii.1).[284] Likewise, Quintilian compares the role of rhetorician and poet to that of a builder. Buildings, Quintilian argues in his *Institutio oratoria*, consist not just

[281] (Carruthers 2010a, 197–8).
[282] (Van Deusen 1994, 37–53).
[283] Ed. and trans. (Lamb 1925, 454–7), (Usher 1985, Vol. 2, 22–5), cit. (Cowling 1998, 140–1).
[284] Ed. and trans. (Granger 1931–4, Vol. 1 (1931), 24–5), cit. (Cowling 1998, 17–8).

of the raw building materials; rather, they need to be deployed and assembled into a rational organisation (or *dispositio*), linking them up logically (VII.Prol., VIII.6, IX.4).[285] Correspondingly a speech, poem or song must make use of the necessary constituent parts, organised rationally by those skilled in the art of rhetorical reasoning.[286] This requires a writer to assemble their text, which is achieved by arranging the material into a hierarchically compiled form that comprises interlocking textual components.

Carruthers observes how these ideas were adopted into early Christian thought, from the representation of Christ as the keystone of the Church, to the designation of St Peter and the popes as the foundations upon which the Church is built (Matt. 16:18).[287] In the New Testament image of the Church centred on Christ, the community of the faithful is incorporated into this architectural ensemble. For instance, in Paul's letter to the Ephesians, the body of believers within the Church is regarded as an assembly of kinsmen and friends to the saints, built upon foundations of apostles and prophets, with Christ as the cornerstone (Eph. 2:19–22). Hence, all are united into one cohesive, logical assembly of faith, which is supported ultimately by Christ. These New Testament ideas stem from an Old Testament Psalm passage that compares God to the rejected cornerstone (Ps. 118:22), and which Christ, his disciples and the evangelists heavily quote in the gospels and epistles.[288]

The theological link between architecture and text in biblical sources was highly influential to early patristic thinkers from the time of Origen. Rabanus Maurus gives a lengthy allegory of the scriptural text as a building in the prologue to the *Allegoriae in universam sacram scripturam*, with *historia* as the foundation, *allegoria*

[285] Ed. and trans. (Russell 2001, Vol. 3, 150–1, 462–3; Vol. 4, 174–5), cit. (Cowling 1998, 141).
[286] (Spence 2007, 19–96), (Crossley 2010), (Carruthers 2010a).
[287] (Carruthers 1998, 14–21), (Ohly 1986, 954–71).
[288] Ps. 118:22, quoted by Jesus and reported in Matt. 21:42, Mark 21:10, Luke 20:17 and 1 Pet. 2:7. Note also the large number of New Testament passages that draw links between architecture and words/text: Matt. 7:24–7, Luke 6:46–9, 1 Cor. 14:26. Likewise, those that draw links between the strength of a building and the faith of the assembly of believers, 1 Pet. 2:7, Col. 2:7.

forming the walls, *anagogia* the roof, and *tropologia* as the decoration.[289] In Rabanus Maurus's allegory, *historia* sets the precedent for *inventio*. It is thus the basis of *memoria*, which Leach interprets as the source of available, pre-existing ideas that the mind assembles—like a builder or craftsman—into new structures and ideas.[290] The text-as-building metaphor was also increasingly used as a rhetorical means to justify the morality of architectural standards. In his treatise on the construction of church buildings, John Bromyard uses the terms *ordinatio* and *dispositio* for the organisation of a monastic house's cloister. Such rhetorically charged terms imbued the spatial organisation of a sacred house with the moral and spiritual beauty characteristic of a well-constructed sermon or religious letter.[291] This is mirrored in Geoffrey of Vinsauf's advice to poets, instructing them first to assess the material relevant to the matter at hand, as an architect draws up a circle with a compass. The workman–poet should then construct the whole fabric of the poem within the buildings of the mind (LV–LIX).[292] Here, Carruthers notes that the conventional image of the composer as master builder is present. Furthermore, she compares the depiction of the builder or surveyor as mapper to the composer as mapper—one who needs to map a composition in the mind before performing it or writing it down. A further level of mapping is insinuated by Geoffrey from the pricks and rulings that set up a page's *mise en scène* before text, music and miniatures are incorporated into a manuscript.

The text-as-building metaphor most commonly deploys a church or temple as an allegorised receptacle of the logically structured arguments within sacred texts. It also serves a further purpose: that is, containing and strengthening the faith of the believers, who are convinced by the reading of those texts. Consequently, most

[289] Ed. (Migne 1844–91, Vol. 112 (1878), 849–50), cit. (Cowling 1998, 143), Additional architectural references noted in Maurus's Bible commentaries (De Lubac 2000, Vol. 2, 48, 109, 267, 334).
[290] (Leach 2010, 73).
[291] (Carruthers 2010b, 36).
[292] Ed. (Faral 1924, 199), trans. (Nims 2010, 20), cit (Carruthers 2010a, 190).

instances of the text-as-building metaphor describe a sacred building as resting on strong foundations, representing a firmly argued basis in *historia* and *memoria*. The impenetrable walls represent either the *allegoria* that supports an argument, or the *approbatio* of circumstantial evidence. Both these components must be suitably well constructed to support the *argumentatio* in the building's roof. Thus, the text-as-building metaphor consistently valorises the building in positive terms as strong, secure and impregnable. What then are listeners to make of four songs that, rather than upholding the text-as-building metaphor in its conventional form, instead subvert it to highlight its potential shortfalls? In the Castrojeriz *CSM*, the narrative logic is consistently undermined by the structural logic of the songs. This is paralleled by a consistently precarious narrative surrounding the church's construction. If the listeners of these songs—attuned to the text-as-building metaphor—were to hear four songs describing God's house as prone to structural collapse, what kind of reaction could be expected towards the supposedly coherent text?

The basic premise of this chapter is that cases such as these provoke a radical rethinking of the hermeneutical and epistemological principles that grounded construction, performance, and reception of song. If pervasive interstrophic enjambment throughout narrative text is permitted—in which refrains that are strictly didactic and non-narrative are allowed to interrupt the flow of self-contained sentences—performers and listeners can arrive at two potential conclusions. Either, a sense of narrative cohesion and syntactical correctness is unimportant, thereby implying that songs can sacrifice their narrative logic at the expense of poetic or musical form. In essence, the story of a collapsing church is realised by the musical-poetic structure instigating a breakdown of narrative. Alternatively, one may reason that an exegetic refrain proffers alternative or additional meaning to the narratively

autonomous passage that it bifurcates. I argue, from a soft hermeneutics standpoint, that both conclusions may be valid insofar as individuals who wrote, performed or listened to a song may have interpreted it under internalised circumstances.[293] Using several narratively difficult moments in the Castrojeriz group, I show in this chapter how an analysis directed by poetic, musical and performative thinking may aid in furthering multiple understandings of these songs. I also consider how instances of problematic song structures may mirror narrative themes of construction, further complicating the portrayal of the text-as-building metaphor detailed above.

4.ii: Duplicated Narratives in CSM 242 and CSM 249

CSM 242 and CSM 249 both contain remarkably similar storylines of a stonemason who loses his footing while working at the top of the Iglesia de Santa María del Manzano. The only significant narrative difference between them is that the stonemason of CSM 242 is saved from falling by the Virgin, whereas in CSM 249 the worker manages to fall and survive without injury. Parkinson has claimed that CSM 242 in its current form arose from a five-strophe version that had been expanded by an incompetent scribe, while CSM 249 is an adaptation from CSM 242's original.[294] This, he claims, explains CSM 242's want of narrative progression in strophes 3 to 5, as well as its infelicities of syntax and grammar. In this analysis, I do not seek to refute Parkinson's claims concerning either of the song's origins, but instead offer the

[293] I take this term from (Abbate 2004, 516–7). Abbate defines 'soft' hermeneutics as that which 'acknowledges [supra-audible] content as a product born in messy collisions between interpreting subject and musical object'. Abbate defines soft hermeneutics in opposition to that which is 'low', which 'crav[es] the blessing of history or the dead and seeing immanent supra-audible content in musical artefacts from the past'. Abbate states that soft hermeneutics inevitably becomes low, since 'hermeneutics' fundamental gesture is determining and summing authority, not leaving open or withdrawing'.

[294] (Parkinson 1997, 82). Summarised in diagram form, (Ibid., 84). Parkinson argues that **T** and **F**'s layout requirements of 88 lines per page required seven-strophe *CSM* that could follow each other while starting at the top of a new folio, enforcing CSM 242's expansion to seven strophes.

suggestion that songs still conveyed meaning on a sonic level within a performative context, despite ostensibly lacking syntactical or grammatical direction.

It is certainly true that CSM 242 (**App. 24**) has a less than conventional narrative structure. In most *CSM*, the authorial voice—implicitly Alfonso X—speaks to the reader in the first strophe as part of the *exordium*. CSM 242 is unorthodox, however, in that the *exordium* is distributed across two strophes. Strophe 1 expands on the sentiments elucidated in the refrain ('E d' ela fazer aquesto / á gran poder, a la fe,' 1.1–2). This leaves Alfonso X's stated will to narrate and the detailing of geographic particulars to strophe 2 ('E dest' un muy gran miragre / vos quer' [eu] ora contar', 2.1–2).[295] The main narrative body—in which the stonemason slips and is saved miraculously by his fingernails—only begins in strophe 3, and continues to strophe 5 with much copying of material between strophes. For instance, both strophes 4 and 5 duplicate the stonemason's appeal to the Virgin ('e assi / coidou caer, e a Virgen / chamou,' 4.4–6; 'e assi chamand' estava / a Sennor que nos manten,' 5.5–6). The stonemason is found by the townspeople in strophe 6 ('ata que vẽo a gente' 6.7), and strophe 7 depicts the entire company praising Mary in conventional manner of a *peroratio* ('Todos quantos esto viron / loaron de coraçon', 7.1–2) and then making the miracle known throughout the land ('e fezeron o miragre / per essa terra saber.' 7.7–8). Parkinson claims that strophe 1's dramatic redundancy suggests it may have been added later, which justifies 'giving musicians what they frequently want—good reason for omitting one or more strophes to make a performance of manageable (or recordable) length'.[296] I disagree: although the narrative of CSM 242 may at first

[295] Parkinson argues that this is proof of strophe 1's addition in a later version of CSM 242. He states that the initial expansion to six strophes was insufficient for **F**'s layout requirements. The conclusive final strophe of CSM 242 necessitated expansion elsewhere, while the first strophe (now strophe 2) already explained the *razom* of the song. The easiest solution was apparently to create a new first strophe that instead paraphrased the refrain.

[296] (Parkinson 1997, 86). It should be noted, however, that while modern performers frequently do excise strophes in recordings, this is not necessarily done with any

glance seem incoherent, further analysis reveals that strophe-end recap works to expose a linear narrative through a memorially marked structure.

CSM 242, like the remainder of the songs in the Castrojeriz set, is structurally conventional, as demonstrated in tabular form in the appendix. In fact, CSM 242's poetic form is identical to those of CSM 249, CSM 252 and CSM 266 in both rhyme and versification: namely, recap of the refrain rhyme 'a' in line 8 of each strophe. Musically, these songs vary in terms of phrasal patterns, yet all incorporate a complete recap of the musical refrain beginning in line 5 of the strophe—that is, four full lines before the recap of rhyme 'a'. All therefore correlate to a general structure governed by strophe-end recap. This memorially marked setup is perfectly suited to make sense of the linear narratives within the set. Sections of strophe-end recap—corresponding in all Castrojeriz songs to strophe lines 5 to 8—consistently emphasise narratively significant and dynamic material.

In CSM 242, this works so efficiently that when placed together on their own, all the song's sections of strophe-end recap create a coherent, independent narrative. Any attempt to excise individual strophes—as Parkinson suggests—would be highly contradictory, as it would result in narrative *non sequiturs*. While this does not obviate patent cases of grammatical and syntactical infelicity, it does indicate that these songs can still retain meaning to its listeners on an auditory level when perceived within a memorially marked song form. Turning to one of the most problematic sections flagged up by Parkinson, the main *narratio* in CSM 242 falls in strophes 3 to 5, and includes much repetition of material across strophes. Parkinson sees this repetition as corruptions from an original pair of strophes that were expanded.[297]

---

consideration of narrative logic, and that numerous recordings merely include the minimal number of acceptable strophes that appear first in the manuscript sources.

[297] Parkinson believes that the material for strophes 3 to 5 existed initially as strophes 2 to 3 of an older version of the song. It was due to CSM 249 having seven strophes that CSM 242 was initially expanded: current strophe 3 was given a new '-al' rhyme, and use of the stock phrase

Embellishing from an older song resulted in a more chaotic final version. Had CSM 242 been written anew—without recourse to this older draft—Parkinson reasons that the narrative structure would have been more linear, with fewer cases of duplication. However, the memorially marked lines 5–8 of strophes 3–5 do provide a clear narrative progression. When taken sequentially, there is a clear narrative succession of the stonemason working ('lavrar encima da obra.' 3.7), falling ('coidou caer,', 4.5), invocating ('e assi chamand' estava / a Sennor', 5.5–6), and being saved ('e colgado por caer.' 5.8). The interstrophic enjambment between strophes 3, 4 and 5—ponderous when viewed as a succession of strophes with interposed refrains—links these sections syntactically as well as narratively, when they are viewed as a hypothetical sequence.[298] If the cases of strophe-end recap are distinct enough, there may be reason to argue that the text set to it is more readily heard and remembered, even if it is scattered between other narrative material.

As well as shoring up potential weaknesses in narrative structure, lines 5 to 8 of strophes frequently furnish additional exegetical meaning to what has been already heard.[299] In strophe 1, Parkinson notes that there is poetic deficiency brought about by clumsy repetition of vocabulary. Specifically, lines 1.2–3 and 1.8 both make use of 'vertude' and 'poder'. However, their division within two sections of the strophe imbues them with subtly different meanings. Lines 1.2–3 offer up

---

'na Virgen espirital' meant that two strophes had insufficient space to accommodate the narrative, requiring expansion to three strophes. Strophe 5 of CSM 249 is apparently based on the narrative structure and rhyme sounds ('-ou') of the original strophe 3 of CSM 242. This necessitated the redrafting of strophes 4 and 5 in CSM 242 to adopt a new set of rhyme sounds, and relegating the original '-ou' rhyme words to other points in strophe 4, (Parkinson 1997, 82–4). Major instances of narrative duplication fall in lines 3.7 and 4.2–3; 4.7, 5.3 and 5.7; 4.8 and 5.2; and 5.4 and 5.8.

[298] '[3.8] E ouve d' acaecer /.../ [4.5] coidou caer, e a Virgen / chamou, per com' aprendi, / os dedos en hua pedra / deitou, e fez-lo teer /.../ [5.5] e assi chamand' estava / a Sennor que nos manten, / dependorado das unllas / e colgado por caer.'

[299] On the significance of the *razom* within the standard *CSM* poetic structure, see Chapter 3 and (Montoya Martínez 1996). Montoya Martínez argues that material within refrains is frequently allied to that of the strophe in subject matter as well as end rhyme.

circumstantial information on Mary's authority: it has been given to her from God ('ca Deus lle deu tal vertude / que sobre natura e;' 1.3–4). It is only in the second half of the strophe where the essential explication is given: Mary utilises this power and virtue to come to the aid of her believers, and this is done swiftly to those who ask for it ('mui tost' acá nos acorre / sa vertud' e seu poder.' 1.7–8). The audible reappearance of the 'a' rhyme ('-er') in line 1.8 accentuates the relation between her aid ('e seu poder.') and the faith of her believers ('mui cruu de creer,', R2): it refers implicitly to the pair of line endings in R2 and R4, linking her faithful ('creer', R2) and the active verb of performing ('fazer', R4) with the Virgin's divine authority ('poder', 1.8). Thus, there is a clear accord in semantics, generated by the simultaneous harmony in metre, melody and rhyme.

Subsequent strophes work in corresponding ways. Strophe 2 provides geographical specifics in 2.1–4 ('que en Castroxeriz fezo', 2.3), while lines 2.5–8 clarify the agent ('por un bon ome pedreiro,', 2.5) and his devotion ('que cada dia lavrar / ya ena sa ygreja,', 2.6–7), while summarising the fundamental narrative of the miracle. The main miracle event—Mary not letting the stonemason die ('non quis leixar morrer.')—is reserved for line 2.8 and the recurrence of rhyme ending 'a'. Parkinson notes that lines 5.5–8 essentially repeat material found in 5.1–4 ('Enas unllas atan ben / o teve,' 5.2–3; 'dependorado das unllas', 5.7). However, they also reframe repeated material within the didactic message of the song: that is, the stonemason was saved from falling ('caer') as a consequence of his invocation to Mary ('e assi chamand' estava / a Sennor que nos manten'). This contradicts lines 5.1–4, which are dramatically superfluous: namely, that the stonemason did not fall, even though he may have been large and unwieldy ('macar gross' era,', 5.3). Similarly, the enjambed line between 4.8 and 5.1, although ungainly in construction, fulfils some demand for clarity. It aligns the 'teer' of 4.8 sonically with Mary's miraculous act in the refrain

('ligeiro fazer.', R4). That the rest of the sentence is enjambed to the end of the line is less problematic than Parkinson claims: while the grammatical structure is corrupted, the Virgin as subject is obvious by context, and is implied strongly by her mention in the refrain text that follows ('pode-o Santa Maria / mui de ligeiro fazer.', R3–R4).

Given that I am arguing for alternative readings in spite of sure instances of grammatical infelicity, there is little to substantiate these findings without considering the sonic prominence of the refrain. If a refrain melody is neither perceptible nor memorable, it follows that any text set to it is unlikely to be held applicable to the song's message. In this analysis, I demonstrate how lines 5 to 8 stand out as melodically distinct in relation to lines 1 to 4, due to strophe-end recap. They can therefore highlight points of narrative focus, and so guide the listener through the narrative. In the refrain, CSM 242 deploys *D* as a final tone of stasis, although the prominence of this tone is not overtly specified from the outset.[300] R1 starts on *F*, moving down to *C* by musical segment *i*, and then rising back via third jump (segment *ii*) to *G* and returning to a terminus on *F*. This seemingly self-contained musical line is immediately contrasted with the ascent to the higher terminus of *a* in R2. Not only does this *a* tone exceed R1's upper limit of *G*, but it is also secured by a third wedge that contains *G* and, crucially, *b*-fa.[301] R3 descends back down to *C* and terminates on *E* via step, and yet this is insufficient to provide resolution from the relative extremes of R2. Instead, R4 must refer back to R1 via segment *ia*, which endorses *D* as primary tonal terminus, approached by step from *C*. Thus, the refrain

[300] (Huseby 1983a, 293, 300) notes that, were the song to be modally conceived, CSM 242 would be classed as *protus* authentic.

[301] As notated in **E** in R2; R4 does not notate the *b*-fa, although in my edition I assume that the second *b* is implicitly flattened. Similar use of thirds as cadential wedge—particularly in *protus* modes—is discussed in (McAlpine 2008, 107, 138–9). Use of the third as a cadential segment in chant is addressed in (Hudson 2006, 5–13), and reasons for its use in the Middle Ages questioned in (Hornby 2007, 668–9).

of CSM 242 presents a *D*-based tonality with some dependency on *F*, with a point of distance provided by *a* and its neighbouring tones. Segment *i* is crucial in establishing tonal cohesion, and yet this is only achieved fully in R4, since segment *ii* in R1 diverts the tonality back to *F*, and thence to the extremes of R2. This structure is therefore intrinsically end-directed. The *D* terminus and the '-er' rhyme combined are only perceived sonically at the last possible moment: that is, at the very end of the musical-poetic unit.

The strophes consist of melodic material already seen in the refrain. Lines 1 to 4 contain two pairs of lines derived from R1 to R4, although not stated as a full reiteration. These lines are melodically distinct from lines 5 to 8, which comprise a repeat in full of lines R1 to R4. Each of the line pairs 1–2 and 3–4 begins with a restatement of R3's melody. This is followed by a return to *D*, a repetition of segment *ii*, and a final close onto *D* via a descent from *F* to *C*, which mirrors the cadential figure of R3. While this section establishes *D* as a tonal axis, it is less secure than the refrain melody. Although *a* appears at the beginning of each line pair (1 and 3), it is not approached via a stabilising *G* to *b*-fa wedge as in R2 and line 6. Instead, lines 1 and 3 each follow a clear close on *D* in R4 and line 2 respectively. These *a* tones are in a somewhat weak position compared to the *D* tones that precede them. Moreover—and like the *F* in R1 and line 5—these opening *a* tones do not automatically indicate a privileged status. Tailed immediately by the descent to *C*, there is no verification of *a* as a key tone, as in line R2. Segment *ii* is reiterated and here acquires new meaning as an outer wedge to the *F* to *C* cadential pattern at the ends of the lines. Consequently, lines 2 and 4 give a proportionately uneven balance to a *D*-based stability, which differs from the *D*-*a* equilibrium felt in R1–R4 and 5–8.

Structurally, these features imply an aural vacillation between the tonally grounded strophe-end recap in lines 5 to 8, and the instability of lines 1 to 4, in each

strophe. The two pairs of lines 1 to 4 of each strophe are stunted due to lack of the *a* secondary terminus, and provide insufficient melodic balance since phrases consist of two lines rather than the refrain's four. The division into two shorter phrases of two lines each further accentuates their tonal insufficiency, and augurs the relative stability of the refrain. However, these two shorter lines also combine to make the same length as the refrain, and thus serve as a suitable point of contrast to the strophe-end recap in lines 5 to 8.

The aural distinctiveness of the refrain melody is not unique to CSM 242. The refrain of CSM 249 (**App. 25**) also expresses a marked equilibrium between tonal polarities. Like CSM 242, this is deployed in lines 5 to 8 as strophe-end recap, and hence is distinguished from the tonally destabilising effects of strophe lines 1 to 4. In a similar way to CSM 242, CSM 249 sonically delineates two halves of the strophe, therefore facilitating a narrative outlining between the static in lines 1 to 4, and the dynamic in lines 5 to 8. The refrain's starting tone *d* does not turn out to be the primary terminus. Instead, rising to *f* and descending via melodic segment *i*, line R1's concluding *G* emerges as an important tonal terminus. R2 increases the ambiguity: segment *ia*—similar to the opening segment *i* but starting on *a* with an appended third ascent—still implies dependency on *G*, and yet is followed by a return to *d*. Unlike CSM 242, these tonal focuses do not have the stability engendered by cadential formulae as in CSM 242's segment *i*.[302] As a result, tonal emphases are merely hinted, and do not achieve any real sense of finality. R3, almost identical to R1, restates this pattern almost identically.[303] It is only in line R4 where the refrain closes, and re-establishes *G* as the primary terminus. This is achieved by reusing segment

[302] CSM 249's phrasal endings at R1 and R2 reach their final tones via third leap. I consider these endings less final than ones where an interval of a third acts as a wedge, preparing for and highlighting the middle tone.

[303] There are notational discrepancies between R3 and line 7 in **E**: the former has a binary neume on syllable 6, whereas the latter has a single neume, identical to R1 and strophe line 5.

ia—much like in R2—and affixing a similar cadential pattern to segment *ii* of R1.[304] Unlike R1, however, this cadence's succeeding segment *ia* allows *G* to appear twice, linking it with a *G* to *b*-mi third, and thence allowing greater structural groundedness.[305] The refrain, then, consists of two pairs of lines with much melodic resemblance to each other: the first ends openly on *d*, with the second concluding on the *G* terminus.

Meanwhile, lines 1 to 4 of the strophes do not show such balance. Each line begins on *d* with what looks to be a transposition of segment *i* (*ib*). Were this to mirror segment *ia* in line R4, there would be a subsequent close on *c*. However, this is thwarted in lines 1 and 3 by a rise that goes back up to *f*. This echoes the upward motion heard previously in R2—the return to the familiar tone of *d*—except here the tone that is referenced is the even higher remove of *f*. It is only in lines 2 and 4 where the listener hears *c* as a closing terminus. These cadences—exact transpositions by a fourth of R4—make the *c* terminus relatively conclusive. This is due not only to *c*'s double presence in the closing figure, but also because of the sonic recall of R4 and its own finality on *G*. This makes for a convincing yet unbalanced strophic structure. Lines 1 and 3 are vaguer, beginning on the same tones as lines R1 and R3, but using segment *ib*. The return to *f* is less expected, since *f* emerges not just as a terminus to lines 1 and 3, but also as an upper limit to the *c* to *f* ambitus of the first half of the strophe. Line 4 terminates with *c*—as would be expected from a transposed segment *iib* starting on *d*—and yet the use of segment *iic* implicitly acts as a souvenir of line R4, and its association with *G*. Thus, the first half of the strophe encompasses two shorter melodic statements that, while referring to the melody of the refrain, do not achieve its finality. They leave the listener with the expectancy of and desire for the

[304] This closing pattern also much resembles a reverse of segment *i* and its derivatives.
[305] Third intervals are not limited to acting as wedges to enforce a sense of groundedness. In the case of R4, the double statement of *G*—the lower tone of a third from *G* to *b*-mi at syllables 4 and 7—is indicative of *G* as a crucial tonal terminus.

return of the more sonically tenacious and enduring refrain melody, grounded on *G*. In lines 1 to 4, melodies of individual lines may achieve finality on their own terms; there nevertheless remains an overall lack of tonal balance.

Lines 1 to 4 of CSM 242 and CSM 249 both salvage refrain material in a way that anticipates the return of their individual melodies in lines 5 to 8, and yet the way they function structurally are distinct. In CSM 242, the two-line melody in lines 1 to 4 of the strophe states all points of tonal focus from the refrain. However, it is through the lack of cadential segments that stabilise *a* that the sense of tonal balance falls short. Meanwhile, CSM 249 does not even refer to the *G* terminus seen in R4. It instead makes use of a new ending on *c* with clearer cadential figures. In lines 1 to 4, CSM 249 ostensibly colonises a new tonal area that is only referenced in passing in the refrain. It thus replicates the more tonally direct R4 within a new hierarchical framework. CSM 242 makes for a more precise duplication of its own R3, and yet its tonal ambivalence funds the lack of finality seen in the first half of the strophe.[306]

Given Parkinson's claims that CSM 249 was based upon CSM 242's original, five-strophe version, the listener can now reassess the second narrative of the lucky stonemason.[307] While both CSM 242 and CSM 249 display a great deal of structural likeness, CSM 249 was evidently created along simpler, more chronological narrative lines. This can be perceived since it displays narrative development in each consecutive section of strophe-end recap. Each return of the refrain melody introduces a new turn in the miracle's plot, with lines 1 to 4 merely recycling

[306] On the melodic behaviour of first halves of strophes, see (Johnson 2014, 214–24). Johnson draws in parallels with the *dança* form of troubadour poetry. Theories of modal commixture in *CSM* strophe sections are discussed in (Huseby 1983a), (Huseby 1983b) and (Huseby 1988).
[307] Noting their similar versifications, narrative structures and unadventurous use of oxytonic rhymes, Parkinson remarks that transformations of rhyme endings could easily result in an entire strophe of CSM 249 being incorporated into CSM 242, (Parkinson 1997, 80). Parkinson additionally notes that 28 oxytonic lines across all four Castrojeriz *CSM* only make use of 15 different rhyme endings (78).

narrative material from lines 5 to 8 of the preceding strophe.[308] Thus, lines 2.5–8 introduce the protagonist of the miracle ('Mas un deles ren pedir', 2.8), while 3.5–8 announces the miracle for the second time ('E porend' or' ascoitade / o que ll'avẽo enton,', 3.5–6). In 4.5–8, the listener learns of the accident ('foron-ll' os pees falir,', 4.8), while 5.5–8 introduces Mary's salvation ('assi o guardou a Virgen', 5.7), and lines 6.5–8 turn to the protagonist's praise ('por loar a ssa mercee / e os seus bẽes gracir.', 6.7–8). This structure therefore allows narratively novel and significant material to be highlighted by its placement in memorially marked sections. Old narrative material is placed in the less sonically tenacious lines 1–4, and so is relayed for those who did not grasp it fully the first time. Given Parkinson's assertions that CSM 249 was a later redaction of an initial CSM 242—which I am still inclined to believe—it is not surprising that the narrative structure here is better planned. With the exception of strophe 3, there is a clear succession of main ideas between strophes. Compared to its pervasive deployment between strophes in CSM 242, no cases of interstrophic enjambment in CSM 249 exhibit serious interruption of narrative.[309] The refrain melody within the strophe, distinguished from lines 1 to 4, is both noticeable and sought after for its confirmation of *G* as a tonal terminus, not to mention for its more balanced structure of line pairs. Thus the refrain melody can again lay claim to acting as a memorially marked sonic cue, informing the audience of a text's importance and acting as an aid in the internalisation of the plot.

Sonic cues of melody and rhyme are arguably as important in recalling previous sections of narrative. In CSM 249, the recap of the refrain's 'a' rhymes displays prominent themes of devotion to Mary ('Santa Maria servir', R2), as well as

[308] Galvez, referring to Crocker's discussion of Augustine's views in *De musica*, notes how the *versus* of Latin poetry was constructed as a unit of sense, which was to be elucidated not only in rhyme but in melody. See (Galvez 2012, 25–7). Crocker states that Augustine 'described the *versus* as the metric unit after which one "turns back" (*revertere*) to begin the next line or "verse"'. See (Deferrari 1947), (Crocker 2007–).

[309] Although cases of enjambment also potentially fall in lines 2.8–3.4, 4.7–5.1, and 5.7–6.2.

the listener's potential to doubt an unlikely miracle ('sen mentir.', R4). It explicates the Thomist view—common in the late-thirteenth century—that though doubt may beset the believer, faith acts as the primary way to arrive at truth, over and above scientific reason.[310] Thus there is reference in 1.7 ('e por Deus, meted' y mentes') to 'mentes', a cognate of the 'mentir' in R4, reflecting the subject's ability to take heed of the words anticipated in strophe 1, despite doubting its validity.[311] The authorial voice of Alfonso therefore requests that the audience hear attentively ('e querede-o oyr.', 1.8) to understand the *razom* of the song: truth via faith literally arrives to the believer through sonic experience. This revelation is achieved through an understanding of the text, but also via a sonic recall of the refrain, instigated during these sections of strophe-end recap. In 3.8, the narrator exclaims that the listener will, if they take heed, be able to recount the miracle to new listeners ('que falar e departir.', 3.8). Yet here, the listeners' doubts are also implied: if they are truly faithful, the reader of the miracle will be willing to risk scepticism and even derision when they recount it to others. Some strophes comment further on the implausibility of the miracle: specifically, 4.8 ('foron-ll' os pees falir') and 5.8 ('que sol non se foi ferir,') both reiterate that the believer may take the story for a lie. However, as R2's sonic reference implies, they will be willing to believe the miracle if they are genuine followers. The good faith of the narrative object in R2 ('Santa Maria servir')—he who asks for nothing more than to serve Mary ('ren pedir', 2.8) and gives thanks for his

[310] Aquinas notes that neither faith nor opinion can be of things seen either by the senses or the intellect (II.II, 1.iv, ad.1), ed. and trans. (Fathers of the English Dominican Province 1947). Likewise, in the Paradiso (Par. 2, 49–148), Beatrice explains to Dante how the moon has dark patches: according to Beatrice, it is due to the difference in nature of heavenly bodies, which reflect light (shining down from the *perpetuum mobile*) according to the degree of virtue they contain. This, Beatrice argues, can only be deduced by faith in divine knowledge, which transcends Dante's own scientific reason. Ed. (Chiavacci Leonardi 1999–7, 39–43) trans. (Higgins 2008, 357–9).

[311] 'Mentir' deriving from the Latin 'mentior', itself a denominal verb of 'mens'.

blessings ('os seus beẽs gracir.', 6.8)—is thus implicitly conjured up through association with the 'a' rhyme at the end of each successive strophe.

The relations between CSM 242 and CSM 249 are obvious, given the similarity of their stories, not to mention the ways they deal with sonic planning of narrative. Through Parkinson's work, the listener can tentatively assume that CSM 249 was composed out of an earlier version of CSM 242, now lost. Given that scribes and composers were effectively making a second if not third attempt at a miracle narrative, it is understandable that CSM 249 should show better narrative planning. Meanwhile, CSM 242 in its current form makes best use of the earlier version that was available to its writers. Although its narrative plan is more convoluted, the sonic consequence of its refrain melody plays a vital role in restoring meaning in sections that would otherwise have been lost to the listener.

4.iii: CSM 252 and CSM266 as Cousins in Construction

Although they both share the same broad theme of construction, CSM 252 and CSM 266 deal with different narratives to those of CSM 242 and CSM 249. The interaction between structure and narrative is also more intricate. From first impressions, pervasive enjambment impacts narrative autonomy to a greater degree. The single case of interstrophic enjambment in CSM 242 is minor compared to the three cases of enjambed single words or sense units in CSM 252 and CSM 266.[312] Given crude text copyings, analysts may easily maintain that these songs were rushed and poorly executed attempts to reach a hypothetical 400 *CSM* in codices **E** and **T–F**.[313] How then might this more problematic pair be unscrambled? Issues of narrative disjunction—attributed traditionally to codicological mistakes—might better be addressed by

[312] I refer again to **Fig 4.i**, cases 2, 3 and 4.
[313] For example, CSM 242, 6.6 with CSM 249, 1.4; CSM 249, R4 with CSM 252, 1.4. In addition to what has been said by Parkinson (77–80), there is an exact replication of 'b' rhyme endings in CSM 242, strophes 2–4 and CSM 252 strophes 2–4 ('-ar'; '-al'; and '-i').

considering how readers, performers and listeners would have confronted these unusual songs.

CSM 252's (**App. 26**) structural planning shows much resemblance to CSM 242. Its five strophes make it the shortest of the Castrojeriz *CSM*, and yet there is a clear sequence of ideas in each strophe. The typical *exordium* is given in strophe 1 ('E sobr' aquest' un miragre / pequenn' e bõo d'oyr / direi', 1.1–3), and the catastrophic avalanche falls in strophe 2 ('mas caeu logo sobr' eles / o mont',', 2.7–8). Mary's protection occurs in strophe 3 ('e os defendeu de mal', 3.7), the revelation in strophe 4 ('mas acháranos assi / todos oraçon fazendo', 4.6–7), and the traditional thanksgiving and *peroratio* in strophe 5 ('E poren todos / foron logo dar loor', 5.1–2). As with CSM 242 and CSM 249, there exists a division between essential and non-essential narrative material in lines 1 to 4, and the strophe-end recap in lines 5 to 8. To mention especially germane instances, strophe 2 provides contextual material (location, narration of authorial voice) that reiterates the *exordium* in lines 1 to 4, and the beginnings of the avalanche in lines 5 to 8 ('mas caeu logo sobr' eles / o mont', e come quen serra', 2.7–8). In strophe 3, the first four lines are devoted to the workers' fear ('e sen al / cuidaron que eran mortos.' 3.2–3), whereas the final four explicate how Mary came to save them from the devil ('e os defendeu de mal / do demo,', 3.6–7). In some instances, lines 5 to 8 provide exegetical furnishing: in strophe 1 this is the essential message that Mary protects those who serve her above all others ('como guarda quen servir', 1.6). Likewise, the final lines of strophe 5 reassure that those whom the devil ensnares are those whom the Virgin also seeks to save ('ca o que o demo mete / en ferros, ela desferra.', 5.7–8).

This bifurcation of strophes is also represented musically, allowing these narratively and didactically active moments to be rendered aurally distinctive and memorable. Melodically, CSM 252 contains a final tone *G*. Unlike CSM 242 and CSM

249, this tone is clear from the beginning of the song's refrain. The refrain as a whole has a wide range of an octave from *G* to *g*, as well as deploying *G* on opening and closing tones. R1 charts the upper hexachord to *e*, leaping from *G* to *b*-mi via segment *i*, and thereafter rising by step to *e*.[314] Its subsequent close marks *d* as an open tonal terminus in contrast to *G*. Meanwhile R2, also ending on *d*, explores an upper tonal range from *d* to *g*, rising and then falling via the terminating segment *ii*. The two lines thus separate the *G* to *g* octave into a structural pentachord and tetrachord respectively.[315] R3, contained within the *a* to *e* pentachord, begins on *b*-mi, ascends to *e* via a transposed segment *i* (*ia*), and ends on *a* as the tone above the anticipated *G* terminus. This materialises in R4, although not without a strongly outlined chain of thirds from *c* to *F* (segment *iii*), the lowest tone of which provides the counterweight to R3's ending of *a*.

Looking at the first line pair of the strophe, lines 1 and 2 both start with the same succession of segments *i* and *iii* seen in R4. Following this is a leap of a third to *a* and a cadence on *b*-mi in line 1, and then a rise to *b*-mi via step and third leap down to *G* in line 2. While these two lines include many of the melodic segments seen in the refrain, they do not contain the same level of balance. Segment *iii* is used in R4 to underline *F* and its relation to *a* as neighbour tones of the *G* primary terminus. In lines 1 and 2, it emerges twice, with no real highlighting of *a* as a structural tone to award it the same significance. Meanwhile, *d*, stressed in R1 and R2 with the status of subsidiary open terminus, is in lines 1 to 4 only revealed as the upper extension of

[314] Third upward leaps are used here so pervasively that I have categorised them as segment *i*, without meaning to state that they are all identical. Segment *i* in R1, for instance, is different from segment *ia* in R3 and R4, which comprises a rise of a minor third rather than a major third. Other rises of thirds, such as the figure from *F* to *a* in lines 1 and 3, are not given the same motivic significance of segment *i* and its variants, since they do not begin a melodic line.

[315] While R1 actually has a hexachordal range (*G* to *e*), I consider it a structural pentachord, owing to *e*'s accessory nature: it is only stated once mid-line, and only appears as a superseding of a strongly outlined *d* terminus.

segment *ia*. This occurs mid-line, and is immediately followed by a fall to *c*. Furthermore, the upper tetrachord from *d* to *g*, explored in R2, is overlooked in lines 1 to 4. In this section, the *G* primary terminus conflicts with a new opposing terminal tone of *b*-mi, as well as an exploration of *F* that receives insufficient balance from the *a* seen in R3 of the refrain. The effect is to intensify a general sense of imbalance and tonal wanting: it sets up a reminder of *G* as a tonal centre, and a sign that the stability with the rest of the song's melodic range is yet to come.

In comparison to the other three songs in the Castrojeriz group, CSM 266's (**App. 28**) refrain melody is the most confusing. R1 and R3, both identical, are entirely stepwise in motion, charting an initial ascent from *c* to *f*, followed by a descent to *d* and a final ascent to *g*. Other than relying upon starting and final tones, nowhere in the melody are there conventional concluding figures that may indicate tones of structural significance. It is only at the end of line R2, following a stepwise fall from *a* to *d*, that a downward leap of a third from *e* to *c* breaks the stepwise motion. Its third leap comes as a surprise: the listener may be encouraged—given the previous precedent for congruent motion—to fill in this third with a *d*, implying *d* as a structural tone that will be revealed later. This is realised in line R4, where the same downward third is used as a wedge in a binary neume on the penultimate syllable to anticipate the arrival on *d*.

If the refrain and strophe lines 5 to 8 comprise a primary terminus on *d* that is contrasted with an open ending on *c*, what is the function of strophe lines 1 to 4? Within the strophes, there is a fundamental contrast between simple, conjunct movement and a *C* to *a* ambitus in lines 5 to 8, contradicted by insistence on repeated tones and greater deployment of third leaps outside the context of a cadential segment within lines 1 to 4. Focussing on lines 1 and 2, both passages commence on *a* and restate this tone three times. Line 1 then descends and returns by leap to *f*,

reaching *b*-fa on a binary neume, before falling conjunctly by a third to *f*. This conjunct fall of a third is also deployed in line 2, after which *a* descends by step to finish on *d*. These falling thirds act as terminating segments to what seems to be a phrase based upon a static reciting tone of *a*. The deployment of third leaps mid-line contrasts to its clear use in the refrain as a structural motif for phrasal endings. Closing figures on *f* and *d* in lines 1 and 2 respectively are supplied by third cadential figures, yet they are stepwise. The remaining material in both lines consists largely of intonation upon an *a* tone, with use of *f* and *b*-fa as minor inflections. This acts as juxtaposition to the sinuous conjunct movement of lines R1 to R4. While strophe lines 1 to 4 do not present major tonal complications, lines 5 to 8 are still expected, owing to their deployment of *c*, which functions both as a point of opposition to *d*, and as the lower limit of the song's tonal ambitus.

As in all the other Castrojeriz miracles, sonic prominence of strophe lines 5 to 8 helps divert attention towards sections that accord with the *razom* of the refrain. While the division between dynamic and static narrative is not so clearly cut in CSM 266, some passages do locate significant sections of the miracle story in strophe lines 5 to 8. For instance, in strophe 1 there is an appeal to the audience in the *exordium* ('e por Deus, parad' y mentes / e non faledes en al.', 1.7–8). Strophes 4 and 5 describe the accident ('que caeu hũa gran trave / sobre la gente;', 4.5–6) and highlight its risk to the congregation ('que de cima non podia / nihũa ren caer y / que non matass'', 5.5–7). Meanwhile, strophe 6 explicates how Mary always comes to those in peril ('que senpr' aos seus acorre', 6.7). Additionally, these instances all align with the sentiment given in the refrain, which speaks of Mary saving her followers from misfortune in the hope that the listener may believe in her ('e por nos guardar de mal.', R4).[316]

[316] Of particular significance here is the rhyming between 'mal' in R4, 'sinal' (destruction) in 5.8, and 'val' (misfortune) in 6.8.

However, inconsistencies in this structure arise in strophes 2 and 3, which do not seem to contain any outwardly dramatic material at all. Strophe 2 mentions the church's name and highlights that people held vigils there (tẽer ali ssas vegias', 2.5), while strophe 3 merely lists building materials and says that the church was large but not exceedingly so ('que ben caber / podess' y muita de gente, / pero non descomunal.', 3.6–8). These strophes are dramatically redundant, and may represent hypothetical additions to a prior version for five strophes, as Parkinson implies for CSM 242. However, the refrain melody still has the potential to essentialise important material, even if it is narratively static. In short, both strophes highlight the monumental task of building the church of Santa Maria del Manzano. Given Alfonso's personal connection to the town and the importance that his grandmother had to him, the church's construction and its size could justifiably be highlighted aurally. What these strophes imply, therefore, is that endeavours in the Virgin's name—be they Berengaria's construction of the church of Santa Maria del Manzano, or Alfonso X's personal devotion through song—help assure Mary's protection from misfortune.

Although the Castrojeriz set presents manifold narrative and structural problems, the memorially marked formations of these songs work to reorient such contradictions. The sonically charged second halves of each strophe consistently act as a memorially marked locus for narratively dynamic and essential sections of each story. This achieves a sense of narrative logic, despite the disjunction between cyclical structure and linear narrative, pervasive interstrophic enjambment, and grammatical fallacies. This set therefore acts in accordance with a basic principle of strophe-end recap, which helps to reorient these songs in line with a linear *narratio*.

Parkinson notes that these songs were likely composed at a rushed, final stage of the *CSM* project near Alfonso X's death. This is evidenced not only by the

structural and narrative problems in the songs, but also by the overriding similarity of poetic forms in the set. However, the uninspired lack of variation is also exactly what makes structural expectations so keenly felt for the songs' performers and listeners. Acquainted with a standardised strophe-end recap structure, an audience would approach an unfamiliar *cantiga de miragre*, at least the first time they heard it, with expectations of the same setup. This would generate a process of performance and listening within the Alfonsine court that would presume strophe-end recap in the majority of *cantigas de miragre* by default. According strophe-end recap with moments of narrative significance would in turn become established and expected by both performers and listeners. This then engenders a manner of consumption that makes sonically charged sections of a song distinguishing before they have been proven as such via a process of listening. That is, performers and listeners come to expect the musical-poetic elements of a song's refrains to be repurposed in a strophe structure of a song, and for this section to accord with narrative highlights. Given the overwhelming deployment of strophe-end recap as a memorially marked tool in the *CSM*, this manner of narrative organisation can be expected before hearing a *cantiga de miragre* for the first time. In short, listeners can already anticipate which sections of a song might be significant before they have been perceived. Instead of attempting to analyse a song's superficial musical-poetic structure the first time it is heard, listeners can deduce moralistic commentary between the refrain text, and the memorially marked moments within the strophes.

4.iv: Enjambment as a Structural Device in the Castrojeriz Set

These songs work around issues of contradictory musical-poetic and narrative structures, and several open up the potential for elaborate exegetic commentary. Nevertheless, there remains the unresolved issue of patent grammatical or

syntactical infelicities, of which the most marked are cases of interstrophic enjambment. While enjambment is present throughout the *CSM*, it is exaggerated to an excessive degree in the Castrojeriz set, making its songs worth analysing on their own terms. As mentioned in Chapter 1, interstrophic enjambment presents particular issues when lines of narrative are carved between refrains, the subject matter of which is seemingly unrelated. These cases of structural instability are potential sources of confusion for an audience likely familiar with a text-as-building metaphor. A strongly constructed sacred building is emblematic of the strength of a text's message and its effect on its readers. However, in the four Castrojeriz songs, a strong and stable structure is apparent in neither the church building, nor in the enjambed narratives. The frequency of interstrophic enjambment in the set, and the severity of narrative dislocation it engenders, suggests that its use was far from incidental. It might instead be indicative of a rhetorical or formal style, where enjambment adds something additional to the basic narrative. While cases of compositional oversight or scribal error should not be mistaken for something they are not, I revisit the four cases of interstrophic enjambment in **Fig. 4.i**, and offer possible ways in which these problematic passages may have been understood within a performative context.

In CSM 242, line 3.8 is particularly intricate, since the strophe ends with a relatively passive, non-descriptive word ('acaecer'). Given that refrain rhymes are typically associated with narrative drive when recalled in strophe-end recap, 'acaecer' may come across as a perplexing culmination to the dramatic narrative that precedes it. While it may be a case of poor craftsmanship, it may also work to create suspense for the listener. The concomitance of such an unrevealing term with the dynamically active sonic cue of the refrain melody informs the listener that while 'acaecer' is non-descriptive, it should be referring to something much more openly dramatic. Exactly what this is the audience cannot know until the next strophe (lines

4.5–8). The refrain then not only acts as a dramatic parenthesis, but also provides exegetic commentary. It informs the audience that although whatever happened to the stonemason may be hard to believe ('O que no coraçon d' ome / é mui cruu de creer,', R1–R2), it not only happened to him: such crises happen metaphorically to all of Mary's believers when put in the face of earthly danger. The word 'acaecer' is also euphemistic: inviting the real possibility of something terrible yet unknown happening to the stonemason, it softens the metaphorical blow, but in so doing invites the possibility that the thing is so terrible that it cannot even be mentioned. Derived from the Latin *ad-* + *-cadere*, the use of 'acaecer' is also dramatically unsubtle in implying the stonemason's terrible fall. The miracle teller's placement of the narrative climax across two strophes therefore generates a *praeteritio* that is fully realised in performance. The arrival of strophes 4 and 5 then, in which the event is depicted in abundant detail ('no mais alto logar y / da obr', e anbo-los pees / lle faliron', 4.2–4), renders the previous euphemism of 'acaecer' a paralipsic exclamation, in recompense for the suspense created earlier. Thus, the expansion of strophes 4 and 5—while viewed by Parkinson as an infelicity of style—may instead be viewed as manipulation of the strophic form to generate dramatic suspense.

Enjambment, then, can be a powerful tool in producing suspense within the miracle narrative. However, it is also deployed as an allusive implement, mirroring the state of physical or psychological estrangement in a miracle's characters. While CSM 252 contains several passages of enjambment, its two most significant cases fall in 2.7–3.3 and 4.6–5.1. The passage in 2.7–3.3 is dramatic: 'logo', as well as the adversative conjunction 'mas', works to surprise the audience in a dramatic turn of events. Here, the simile that qualifies the avalanche in the narrative is divided by the interstrophic enjambment. Before one can learn what was closing the workers off in the song's narrative, the listeners are themselves excluded from the message by the refrain. The

refrain does not just act as a suspense holder, as in line 3.8 of CSM 242: it also undertakes a metaphorical re-enactment of what is described in the text. It bridges the listeners from the rest of the miracle where the expected relief will arrive, and thus puts them into the builders' shoes, challenging them to question their own religious convictions. However, its message, particularly its claim that the audience can be rescued from the depths of the earth ('deu en[o] fondo da terra', R2), acts as reassurance for the troubled. Lines 4.6–5.1 are of an altogether different character: the devil has laid claim to the souls, but Mary has vanquished him ('aa Virgen que aterra // O demo.', 4.8–5.1). The enjambed passage prevents the listener from hearing whom it is Mary terrifies, since 'O demo' falls on 5.1. Given that this passage repeats much of the material used already in strophe 3, it may be implicit who fears the Virgin: the devil's realm is after all insinuated at the repetition of each refrain, which mentions the depths of the earth ('eno fondo da terra',R2). However, this particular enjambed line provides a further level of reference. Not only does the Virgin terrify the devil, but the withheld agency of the clause leaves open the possibility of it being the listeners themselves. Followed immediately by the refrain, which speaks of God's great power that he bestows to Mary (qualified by 'tan gran'), the listeners are taught not just to be thankful to the Virgin, but also to fear her and God lest they not be thankful enough and receive a similar fate.

The final case study that concerns interstrophic enjambment occurs between strophes 4 and 5 of CSM 266. Here, the audience has just been told that the falling beam of the narrative did not hurt the congregation, due to the Virgin's intervention ('quis a Virgen que ferisse / a nunll' om'.', 4.7–8). Appended to the end of line 4.8 is an introduction to the new clause. It explains that those who saw the miracle were so crammed in that no beam could have fallen without hurting anybody at all ('E quen viu tal // Miragre! ca tan espessa / siya a gent' aly', 4.8–5.2). The enjambment occludes

what it is that the people see: although it was evidently a miracle, as implied in lines 4.5–8, the enjambed line leaves the possibility that something else—possibly something worse—may have befallen the congregation. The interruption of the refrain leaves a clue: beginning with the mention of miracles ('De muitas guisas miragres', R1), it effectively provides a gloss upon the material that is yet to be told in line 5.1, but which can be inferred from the events of lines 4.5–8.[317] In so doing, it offers reassurance that what the listener will learn in the following strophe can only be good under the Virgin's promise. The message of the refrain hence urges the listener to believe in good ('por que en Deus creamos', R3), just as the refrains of CSM 242 and CSM 249 urge us not to doubt the miracles. Given the miracles' close placements within **F** and **E**, it is plausible that the message of faith in the face of man's natural tendency to doubt could have informed related songs on an intertextual level. Thus, this case of narrative dislocation could have been interpreted as dramatic suspense, but one that reinforces the essential message of the Castrojeriz group's refrains as a whole.

4.v: Summary

In his analysis of paired narratives in the *CSM*, Parkinson claims that duplication of material, alongside narrative and textual oddities, 'confirms the supposition that scribes rather than skilled poets were involved in the elaboration and expansion of collected miracle stories.'[318] Here, there is an implicit association between duplication and lack of quality. Parkinson assumes that in the final, hurried compilation stages of the *CSM* manuscripts, ultimate responsibility for the creation of miracles was left to those with less experience in creating songs and narratives, explaining their chaotic

[317] The use of the refrain as a narrative gloss has been considered more by (Vega 1976, 53). Vega argues that the Alfonsine scriptorium reworked the narrative of a *CSM*'s strophes into a reduced gloss for the refrain in a three-fold process of assembly, reduction and assimilation.
[318] (Parkinson 2011), which also draws material from (Parkinson 1997).

state. This allows Parkinson to draw the links between the Castrojeriz songs and other paired narratives, claiming that they were likely not written by poets or musicians, but by the less proficient manuscript scribes.[319] These arguments draw upon grammatical mistakes, syntactical oddities and use of interstrophic enjambment within the Castrojeriz set. Many of these crudities have persuaded other textual critics that these four songs as they survive in **F** and **E** come from approximately the same time and in the same scriptorium, compiled quite conceivably by the same inexperienced people.[320]

Although it is possible that inexperienced scribes copied these songs hastily from an older exemplar, more can be said about the Castrojeriz set beyond its incoherence.[321] Although these songs may have been written in a rushed way, in a crude way, or by less than able writers, this should not relegate them to the academic scrapheap. Such approaches generate canons in musical history, and analysis—through which analysts supposedly claim authority upon a work—is just as culpable of this as is any other discipline.[322] In an investigation that aims to look at musical thought and understanding, all music should come under scrutiny, not simply those reckoned artistically superior or better fashioned. Assuming that these songs were sung and listened to, the listener can conjecture how songs deemed deficient may have been experienced.[323] It is hence vital to consider how these songs may have been understood in their performance and consumption, and not just in their

[319] In (Parkinson 2011), there are also comparisons with CSM 222 and CSM 225, as well as CSM 136 and CSM 294.
[320] (Schaffer 1997), (Schaffer 2000), (Parkinson 2011), (Parkinson 2014).
[321] Alfonso's desire to complete the *CSM* as quickly as possible is well attested through the *Petiçon* (CSM 401), where Alfonso consistently highlights his wish to have written more songs in her praise: 'Macar poucos cantares / acabei e con son, / Virgen, dos teus miragres,' (1.1–7), 'Although few are the songs / I completed and set to music, / Virgin, concerning your miracles,' ed. (Mettmann 1959–72, Vol. 3 (1964), 349–52). My translation.
[322] (Bent 1998) discusses the prominence of analytical ideologies over others in fourteenth-century music. On the issue of canons informed by analysis, see (Higgins 2004).
[323] On the useful analysis and reception of music conventionally seen as aesthetically deficient, see (Frith 2004).

construction. Song's genesis is not the limit of musicological enquiry: as a discipline, analysis may dwell disproportionally on processes of manufacture, but song's reception is surely just as absorbing. Songs were not solely fossilised works, but things that were performed, listened to, interpreted, commented upon, and assigned value. While these *CSM* miracles exhibit clear cases of a botched narrative structure—potentially even direct compilation into a manuscript with no regard for its realisation in performance—there is value still in considering how listeners may have heard a song and tried to make sense of it. If a song might ultimately have been deemed a lost cause and was hence never performed, analysts can consider how and why that decision was made.

Arguably, these Castrojeriz songs are more interesting analytically for this very reason. In a world that privileged the intelligibility of sound over its mere beauty, the Castrojeriz set—replete with narrative disjunctions and bifurcations—represents a challenge to the performer and listener. Is it better to heed to the structure of the song, leaving the narrative potentially to fall apart? From an Augustinian standpoint—one that dictates that music can only do good when it serves to enhance the meaning of a text—such an approach would be unacceptable. However, what is the alternative? To repair the narrative disjunction by eschewing refrains—as Parkinson somewhat mistakenly suggests—would result in a structural collapse of the songs themselves. Is this double-edged sword not a deliberate gesture in a set of songs that so intrinsically ties in with the theme of construction? Medieval listeners may well have appreciated the parallels between the physical toil involved in the construction of the Castrojeriz church, and the spiritual turmoil of the believer, as they struggle to appreciate both a song and its fundamental text.[324] For a performer or

[324] The listeners of the *CSM* may well have recognised the Castrojeriz songs as a conceivable set, all dealing with the same theme of shoddy construction. This the narrator alludes to in CSM 252 ('En Castroxeriz foi est / de que vos quero contar, / que por fazer a ygreja, / de que

listener to sing a structurally correct version of the song, their comprehension of narrative—and, implicitly, their own faith in the Virgin—may just as surely suffer a crisis of stability.[325]

Ultimately, however, the Castrojeriz church's integrity is maintained by its sufficiently robust structure. In a similar way, the narratives of the four Castrojeriz songs are saved by their musical-poetic scaffolds. Since repetition is so consistently linked to textual memory, the songs' cyclical forms work as a tool to guide the listener through the circuitous narrative. The set's use of strophe-end recap functions as a memorially marked sonic cue, making sense of the meandering narrative when there would otherwise have been confusion. These songs therefore represent scribal corruptions that nevertheless fulfil all of their narrative requirements in a highly unorthodox and original way. While the scribes may have been encroaching onto the role of writer or composer—as Parkinson infers—this does not mean that they necessarily produced a less than capable result. Rather, as I have argued in Chapter 3, scribes too were aware of the sonically charged refrain melody and rhymes, and were just as clever in recognising their potential as a memorially marked tool—a vehicle for the narrative—as the more compositionally adept *CSM* poets and musicians.

---

vos fui ja falar,', 2.1–4). Here the use of 'ja' suggests an implied common knowledge of the Castrojeriz set as a set defined by a theme of structural problems.

[325] For a comparable allegorisation of a crisis of faith by structural collapse, see *Piers plowman* (XX.229). Here, imperfect priests are said to corrupt Christian doctrine, testing its validity and the faith of its believers, which translates into the collapse of Piers's barn as a reference to the Christian church (Barr 2014).

Chapter 5

The Place of Rhyme: Jewish Conversion Narratives in CSM 4 and CSM 22

In the previous chapters, I have addressed ways in which a refrain's musical and poetic features can be reestablished in a strophe via a procedure of strophe-end recap. Up to now, I have considered musical and poetic components of strophe-end recap largely on an equal footing. However, it is clear that cases of melodic, metrical and rhyme-based reiteration do not work in similar ways in the *cantigas de miragre*. In cases of strophe-end recap, it is repeatedly rhyme that goes against the grain: as I established in Chapter 3, the resurgence of refrain versification and melody regularly prefigures the reappearance of a refrain rhyme. This echoing of the refrain rhyme will often only arise at the end of a strophe's final line, far later in time than the recapped refrain melody and versification. Why does rhyme work so consistently out of sync with the rest of a *cantiga de miragre*'s structure? Does this asynchrony indicate an implicit hierarchy between reiterated melody, metrics, and rhyme?

It must first be established exactly how rhyme differs from music and metrics in song. In Galician-Portuguese repertory—as with most late-medieval song—rhyme is normally only located at the tail ends of musical-poetic lines. Under a process of listening, it follows that familiar rhymes are perceived later in time than familiar melody or versification. This is still the case even if all three of these features—melody, versification and rhyme—start reusing familiar material from the same musical-poetic line. Therefore, most attempts to tabulate musical-poetic structures in the *cantigas de miragre* fail to represent strophe-end recap as a process. A table can only show this if it has a way of representing structure as perceived over much smaller increments of time. If refrain rhyme is recapped so fleetingly in most *cantigas de miragre*, what is its

purpose? How might such transitory rhyme sit in a hierarchy alongside more readily observed melody and versification? As I stated in Chapter 3, reviving a refrain's versification and melody before its rhyme is often done deliberately, to manipulate a listener's expectations. It teases with notions of sonic arrival, making a refrain's rhyme all the more sought after and desirable. Under such a system—where familiar rhyme is the most wanted, and yet the most ephemeral—recapped versification and melody are plainly less momentous events. Recapped refrain rhymes—placed squarely at the pinnacle of the sonic hierarchy—therefore have the potential to highlight exceptionally significant narrative material.

In order to pin down notions of sonic hierarchy led by rhyme, it is useful to turn to case studies that demonstrate this feature in comparable ways. In the two examples that form the basis of this chapter, I display rhyme's special import over melody and versification. These case studies share further structural features that make them useful points of comparison in a small-scale study, since they each abide by the principle of strophe-end recap. Like the majority of songs addressed so far, they too deploy this memorially marked structure as a vehicle to the text, alerting the listener to narratively dynamic and significant material throughout the strophes. These songs are also suited to a joint case study for narrative reasons, as they both address similar themes of Jewish conversion. This subject matter is highlighted in analogous ways in both songs, through the use of character names that are repurposed from Old Testament figures. These Biblical character names are in almost all cases aligned with the sonic focal point of the refrain's recapped rhyme. This allows the implicitly Jewish protagonists of the miracle to be reinterpreted from a Christian perspective, when recapped rhyme inevitably accords with the moralising (Christian) texts of the refrains. It is thus the place—and the placing—of rhyme that makes these songs so intrinsically tied up with the mission of Jewish conversion within the Alfonsine court.

5.i: Anti-Semitism and Conversion on the Iberian Peninsula

To better understand Alfonsine attitudes towards Judaism—and how the placing of rhyme within these songs might work towards a mission of conversion—it is helpful to consider the context of Iberian Jewry during the Middle Ages. From the Visigoths up until the Alfonsine period, attitudes towards Jews vacillated between tolerance and overt persecution. The start of the reign of Sisebut—the Visigothic king of Hispania and Septimania from 612—was a period of relative acceptance, with 'strong social, economic, and political ties between Jews and Christians'.[326] However, at the Third Toledan Council of 613, Sisebut introduced the Iberian Peninsula's first conversion law. This enforced all Jews in the realm to convert and be baptised as Christians. Those who refused were given a hundred lashes, and then banished with all their property handed over to the crown. Approximately 90,000 Jews are thought to have converted under Sisebut's reign.[327]

It is difficult to assess the place of Jews within the late-medieval Castilian courts, owing to a lack of documentary evidence. However, records of prominent Jewish officials indicate that a relative degree of tolerance existed at court, in contrast to the wider anti-Semitism within the realm. Under Alfonso VII, for instance, Jews were appointed as royal tax collectors, and several were granted royal privileges.[328] Judah ben Joseph ibn Ezra was charged with the defence of the citadel of Granada after 1147, and was subsequently appointed as Alfonso VII's *almojarife*, a post that required supervision of royal finances.[329] Ben Joseph also appeared to hold such influence that in the later period of holding his post, he was able to petition the king to protect the

[326] (Stocking 2001, 136–7).
[327] (Gerber 1992, 12–3).
[328] (Soifer Irish 2016, 26–8).
[329] This is a position that became almost entirely occupied by Jewish men in subsequent decades, as noted in (Ladero Quesada 1993, 234–5).

Jewish population from persecution by the Moors, allocating them settlements in Toledo, Carrión de los Condes, Frómista, Flascala and Palencia.[330]

From courtly literature, it is clear that Alfonso X's stance towards Jews was relatively lenient by medieval standards. In the opening of the relevant passage from the *Siete partidas*, Alfonso argues that though they do not believe in the religion of Christ, great Christian sovereigns have always permitted Jews to live in their realms (VII.24.Prol.).[331] Some elements of discrimination remain: Jews are obliged to wear identifying head coverings (VII.24.xi), and they may neither have intercourse with (VII.24.ix) nor enslave (VII.24.x) Christians.[332] However, Jews have the right to a quiet life among their Christian neighbours, provided they do not attempt to convert anybody (VII.24.ii).[333] They are also permitted synagogues, which Christians are prohibited from defacing or using as a source of building material (VII.24.iv).[334] On the Sabbath, Jews are entitled to a day of rest, and are exempt from court summons (VII.24.v).[335] From the *Partidas*, it is also known that forced conversions were outlawed, and that while Jews were encouraged to turn to Christianity, Alfonso preferred a more conciliatory approach.[336]

> No force or compulsion shall be employed in any way against a Jew to induce him to become a Christian; but Christians should convert him to the faith of Our Lord Jesus Christ by means of the texts of the Holy Scriptures, and by kind words, for no one can love or appreciate a service which is done him by compulsion. We also decree that if any Jew or Jewess should voluntarily desire to become a Christian, the other Jews shall not interfere with this in any way, and if they stone, wound, or kill any such person, because they wish to become Christians, or after they have been baptized, and this can be proved; we order that all the murderers, or the abettors of said murder or attack, shall be burned. VII.24.vi.[337]

---

[330] (Rodríguez Fernández 1976, 350–1).
[331] Ed. (Real Academia de la Historia 1807, Vol. 3, 669), trans. (Scott and Burns 2001, Vol. 5, 1433).
[332] Ed. (Ibid., Vol. 3, 674–5), trans. (Ibid., Vol. 5, 1436–7).
[333] Ed. (Ibid., Vol. 3, 670), trans. (Ibid., Vol. 5, 1433).
[334] Ed. (Ibid., Vol. 3, 671), trans. (Ibid., Vol. 5, 1434).
[335] Ed. (Ibid., Vol. 3, 671–2), trans. (Ibid., Vol. 5, 1434–5).
[336] (Carpenter 1986, 104–5).
[337] Ed. (Real Academia de la Historia 1807, Vol. 3, 672–3), trans. (Scott and Burns 2001, Vol. 5, 1435).

Alfonsine miracle stories of persecution—such as the purging of the Jews in the city of Toledo in CSM 12—were therefore more likely preserved as an expression of general anti-Semitic sentiment than a genuine incitement to murder.[338] Although Jews would certainly have been persecuted during Alfonso's reign, genocide and enforced conversion were strictly forbidden. Instead, the church would hope to bring heretics to the path of Christ by evangelising through sermons and devotional literature.

Of the devotional literature in the Christian West, the miracle narrative was considered particularly apposite for the purposes of conversion. Narrative—or narrating—involves transmission of an account to an audience, by someone already familiar with the story in question. When miracle narratives become part of a court's established literature, they are assimilated into its social structure. Court members hence acquire familiarity with the narrative as it is retold and revisited. This turning back—or *conversio*—in the retelling of a text is a central stage of the process of conversion. Late-medieval accounts refer to Jewish converts rereading sacred scripture from a newly Christian standpoint, rather than rejecting their prior knowledge.[339] Conversion narratives are therefore about 'the foundational myth of the Christian replacement of Judaism'.[340] The turning back—or reiteration—in the

[338] The purging of the Jews in Toledo in CSM 12 may have been referring to the purge of 1212, when a band of knights enacted a 'holy war' in the city's Jewish quarter. Similar events to those in CSM 12 are described in the *Partidas* (VII.24.ii): namely, Jews making waxen effigies for crucifixion on Good Friday.

[339] For instance, the account of Solomon Halevi, a citizen of Burgos who converted to Christianity around 1391 and changed his name to Pablo de Santa María, (Szpiech 2013, 41–51). Szpiech notes that Old Testament texts—Deut. 6:7, Ps. 59, and Ps. 78:5–7—are revisited by Solomon/Pablo from a Christianised stance. In addition, see the large genre of Jewish conversion literature. One of the most prominent comes from Ildefonsus's treatise *De perpetua virginitate Mariae contra tres infideles*, where the three infidels who question Mary's virginity include one described as a Jew. Ildefonsus's work remained influential: given the miracle of the Virgin within (summarised in CSM 2), the treatise was read on Mary's feast throughout Spain on the 18 December until the Old Hispanic liturgy was suppressed around the late eleventh century (Ihnat 2016, 54–7). See also Peter the Venerable's *Adversus Judeorum inveteratum duritiem*, Ramón Martí's *Capistrum iudaeorum* and *Pugio fidei*, and Ramon de Penyafort's *Summa casuum*. Ramon was also known to be an advisor at Alfonso X's court.

[340] (Ibid., 222).

conversion narrative allows earlier, Jewish knowledge to be imbued with new, Christian interpretations. The sonic turning back integral to the *cantiga de miragre* makes the form an appropriate vehicle for such conversion narratives. However, it also acts as an allegorisation of the conversion process itself. In the two case studies that follow, I demonstrate the suitability of the *cantiga de miragre* to the Jewish conversion narrative. Both of these songs repurpose Biblical names for the characters in their own storylines. In both cases it is sonic recall—generated by these characters' alignments with the recapped refrain rhymes—that prompts the listener to turn back mentally to Jewish scripture. It is hence the *cantiga de miragre*'s strophe-end recap structure that allows these Old Testament texts to be reinterpreted from a wholly Christian perspective, in accordance with the moralistic messages of the songs' refrains.

5.ii: Old-Testament Allegories in CSM 4

The narrative of CSM 4 (**App. 2**) is based upon the popular medieval miracle of the Little Jewish Boy. This narrative presents an extremely brutal manifestation of the stock Jewish conversion story, which was widespread in literature of the later Middle Ages. The miracle of the Little Jewish Boy was particularly common, as is evidenced by its presence in several of the oldest miracle collections.[341] This story likely came into surviving miracle collections via the **Elements** series, one of many hypothetical ur-collections described by Mussafia in his influential study of Marian legends in the later

[341] See reference (95) in (Poncelet 1902, 251). The full list of related Poncelet references are 95, 'Apud Bituricas cum christiani die Paschae communicarent'; 228, 'Contigit in civitate Bituricensi quod, cum die sollemnitatis' (Ibid., 259); 234, 'Contigit quondam res talis in civitate Bituricensi, quam solet' (Ibid., 260); 235, 'Contigit res quondam mira in civitate Bituricensi, quam solebat' (Ibid., 260); 403, 'Eo tempore in oriente puer quidam Iudaeorum filius cum a coaevis' (Ibid., 270); 532, 'Forte dies aderat, quo sacrae carnis ad escam Agni' (Ibid., 279); 759, 'In civitate Bituricensi circa annos Dñi; 527, cum christiani' (Ibid., 293); 833, 'In Pisana civitate, quae in hoc tempore praefert antiquorum' (Ibid., 298); 911, 'Iudaei cuiusdam vitrarii filius' (Ibid., 304); 1179, 'Nuper monachus quidam ordinis nostri, Adam nomine, per' (Ibid., 320); 1222, 'Postquam infidelissima gens Iudaeorum gravissima mole' (Ibid., 322).

Middle Ages.[342] This series, alongside both the **HM** and **TS** series, appears in most of the Latin miracle collections tabulated below (**Fig. 5.i**), and was subsequently incorporated into many of the authored collections in Latin and vernacular languages.

Fig.5.i (below and overleaf): Table of contemporary miracle collections that include the miracle narrative of CSM 4. Authored collections that have more than one manuscript witness are listed by their title. Sources are listed according to Poncelet number.[343]

Source	Date	Author	Language	Poncelet
Las Cantigas de Santa Maria	ca.1270–84	Alfonso X	Galician Portuguese	95
GB-Lbl, Egerton 612	ca.1165–80	Adgar	Latin	95
I-Bu, 1794	ca.1245	Bartholomew of Trent	Latin	95
GB-Lbl, Royal 20.b.xiv	ca.1230–50		Anglo Norman	95
Stella maris	ca.1248	John of Garland	Latin	95
Los milagros de Nuestra Señora	ca.1230–64	Gonzalo de Berceo	Spanish	95
Les miracles de Nostre Dame	ca.1218–36	Gautier de Coinci	French	95
E-Mn, 9503	ca.1250	Juan Gil de Zamora	Latin	228
P-Ln, Alcobacense 149	c.12		Latin	234
Liber de miraculis (ed. Pez, 1731)	c.12		Latin	235
DK-Kk, Thott 128	c.13		Latin	235
US-Cu, Phillips 25142	c.12		Latin	235
E-Mn, 110	c.13		Latin	235
GB-Lbl, Arundel 346	ca.1200		Latin	235
Speculum historiale	ca.1217	Vincent de Beauvais	Latin	403
GB-Lbl, Cotton Vespasian D.xix	c.13	Nigel of Canterbury	Latin	532
Legenda aurea	ca.1260	Jacobus da Varagine	Latin	759

[342] (Mussafia 1886), (Mussafia 1887), (Mussafia 1889), (Mussafia 1890), (Mussafia 1898). Also (Bayo 2004) and (Wilson 1946, 3–76). Bayo argues that the miracle of the Little Jewish Boy likely stems from England, due to early manifestations of the **Elements** series appearing uniquely in English sources. This series comprises four miracles that each integrate one element into the narrative. The Little Jewish Boy concerns fire, Theophilus (i.e., CSM 3) concerns air, Childbirth in the Sea (i.e., CSM 86) concerns water, and Julian the Apostate (i.e., CSM 15) concerns earth.

[343] Those sources that have a known author but only have one manuscript witness are listed according to manuscript shelfmark. Most accounts of the Little Jewish Boy miracle that originate from the Christian West unanimously give Bourges as the location of the miracle. For instance, **DK-Kk, Thott 128** gives 'Contigit quondam res talis in civitate Biturcensi'. 'Biturcensi' is a later adaptation of the town's name, descended from the Gallic tribe that lived in the area of the city, the 'Bituriges'. This is repeated wholesale in the other Latin prose accounts, as well as the authored collections of Zamora. However, Poncelet's and Wilson's categorisations do not necessarily represent the diversity of various place names given. For instance, **P-Ln, Alcobacense 149** gives Armenia ('Quid ergo in oriente Armenie actum fuerit ad roborandam fidem catholical non silebo'), ed. (Nascimento 1979, 66). In Vincent de Beauvais's account, the family are said to be living somewhere in the Orient ('Eo tempore in oriente, per quidam Iudaeorum filius'), ed. (Tarayre 1999, 162). John of Garland, (assigned 95, as for CSM 4) gives no locational specifics, ed. (Wilson 1946, 95–6).

De miraculis beatae virginis Mariae	ca.1135	William of Malmesbury	Latin	833
GB-Lbl, Add. 35112	c.12		Latin	911
E-MO, Rivipullensis 193	c.12		Latin	911
Miracula beatae virginis	ca.580	Gregory of Tours	Latin	911
GB-Obac, 240	ca.1130	Dominic of Evesham	Latin	1139
GB-Lbl, Cotton Cleopatra, C.x	c.12		Latin	1222

Poncelet's taxonomised study of miracle narratives assigns several variants of the basic Little Jewish Boy narrative.[344] However, the CSM 4 version has clear narrative similarity to a group of collections that includes Bartholomew of Trent's *Liber miraculorum*, Gautier de Coinci's *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, Adgar's *Liber miraculorum*, and the Anglo-Norman collection, **GB-Lbl, Royal 20.b.xiv**. A Jewish boy named Abel lives in the French city of Bourges with his glassmaker father, Samuel, and his mother, Rachel. At Eastertide Abel, while at his school, witnesses some Christian children being given communion by an abbot in the city's cathedral. Captivated by the scene, Abel lines up to receive communion, whereupon the Virgin's statue leans down to offer him the host. Upon returning home, Abel proudly tells his father of the miraculous event. However, his father is enraged, and throws his son into his glassmaking furnace. Rachel—the boy's mother—runs out into the street to find help, but upon returning into the house, the amassed throng discovers the boy unharmed. Once he is removed safely from the furnace, Abel and his mother Rachel convert to Christianity. The father Samuel is punished for his cruelty by being consigned to the flames, and burned alive.

[344] Some of the variants are significant. Wilson identifies four main groups (157–9), 1: The setting changes to 'the East', in which a woman with purple vestments sprinkles the coals with water and feeds the boy. The father is then crucified by Justinian's orders; 2: A boy in Lesser Armenia is baptised by shepherd boys, and the parents send him to the Jewish bath owner's furnace. The bishop, surprised at the cold bathwater, discovers the boy; 3: The boy is covered with the Virgin's cloak; 4: Saint Nicholas of Clusa relates the story, set now in Bourges, along the lines of CSM 4.

The poetic and musical structures of CSM 4 can be seen in tabular form in the appendix. In terms of rhyme, the song is structured as abab|(cdcdcdcb|abab), a highly orthodox form for most of the *CSM*. This structure consists of pairs of rhymed lines, of which the final pair echoes the refrain rhyme in its second line only. Its musical structure on the whole follows the principles of strophe-end recap.[345] However, with abcd|(efefe'gcd|abcd), the sense of melodic recap is expressed less clearly than in the majority of *cantigas de miragre*. This is because strophe lines 4 to 5 indicate a change of melodic material from the two pairs of lines in 1 to 4. While this point would commonly indicate a recap of the refrain melody, in CSM 4 there is instead melodic material not derived from the refrain. It is only at line 7 when melodic line 'c' emerges, prefiguring the refrain rhyme in line 8.

The refrain charts a clear *D* terminus, clarified at the end of line 4. However, this *D* terminus is prepared from the opening of line 1, which projects the main functional ambitus of the complete refrain from *C* to *a*. Line R2 migrates up to the highest point of the refrain—*c*—which only appears once in the section. The melody then descends to cadential segment *i*, which vacillates between *a* and *G* before terminating on *F*. This *F* acts as a subordinating terminal tone of the refrain. It initiates line 3, which rises up to *a* before charting the *a* to *C* ambitus (as in line R1), mostly by disjunct third leap figures. Thus, lines R1 and R3 acquire some sense of tonal stability: they start with the terminus *D* and higher sub-terminus *F* respectively, and each moves to the upper functional ambitus of *a* to *C*. Line R3's close on *C* also serves to ready the listener for the return of *D*: in essence, the *C* in line R3 ascertains the lower anticipatory

[345] Tonally this melody was categorised as *protus* perfect authentic by Huseby. That is, the melody is on the *protus* mode with its terminus as the lowest note, within the common ambitus of the mode. This assessment does not acknowledge the use of the *C* sub-terminal tone. As the following analysis shows, *C* is a fundamental stabilising force that establishes *D* as the tonal terminus.

tone of the refrain's primary *D* terminus. Rising for a final time by third leap to *G* and then *a*, the melody then moves downwards in conjunct motion to the anticipatory tone *C* again, before culminating on *D* via cadential segment *ii*, which meanders around the *C–D–E* third to establish the terminal tone.

CSM 4's strophe implements different finals and an alien ambitus to the refrain. It starts on the highest remove from *D*—that is, the upper octave *d*. This has not been heard in the refrain, and requires an octave jump from the immediately preceding refrain final. It then descends—initially by step, and then by third leap—to *a*. This is authorised by cadential segment *iii* as the terminus of line 1. Line 2 initially rests around *a* for three syllables before descending to *F*, then rising up by a fourth to *b*-fa, reiterating cadential segment *i* in transposed form with a flattened third, and then establishing *G* as a main terminus. These two passages are reiterated for lines 3 and 4. They thus set up *d* as a tonal remove, and a working ambitus of *F* to *d*, which is distinct from the *C* to *a* functional range of the refrain. That these pairs of lines are self-contained makes for a terser phrase duration of two lines (as opposed to the refrain's four). The use of shorter melodic phrases means that there are no opportunities to establish *G* as a proper terminus. Unlike the refrain—which deploys *C* as a subsidiary closing tone to make the *D* primary terminus all the more conclusive in line R4—lines 1–2 and 3–4 only cite *F* as a sub-terminal tone once in the middle of lines 2 and 4. This is approached by step, and immediately instigates a return up to the *b*-fa. Thus, the two-line pairs at the beginning of the strophe achieve far less melodic equilibrium than what has been seen in the refrain.

Where the refrain melody is expected to return in line 5 marks the beginning of an altered strophe-end recap. While the refrain melody is recapped here, it is far from literal. Line 5 begins with the same phrase that opens lines 1 and 3, yet this time it descends to *F*, which is reaffirmed by cadential segment *i*. In essence, these lines are

retrospectively giving tonal stability to the *G* terminus of lines 2 and 4, which the earlier strophe section was unable to provide. A new melody begins on *G* in line 6. This phrase initially roams stepwise around *G* via the *F*–*G*–*a* third. It then descends stepwise to *D*, and via cadential segment *iv* then confirms *C* as a line terminus. It thus endorses the eventual return of *D* by establishing once again its sub-terminal tone. This is restated by a slight variant of refrain line 2, hence ascertaining the sub-terminal tone *C* for the second time. The listener then hears the final line of the refrain R4, recapped as line 8. This final line hence provides resolution to the two preceding lines, by confirming *D* as the terminus.

Distributing this structure into two halves—that is, strophe lines 1 to 4 and 5 to 8—segments the narrative into a general structure of essential and non-essential material. In strophe 1, new information is prioritised: the Jew goes to a school among Christians ('ontr' os chischãos liya / na escol';' 1.6–7), to the chagrin of his father Samuel (e era greu / a seu padre Samuel.' 1.7–8). This is new information, in contrast to the material in the first part of the strophe. Although the boy's Jewish identity is significant ('En Beorges un judeu' 1.1), this is not new information for the reader. In all manuscript witnesses, the rubric describes the boy as a Jew whom the Virgin saved from his father ('Esta é como Santa Maria guardou ao fillo do judeu'). Strophe-end recap in strophe 2 underscores the narrative significance of the boy joining the group of Christians ('con que era leedor, / que ya en seu tropel.' 2.7–8). The reasons for him doing so—namely that he was studious—might be obvious through context. It is also not so specifically pertinent to the progression of the song's narrative, and so is located in lines 1 to 4 ('o mellor / leeu que leer podia' 2.1–2). In strophe 3, narrative filler material is clearly consigned to lines 1 to 4. Here there is a reiteration of opening *exordium* material—the narrator's stated desire to recount the story ('Poren vos quero contar / o que ll' avẽo un dia' 3.1–2)—which is of very little narrative consequence to the miracle. Instead, the

main event that initiates narrative development—the boy entering the church and seeing the communion bread and wine being given ('e aos moços dand' ya / ostias de comungar / e vỹ' en un calez bel.' 3.6–8)—falls in the second, memorially marked half of the strophe. Subsequent strophes highlight the sacredness of this event. For instance, in strophe 5—rather than have the boy merely receive communion of his own accord—the Virgin is described as coming miraculously alive and offering him the host. There is distinction between the boy approaching the Virgin in lines 1 to 4 ('que por fillar seu quinnon / ant' os outros se metia.' 5.3–4), and the miracle of the Virgin offering him the host in lines 5 to 8 ('Santa María enton / a mão lle porregia, / e deu-lle tal comuyon' 5.5–7).

Strophes that contain direct speech typically assign significant passages to the memorially marked sections of strophe-end recap in lines 5 to 8. For instance, in strophe six the boy's report to his father is placed directly in lines 7 to 8, which recap exactly the melody of refrain lines R3 to R4. In these lines, the boy reports what happened in the cathedral ('«A dona me comungou / que vi so o chapitel.»' 6.7–8), and hence are crucial to the furtherance of the plot. Furthermore, they subtly relate the virtue of the boy to the righteousness and virtue of the Virgin, who will deliver him from harm, as addressed in the corresponding lines of the refrain ('A Madre do que livrou', R1). Likewise, in strophe 10 the boy's words are highlighted by their placement in lines 5 to 8. His report to the crowd that it was the Virgin's aid that saved him ('ca eu cobri / o que a dona cobria / que sobelo altar vi / con seu Fillo,', 10.5–8) is essential for the narrative progression: here it drives the crowd to recognise the miracle and to move towards a revised *peroratio*.

Significant actions of the miracle's main characters are also consistently located in these sections of strophe-end recap. In strophe 7, the memorially marked lines 5 to 8 focus on the father shutting his son in the hot furnace ('meté-o dentr' e

choya / o forn', 7.6–7). In lines 5 to 8 of the final strophe, he receives his retribution: this time, he is the one who receives just reckoning by being thrown into the furnace himself. This act is also located in the sonically distinctive second half of the strophe ('e o padre, que o mal / fezera per sa folia, / deron-ll' enton morte qual / quis dar a seu fill' Abel.' 11.5–8). The similar material in lines 7.5–8 and 11.5–8 therefore generates a narrative association between both the boy and the father being thrown into the furnace. Aside from narrative balance, these parallel sections also forge a sense of moral resolution for the listener: the father has received a just punishment for what he attempted to inflict upon his own son. This is realised as the listener remembers lines 7.5–8, while hearing the melodically identical lines 11.5–8.

What I have demonstrated in this analysis is the potential for a strophe-end recap structure to organise a narrative for listeners already receptive to familiar music, versification and rhyme. However, this reading of narrative planning within CSM 4 is obviously somewhat subjective. A narrative inquiry can never be truly reckonable when subjective parameters—such as significance—underpin its analytical methodology. To lend additional support to the narrative dissection above, it is worth considering the placement of rhyme in CSM 4 within this strophe-end recap structure. What is apparent is the special import attached to the 'b' rhyme of the refrain, reiterated at the very end of the memorially marked latter section of the strophe. This rhyme helps to fix an important moral message to what seems to be a simple story of Jewish conversion. This is done by locating character names at these 'b' rhymes, all of which are borrowed from notable figures from the Old Testament. That these character references only appear at the sonically charged 'b' rhymes suggests that this was conceived as a memorially marked focus within the strophe-end recap structure. The two 'b' rhymes of the refrain cite Daniel and Israel, and the strophes mention the names of the boy, mother and father—Abel, Rachel and Samuel respectively—as well

as Christ the Emmanuel in strophe 4, and one of the three boys in the Book of Daniel, Abednego, in strophe 9. These figures not only furnish this story of Jewish conversion with Old Testament (and hence, Jewish-sounding) authenticity; they also can be read as lending additional moralistic meaning that helps justify the typical anti-Semitic attitudes towards conversion, which were prevalent in thirteenth-century Castile.

Abednego—cited in strophe 9—is one of the trio of men thrown into a furnace by king Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel 3, along with his companions Shadrach and Meshach.[346] Like Abel of CSM 4, these men become the victims of religious persecution. In Daniel 3, Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego refuse to bow down to Nebuchadnezzar II's statue on the plain of Dura (Dan. 3:12–30). Their survival indicates that the Jewish god will save the faithful, validating the authority of the Jewish religion over the pagan beliefs of the Babylonians. The three young men of Daniel 3 are directly paralleled to Abel in CSM 4, as they all miraculously survive the furnace ('como guardou Ananaia,' 9.6). However, the story of the Little Jewish Boy is also linked to the story of Daniel in the lions' den (Dan. 6:10–28), which is referenced in CSM 4's refrain ('A Madre do que livrou / dos leões Daniel,', R1–R2). This tale from Daniel 6 forms a pair with the story of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego in Daniel 3, as both stories display the legitimacy of the Jewish faith over other, pagan religions. However, these two stories are interpreted along Christianised lines in the conversion narrative of CSM 4. Whereas the Book of Daniel displays the legitimacy of the Jewish religion over pagan beliefs, in CSM 4 it is now the Christian god that has trumped Judaism. In CSM 4, the Jew has switched roles to the oppressor of Christians. This, in turn, legitimises the Jewish father Samuel's fiery fate in the furnace, just as the guards who threw Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego into Nebuchadnezzar's furnace were consumed by

[346] Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego are the Babylonian renderings of the Jewish (and Galician-Portuguese) names, Hananaia (חֲנַנְיָה), Mishael (מִישָׁאֵל) and Azaria (עֲזַרְיָה).

its extreme heat. As Newman notes, references to Daniel and the three boys were recurrently used together across Europe to 'acclaim God's deliverance of willing martyrs' and enact persecution against resident Jewish populations in urban centres.[347]

The two legends from Daniel serve as backdrops towards much of the anti-Semitic sentiment apparent in CSM 4. However, they are brought forth as analogies, rather than remaining integral to the narrative. The main storyline of CSM 4 is instead restricted to the figures of Abel, Samuel and Rachel. CSM 4's Abel is an obvious reference to the Biblical shepherd Abel, who appears in the Book of Genesis (Gen. 4:1–16). His notorious murder at the hands of his brother Cain places him in a significant role in Biblical history as the first fratricidal victim. In the Gospel of Matthew, Abel is given as the first in a list of martyrs, and a direct link is made between his murder and the death of Christ (Matt. 23:35).[348] The author of the Book of Hebrews describes Abel as 'righteous' and compares him to Christ, arguing that 'the blood of Christ speaks better than Abel' (Heb. 12:34). The author of Hebrews attempts to show how Christ's sacrifice supersedes Abel's, since it is 'promoting reconciliation' rather than '[demanding] justice'.[349] Nevertheless, the link between the two is clear. Abel heralding Christ is a common topos in late-medieval mystery plays, where Abel's killing foreshadows Christ's own crucifixion, and his offering of a lamb to God serves as a precursor to the Eucharistic sacrifice.[350]

Circumstances of both murders invite further comparison: Abel is slain by his brother Cain; Christ by his spiritual brothers the Jews, as Augustine underscores in his

[347] See (Newman 2013, 196–7), who references a pogrom in Blois in 1171, in which the Christian persecutors cited Daniel 3 and Daniel 6 as motivation for the burning of three of the city's Jews.
[348] (Byron 2011, 196).
[349] (Ibid., 184–5).
[350] (Gyug 2003, 11–12), for instance, which analyses Bede's *Exegesis* (In Gen., II.4xxvi). Gyug notes that Bede compares Abel to the slain Christ, but that Seth represents Christ resurrected (Gen. 4:25). Mystery plays also highlight the similarity of sacrifice: both offer lambs that are pleasing to their god. Abel's is a lamb from his flock; Christ's is his own mortal body.

Contra Faustum (XII:9-11).[351] The comparison is often extended so that Cain comes to mirror the stereotypical Jew. Byron observes Cain's common appearance in medieval manuscripts as a bearded character with long hair ringlets; conversely, his brother Abel is represented as a blonde, European Gentile, embodying Christ.[352]

If Abel is murdered by his brother in the Book of Genesis, how might Cain relate to the father of the character Abel in CSM 4? Comparison is certainly made on a visual level in the six miniatures of CSM 4 in **T** (f.9v): here, the Jewish father wears a distinctive yellow *pilleus cornutus*, has extensive facial hair, and a discernably hooked nose, much as Byron describes for contemporary sources. Cain also relates to the father of CSM 4, in that both receive just punishment for their acts. For murdering Abel, Cain is said in the Book of Jubilees to receive the same treatment in return (Jub. 4:31). Having slain his brother with a stone to the head, Cain's house collapses upon him: death by the stone is mirrored by falling mortar.[353] Like Cain in Jubilees, the father of CSM 4 receives the same end in the furnace as that which he wished upon his own son, Abel. This sense of justice is reinforced by the explanation at the end of strophe 11 ('deron-ll' enton morte qual / quis dar a seu fill' Abel.' 11.7–8). The father of CSM 4 is also subtly likened to Cain through his profession. While Cain in the Book of Genesis is usually said to be a farmer—whose rejected sacrifice is a sheaf of fine grain—in the Middle Ages, the figure is also often equated with smiths. This may be due to etymology: Cain possibly stems from the Hebrew 'Káyin' (קַיִן), which signifies a craftsman. In CSM 4, Samuel's trade as a glassmaker may be an attempt to integrate

[351] Ed. (Zycha 1891, 337–40), trans. (Schaff 1995, 186–7).
[352] (Byron 2011).
[353] 'At the conclusion of this jubilee Cain was killed one year after him. His house fell on him, and he died inside his house. He was killed by its stones for with a stone he had killed Abel and, by a just punishment, he was killed with a stone', (Jub. 4:31), (Vanderkam 1989, Vol. 1, 30).

Cain's identity more fully into the narrative, as is typical of several of the Poncelet 95 accounts.[354]

Why, then, is the father of CSM 4 not explicitly referred to as Cain? What can the name Samuel offer to the allegory instead? Samuel was a significant figure in earlier Biblical history. Called by God while working for the priest Eli, Samuel was established as a prophet, who led the Israelites to defeat the Philistines (1 Sam. 6). Under his leadership of the tribe of Israel, Samuel was also instrumental in anointing the first two kings of the United Kingdom of Israel and Judah. He is thus portrayed as a king-maker who sets up Saul's reign by popular demand, and then establishes the line of hereditary kings with David. Samuel hence comes to embody the established race of Israel. So instrumental is Samuel in instituting the future contingency of the Israeli race and Jewish identity, that later generations seemingly rely upon him as a sage and judge after his own death. With the help of the Witch of Endor, Saul brings Samuel temporarily to the realm of the living to foretell the result of an upcoming battle against the Philistines (1 Sam. 28:3–25). However, Samuel is not without his faults: he explains in detail that though he was instrumental in establishing Israeli (and, implicitly, Jewish) identity, this is because he laments the moral decline of his own sons at Beersheba, who were expected to inherit his role as seer, prophet and biblical judge upon his death. It is the moral decline of his own offspring that results in Samuel establishing Saul as king (1 Sam. 8:1–5). Samuel as a figure of Jewish identity, the decline of both his sons, and the line of hereditary kings that he founded with David, are themes commonly deployed in conversion narratives. They are repurposed for Christian reasons, coming to represent the corruption of the Jewish race and its religious illegitimacy.

[354] For instance, Gautier de Coinci's account of the miracle opens with 'A Bohorges, ce truis lisant, / d'un gïu verrier mesdisant / fist Nostre Dame tex merveilles / Pieç'a n'oïstes ses pareilles.' (I Mir 3, 1–4), ed. (Koenig 1955–70, Vol. 1, 95)

How does the biblical Samuel relate to the father Samuel of CSM 4? In what way do these two portrayals feed into the didactic themes of anti-Semitism and conversion narratives? The biblical Samuel, as one of many figures of Jewish identity, makes CSM 4's Samuel a representation of the archetypal medieval Jew. The father who attempts to slay his son brings up implicit reference to Old Testament laws that encouraged filicide when sons are rebellious (Deut. 21:18–21). A commonly cited instance of Old Testament filicide also appears when Abraham, upon the command of God, binds and prepares his son Isaac for slaughter (Gen. 22:1–19). A similar case of child murder—although not specifically filicide—appears in the New Testament, when King Herod orders the slaughter of the innocents in the hope of finding the baby Jesus (Matt. 2:16–18). These feed into the popular medieval stereotype of the Jew as child killer, who kidnaps and murders Christian children to cure various ailments, or to make unleavened bread. This stereotype proliferated throughout Europe, and was the foundation for many saint cults: Little St Hugh of Lincoln, Robert of St Edmundsbury, Simon of Trent, and William of Norwich are all recognised as child martyrs, claimed to have been murdered by nearby Jewish communities.[355] The son of CSM 4 is integrated into this common narrative of blood libel: Abel is the former Jew who receives communion, survives attempted murder, and then becomes a Christian. He therefore denotes Christian identity as descended from Jewish identity, and the father slaughtering his own son embodies the old order of Jewish dominance as repressors of the new order of the Christian West that has succeeded it.

The son Abel—the Jew who leaves his old religion—therefore personifies not only Christ and Christian converts, but also the implicit potential within the Jewish

[355] For literature on blood libel—particularly in medieval England—see (Rose 2015), (Bale 2007), (Bale 2006, 55–144), (Utz 2005), (Utz 1999), and (Parkes 1976, 19–58). Other charges of blood libel include Simon de Novers's assault of a Jewish banker in Blois in 1150, cited in (Rose 2015, 67–92).

race to convert. As so crudely depicted in the miniatures of T, Abel the child is initially an archetypical Jew, like his father Samuel. Abel too wears the Jewish *kippah* in miniature panes two and three, and has a visibly aquiline nose. Yet when the small boy is removed from the fire in miniature pane five, his nose is transformed, and his *kippah* removed.[356] For the reader of CSM 4, he represents the capability of all Jews to convert to Christianity when confronted by miraculous deeds. From a Christian perspective, no act is more miraculous—and, hence, convincing—than the direct parallel of Abel's sacrifice, the crucifixion of the New Testament Son of God.

The mother of CSM 4 is also equated with an Old Testament figure. When she appeals to people in the street—highlighted in lines 5 to 8 of strophe 8—the boy's mother Rachel is said to cry ('a aque a gente ven / ao doo de Rachel.' 8.7–8), making an obvious comparison with the Biblical Rachel, who weeps for her own lost children. Rachel first appears in the Book of Genesis as the daughter of Laban, who marries Jacob, and gives birth to Joseph and Benjamin (Gen. 29:6). She was known prominently in Judeo-Christian tradition—and particularly in the Christian Middle Ages—for her lamenting, as popularised in the Book of Jeremiah (Jer. 31:15). Here, Rachel weeps because the Assyrians are deporting captive Jews from Jerusalem, including her two sons. This story has been reintegrated into Judeo-Christian theological discourse as Rachel weeping for an end to the perpetual suffering of the children of Israel. However, in what way might this story feed into a conversion narrative, where Jewish legitimacy has been ceded in favour of Christianity? In CSM 4, the figure of Rachel does see an end to her anguish: she, like the crowd, is said to be filled with great joy ('con alegria', 10.2), and consequently comes to believe in Christ and converts ('log' a judea criya, / e o menỹo sen al / o batismo recebia;', 11.2-4). In CSM 4 the logic follows that the Jewish people—to ease their own torment—should follow Rachel and Abel,

[356] (Patton 2012, 91–3).

recognise the miracles of the Virgin Mary, and convert to the Christian faith. This accords with the Alfonsine stance on Jewish conversion—that it should not be forced, but rather encouraged through example.

This analogy of the sorrowful, contemplative Rachel also invites further comparison other characters named Mary from the life of Christ. One of these is Mary of Bethany, whose meditative nature is contrasted to that of her sister Martha in the Gospel of Luke (Luke 10:38–42).[357] In a commentary upon Luke, Cyril of Alexander relates Mary and Martha to Rachel and her own sister Leah. He notes that Rachel is the more pensive in her sorrow, as Mary is at Christ's feet. Meanwhile, Mary's sister Martha 'busies herself in the kitchen' despite her sadness, and hence is symbolic of the active, non-monastic life, as Martha's counterpart Leah is in the Book of Genesis.[358] Further comparisons are made surrounding the birth of her children: in Genesis, Rachel gives birth on the road to Bethlehem, but dies in the process. The child is known as Benjamin, meaning 'son of my mourning'. The weeping Rachel giving birth on her way to Bethlehem is a clear precursor to the Christ child, born in Bethlehem to Mary. In essence, Rachel's cries while in labour at Bethlehem prefigures Mary's weeping for Christ, both while giving birth in the same city, and while lamenting over his body at Cavalry.[359]

---

[357] The proliferation of characters named Mary in the four Gospels invited frequent confusion: Pope Gregory I considered Mary of Bethany and Mary Magdalene the same woman in his 591 sermon (*Homilae XL in evangelia*, XXX). Merging the earthly, sinful Marys into a 'composite Mary' in the Middle Ages invited both contrast and comparison with the peerless, virtuous Virgin Mary. See (Loewen and Waugh 2014).

[358] (Strickert 2007, 39–40). Strickert also notes similar views expressed by Augustine and Aquinas.

[359] (Cohen 2004, 106–29). In an analysis of the figure of Mistress Rachel of Mainz, Cohen notes the comparison between the martyr Mistress Rachel, and the Old Testament Rachel. There are also implicit parallels between Rachel's sacrifice of her children and the Akedah of Isaac, which is itself compared to the sacrificial lamb of the Passover. Cohen notes that the Akedah was commonly said to take place over Passover, when Christ's crucifixion took place. In this passage, further relations between the two are Rachel lamenting her children on her lap and the figure of the *mater dolorosa*. Rachel's suffering in Bethlehem also invites comparison to the Slaughter of the Innocents in Bethlehem, who were also held as martyrs for Christ.

Assigning these names in CSM 4, and aligning them with the refrain's 'b' rhyme at points of strophe-end recap, is anything but coincidental. The miracle of the Little Jewish Boy has a long tradition, appearing in anonymous Latin prose miracle accounts from the twelfth century, as well as in the Latin and vernacular collections of Gautier de Coinci, William of Malmesbury, Vincent de Beauvais, and others. However, only in CSM 4 are the characters of the story assigned names. In the *cantiga de miragre* version, these names all fall at the strophe's 'b' rhymes, that echo those of the refrain. With eleven strophes and two 'b' rhymes in the refrain, the songwriter would have to find 13 possible words that accorded with the '-el' of rhyme 'b'.[360] It would have been far easier to assign names that either did not fall at the ends of lines, or that fell at the ends of the 'c' or 'd' rhymes that vary per strophe. This would have been an option, were reiteration of rhyme-related and musical sound not regarded as a memorially marked tool, which would have resonated with the song's listeners. For consumers both acutely aware of the sonic significance of rhyme, and receptive to common anti-Semitic tropes, no rhyme sound could better concur with the depiction of Jew as tyranniser, than the all-mighty, vengeful deity—'El'—of Old Testament theology.[361]

In this analysis, I have demonstrated the unexpected cohabitation between linear narrative and cyclical musical-poetic structures. Memorially marked structures have the potential to highlight narratively significant material, and offer moralistic commentary, when realised in their performance as song. In the examples from CSM

[360] The paucity of available words that would fit with the paroxytonic 'b' rhyme clearly necessitated an overspill into three-syllable words that suggest some emphasis on the proparoxytone ('Daniel', R.2; 'd' Irrael', R.4; 'Samuel', 1.8; 'Hemanuel', 4.8; 'chapitel', 6.8; 'Misahel', 9.8). However, this would be likely to further enhance the sense of play in the strophe-end recap, playing with the audience's sense of expectation by prematurely announcing the arrival of the sonically charged 'b' rhyme.

[361] El (אל) is distinguished from the name of God YHWH (יהוה) variously represented as 'Yahweh' or 'Jehovah' in the Latin alphabet. El, or El Shaddai (שַׁדַּי אֵל) is conventionally translated as God almighty, often depicted as supreme deity, a destroyer, and a vengeful God, in contrast to YHWH, who listens to the groaning of his people (Ex. 6:5), binds himself to Israel as his people, and proclaims himself as their God (Ex. 6:7).

4, I have shown that these narrative songs are keenly sensitive to the sonic properties of the strophe, allying novel, significant and dramatic material to the sonic thrust of a strophe-end recap structure, and in particular to the recapped refrain rhymes. These features may not be seen universally in the *cantigas de miragre*. However, their presence does establish that arranging a linear narrative in line with a memorially marked strophe structure was clearly a technique that could be deployed by poets and composers keenly aware of the power of sonic recall.

5.iii: Subtle Conversion Messages in CSM 22

Other miracle songs aimed at converting Jewish people are less overtly anti-Semitic than CSM 4. Set in Armenteira, CSM 22 (**App. 5**) tells the story of a farmer named Matthew, who is assaulted by his lord's knights after a disagreement.[362] Following the farmer's pleas to the Virgin to save him, the soldiers discover that they cannot pierce his body. Realising their error, the soldiers beg for pardon, and Matthew departs to join the pilgrims of Rocamadour. Integrated into this simple storyline is a complex sub-narrative that exhorts Jewish unbelievers to turn to Christ, like Matthew the farmer. This message is conveyed along similar lines to CSM 4: namely, through using recapped refrain rhymes as a memorially marked locus to underscore a message of conversion. Structured in terms of rhyme as aa|(bbba|aa), in poetic respects this *cantiga de miragre* presents a highly orthodox strophe-end recap structure. With a musical organisation of ab|(bbab|ab), however, the poetic and musical lines do not align consistently. Musically, all of the melodic material from the strophe is derived from the refrain. Meanwhile, the poetic structure incorporates a new rhyme sound 'b' for lines 1 to 3, delaying the recap of the refrain rhyme 'a' to line 4. This is made possible

[362] Today, Armenteira consists of a Cistercian Monastery founded around 1150, situated near Meis in Galicia. On CSM 22's Galician provenance and relation to others from the region, see (Varela Jácome 1951), (Filgueira Valverde 1980).

due to the poetic refrain's deployment of only one rhyme ending, whereas the melodic refrain—which consists of two different melodic lines—must start one line before the poetic refrain to fit into the strophe.

The strophe ends with the recapped refrain melody, and is then succeeded by the refrain itself, thus creating two successive repetitions of its melody per strophe. In part, this structure is made possible by the stability of CSM 22's versification: consisting entirely of decasyllabic lines with oxytonic endings, lines R1 and R2 could be recapped anywhere in the strophe without the risk of generating metrical complications.[363] Isolating the poetic and musical structures can help to unpack further their relationships to each other. Tonally, CSM 22 was categorised as *tritus* imperfect by Huseby.[364] Commenting more extensively, Johnson notes how this variance in ambitus between melodic lines in R1 and R2 creates a clear 'antecedent and consequent structure' in the refrain.[365] This, Johnson states, is achieved through third chains, in which *D–F–a–c* chains create stability, and a contrasting *C–E–G–b*-fa chain generates instability.[366] However, third chains are hard to perceive in this work. Other than isolated instances in segments *i* and *ii*, which only spell out partial segments of *F–a–c* and *E–g*, the entire melody of CSM 22 is conjunct. Although Johnson is certainly right that musical lines R1 and R2 fulfil some of the criteria for an antecedent and consequent structure—anachronistic though these terms may be—the use of tonal polarities in the refrain do not create the sense of expectancy that antecedents and

[363] Several *cantigas de miragre* exhibit similar text-music mismatches, most especially CSM 113, (Parkinson 2007). See also (Parkinson 2014).
[364] (Huseby 1983, 294, 303).
[365] (Johnson 2014, Vol. 1, 190–2), compares its similar use of antecedent and consequent structure to that of To 71 (CSM 56). Johnson groups CSM 22 under *CSM* that are tonally based on *C*, since **To** gives CSM 22 a fourth lower.
[366] Since Johnson refers to pitches in **To**, I have directly transposed these from her *a–c–e–g* and *G–b–d–f* chains respectively.

consequents are conventionally said to produce.[367] Melody line R1 charts an *F*-focussed area, ascending to *a*, then to *c*, and back down to *F*, outlining a clear pentachord rooted on *F*. Only after syllable 9 does the melody approach an open termination on *G*, which is unanticipated, but is then reaffirmed by the *G–a–b* third figure for the final two syllables. It might be anticipated that line R2 would stay within the same range, exploring the open area of *G* before returning to the *F* terminus. Yet the start of R2 on *a* initiates an unforeseen tonal area: following a stepwise descent to *E* and *D*, then *E* to *G* third leaps and, finally, a close on *C* on syllable 8, the tonal path is unsettled. The *F*-centred tonality of line R1 has now been destabilised by the new territory below the expected primary terminus, and the lowest tonal remove of *C*. This breach into new terrain gives none of the expectancy that would be typified by an assumed consequent. It is only after the descent to *C* that the *F* is returned to via a leap, and a final cadential figure charting the lower third *D* to *F* given in syllable 9 of line R2, which mirrors the conjunct *E* to *g* figure at the close of line R1.

The two lines of the refrain melody therefore set up a dichotomy: the first, focussing on *F*, charts a clear pentachord from *F* to *c,* before settling on an open ending at *G*. The second line is tonally uncertain—not in any sense anticipated—charting the hexachord from *C* to *a* and only returning to *F* after a jump of a fourth from *C*, which then delineates the lower third to *D*. The *D* to *F* third figure (segment *iiib*) on syllable 9 of line R2 has been heard before. Third figures, traced out by step, are a common feature of CSM 22's melody, and, as already highlighted, this third figure emulates the

[367] Theories of antecedent and consequent phrases have come via Riemannian analysis, which is typically applied to music of the Baroque and Classical periods. See (Rehding 2003, 38), quoting (Riemann 1908). Whether antecedent and consequent structures may pertain to the later Middle Ages is debatable. *Antecedens* and *consequens* forms are observed in Haas's analysis of *Consequens antecendente*, suggesting that such structures were known as such by certain composers. See (Haas 2007, 241–6). This may corroborate Grocheio's observation that in *estampies*, the repeating sections known as *punctus* are differentiated from each other based upon whether they sound open (*apertum*) or closed (*clausum*), as mentioned in (Hiley 2007–) and (McGee 2014, 8, 40).

closing motif of line R1 (*iiia*) as an inversion. However, it is also a variant of the third figure in syllables 2 to 4 of the same line (*iii*). Here it sketches the upper third from *F* to *a* in a first exploration of the *F*-based tonality. Although these two figures are inversions of each other, they effectively share the same purpose. In the case of line 1, the upper third offers *F*-based tonality that prepares for the wider exploration of the hexachord above. Conversely, in line R2 the lower third of segment *iiib* settles the tonal contingency incited by the *C* to *a* hexachord by conjugating it with the *F* terminus. Thus, while this melody is problematic in the tonal opposition of the two lines, the repurposing of familiar melodic segments allows the *F*-centred tonality to remain a crux throughout.

Despite the reuse of the closing cadential segment *iiib* in melodic line R2, this in itself is not sufficient to award lines 1 to 2 any sense of melodic balance. Rather, it depends on succeeding musical line R1 so that it can be understood in its context as a return to the original tonal terminus. Given the relative tonal volatility in line R2 in relation to line R1, therefore, it is unusual that CSM 22 should have the musical form ab|(bbab|ab). The prominence of the recapped R2 means that a sizeable part of the strophe vacillates between the foreignness of the *C* to *a* hexachord and the resolute cadence on *F*. None of the equilibrium associated with Riemannian periodic structure is given. Instead, line 3 stands out as the only place in the whole strophe that highlights the upper *F* to *c* pentachord over the primary terminus, and gives a clear *F*-based tonality without the surprise of the *C* to *a* hexachord.[368] The scarcity of the recapped R1 melody in the midst of so many R2 lines therefore brings the *F*-based stability into

[368] It should be noted that the third figure is interpreted differently in **To:** line 3 has a binary neume on syllable 4, giving the tones *E* to *C* with no tone in between. Compare to the ternary neume in **T** and **E**, which contain the passing tone between the third. Also note that syllable 9 of lines R2, 1, 2 and 4 is identical to that in **T** and **E**, except that the final tone is indicated by liquescence through an ascender attached to the penultimate tone of a ternary descending neume.

a still more memorially marked status at the refrain melody's eventual homecoming in line 3.

This form largely complements the narrative structure of each strophe: narrative focuses often fall in lines 3 to 4 of each strophe, implicitly associating the sense of balance between *F*-based tonality and the remove of the recapped line R2 with points of narrative emphasis. In strophe 1, line 3 initiates the protagonist's stated wish to relate the miracle ('e dest'un miragre vos direi eu', 1.3), while strophes 3 and 5 provide the farmer's invocation to Mary ('mas el começou a Madr'a chamar', 3.3; 'ca el a Santa Maria chamou:', 5.3). Strophe 6 tells of Mary saving the farmer ('que fez a Reynna esperital,', 6.3) and strophe 7 describes the knight giving recompense as a result ('e deron-ll' algu';', 7.3). The same place in strophes 2 and 4 describes the farmer's strife with his lord ('mui grande que avi' a seu sennor,', 2.3) and the knight's disbelief in the miracle ('cuidou que era o coteif', 4.3'). Likewise, in the opening strophe the return of the refrain melody in line 3 instigates a change to repeated refrain material in lines 1 to 2 ('Gran poder á, ca sseu Fillo llo deu,', 1.1) to typical *exordium* material ('e dest' un miragre vos direi eu', 1.3), where the narrator explains how the miracle was obtained ('que ela fez grande nos dias meus.', 1.4) and that he will tell the story.

The placement of narratively dynamic sections in the main *narratio* and *peroratio* (strophes 2 to 7) is contrasted sharply with the narratively static passages in lines 1 to 2 of each strophe. For instance, in strophe 2 the location of the miracle and identities of the knight and farmer are relegated to sections that are not memorially marked ('En Armenteira foi un lavrador, / que un cavaleiro,', 2.1–2). This is because for anybody reading or listening to the miracle, these details would be known already from the opening rubric, ('Esta é como Santa Maria guardou a un lavrador que non morresse das feridas que lle dava un cavaleiro'). Instead, new information—the reasoning for the knight's attack—is given: the knight has fallen out with the farmer

('por desamor / mui grand que avi' a seu sennor,', 2.2–3). More significantly, the listener hears the name of the farmer ('per nome Mateus.' 2–4). The name of the farmer, and the specific placement of his name at the location of the 'a' rhyme is fundamental to the interpretation of the miracle—hence its placement here—as will be explained later on in this analysis.

Subsequent strophes continue this pattern. In strophe 3, for instance, the farmer's prayer to the Virgin is what is essential and new ('mas el começou a Madr' a chamar', 2.3). The material in lines 1 to 2 merely reaffirms that of the previous strophe, describing the scene of Matthew's murder ('mandou-lle lançadas dar;', 2.2). Strophes 4 and 5 both follow the pattern established in strophes 2 and 3. Here, the narrative of attack has the potential to become stale, given that each strophe makes use of some permutation of the verb 'lançar' ('Duas lançadas', 4.1; 'a ssa azcũa lle lançou', 5.1). Therefore, each of these sections are relegated to the sonically undistinctive first halves of each respective strophe. The sonically charged lines 3 and 4 instead elaborate on the consternation and anger of the attackers ('cuidou que era o coteif', enton / mais bravo foi que Judas Macabeus.', 4.3–4) and the prayer of the farmer ('ca el a Santa Maria chamou:', 5.3). Strophes 5 and 6 then carry forth the farmer's petition. The words of Matthew's supplication first occur in line 4 of strophe 6 ('«Sennor, val-me como vales os teus,', 5.4), yet the reiteration and rephrasing of this plea falls in the sonically undistinctive line 1 of the following strophe ('E non moira, ca non mereci mal.»', 6.1). In this strophe, what is original is the transition of the attackers' psychological state. Here also is the revelation of the miracle, where the bystanders acknowledge the events as miraculous and are thus converted to faith ('creveron ben, ca ant' eran encreus.', 6.4).

Citation of the refrain melody concomitantly links these points of narrative dynamism with the refrain text, reminding the listener of Mary's boundless power and

intercession for those who pray for her. Mary's centricity seen in the refrain is frequently hinted at through precise textual alignment in the strophes: R1's second *c*—the highest point of the melodic line—falls on 'Madre' at syllable 7. This *c* is consistently aligned with analogous words where melodic line R1 reappears in the strophes: this includes strophe 2's 'Madre', as well as strophe 5's 'Maria', whereas the end of 'Reynna' in strophe 6 coincides with the first *c* of syllable 6. Meanwhile, the '-eus' rhyme ending for line R2 provides several opportunities to relate the followers of Mary ('-los seus') of the refrain with named characters in the strophe. These include 'Mateus' in strophe 2, the Jews in strophe 3, and the allusion to Judas Maccabeus in strophe 4. The names of characters in the strophes and the choice of rhyme for the recapped line R2 evidently influenced each other at the composition stage of CSM 22. Such lexical choices would have been obvious given the relatively few options available for the rhyme '-eus': both Latin-derived personal names, as well as 'judeus', would be clear resorts when confronted with fewer rhyming options.[369]

This is not to say that the selection of character names in CSM 22 is based merely upon convenience of rhyme: rather, such character names forge parallels—explicitly as well as implicitly—with recognised Biblical or historical personae.[370] In CSM 22, intricate webs of association are at play, with both an overt reference to an apocryphal text and a strongly understood allusion to the New Testament. In strophe 3 the knight is hardly perplexed into submission by his unassailable quarry: thinking the miracle to be enchantment, lines 3 to 4 declare that he gets even more inflamed than Judas Maccabeus ('más bravo foi que Judas Macabeus.', 3.4). Judas Maccabeus

[369] (Bertolucci Pizzorusso 1997, 184–9). Although '-eus' appears as a rhyme 312 times in the *CSM*, these cases involve frequent duplications of 'meus', 'teus', 'seus', 'judeus', 'Deus', 'Mateus' and 'romeus'. See also the references for CSM 4's '-el' (Ibid., 128-9), which appears 70 times in the *CSM* but includes multiple duplications of 'Irrael', 'Gabriel', 'Emanuel', 'Manuel', 'bel', 'fiel' and 'donzel'.

[370] (Montoya Martínez 2004–5), for instance, looks at uses of names and allusions for Mary, although not for other characters in *CSM* narratives.

(fl.167–160 BC), a valiant soldier, is commonly depicted as a paragon of bravery and military zeal: 2 Maccabees in particular describes an extensive military campaign led by Judas against Antiochus IV Epiphanes and his general Nicanor (2 Macc. 15:9–36).[371] His victory over Antiochus features as one of the main events celebrated in the story of Hanukah, making Judas a significant figure in late-antique and medieval Jewish identity.[372] Judas was also a prominent figure in the later Middle Ages, featuring in the canonised set of decisive historical figures known as the 'nine worthies'. The worthies, who also included Hector, Alexander, Caesar, Joshua, David, Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey de Bouillon, were acknowledged for their military fervour and crusading spirit. In essence, their epic stories were lauded not only for their narrative interest, but also as a source of instruction in military affairs.[373] Judas's appearance in the *Petiçon* (CSM 401) also pictures him in a positive light, where his attack against the Seleucids is compared to Alfonso's attack against the Moors.[374] Here, Judas Maccabeus is brought forth as an *auctor*—a figure recognisable to the educated as an exemplar of military prowess—to bestow military skill on Alfonso. Unlike the *Petiçon*, however, CSM 22's Judas is painted as a fierce rebel and the farmer's persecutor. Despite being lauded amongst the nine worthies, Judas—along with Joshua and David—was designed one of the three Jewish representatives, portrayed as inferior to those representing Christianity and paganism.[375] Acting metonymically for the Jewish people, therefore, Judas Maccabeus epitomises the Jewish tyranniser of Christ and Christians.

---

[371] (Kohlenberger 1997, 798–893). Judas Maccabeus was a priest who led a revolt against the Seleucid Empire during the years 167–160 BC, due to the Seleucids' insistence that the Judeans worship the Greek gods. Also (Regev 2008) and (Lapina 2012).

[372] (Joslyn-Siemiatkoski 2012).

[373] (Hall 2005, 38–9). While this characterisation first appears slightly later than the *CSM*, it does mirror common anti-Semitic attitudes of the later Middle Ages.

[374] '[C]om' a seus ẽemigos destruyu Machabeus / Judas, que foi gran tenpo cabdelo dos Judeus.', 2.9–10. See also CSM 133, where a girl who has died has Judah Maccabeus' epistle of the dead said over her body: 'e logo fez cantar / missa de requiem pola soterrar, / e ũ /foi a pistola rezar / dos mortos que fez Judas Macabeus.', 5.1–4.

[375] The pagans being represented by Hector, Alexander and Caesar, and the Christians by Arthur, Charlemagne and Godfrey.

In the Middle Ages, the Jewish people's denunciation and persecution of Christ was frequently used to justify their oppression and forced conversion.[376] The conviction of Jewish deicide—in particular the smear of Christ killers—was propagated as early as the time of Paul.[377] The image of Christ's crucifixion is particularly germane to CSM 22, and while there is no direct reference, the connexion between the two scenes is strongly insinuated: in strophe 3, Mary is called upon to save the farmer, and she is described as the Mother of him whom the Jews killed on the cross ('do que na cruz mataron os judeus.', 3.4). Meanwhile, within the crucifixion scene the farmer obliquely fulfils the role of Christ as victim of Jewish oppression. Matthew the farmer is attacked by foot soldiers ('Duas lançadas lle deu un peon,', 4.1), just as Christ suffers at the hands of the Roman centurions. Meanwhile, the knight who hurls his javelin at the farmer in strophe 5 ('Enton a ssa azcũa lle lançou / e feriu-o,' 5.1–2) strongly alludes to the centurion Longinus, who pierced Jesus upon the cross with his spear.[378] This may be alluded to visually in the third miniature in **T** f.34v, in which the farmer is pierced in his left flank by the soldier's lance.[379] However, his explicit comparison with Judas Maccabeus in strophe 4 also invites easy comparison with Judas Iscariot in this New Testament allegory: the medieval figure of Jewish bravery is subtly equated with the epitome of duplicity and betrayal.[380]

---

[376] See (Cohen 1983) and (Patton 2006). For Jewish persecution and conversion in the context of the *CSM*, see (Bagby 1971), (Roitman 2007), (Bolla Panadero 2008).
[377] (Davis 2003), (Cohen 2007, 54–7).
[378] Longinus was a Roman centurion, who is first mentioned by name in the Gospel of Nicodemus. Longinus was not a Jew, although he does convert from his pagan religion to Christianity once he realises that Jesus was the son of God, (Farmer 2011, 274).
[379] Note also in this third miniature the presence of two monks in white robes, standing on either side of the farmer. They are alluded to neither in the Galician-Portuguese song text, nor in the Castilian prose rendition that appears at the bottom of the same page. Potentially they could represent the two thieves—Dismas and Gestas—within an allegory of the Passion scene.
[380] A fairly common trope: Judas Maccabeus is compared to Judas Iscariot in Jacques de Longuyon's *Vœux du paon*, (Gaullier-Bougassas 2011). This is part of a much longer literary context where the lexically similar are compared on a semantic level. See (Carruthers 2006) on lexical similarity between taste ('sabor') and wisdom ('sapientia') in Biblical texts. This similarity between tasting and wisdom—generated by similar-sounding text—is also

The farmer is referred to explicitly as Matthew in strophe 2 ('per nome Mateus'). Here there are several potential comparisons to be drawn: Judas Maccabeus' father Mattathias was a priest who played a similarly crucial role in the Hanukah story. This reference to Judas's father can potentially be read into the crucifixion allegory: the persecutors of Christ—Judas Iscariot, Longinus, the Jewish people—are subliminally assaulting their own spiritual father. Two of Christ's disciples—Matthew and Matthias—are further possible referents: both may have been martyred, and the latter is said in the Book of Acts to have replaced Judas Iscariot as a disciple, following his betrayal and suicide (Acts 1:18–26).[381] Yet CSM 22 does not simply associate these characters: rather, these comparisons feed into a wider didactic message of conversion. The sonic remembrance of the 'b' rhyme works within the melodic refrain, appearing at the very end of the sonically tenacious refrain melody. It thus acts in essence as a focus within the memorially marked lines 3 to 4. It tacitly cues in the object of the refrain text—the believers of Mary ('-los seus' R2)—subtly linking them to the unbelievers mentioned at the end of the strophes. This is suggested more directly in strophe 6, where it is said that those who did not believe became believers ('creveron ben, ca ant' eran encreus', 6.4): again, rhyme between 'Mateus', 'judeus', 'Judas Macabeus' and this strophe's own 'encreus' is deployed to enhance the didactic principle.

The topic of conversion is essential to the moralistic message of this song. As in several *cantigas de miragre*, Jews and persecutors of Christ are exposed as initial heretics

observed by (Deeming 2014) in her analysis of the twelfth-century song 'Dulcis Jesu memoria'. See also (Fulton 2006).

[381] (Kinney and Swift 2013, Vol. 6, 614–7). Little is known about the martyrdom of Matthew and Matthias. The former is said to have been killed in Ethiopia. Matthias was either crucified and then beheaded by the Jews of Colchis, or stoned in Jerusalem by the Sanhedrin, (Farmer 2011, 301–2).

who are either punished or converted at the revelation of the miracle.[382] But how should the performer and listener interpret this story? Clearly, two narratives are offered simultaneously to the listener, both of which are valid. On a superficial level, it tells a conventionalised miracle narrative in which a faithful servant of Mary is saved from unbelievers after requesting her aid. This is a story that teaches of maintaining faith for the Virgin, which would surely have been relevant for any Christian. On a deeper level, however, it would have offered justification for conversion of heretics—particularly Jews—that was so common in this period. The allegorisation of the Passion scene, in which Matthew the farmer is almost slaughtered by those who later repent, portrays the Jewish people as initial persecutors who, like the body of believers in the real Passion, are potentially able to rescind their aberrant ways and convert following the miracle. Weaving into this message the implicit references to Biblical characters typically identified with the Jewish faith—Longinus, Judas Maccabeus, Judas Iscariot—subtly suggests that the Jews must be saved from committing murder of their own spiritual father, just as those at the real Passion were saved following the Resurrection and evangelising of the disciples. The musical-poetic structure of CSM 22—particularly its strophe-end recap—enhances this essential message. The musical refrain stated in full—with its vacillation between the *F* to *c* pentachord and the *C* to *a* hexachord—is conspicuous owing to the rest of the strophe's dependency on the melody recapped from line R2. Within this structure, the specific alignment of the '-eus' rhyme with these character names acts as a focus, reinforcing the song's most essential message: that salvation is achieved through conversion to, and praise of, the Virgin.

[382] Compare with multiple other *CSM*: for instance, CSM 108 (a discussion between Merlin and a Jew, who initially refutes the incarnation. Merlin makes the Jew's son be born with his head on back to front, and when the father tries to kill the child, Merlin saves him and uses him to convert other Jewish people). Also note CSM 25, CSM 85, CSM 89 and CSM 107: in all of these songs, Jewish characters in peril convert after the Virgin appears and saves them.

5.iv: Summary

These two songs indicate that instead of loosely locating narratively significant material at points of strophe-end recap, poets of the *cantigas de miragre* made far more deliberate choices when organising a miracle text. Both CSM 4 and CSM 22 demonstrate the fundamental role that lexical sound plays within the *cantiga de miragre*'s memorially marked repetition structure, furnishing their basic narratives with moralistic commentary through the alignment of allegorised Biblical figures with recapped refrain rhymes. Rhyme can therefore be said to function as a central point within a memorially marked strophe-end recap structure. Recapped melodic material functions as a fundamental vehicle to support this structure, readying the listener for the arrival of the refrain rhyme, where the moralistic commentary is pinpointed.

This configuration is one that is by no means universally present in the *cantigas de miragre*. While there are several songs that mention Biblical characters for moralistic purposes, not all of them so consistently align these references with recapped refrain rhymes.[383] These case studies nevertheless indicate an awareness of recapped rhyme's potential in a memorially marked *cantiga de miragre* structure. Rhyme and melody, when familiar, have the potential to stand out to a listener and performer, and this offers clear opportunities for songwriters to locate significant material in these sections. However, this does not mean that songwriters would have done so at every potential opportunity. Rather, I see the Biblical references in CSM 4 and CSM 22—conditioned by recapped rhyme—as especially suited to the narrative and moralistic requirements of both songs. Each case necessitates two narrative levels. Firstly, a basic miracle story, inspiring faith in a general (presumably Christian)

[383] For instance, in strophe 3 of CSM 306, the figures of Octavian, St John and referenced, along with the Lateran ('Esta eigrej' e aquela / que chaman de Leteran, / que do 'mperador foi casa / que nom' ouv' Octavian; / mas depois ar foi eigreja / do apostol San Joan, / mui nobre e mui ben feita / e que costou grand' aver.' 3.1-8).

listener. This works simultaneously alongside a second sub-narrative, which condemns the old Jewish faith for its aggressions towards Christ and Christians, and preaches the moral virtue of conversion.

Chapter 6

Musical-Poetic Complications in the *CSM*: Fragmentation, Dislocation and Synthesis

Up until now, I have addressed songs that incorporate an unambiguous strophe-end recap structure. This musical-poetic setup in turn supports a linear narrative by aligning central material to moments of the recapped refrain. However, not all *cantigas de miragre* apply strophe-end recap in the standardised manner that I outlined in Chapter 3. While elements of sonic turning back are usually at play, a small number of songs encounter structural obstacles. Points of strophe-end recap may be obscured by surrounding lines that rely upon refrain-derived motivic segments. Recapped refrain material may also be altered significantly in the strophe, such that a sonic return is not recognised. Alternatively, strophe-end recap may occur, but its own structural parameters may be transformed by being delayed, compressed or the alignments between poetic and musical lines destabilised. Such problematic songs are curious to performers and listeners—and merit attention by analysts—precisely because they go against the grain. In a body of repertory that both lacks structural variation and incorporates an overwhelmingly standardised principle of strophe-end recap, such divergences are particularly noticeable. In what way might these divergences have been processed by listeners? Would they have been discarded as failed projects, or lauded as works of true inventiveness? How such problematic songs interact with a linear narrative also comes into question. Might there be a way of reconciling structural aberrations with the narrative the song's form ostensibly fails to support?[384]

[384] The songs in this chapter demonstrate clear links between structural and narrative themes of discord and synthesis. However, this does not mean to presume that all songs in the collection integrate structural and narrative themes so thoroughly. In this chapter, I examine

In Chapter 6, I assess three *cantigas de miragre* that seem to have challenging musical-poetic structures. They each incorporate general principles of strophe-end recap, yet do so in a far more ambiguous way than is normally observed. CSM 276's section of strophe-end recap is set up to fragment the refrain into smaller musical-poetic units. This division of the recapped refrain echoes narrative themes of detachment in the song. However, in what way might the division of structure support or defy CSM 276's clearly linear narrative? Other songs can alter a refrain by dislocating its musical-poetic breaks when recapped in the strophe. Like songs of fragmentation, they may generate a feeling of being cut short, particularly when newly forged line breaks converge closely with the implicit divides left behind by the memory of the refrain. This is the case for CSM 72, whose warning against disrupted, blasphemous speech accords narratively with the displacement of line breaks in its structure. Finally, songs have the option to ignore phrasal divisions of a refrain at points of strophe-end recap. Rather than dividing or dislocating, such songs can assimilate or fuse together a refrain's musical-poetic points of hiatus in the strophe. In CSM 427, this involves gathering together a refrain's musical-poetic units at points of strophe-end recap, and assimilating them into larger entities. But how might these larger phrasal units be conceived by listeners, and can the sonic memory of a refrain's line divisions still be perceived when aggregated together in the strophe?

It is a significant challenge to imagine how medieval performers assessed such problematic song structures. Yet manuscript witnesses offer one useful indicator of how a small sector of society processed and analysed the texts and melodies of the songs they were meant to inscribe. Musical and textual punctuation—in particular, the use of vertical staff strokes and the medial *punctus*—can elucidate a problematic

CSM 276, CSM 72 and CSM 427 precisely because they all integrate these themes so holistically, which in itself is interesting. Nevertheless, I make no claim to these practices being either unique or ubiquitous to the repertory.

cantiga de miragre's musical-poetical structure on the page. The *CSM* manuscript witnesses frequently respond to a song's structural issues, and it is clear that scribes and notators were aware of the power they wielded in clarifying a problematic *cantiga de miragre*'s essential framework. For the three songs I address in this chapter, ambiguous musical-poetic structures are consistently demarcated by careful use of punctuation. However, codicological features can also indicate where a song's structure works against its syntactical logic. Narrative trains of thought that defy a fragmented, dislocated or synthesised strophe structure are regularly demarcated as such by similar scribal punctuation. But what is the purpose—and who is the intended audience—of such scribal clarification? Is it there to elucidate a song's phrasal makeup for its readers? Alternatively, is such clarification paradoxically meant to expose tension between a song's structural and syntactical logic, and make its readers reflect upon such discordance?

6.i: Fragmentation and Broken Sound in CSM 276

Notions of fragmentation and division are common to the majority of *cantigas de miragre*. Song forms can be isolated into discrete sections, such as the refrain or the strophe. These structural parts can be subdivided further into smaller units: for instance, the musical-poetic line. Narrative linearity is also segmented by the constant vacillation between strophes and refrains. A handful of songs make even more overt references to division: syntactical units are enjambed between strophes, melodic contours bisected, and poetic lines cut short. While several *cantigas de miragre* echo narrative themes of partition through divided musical-poetic structures, few do so as thoroughly as CSM 276 (**App. 29**). This *cantiga de miragre* appears in manuscripts **F** and **E**, and it tells the macabre tale of a doomed huntsman who rings the bells in his local

church.[385] As a result of this foolish act, one of the church's bells falls upon and crushes the skull of its unsuspecting victim. The hunting party leaves the man's mangled body overnight in the church at Mary's altar, and he is miraculously healed by the following morning.[386] This narrative integrates numerous notions of detachment. The huntsman only commits his naive act because he separates himself physically from his hunting party. A falling bell is detached from its tower to plummet upon the huntsman, whose body is fragmented as a result. The huntsman's body and soul are then separated from each other when the bell kills him and he is left for dead.

This tale of separation is mirrored by a similarly divided musical-poetic structure.[387] CSM 276 unusually contains five lines in the strophe, which are balanced by two lines in the refrain. With a poetic form of ab|(cdcdb|ab), the refrain's recapped 'b' rhyme falls in the strophe's fifth and final line. However, despite the 'b' rhyme's reoccurrence in the strophe, its metrics do not correspond with those of the refrain. Instead of eight syllables—as in line R2—strophe line 5 is only two syllables in length.[388] Strophe lines 1 to 4 are remarkably uncomplicated in comparison, with seven syllables each.[389] Thus, while the refrain's rhymes are recapped at the end of each strophe, line 5 generates a feeling of being stifled prematurely. The upshot is a strophe of oversized proportions, with a poetic refrain that materialises earlier than anticipated. This poetic setup is highly atypical of most *cantigas de miragre*, but how

[385] This town is named 'Prado' in **F**'s rubric, but remains unidentified. (Kulp-Hill 2000, 335) references (Mettmann 1986–9, Vol. 3 (1989), 46), who suggests Santa María la Real de Neiva in the Province of Segovia.
[386] While the narrative structure is representative of most *CSM*, Parkinson argues that in its facetious portrayal of the hunter's gruesome misfortune, CSM 276 shows far more in common with the levity of the *CEM*, (Parkinson 1992, 44–6).
[387] Although **F** lacks notation throughout, it can be assumed that it would have had the same melody as that which appears in **E**, since the *CSM* display virtually no melodic (or textual) variation between the same songs that appear in different manuscripts.
[388] For more extensive discussion on the use of short syllable lines in the *CSM*, see (Campbell 2011, 39–45).
[389] However, lines 2 and 4 are distinct from lines 1 and 3. The former consists of paroxytonic rhymes, whereas the latter's rhymes are oxytonic.

does it correspond to the song's melodic form?[390] After its initial manifestation in the refrain, line R2 resurfaces in strophe line 4, yet the paucity of available syllables necessitates an overspill of note segments into line 5. With a total of nine syllables between lines 4 and 5, both lines must accommodate the entirety of R2's melody. Thus, the final two syllables of line R2—which are termed segment *i*—correspond to line 5. Meanwhile, the remainder of line R2 must fit into line 4.[391] The refrain's recapped melody therefore mirrors narrative themes of division when it is itself segmented to work alongside the strophe's poetic structure.

Aside from dividing the refrain's R2 between lines 4 and 5, this song incorporates a further major difference from the standard *cantigas de miragre*. All lines in the song are derived from the same motivic idea, clouding a listener's perception of where the strophe-end recap begins. The first seven syllables of line R1 are designated as segment *ii*. This segment undergoes frequent variation, but remains a dominant melodic force throughout CSM 276. In line R2, segment *ii* is altered tonally by avoidance of the *b*-fa, while the two opening *F* tones become three. The line subsequently rebounds and heads down to *D*.[392] Only then does it close on *F* via segment *i*. Line R2 therefore operates as a tonal elaboration of line R1. In the strophe section, line 1 incorporates an exact copy of refrain line R1, while lines 2 and 3 offer melodic variations that stem from segment *ii*.[393] Line 2 occupies a more restricted tonal

[390] Such is the brevity and prematurity of line 5 that Parkinson, in his brief analysis of CSM 276, merges this line with poetic line 4, (Parkinson 1992, 44–6). Parkinson considers this a case of 'final line with internal rhyme, sometimes elided', which 'matches the second rhyme of the strophe and the final line matches that of the refrain'. The study of CSM 276 in this thesis follows instead the five-line designation, dependent upon patterns in rhyme patterns, as given in (Mettmann 1959–72, Vol. 3 (1964), 65–7).

[391] This requires the second, liquescent tone in syllable 6 of line 4 to assume a second syllable, so as to accommodate the line's paroxytonic ending.

[392] This segment is rather a variation of segment *ii*, with a general mirroring of main contour, accepting segment *ii*'s *b*-fa to be an upper accessory tone to more significant tone of *a*.

[393] Spanke names this structural aberration a *Refrainlied* with links to the *ballade*, (Spanke 1958, 209, 234), whereas Huseby terms it a 'telescoped *virelai*', (Huseby 1983b, 101), cit. (Parkinson 1987, 52). Parkinson instead reasons that the song was not a *zejel* form in its exemplar, but was '*zejelised*' by the accretion of a refrain (Ibid., 49–53). Bolstering Parkinson's theory is Cummins's

range, beginning on *G*, ascending to *a* and using *b*-fa as an upper accessory. Then rather than falling to *F*, this line turns back up to *a*. Segment *ii*'s rise from *F* to *b*-fa is nevertheless plainly audible, since line 2 follows on from the *F* terminus of line 1. Line 3 is more novel, departing on *a* and ascending to the new heights of *c*. It then descends to *G*, cadencing on *F* via a stepwise fall from *a*. This line nevertheless incorporates ideas from segment *ii*, charting the upper *a* and *b*-fa, before moving down to *G* in the middle of the line.

How then does the strophe's melodic structure affect a listener's awareness of strophe-end recap? Since all strophe lines are derived from segment *ii*, the exact moment of recap is not explicit, and it is only until line 4 that refrain line R2 is recapped unambiguously. Prior to this, line 2 deploys the foreign tonal terminus of *a*, which is not heard in the refrain. While line 3 reuses an altered version of segment *ii*, its *F* terminus does not achieve the sense of closure that is generated by the sub-terminal *D* in line 5. Therefore, other than line 5 a true sense of return is only provided by strophe line 1. If this line functions as a premature recap of the refrain, there exists a further level of structural division within CSM 276's strophe. While lines 4 and 5 divide R2, they are themselves split from the duplication of R1, which paradoxically occurs in line 1.

This unusually divided structure has great potential to confuse performers and listeners. However, can modern-day analysts be certain that the line breaks of the strophe—particularly the bifurcated recap of R2 into lines 4 to 5—would have been recognised by medieval audiences? While little can be presumed about CSM 276's performance in the thirteenth century, its two manuscript witnesses offer some insight as to how scribes and notators perceived its line divisions. In notated text, there are

---

claim that refrains would have been bypassed in songs with excessive interstrophic enjambment (Cummins 1970, 1–9).

three common ways to indicate musical-poetic points of hiatus. The first method—the medial *punctus*—normally indicates textual breaks.[394] The second is determined by musical phrase, and consists of vertical strokes on the staves.[395] Finally, a manuscript's *mise-en-page* may determine structural pauses—poetic, musical or syntactical—by assigning system breaks in between particular words. Since these three techniques are often enforced by different people—scribes, notators, and compilers—breaks between musical-poetic units have the potential to be indicated unsystematically. As for CSM 276, the underlaid text of both **F** and **E** consistently splits poetic lines from each other by way of a medial *punctus*. Strophe lines 4 and 5 are all interrupted by a medial *punctus* between them, whereas this is not mirrored in R2. This therefore implies that text scribes in both sources recognised the different distribution of musical-poetic phrases in R2 and lines 4 to 5, which they ascertained by rhyme scheme. In **E**, this precise textual punctuation goes against the notator's division of musical phrases. Line 1.5's musical segment *i* is not separated from line 1.4 by a vertical staff

[394] The medial *punctus* consists of a point in between two words, indicating the equivalent of a comma or full stop. In the *textualis* palaeographic style common to the *CSM* and most other songbooks from the late-thirteenth century, the medial *punctus* (punctus, *m*., punctuī) appears frequently as an equivalent to a modern punctuation mark, indicating a pause or stop in the syntax. See (Derolez 2003, 185–7). This is a feature common to the Iberian *textualis* style, as mentioned in (Ibid., 111–6). However, the extent to which the *CSM* sources are part of Derolez's specific grouping of *textualis* is open to debate. Part of this is due to terminology: (Johnson 2014, Vol. 1, 68–76) describes **To**'s text as *rotundus*, whereas **T–F** is said to have an altered gothic rotunda script in (López Serrano et al. 1979, 22–3). However, individual features of the *CSM*'s script depart from Derolez's *textualis*. For instance, **E** consistently includes a variant of the double-compartment 'a' form with a thin hairline on the upper bow, in contrast to those of **To** and **T–F**. It is therefore open to debate whether the medial *punctus* is applied consistently according to the way Derolez describes.

[395] In (Parrish 1957, 80) they are termed incise marks that in modal notation indicate divisions between *ordines*. However, Parrish notes that they are sometimes 'treated as a sort of phrase mark without time value'. Also observed in (Apel 1953, 231). The use of vertical lines in 'Alleluia Justus ut palma' of the *Ad organum faciendum*, as well as the Codex Calixtinus, has recently been considered by (McAlpine 2008, 389, 398–9). McAlpine reasons that these strokes can indicate tonal cadences, poetic caesurae, or syntactical breaks. Vertical strokes in staves have also been considered within the realm of French *trouvère* repertory by (O'Neill 2006, 39–40). O'Neill has followed mensural principles and argued that these strokes may represent perfections in Occitan songs such as 'Amors m'art' (O'Neill 2006, 47). Vertical strokes are linked to the *distinctiones* used 'for the articulation of verbal parsing by punctuation, and of graphic musical equivalents to verbal punctuation', (Bent 2010, 54).

stroke, even though this divide is indicated by the text scribe. However, **E**'s notator does indicate all other line divisions in both the refrain and strophe with vertical strokes. It is therefore probable that **E**'s notator disregarded—or was not aware of—the strophe's subdivision of the recapped refrain melody. However, this split between lines 4 and 5 was clearly a problem for the text scribe as well, who goes to excessive lengths in the rest of the song to delineate it.

Both **F** and **E** consistently affix line 5 onto the end of the preceding line 4 in the same system of residual text. Therefore, the strophe's division of the recapped line R2 must consistently be indicated via the medial *punctus*. The division between lines 4 and 5 would have been clearly indicated to text scribes, who could follow the 'cdcdb' rhyme scheme of the strophes and punctuate accordingly. Does use of the medial *punctus* here support Parkes's claim that 'medieval scribes and correctors punctuate when confusion is likely to arise'?[396] While the medial *punctus* often falls alongside syntactical breaks in the narrative, it also interrupts self-contained syntactical clauses. This use of punctuation is therefore more a way of clarifying CSM 276's structure, and not about elucidating its narrative. The medial *punctus* is hence deployed as a means for emphasising a divided musical-poetic form, rather than for mirroring trains of thought.

To summarise, the medial *punctus* is of limited use in demarcating syntactical units, since narrative ideas often work against CSM 276's strophe structure. Narratively focal information is occasionally divided across strophes, aligning instead with the musical-poetic material that is derived most literally from the refrain: namely, lines 1, 4 and 5. It hence mirrors more strongly the themes of division that are essential to this song's storyline. Such narrative splits are seen in strophes 11 and 12, which focus on the hunter's praise to the Virgin. Here, both halves of the refrain melody—in lines 1, and

[396] (Parkes 2004, 138–9).

4 to 5—align with the narratively essential material in clauses. Line 1 introduces a new syntactical unit, which begins to tell of the hunter's praise ('E poren loou', 11.1). Mary as the object of this adoration is described in effusive terms in lines 2 to 3. However, it is lines 4 to 5 that highlight the essential qualities of Mary that make her worthy of praise: namely, her beautiful virtue ('sa vertude fremosa', 11.4). The interstrophic enjambment between strophes 11 and 12 extends the enumeration of Mary's laudable qualities, adding unfailing mercy ('Mercee que nunca fal,', 12.1). The divided refrain recap in lines 12.4–5 highlights subsequent material worthy of narrative focus, and stresses how Mary's qualities will be praised now and forever ('senpre é mui loada e / será.', 12.4–5).

Enjambment is a very common feature of CSM 276, and it intensifies this sense of narrative division throughout the song.[397] When starts of syntactical phrases align with the start of segment *i* in line 5, they are enjambed across strophes as a result. Thus, following the divided musical-poetic structure results in a similarly split narrative. This is the case in strophe 4, where the bell falls upon the unwary huntsman ('mais un deles se britar / foi e caeu sobr' esse.', 4.3–4). The strophe concludes with an exclamation: «Ahá», 4.5. It is disjointed from the remainder of the syntactical unit that follows, leaving no indication of who uttered it. Like the songs of the Castrojeriz set, the bell's falling down—and the sonic rendition of the event—parallels a structural collapse of the song. Arising at the two songlike tones of segment *i*, 'ahá' may represent onomatopoeically the sonorous plod of the bell as it crushes its unwary victim. The fall of the bell is thus etched sonically into the miracle narrative. However, segment *i* allies

[397] Aside from the three prominent cases of enjambment discussed in this chapter, further cases exist at nearly every strophe in the recapped line R2. Phrases typically start in line 5, and must carry on into the next strophe. See also strophes 1–2 ('u á // Hũa ssa eigrej' aly', 1.2.1), 2–3 ('e dá // Saude e salvaçon,', 2.3.1), 3–4 ('entrou mui deanteiro / alá // U viu os synos estar', 3.4–4.1), 6–7 ('ca // Mais mol' a cabeça ten', 6.7.1), 7–8 ('alá // Ant' o seu altar põer', 7.8.1), 8–9 ('e a // Noit[e] ant' essa Sennor / jouve tal come morto;', 8.9.2), and 9–10 ('lle deu a que conforto / dá // Que ss' ergesse', 9.4–10.1).

with—and prefigures—the text of the refrain, which mentions Mary guarding her followers from harm ('mal guarrá', R2). It indicates that the huntsman's plight will be resolved, providing that the listener carries on with the song and finds out what happens. In strophe 5, it then becomes apparent that the 'ahá' of strophe 4 was a group exclamation after all, made by the multitude of onlookers. This is revealed by the crowd's utterance ('Disseron todos,', 5.1) falling at the beginning of strophe 5.

Just as enjambment provides suspense in times of peril, it also offers irony at CSM 276's happy ending. The huntsman is humourously described as having a head as crushed as a ripe pear or soft butter ('ca non é pera fole / nen manteiga;', 7.1–2). He is then laid before Mary's altar. In his recovered state, the hunter feels his head ('os ossos muit' enteiros / da // Testa.', 10.4–11.1), and finds out that it is whole again. However, this very sentence is itself divided by the musical-poetic structure. The sonically divided line 10.5 gives the grammatical article 'da'. This article describes the man's head ('Testa'), which is enjambed across into the following strophe. CSM 276's divided musical-poetic structure therefore makes a deliberately ironic commentary on the huntsman's recovery. Paradoxically, it reduces strophe 10's narrative to the exact opposite of what it claims to describe. In so doing, it injects further suspense into the story. Despite knowing that the huntsman has survived against the odds of being crushed by a bell, the structural division and enjambment leaves doubt that he may still be wounded or disfigured. It is up to the interposing refrain—and its moral that the Virgin protects her followers from harm—to reassure CSM 276's listeners that the huntsman will be well after all.

It is clear that the unusual setup of CSM 276 is a product of well thought out musical-poetic and narrative planning. In the story of the foolish hunter crushed by a bell, themes of narrative discord are mirrored by an intrinsically disordered and divided musical-poetic structure. The end portion of the strophe is consistently the

focal point of this structural and narrative division. Splitting the recapped line R2 into two musical-poetic entities incites a divided process of listening. When narrative material is aligned syntactically with these fragmented musical-poetic units, destabilising chains of interstrophic enjambment are generated as a result. The cases of enjambed lines in the analysis above are far from coincidental. They instead serve to enhance the sense of uncertainty and occasional satire in the song's narrative. What seems to be the deathly clang of a falling bell turns out to be the exclamation of a crowd, yet it is the divided nature of the strophe that separates the listener from this explanation. Meanwhile, the huntsman's repaired head is sonically carved into pieces, in a farcical chain of fragmented musical-poetic segments.

The two manuscript witnesses of CSM 276 indicate that this structure posed numerous problems in the scriptorium. Notators in **E** failed to recognise the primacy of musical segment *i* in the strophe, whereas text scribes went to greater pains than usual to indicate poetic divides through overuse of the medial *punctus*. CSM 276's continual breaking of rules and expectations meant that scribes and notators either made mistakes in punctuating this *cantiga de miragre*, or went to extraordinary lengths to avoid doing so. These features suggest that listening to CSM 276 may have been a somewhat tortuous experience, where both narrative and structural anticipations were set up and then thwarted. CSM 276's divergence from the majority of more standard *cantiga de miragre* structures surely intensified this status as an inherently disordered song. For listeners familiar with common strophe-end recap structures, hearing CSM 276 would result in a divided verdict. While it fails to live up to expectations of how a *cantiga de miragre* should sound, CSM 276 succeeds resoundingly both in conveying and replicating ideas of discord and fragmentation.

6.ii: Dislocation and Irrationality in CSM 72

In many songs of the *CSM*, structural abnormalities mirror narrative themes of dislocation and incoherence, and their associations with moral deviance. Such is the case in CSM 72 (**App. 12**), which tells of a man who is struck dead after cursing the Virgin while playing dice. The majority of the song's narrative follows the story of the inebriated gambler. However, upon his death the story continues from the perspective of the man's father. Hearing of his son's passing, the disbelieving father sees a ghost who directs him to a tavern, where the deviant gambler's body is left lying in the street. Highlighting the gambler's use of profanity and the father's lack of logical deduction by reasoning, this song advises on the grave sin of irrationality and warns of its offence both to God and the Virgin.

CSM 72 exhibits a complicated musical-poetic structure that supports the song's warning against the illogical. The refrain and strophe are proportional to each other, with four lines each. This basic structure supports a rhyme scheme of aaaa|(bbba|aaaa), where the same rhyme is given four times in the refrain, and recapped once at the end of each strophe. The equilibrium between refrain and strophe is compromised by the inconsistency of line lengths. All four lines of the refrain alternate metrically between three and eight syllables, whereas the line lengths of the strophes are more elliptical. Line 1 contains eight syllables, lines 2 and 3 contain seven, and line 4 contains five. This unusual strophe structure compromises the integrity of the recapped refrain melody in lines 3 and 4. Eleven syllables in R3 and R4 do not correspond to the twelve syllables in lines 3 and 4 of the strophe. This necessitates one important case of syllable stretching: strophe line 4 gives an additional *a* that does not exist in line R3.

This discrepancy in versification requires a redistribution of melodic phrases when the refrain melody is recapped in the strophe. The melody of the refrain

comprises two larger units of two lines each. The first of these—in lines R1 to R2—closes on the tonally open *F*. This is then resolved in lines R3 to R4 by the ensuing phrase's tonal terminus on *D*. In the middle of these line pairs—that is, on the finals of lines R1 and R3—there exists a further point of tonal stasis on *G*. This *G* functions as a sub-terminal tone to the *F* to *a* opening gesture in lines R1 to R2. *F* in line R2—and *D* in line R4—are more significant tonal entities. However, this is only clarified after the descent to *C* in lines R1 and R2, the rise to *a*, and the return to *C*. This is therefore a common form of *cantiga de miragre*, in which the same refrain melody is repeated twice: first with a tonally open ending, then with a closed terminus. Repeating the melody twice in the refrain achieves a greater sense of balance: the functional range of *D* to *a* allows for the root *D* to be the terminal tone, and the middle tone of the functional range—*F*—operates as an open point of tonal contrast.[398]

Meanwhile, in the strophe the listener only hears the recapped refrain melody once. There is no opportunity to consider the balanced tonal vacillation between the *F* and *D*, as heard in lines R2 and R4. With lines R3 to R4 corresponding to strophe lines 3 to 4, the listener only perceives the recapped refrain melody with its closed tonal terminus on *D*. Due to the differing metrical lengths of lines R3 and R4, the refrain melody is redistributed phrasally across strophe lines 3 and 4. The phrasal ending on the *a* to *G* binary neume at the end of R3 is ignored when recapped in strophe line 3. This is because it corresponds here to syllable 4, which falls in the middle of the line. Strophe line 3 concludes instead on the *F*, corresponding to syllable 3 of the refrain's R4. This *F* is then tailed by the remainder of the melody, to close on *D*. The recapped refrain melody therefore diminishes the prevalence of the less significant tonal sub-

[398] The *C* to *a* total ambitus of the refrain is distinct from the functional ambitus of *D* to *a*. In CSM 72, *C* functions as a lower accessory tone that is only presented in the refrain melody (recapped in strophe lines 3 and 4). In all respects, the song functions within a protus authentic modality, as Huseby implies, (Huseby 1983a, 293, 301).

terminus of *G*, which is highlighted in the refrain. It hence reaffirms that the tonal dynamic exists primarily between the *F* and *D* terminuses, with the *D* as the stronger of the two. Having lines R3 and R4 spliced together and redistributed in strophe line 3 therefore resolves the over-dominance of *G*. Appearing in the middle of line 3, *G* now assumes none of the tonal prominence it conveyed in the refrain. To follow the exact phrasal groupings of the refrain would introduce *G* as an unnecessarily prominent tonal contender, muddying the musical narrative and requiring more time to resolve the tension between *F* and *D*.

The recapped refrain melody is further distinguished from the melodic material in strophe lines 1 and 2. This consists of two statements of the same melody, which starts on *F* and rises by step to *c*. It then falls to *a*, pivoting here with its sub-terminal tone *G*, before falling from *a* to *D* unexpectedly via a pentachordal leap. While *D* appears as a terminal tone, it receives none of the preparation heard in the refrain melody. Its sub-terminal *C* is never stated, and it is approached suddenly from the tonal remove of *a*. Furthermore, this melody operates within the foreign ambitus of *D* to *c*. Appearing twice in succession is not enough to prevent this short phrase sounding melodically stunted and tonally wanting. It thus creates expectancy for the recapped refrain, which reestablishes *D* as primary terminus and brings about a return to the *C* to *a* ambitus of the refrain.

CSM 72 therefore clearly falls into a structure of strophe-end recap, where the tonal insufficiency of strophe lines 1 to 2 generates expectancy for the recapped refrain melody and rhymes in lines 3 to 4. However, this strophe-end recap is bizarre, since line divisions determined by rhyme are dislocated across the recapped melody, deviating from the original poetic structure of the refrain. How does this affect the narrative structure of the *cantiga de miragre*? Sometimes syntactical phrases align squarely with the musical-poetic structure established by the strophe. For instance,

there is a phrasal division determined by musical-poetic line in strophe 6, where the father learns of his son's death. In the first line the father hears of the news ('Seu padre, quand' est' oyu,', 6.1). In the following line, the father leaves his house ('de sa casa enton sayu;', 6.2), and in the third line he sees a dead man ('na via un morto viu', 6.3). In the final line of the strophe, this apparition is said to be alive and well ('ben d' i natural,', 6.4). However, this level of alignment between syntactical logic and musical-poetic structure is unusual in the rest of the song. Lines 3 to 4 of strophes are frequently complicated by interlinear enjambment, where syntactical phrases instead follow the refrain's musical-poetic framework. There is therefore a dislocation between narrative logic and structural integrity in the strophe, which is generated by the sonic memory of the refrain. In strophe 8, for instance, potential divisions of phrase exist at 'mais que da Flor,' (8.2), 'sa Madre,' (8.3), and 'disse peor.' (8.3). Here there is real confusion: 'sa Madre' is separated by a line break from its qualifier 'da Flor', so that it can join 'disse peor' for the rest of the line. The temptation to link 'da Flor' with 'sa Madre' is intensified by the remembrance of the refrain, at which point there is a genuine division between musical-poetic lines. The syntactical logic of the following phrase is in turn upset by the refrain ('E poren sinal // Te dou que o acharás', 8.4–9.1).

This tendency for syntactical logic to defy strophic musical-poetic phrases is uncomfortable to say the least, but how might this be conditioned by the strophe's plot and the refrain's moral lesson? Cursing and blaspheming are frequently considered breaches—or dislocations—of rational thought in the later Middle Ages. In the Old Testament, the link between blasphemy and illogical dislocation is clear when four beasts appear to Daniel in a vision (Dan. 7:19–27). The fourth beast blasphemously attempts to wage war against God, disordering the Hebrew calendar, where 'they shall

be given into his hand until a time of times and the dividing of time' (Dan. 7:25).[399] Blasphemy is often seen as a sin that disfigures in a physical as well as rational way. In the fifteenth century, Giovanni da Capistrano decried blasphemy as worse than homicide, reasoning that since every blasphemer renews the spilling of the blood of Christ, they are worse than Jews.[400] Likewise, in his *Speculum morale* Vincent de Beauvais stresses the way blasphemous oaths reenact the mutilation of Christ's body on the cross (III.5.i–iii).[401] John Wyclif's treatise, *De blasphemia*, specifically defines the act of blasphemy as effeminising—and in the process, disfiguring—masculine rationality. When they blaspheme, men are reduced to irrational and blabbering women, which Wyclif punningly reasons is the origin of the word itself, 'blas-femina'.[402] Like the blasphemer of Wyclif's treatise, the gambler of CSM 72 is described as a false disbeliever who has lost his masculine sense of reason ('com a fals' encreu / que de razon sal.', 5.3–4), clouded by the effects of tavern drink and gambling with dice ('Que ena taverna beveu / e aos dados perdeu / algu',', 3.1–3). Losing at dice serves as a metaphorical cue for the gambler's concomitant loss of rational thought, which makes him a lying scoundrel ('mui mentiral,', 2.4). Such lack of reason and belief leads him to question the validity of Mary's virginity, insinuated by his mocking of her body ('e en seus nenbros travou / come desleal.', 4.3–4).

The gambler's loss of rationality is mirrored directly by the illogical dislocation of narrative in the strophe. References to blasphemy are often located at structural

[399] This particular passage from Daniel has been interpreted as allegories for non-Christian (and therefore blasphemous) empires, as summarised in (Reeves and Stewart 2000, 80–1), The fourth beast was commonly associated with Rome, whereas the ten horns and kings in Dan. 7:23–4 refer to Barbarians and followers of Islam. Muhammad in particular—as Reeves and Stewart note—is associated with irrationality in the Christian West. He is seen as a hypocrite and liar whose religion went at odds with the Christian calendar, and whose preaching was therefore both irrational and blasphemous.
[400] (Dean 2007, 119).
[401] (Gray 2013, 27–8), (Goodich 2007, 57)
[402] Ed. (Dziewicki 1966, 1), trans. and cit. (Low 2013, 53–4).

breaks, echoing the logical dissonance behind religious profanity. In strophe 1, 'dizer mal' falls midway between lines 1 and 2 ('Ca non pode dela dizer / mal,', 1.1–2). Not only is the damaging effect of blasphemy rendered aurally by its division across musical-poetic lines, but it also sets up further dissonance later on in the strophe. The following syntactical unit explains why insulting Mary equates with an affront against God ('en que a Deus tanger / non aja', 1.2–3). This is followed by another phrase in the middle of line 3, which crosses over into line 4 ('que quis naçer / dela por Natal', 3.3–4). This passage explains that cursing Mary also insults God, since God the Son was born of the Virgin. However, these two sentences are enjambed interlinearly by the musical-poetic structure of the strophe, and both syntactical units follow instead the phrasal footprints left by the refrain. The mention of blasphemy in lines 1.1–2 thus prefigures and creates the syntactical disjunction of passages that prove Mary's unblemished nature. The mention of 'dizer / mal' hence emulates real-life profanity, and its desire to call into question Mary's perpetual virginity. All the while, the listener's remembrance of the memorially marked refrain—with its own warning against blaspheming the Virgin ('Quen diz mal / da Reyn[na] Espirital,', R1–R2)—is conjured up by the strophe-end recap.[403]

The deleterious effects of blasphemy are also represented sonically by the destabilising interstrophic enjambment in between strophes 3 and 4. A new syntactical unit is set up in line 3.3, which begins to describe the gambler cursing ('e poren descre[e]u / mui descomunal-', 3.4). However, while describing the act as 'outrageous' ('descomunal-//-mente;', 3.4–4.1), the word itself is bisected by the refrain.[404] The

[403] Other strophes parallel the refrain's caution against profanity in similar ways, but with melodic mirroring. Strophe 8 and strophe 5 both mention blasphemy at the opening of line 2, in the first three syllables ('dizer mal', 5.2; 'disse mal,', 8.2). This passage ascends to *a* from the tonally significant *F*. It therefore strongly emulates the opening *F* to *a* motif at the beginning of line R1, and its concomitant message to the blasphemer, 'Quen diz mal'.

[404] As observed in (Campbell 2011, 52–3), who notes that this divided word is part of a larger trend in the *CSM* to enjamb adverbs for the purposes of rhyme.

enjambed word serves as a sonic allusion for how blasphemy attempts to break apart logical reasoning. This disconnection in the middle of the word also underlines the immediacy of God's retribution: even before the curse is finished, God punishes the gambler deservingly—as the interceding refrain implies—with infernal fire ('logu' é tal / que mereç' o fog' ynfernal.', R3–R4). God's punishment is then specified later in the song, where striking the gambler is clearly depicted as a consequence to insulting Mary's womb ('E u quis do ventre seu / dizer mal, morte lle deu / Deus', 5.1–3).

The association between blasphemy and displacement is also highlighted by the gambler's fate. The gambler's physical dismemberment is represented visually in the miniatures of **T**, on f.106v. The location of the miracle is shown to be a hall with three bays in panels one, two, three and five. In the first and second images, the gambling party is set across two bays, divided by a pillar. When the gambler is mutilated in panel three, his body is strewn in between the two bays, with the pillar signifying the point where the devil has begun to tear at his flesh. This is mirrored a second time in miniature pane five, immediately below. This grisly scene is also described in the poetry. In strophe 9, the phantom tells the man's father that he will find his son mutilated and dismembered. The gambler is said to be split from back to front ('pelas costas tod' atras / partid',', 9.2–3), while the heart is disjointed in a similar way ('e ll' o cor verás / assi per ygual,', 9.3–4). Fractured, illogical reasoning has resulted in physical division. The gambler's state of physical mutilation is signified sonically by the interlinear dislocation of these two clauses. As with 'non aja' in strophe 1, 'partid' in line 9.3 falls exactly where the refrain's R2 would arise. Structural conflict between the refrain and strophe-end recap therefore means that the gambler's dismembered fate is represented sonically as well as visually. In the process of listening, it also invites sonic recall of the refrain, reminding the listener that the gambler's bloody fate is a direct consequence of his own mutilated language.

Structural disjunction and its ability to disrupt narrative cohesion clearly impacted on how this *cantiga de miragre* was performed and heard. Evidence that medieval audiences interpreted CSM 72 as inherently disjointed can be found from its three manuscript witnesses. In these three sources, scribes battled with how to present CSM 72, when confronted by multiple structural uncertainties. How should the refrain melody and its text be presented on a page? What happens at points of strophe-end recap, when the same melody is written above a different text, and the musical-poetic phrases restructured? Are scribes better able to highlight (or hide) structural phrases in residual text, when these same passages appear with or without musical notation?

Modern editions of the *CSM* typically present CSM 72's refrain with four musical-poetic lines, respecting the 'aaaa' rhyme scheme. However, Parkinson is right in noting that none of the manuscript sources consistently indicate this structure in the notated refrain.[405] **To** and **T** delineate CSM 72's refrain into pairs of lines by the medial *punctus* after 'Espirital' (R2) and 'ynfernal' (R4). However, the medial *punctus* does not clarify the structure of CSM 72's refrain in **E**.[406] All three sources are unanimous, dividing melodic line pairs of R1 to R2 and R3 to R4 via single or double vertical strokes across the staves.[407] The sources are much more varying in the use of system breaks. Both **To** and **T** site the line break between R3 and R4 ('log' é tal / que mereç'') at the break of a system. Likewise, both **T** and **E** place a break between lines R1 and R2 ('Quen diz mal / da Reyn[n]na Espirital') at the division between systems.[408]

---

[405] (Parkinson 2010b, 335).

[406] This is in keeping with scribal practice in **E**, where the medial *punctus* is not consistently applied.

[407] Single vertical strokes covering four lines in height after 'Espirital' in **E**; strokes of five lines in height after 'ynfernal' in **E**; equivalent length to three lines in height after both 'Espirital' and 'ynfernal' in **To** and **T**; double lines covering three lines in height after 'Espirital' in **To**.

[408] System breaks in **E** are somewhat more complex, falling at 'Quen / diz mal / da Rey[n]a Espirital log / é tal que mereç' o / fog' ynfernal'. This is partially due to the overly large 'Q' initial that occupies a significant portion of space for the first two systems. **T**'s 'Q' initial is somewhat smaller, occupying only one system in height, and so is perfectly suited to accommodate the three syllables of line R1 on the remainder of the system.

In summary, **T** gives the clearest indication of poetic and musical lines for the notated refrain. It achieves this through a mixture of system breaks, vertical staff lines, and use of the medial *punctus*. Lines R1 and R3 both finish at the end of a system, one above the other. They hence make a strong visual statement by aligning identical melodic segments and '-al' rhyme endings. Following on from lines R1 and R3 are lines R2 and R4, in systems two and three.[409] Unlike lines R1 and R3, their endings are indicated instead by a medial *punctus* and vertical staff lines. Clearly, **T**'s scribes wished to indicate each line of CSM 72's initial refrain, and went to far greater lengths than the scribes of **To** and **E**, who only indicated pairs of lines.

Layout in the notated refrains differs somewhat from the appearance of the notated first strophe.[410] Codicological discrepancies in notated first strophes indicate that scribes found CSM 72 problematic, and worried over how best to indicate structure through *mise-en-page*. **To** offers the simplest interpretation, with a systematic line-by-line allocation: that is, by rhyme. Both **T** and **E** begin the first strophe at the end of a system, indicating perhaps a common copying prototype. Strophe lines 1.1 and 1.2 both work independently of codicological systems, although musical-poetic structure is demarcated by the medial *punctus* and vertical staff lines in both sources.[411] These two features are retained at the strophe-end recap of lines 1.3 and 1.4, to avoid imposing the incorrect line divisions of the refrain.[412] On a couple of occasions, the musical-poetic lines in **T** and **E** coincide with system divisions. One case occurs in **E** at the end of line 1.3, which leaves the following line 1.4 with too much space in its system.

[409] **T**'s underlaid refrain is laid out in this way despite overcrowded text in R2 and R4 on the second and third systems. There is hence stark contrast between the relative space offered to lines R1 and R3, and the cramped notation and textual abbreviations of lines R2 and R4.
[410] Residual strophes are altogether uncomplicated, consistently assigning each poetic line to a codicological system: that is, clearly indicating the 'bbba' structure visually on the page.
[411] **E** does not include a medial *punctus* after line 1.2.
[412] Note, however, that while vertical strokes on staves and the medial *punctus* in the text are used to delineate musical-poetic lines, there is no medial punctus after line 1.2 in **E**.

A more interesting occurrence is in **T**, at the middle of line 1.3. Here, the line is bisected following the original divide between R3 and R4 ('non aja, que / quis naçer'). Does this suggest that **T**'s notators wrote CSM 72's melody before the poets added the text? If this were so, the notators would have divided lines 1.3–4 between two systems, but without the strophe's rhyme scheme to guide them they would have followed instead the musical-poetic phrases of the refrain. However, this is unlikely, considering that most scholars agree the *CSM* to have been written by poetry scribes first, and then notated.[413] It does nevertheless strengthen the case that CSM 72 presented significant confusion to the scribes of **T** and **E**.[414]

The refrains are far less respectful of their musical-poetic lines when they appear in residual text. Since they do not need to align text with notation, scribes are freer to ignore original line breaks. In residual text, they are also able to impose structural divisions from the strophe-end recap upon the true refrain. This suggests that CSM 72's scribes, unfamiliar with the song's structure, accidentally imposed strophe-end recap line breaks to residual refrains. In **E**, the residual refrains begin by respecting the refrain's musical-poetic structure, assigning R1–R2 and R3–R4 a system each. This is maintained up until the beginning of f.91. Here, the two refrains following strophes 5 and 6 are both written with a division midway through the word 'Espirital'. They hence bisect line R2 between two systems.[415] After strophe 7, all residual refrains locate 'Espirital' on the second system. Locating a system break before 'Espirital' more closely mirrors the structural divide between strophe lines 3 and 4. The recapped

[413] (Parkinson and Jackson 2006). This is affirmed more concretely by **F**, which appears with ruled staves and text, but no musical notation.
[414] **T** shows discrepancy from both **To** and **E** in its use of the *longa florata* figure at the opening figure in lines R1, R3, 1, 2 and 3. These figures are to be interpreted as an *F* with a plicated *G*, and are likely to have been deployed because they follow an initial *F* tone.
[415] Following strophe 5, the lines are divided: 'Qué diz mal da reyna espi / rital log e tal que méç o fog'; in strophe 6 the version is somewhat different: 'Qué diz mal da reyna espiri / tal log e tal que méç o fog'.

refrain's redistributed musical-poetic structure has hence been imposed upon the true refrain. This is exacerbated in the two refrains that follow strophes 7 and 8, where the second system is broken off at 'que mereç". This too mirrors the structural divide between strophe lines 3 and 4, and hence instigates the recapped refrain's takeover.

The residual refrains of **T** reveal an altogether more confusing scene. Following strophes 1 and 2, the refrain is curtailed to one system, cutting off after 'Rey[n]na'. After strophe 3, all residual refrains come with two systems—in order to reach the page limit of 44—which allows the text to be given up to R3 with 'log' é tal'.[416] In all instances, **T**'s residual refrains bifurcate line R2 between two systems, following more closely the musical-poetic divide between strophe lines 3 and 4.[417] However, **T**'s scribes do not allow the recapped refrain structure to suppress the true refrain completely. They at least make use of the medial *punctus* to show where the true refrain's musical-poetic line divisions are located. These points all indicate the divide between lines R2 and R3, before 'log' é tal'. There is just one exception, located in the residual refrain after strophe 2. This is a medial *punctus* following 'Quen diz mal', showing clear recognition of the break between R1 and R2.

To summarise, CSM 72's challenging structure was evidently confusing for the scribes of **T** and **E**, who may have resorted to guesswork in laying out residual refrains in the rush to complete the codices. Conversely, **To**'s scribes probably had fewer time constraints, which is mirrored by a more orderly layout.[418] There is no curtailing of lines other than the standard abbreviation of 'Rey[n]na'. With enough time to consider

[416] R3 is abbreviated after strophe 5 to 'log e'.
[417] Refrains following strophes 3 and 11 bifurcate between 'Re- / -y[n]na'. Following strophe 4, 'Rey[n]na' ends the first system, and 'Esperital' begins the following system. Spelling and capitalisation variants appear throughout.
[418] The logical apportioning of text according to sense units may accord with Schaffer's theory of **To** being a later, more 'carefully confected and elegant' copy of an earlier exemplar, which was able to incorporate a greater consideration both for codicological layout and presentation of text. See (Schaffer 1995).

how to navigate the structural dichotomy between true refrains and strophe-end recap, the scribes of **To** eventually decided to circumvent the problem entirely. Residual refrains are instead allocated a single system, accommodating lines R1 and R2 in their entirety. This looks unusual: lines R1 and R2 combined are far longer on the page than single lines of the strophe. Nevertheless, this layout avoids having to tackle a codicological catch-22. In **To**, it is up to the reader to decide whether the residual refrain should be divided between lines R1 and R2, or between strophe lines 3 and 4. How do the codicological inconsistencies between **To**, **T** and **E** inform us about contemporary attitudes towards CSM 72's musical-poetic structure? It may be fanciful to argue that in imposing strophe-end recap line breaks upon the residual refrain, **T** and **E**'s scribes intentionally wished to mirror CSM 72's narrative themes of blasphemy. Nevertheless, these codicological features do suggest that this *cantiga de miragre* was regarded as structurally problematic, and that its unusual musical-poetic design may have been purposefully crafted to echo themes of lexical discord and dislocation.

6.iii: Gathering and Synthesis in CSM 427

Whereas CSM 276 and CSM 72 deal with division and displacement, CSM 427 (**App. 42**) addresses themes of synthesis, convergence and assimilation.[419] CSM 427's story of

[419] CSM 427 is the final *cantiga de miragre* of **To**'s set of five *FJC*, and represents the song that is chronologically the latest both in the life of Jesus, as well as in the cycle of the liturgical year. This song appears solely in the appendix section of **To** with the other *FJC*. CSM 427 is not normally considered a true *cantiga de miragre*, since it fails to appear in **E**, and its subject matter concerns Christ rather than Mary. This has ramifications in Mettmann's edition and numbering system: CSM 427 is listed as the very last song in his index, which is highly unrepresentative of its location in **To**. Other scholars view the *FJC cantigas de miragre* as self-contained, giving them separate editions as in (Montero Santalha 2001). Given its resistance to categorisation within the main corpus, CSM 427 may be considered irrelevant to this thesis. However, it does share the linear narrative and strophe-end recap structure typical of most Marian *cantigas de miragre*.

Pentecost is intrinsically tied up with notions of congregating and merging.[420] The twelve disciples of Jesus assemble with other believers in an upper room (Acts 1:12–26). When they are filled with the Holy Spirit, the disciples are able to communicate in any conceivable tongue (Acts 2:4–13). The multitude of languages are hence gathered up metaphorically, and assimilated by those who have received the tongues of fire. It is through this unified language that the world's diversity of religions can be amassed and converted to the one faith of Christ. Themes of gathering are also represented structurally through CSM 427's musical-poetic setup. Structural units in CSM 427's refrain are fused together when revisited in the song's strophe-end recap section. This synthesis between structural entities serves as a kind of assimilation, mirroring the song's own subject matter. However, structural assimilation does not come without its complications, and the following analysis of CSM 427 tackles similar analytical problems to those already observed in CSM 276 and CSM 72. Confusion over the structural nature of recapped refrains is prominent in CSM 427, and a chaotic musical-poetic form seems to have been just as misleading to thirteenth-century consumers as to modern day analysts. However, the song's theme of Pentecost is the key towards understanding its awkward formal setup. CSM 427's structural ambiguity hence serves as a deliberate prompt towards this narrative theme and its associations with numbering, gathering and assimilation.

Although CSM 427 contains the fundamental framework of a strophe-end recap structure, its arrangement is far from orthodox. With a rhyme scheme of ababc|(dddc|ababc), this song has an irregular refrain of five lines.[421] Even more

[420] Mirrored by practices of gathering on Pentecost itself in the later Middle Ages. For instance, the only time when missionary *fratres minores* of the Franciscan order gathered together occurred every third year on the feast of Pentecost, (Szittya 1986, 237–8).

[421] While 'prometeu' does look like it rhymes with lines R2 and R4, its pronunciation is different, represented graphically by the lack of an acute accent on 'e'. Furthermore, (Cunningham 2000, 92–3) distinguishes between the pronunciation of '-eu' diphthongs that are used to form the end of verbs in the preterite—as in R5—and for those that refer to other

exceptionally, this five-line refrain works alongside a four-line strophe. As with CSM 72, this *cantiga de miragre* also exhibits an unconventional system of line lengths. Although lines R1 to R4 all have eight syllables each, line R5 has only four. These line lengths are different from the syllable counts in the lines of strophes. Both lines 1 and 2 contain ten syllables, whereas line 3 has twelve, and line 4 is the longest at 15. While there is strophe-end recap in strophe lines 3 and 4, the refrain cannot be accommodated by the strophe in its entirety, owing to a lack of space. The refrain melody must then be compressed from five lines to two. Lines R1 and R2 are condensed into strophe line 3, whereas R3, R4 and R5 are merged into line 4.

While the recap of the refrain's melodic outline is obvious to any listener, it comes at a cost. Line 3 charts the *c* to *a* third, mirroring the beginning of R1 up until its fifth syllable. However, it then disregards R1's plicated descent to *b*. Thus, the remainder of line R1 ('que nos Deus') is eschewed completely. Line 3 then quotes the opening of line R2, projecting the ascending stepwise third from *b* to *d*. The rest of line R2 is maintained up until the end of strophe line 3. Compression exists to an even greater degree in strophe line 4, which manages to reduce the essential contours of the remaining three refrain lines. It incorporates the *G* to *b* third rise from syllables 1 to 3 of line R3 (segment *i*), but then does not include the following descent to *G* on 'quando'. Instead, the remainder of line 4 more closely resembles the stepwise ascent from *a* to *d* that emerges from syllable 2 of line R4, before mirroring the original fall back to *D* (segment *ii*). The melody of line 4 therefore imitates the entirety of R4 up until syllable 11. It then incorporates the whole of line R5 (segment *iii*) as a closing melodic gesture. These five refrain lines are hence seamlessly interwoven into two melodic sense units.

words as in 'seu' (R2) and 'deu' (R4). Specified similarly in (Parkinson), who notes Mettmann's mistaken labelling of an 'ababb' refrain (Mettmann 1959–72, Vol. 3 (1964), 412–4).

Lines 1 and 2 of the strophe have a melody that is sonically distinct from the refrain. This then aids in identifying the compressed strophe-end recap when it arrives in lines 3 and 4. Lines 1 and 2—both identical—have a range of *C* to *a*, and begin by charting a stepwise descent from *a* to *D*. This is succeeded by an ascent by third leap to *F* and subsequently to *a*, tailed by a descent to *C*. This *C* realises the lower anticipatory tone to the *D* final. Unlike the refrain melody's ambitus of *C* to *d*, these lines exploit a limited range. Since lines 1 and 2 consist essentially of the same melodic passage repeated twice, the only tonal terminus that is established is on *D*. On the other hand, the refrain melody offers a clear open terminus in line R2 on *E*, which is mirrored at the end of line 4. There are also further removes of *c* and *b*-mi in lines R1 and R3. These contrasting terminuses all help to make the primary terminus of R5 (and line 4) felt conclusively on *D*. The result is that strophe lines 1 and 2 provide insufficient tonal balance to sound like strong counterparts to the refrain. They therefore are melodically lacking, and create an expectation for the more tonally grounded refrain that follows.

In what way does CSM 427's narrative reflect its compressed musical-poetic structure? How does the memory of the refrain's five lines affect a listener's perception of the two condensed musical-poetic units in the strophe-end recap? Upon closer inspection, it is clear that line divisions of the refrain are often imposed upon its compressed version in lines 3 and 4. That is, phrases in lines 3 and 4 often close at points where line breaks would fall in the refrain. Such syntactical logic that contradicts the strophes' poetic points of rest is frequently exposed by **To**'s scribes. For instance, line 1.4 starts off as an enjambed line from line 1.3: the clause states that God gives his followers courage to die for him ('dá-nos grand' esforço de prender / morte por el,', 1.3–4). This passage lasts up until musical segment *i*, which corresponds melodically to refrain line R3. At the entrance of segment *ii*—which parallels the start

of R4—a concluding clause begins, arguing that God's followers are hence reminded of how he died for them ('nenbrando-nos de com' el por nos morreu.', 1.4). The alignment of syntactical clauses with the original line breaks of the refrain is demarcated further by **To**'s scribe. The phrasal division between 'morte por el,' and 'nenbrando-nos' is signified by a medial *punctus* in the text, while a vertical stroke appears in the staff. A similar vertical stroke signifies the point where line R5 would begin, at 'por nos morreu.'.[422]

Dividing the recapped refrain syntactically according to the original refrain's line breaks also occurs several times in residual text. In strophe 4, a narrative interruption—instigated by a return to *exordium* material—emerges where line R4 would arise. Here, the narrator states his wish to recount to his audience the song ('direi-vos eu o que lles conteçeu:', 4.4). This creates a break from the main narrative, which has just described the twelve disciples gathered in the upper room (en hũa casa por aquel don reçeber; / e estand' ali,', 4.3–4). The narrative division between these sections is further indicated grammatically, by a shift towards the future tense with 'direi'. A similar syntactical break falls in lines 9.3–4, where God is described confusing the speech of the people of Babel ('mas foi-lles Deus toller / os lenguages,', 9.4–5).[423] This phrase ends with segment *i*, so segments *ii* and *iii*—where lines R4 and R5 would fall—introduce the following result clause. This passage explains the consequence of God's punishment: that nobody in the land could understand each other ('assi que un a outro non entendeu.', 9.4).[424]

[422] This is observed by (Campbell 2011, 79–81), who also sees this as a 'clause-end marker rather than a unit-end one, which together with the coincidence of similar grammatical structures at these places may have momentarily caused the music scribe to see this as a possible internal/additional rhyme point within the text'.

[423] In medieval theology, Pentecost is commonly referred to as the antithesis to the story of Babel, (O'Brien 2011, 22–8). There is extensive commentary on this theological and literary trope in (Ferreiro 2005, 99).

[424] One further similar case occurs in strophe 10. The disciples have learned how to convert the Gentiles to Christ in line 3. This syntactical clause lasts up to segment *i* of line 4 ('os dicipolos

Occasionally, syntactical breaks that align with the musical-poetic units of the refrain are elucidated further in residual text by the medial *punctus*. This use of punctuation often clarifies syntactical structures that are complicated by interstrophic enjambment. To prove this point, it is worth considering strophe 8 some more, since its description of Babel is enjambed from the preceding strophe. Here, the assembled crowd reasons that the disciples may be mistaken for drunkards ('non devemos creer / que o vy̑o lles faz esto fazer,', 7.1–2), paralleling the Biblical account (Acts 2:13). The people decide that the only thing able to make the disciples speak in tongues can be divine intervention. God is described as the one who confounded the citizens of Babel by making them speak different languages. However, this clause is itself confounded by being enjambed across into strophe 8 ('que confondeu // En Babilonna,', 7.4–8.1). Here, 'que confondeu' is separated visually as well as sonically from the preceding clause by the medial *punctus*, precisely where line R5 would begin. In strophe 2, a similarly complex grammatical clause tells of Christ calling his disciples together ('Deus sobre los seus dicipolos que seer / de ssũu fez,', 2.3–4). This passage is enjambed between lines 3 and 4. The following purpose clause falls across segments *ii* and *iii* ('por que cada un gran sen del reçebeu.', 2.4), and hence aligns with refrain lines R4 and R5. **To**'s scribe indicates this divide by a medial *punctus* following 'gran sen' in line 2.4.

Clearly, CSM 427's end strophe recap section is a conflicted area. The refrain melody has been adjusted structurally, with compression of musical-poetic lines establishing two clear phrasal units. However, the sonic memory of the true refrain and its five musical-poetic lines is never far away. This is illustrated by the phrasal disruption throughout CSM 427's strophes, which jostles and destabilises the section's structural integrity. How might this lack of stability have sounded to a listener? Would

e as gentes converter / a Jesu-Crist',', 10.3–4). The result of their knowledge appears in a new grammatical clause, which falls in segments *ii* and *iii* ('e cada un deles muitos converteu.', 10.4).

they have followed the new order of line breaks—established by the strophe's rhyme scheme—or would they still have the original refrain's five musical-poetic units in their ears? The latter choice is certainly not to be dismissed. Syntactical breaks suggest that the refrain's structural framework is still being imposed upon the strophe. Moreover, in the process of listening to CSM 427, each section of strophe-end recap will conjure up the memory of the refrain and its five phrasal divisions. The memorially marked nature of strophe lines 3 and 4 is also continually strengthened, given that each strophe anticipates the real refrain that follows. It is therefore possible for the listener to analyse CSM 427's strophes on two separate levels. Hearing the strophes solely as musical-poetic entities—divorced from narrative logic and sonic context—the listener perceives two units in the strophe-end recap section. On the other hand, hearing these strophes as frameworks supporting a narrative—while interacting within a wider auditory background—implies five clear points of division. Nonetheless, CSM 427 fails to operate in a way that allows listeners to infer a single identity to its strophe-end recap section, as either comprised of two units, or of five. It instead comprises both five and two structural divisions simultaneously. Listeners of this *cantiga de miragre* are therefore entirely justified in discerning seven distinct structural units from its strophe-end recap section within a single hearing.

This point is significant, since number and numbering are integral components as a means to understanding CSM 427 hermeneutically. A total of seven potential musical-poetic units can be reckoned from hearing a single section of strophe-end recap. This fleeting reference to the refrain is naturally followed by the refrain itself. However, this true refrain lacks the structural equivocacy of the strophe: five units are unambiguously presented by the melodic outline, rhyme scheme, and syntactical logic. Within each cycle of refrain-derived material—strophe-end recap, followed by the real refrain—the listener therefore tallies up a total of twelve distinct musical-

poetic units. Twelve separate sonic entities derived from the refrain mirror the twelve strophes that make up CSM 427. These references to groups of twelve resonate with the twelve disciples who receive the Holy Spirit at the feast of Pentecost.[425] Thus, CSM 427's structural ambivalence can be read as a deliberate attempt to mirror symbolically the centricity of the number twelve in the Pentecostal story.

Numerological references are prominent in late-medieval literature, both due to their potential to offer additional meaning to a text, as well as their practical use in committing something to memory. An example of the latter is Robert of Basevorn's division mnemonic for a sermon based upon Matt. 27:50, which I discussed in Chapter 3.[426] Carruthers notes that the sermon theme—the Passion—implicitly conjures up images of the five wounds of Christ's crucifixion. This relates to the five divisions of the sermon Basevorn proposes, which are constructed upon the five vowels (in turn implied by the heading of the third division of Matt. 27:50, 'voce magna').[427] Number symbolism frequently furnishes Biblical texts with additional meanings, of which the clearest example is perhaps the widespread use of the number seven as a symbol of physical and spiritual perfection.[428]

---

[425] The story of Pentecost—as told in Acts 2:1–31—is ambiguous when detailing how many people were present. From Acts 1:13, the assembly gathers in advance of the coming of the Holy Spirit in the upper room. This gathering comprises the eleven remaining disciples, along with Mary, unnamed women, and Jesus' brethren. Acts 1:15 then mentions about 120 brethren, whom Peter addresses. Matthias is chosen as Judas Iscariot's replacement in Acts 1:26. The twelve disciples therefore may have been a small proportion of the total number of people present who received the tongues of fire. However, this ambiguity is deliberately removed in the narrative of CSM 427. Only the disciples are mentioned ('com' este Spirito fezo deçer / Deus sobre los seus dicipolos,', 2.2–3), and there is no reference to any other participants.

[426] See pages 74–5.

[427] Carruthers also notes the following example from Basevorn, of a sermon constructed upon six divisions on the theme 'Ego vox clamantis in deserto, parate viam Domini'. The divisions are based upon the six notes of the hexachord: ut, re, me, fa, sol, la (Carruthers 2008, 133).

[428] Days of creation (Gen. 1), number of clean animals brought into the ark (Gen. 7:2), days of Passover (Ex. 13:3–10), days of the week (Ex. 16), days of the siege of Jericho (Josh. 6:8), loaves of bread (Matt. 15:32–7), demons of Mary Magdalene (Luke 8:2), sayings of Christ at Cavalry (Luke 23:34, 23:32, John 19:26–7, Matt. 27:46/Mark 15:34, John 19:28, 19:30, Luke 23:46). The number seven is particularly central to the Book of Revelation, where it is mentioned 54 times. On further numerological symbolism in the Book of Revelation, see (Aune 1983).

Alfonso also had a keen interest in numerological patterns and allegories, as evidenced from his literary works. Two key pieces of writing produced by the Alfonsine scriptorium—the *Setenario* and the *Siete partidas*—incorporate seven into their structural framework. This reflects the Judeo-Christian associations between the number seven and completeness, and is also mirrored by patterns of seven in the *CSM*.[429] However, seven also seemed to have held strong personal significance for Alfonso. In the *Siete partidas*, he ensures that the laws prescribed are literally written in his name, with the first letters of each book forming an acrostic, spelling out the name 'Alfonso'.[430] The *CSM* also incorporate numerological patterns: as highlighted in Chapter 1, all four surviving codices contain an ordering system of decadal *loores*. Ten conveys a special Marian message, relating to the decades of the rosary, but it also corresponds to Pythagorean notions of proportional perfection.[431] In codices **T–F** and **E**, songs 100, 200, 300 and 400—each signifying ten groups of ten—all include personal pleas by Alfonso himself.[432] Longer songs are redistributed as quints in **T–F** and **E**, adding further levels of structural symmetry to the codices.

In a society where numbers symbolised ideas and forged associations with texts, a song like CSM 427 had the opportunity to mirror its Pentecostal message through its musical-poetic structure. The twelve disciples who receive the tongues of fire resonate with CSM 427's twelve strophes. These strophes each contain twelve

[429] CSM 1 (which heads codices **To**, **T** and **E**) concerns the Seven Joys of Mary, whereas CSM 403 deals with the Seven Sorrows. The Seven Gifts of the Holy Spirit are compared to the Seven Gifts of Mary in CSM 418, (Salvador Martínez 2009, 283).

[430] 1. '**A** seruicio de Dios', 2. '**L**a ffe cathólica', 3. '**F**izo Nuestro Sennor Dios', 4. '**O**nras sennaladas', 5. '**N**ascen entre los ommmes', 6. '**S**esudamente dixeron', 7. '**O**luidança et atreuimiento', (Ibid.). If Alfonso associated himself with the number seven, it surely makes the links with the number seven in the songs quoted in footnote 429 all the more significant.

[431] 10 being the perfect tetractys of the decad, or the summation of the four numbers of *musica universalis*: namely, the monad (signifying unity), the dyad (otherness), the triad (harmony) and the tetrad (cosmos). The tetractys is also the foundation of musical intervals, since rows can be read as the fourth (4:3), fifth (3:2) and octave (2:1), (Burkert and Minar 1972, 427–8).

[432] (Salvador Martínez 2009, 282–3). In a similar way to the *CSM*, ten is a prominent number in the ordering of Dante's *Commedia*. It is divided into 33 *canti* per *cantica*, plus the introductory *canto*, therefore equaling 100 *canti* in total, or ten groups of ten, (McMahon 2006, 34–6).

musical-poetic units that arise when followed by a refrain. It is CSM 427's deviation from the standard *cantiga de miragre* form that makes these twelve musical-poetic units so readily perceptible. CSM 427's merging of refrain lines into a compressed strophe-end recap is unprecedented. Its unexpected structure therefore encourages a process of listening that necessitates focus on points of strophe-end recap, because of its deviation from the norm. The song's consumers may have been tempted to ignore the refrain's line divisions when recapped in the strophe. However, syntactical enjambment in the strophes—generated by sonic memory of the refrain's R5—encouraged a manner of listening that simultaneously implied five musical-poetic units in lines 4 and 5. This is supported by the clear use of the medial *punctus* in **To** in residual text, at the point of R5's implied interruption of strophe line 4. The experience of listening to CSM 427 is clearly not intended to be one-dimensional. It is purposefully crafted to make consumers uncertain about its form, and to consider points of strophe-end recap based upon both structural and narrative logic. When confronted with a song that deviates from what is standard, a listener attempts to understand what makes it so curious. At points of strophe-end recap, CSM 427's listeners must rationalise, literally by counting—and recounting—the lines they perceive sonically. Just as the Pentecostal story has the gathering of disciples, languages and creeds at its heart, so too must CSM 427's listeners gather together sonic units to understand the message of its narrative.

6.iv: Summary

If composers and poets are charged with the creation of clear vehicles in the elucidation of narrative, then the three songs discussed above must fall drastically short of their goals. CSM 276, CSM 72 and CSM 427 all demonstrate the severe discords that may exist between narrative logic and the structural phrase. They hence hardly

fulfil the claim to be comprehensible, uncomplicated tools in the elucidation of narrative. In their division, dislocation and synthesis of recapped refrain material, their apparent goal is to create confusion and unease. In their awkward handling of recapped refrain material—and the jarring dissonance such manipulation creates with narrative—it is as though they were almost deliberately fashioned to be difficult works.

However, the following analyses have shown that these works ironically function best as inherently disordered entities. Deviating from the normal ways of handling strophe-end recap, these songs draw attention to themselves. This is made manifest, both sonically from their fundamentally messy forms and narratives, and visually from the way scribes and notators attempted to present them in their manuscripts. It is their attention-grabbing nature that makes these songs' essential structural and narrative themes more closely considered and understood. Listeners familiar with structural and narrative norms in the *cantiga de miragre* could recognise the exceptional attention required to comprehend these disturbing anomalies. While attempting to grasp both a song's disordered structure and its basic narrative, educated listeners may have been more receptive to the subtle ways in which these seemingly contradictory realms mirror and spur each other on. In a reversal of aesthetic values common to the majority of *cantigas de miragre*—where artistic worth is related both to narrative simplicity and structural conformity—these songs are most successful because of their absurdities. Rather than simply relating a miracle tale—strictly a one-sided process of delivery between a performer and listener—these three songs demand interpretation and participation from their audiences. It is only when listeners attempt to come to terms with these songs' problems that they understand—but also feel—the narrative and structural themes of fragmentation, dislocation and synthesis that lie at their very heart.

Epilogue

The original objectives I set down for this thesis were to investigate the contentious relationship between cyclical musical-poetic forms and linear narratives in the *CSM*. Such relationships had not been considered extensively prior to this study, lending the *CSM* the reputation of being both structurally unusual and narratively wanting. In this study, I have shown that contrary to current understanding, the *CSM*'s combination of the cyclical and the linear is a fertile basis for the dramatic telling of miracle narratives. As outlined in rhetorical theory passed down from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, the main requirements of a linear *narratio* are that narratively central and novel material be transmitted in a clearly identifiable manner. In Chapter 2, I demonstrated how a rehashed *narratio* is systematically applied to the cyclical *cantiga de miragre* through the alignment of the narratively essential and the sonically distinctive. As I explained in the theory of Chapter 3, the consistent deployment of a strophe-end recap structure allows sections of the narrative strophe to attain a memorially marked status. Because the vital components of a narrative are constantly supported by such sonically striking entities, sections of strophe-end recap come to represent the perfect vehicles for transmitting a miracle narrative's distinguishing features.

In Chapter 3, I also highlighted the significance of considering the *CSM* analytically within a process-oriented approach. Through a procedure of listening to a *cantiga de miragre*, it is clear that sections of strophe-end recap acquire memorially marked status due both to their sonic distinction and the sheer number of times they are reiterated. Links between process-based reiteration and memory, which were central to the educational upbringing of literate societies in the later Middle Ages, were surely fundamental to the compositional approaches of the *CSM*'s creators. The *cantiga de miragre* form consistently exploits these connexions between the repetitive

and the memorable. Strophe-end recap structures invite comparison with refrains, and as a song progresses these units become expected, desired, and imprinted in a listener's mind. But familiarity acquired through repetitive processes is not only essential to single *cantigas de miragre* on their own terms. Arguably, the greatest boon of strophe-end recap is its consistent deployment and alignment with points of narrative emphasis throughout the *CSM* manuscript witnesses. Due to the structural and narrative consistencies of the *cantigas de miragre*, familiarity then is acquired within the collection as a whole. Therefore, use of strophe-end recap sections comes to be expected before listening to a song for the first time, due to its consistent deployment elsewhere. This memorially marked section is in turn expected to serve as a way to manipulate a linear narrative, so that it can be transmitted in the clearest way possible.

These findings offer significant methodological departures from more traditional studies of the *CSM*. As I stressed in Chapter 1, existing literature tends to view the repertory one-dimensionally, from the stance of a single discipline. However, the *CSM* were crafted neither as poetry nor as melody. Rather, they integrate musical and poetic narrative in a holistic manner as song, along with the prose and pictorial accounts that survive in **T–F**. It is understandable that such discipline-specific thinking might have arisen: it surfaced largely because of the focus of earlier *CSM* studies on the four surviving manuscript witnesses as authoritative indicators of practice. Musicologists specialising in deciphering these sources' musical notation became experts in the analysis of melody. Text scholars unable to analyse melody or notation focussed solely on poetry. Such monodisciplinary study is no doubt the root for earlier thinking, that scribes and notators worked in complete isolation of each other. The divergences between musical and textual practices for punctuation signs that I observed in Chapter 6 are significant, and thus provide some sort of rationale for

this misconception. However, poetry and music are both sonic entities that are intrinsically bound together in song. Music cannot be considered a morally beneficial force without working to carry a text. In turn, the *CSM*'s texts cannot, I contend, be transmitted clearly without the support of a memorially marked musical structure. To analyse the *CSM* songs as texts with no consideration as to how they were constructed alongside melodies thus verges on offering an oversimplified reading. Musicological studies that claim to analyse the *CSM*'s melodies are equally flawed in outlook, since not contemplating how music supports an essential text can only lead to crude conclusions on its function. While substantial inroads have been made through such monodisciplinary manners of enquiry, I have highlighted the essential need for more comprehensive approaches towards Iberian song.

This holistic approach I have used throughout this thesis has highlighted the *CSM* as a vehicle for study of broader cultural currents of the period, challenging how people in the Middle Ages apprehended and thought about the sonic. The power of sound—as highlighted in the works of Leach, Dillon, Peraino and others—cannot be overstressed for the later Middle Ages.[433] Its ability to dignify text—and at the same time lead listeners astray—was exploited in poetry and music of all kinds, and recognised in theoretical works. In the *CSM*, the integrated power of poetic and musical sound is particularly germane to the Castrojeriz set from Chapter 4, and in CSM 72, which I assessed in Chapter 6. These pieces all manipulate structurally unstable song forms that in turn engender dissonant and unsteady experiences of listening as a way of mirroring narrative themes of instability. In these songs, musical-poetic structures are deliberately crafted to replicate the sound of unstable buildings and corrupted speech in their performance. Sound was evidently a significant force,

[433] As addressed in (Leach 2007), (Leach 2013), (Peraino 2011), (Dillon 2012). For a fuller discussion on the role of the sonic, the reader should refer to section **3.i**.

in that it made listeners respond somatically and, in the process, manipulate their behaviour. For instance, CSM 427's disordered and intentionally ambiguous merging of phrasal entities in its recapped refrain is an intentional tool, encouraging its audience to live its narrative in a very real way through sonic means: it makes listeners experience the Pentecostal story's narrative theme of synthesis as they themselves attempt to gather together and comprehend the plurality of musical-poetic units. It is through the primacy of musical-poetic sound—and its ability to affect humans somatically and intellectually—that these narratives are comprehended, rationalised, and made relevant to their listeners.

As it has contributed to *CSM* scholarship, this thesis has also exposed further potential avenues of research. While the majority of the *cantigas de miragre* exploit a strophe-end recap structure for narrative clarification, discussion of those that do not merits extensive discussion that is beyond the scope of the current study. Structural aberrations from the strophe-end recap standard I broached to some degree in Chapter 6. However, CSM 276, CSM 72, and CSM 427 all clearly deploy at least some elements of strophe-end recap, and their divergences from the norm are all, I argue, intended to mirror particular themes present in their narratives. Some *cantigas de miragre* may cloud recapped refrain material by deploying excessive degrees of motivic organicism throughout their strophes, to a far greater degree than that observed in CSM 276. If a strophe-end recap section is present but barely perceptible, is there meant to be a memorially marked device that highlights essential points in a narrative? Would listeners familiar with more stereotypical manifestations of strophe-end recap have imposed such a structural standard upon a song that lacked one, simply because they were expecting and looking for it? Alternatively, might these songs be handling narrative transmission through different structural means? If this is so, it would be

worthwhile to consider how their audiences might have comprehended and rationalised these songs in their performance.

More readily found cases that do not follow the model I have established in this thesis are the *cantigas de loor*. This collection represents a more mixed repertory, with some songs deploying strophe-end recap more typical of the *cantigas de miragre*, as is the case for CSM 10 (**App. 3**). Others have entirely different musical-poetic forms where strophe-end recap is absent. In several *cantigas de loor*—such as CSM 1 (**App. 1**)—there are no refrains, with just an alternation of strophes that lack any musical-poetic sense of turning back. There are further songs—such as CSM 406 (**App. 41**)—that incorporate elements of turning back but lack any musical-poetic relation between the refrain and strophe. The *cantigas de loor* are also interesting from a narrative perspective, since they are typically not linear and do not relate particular tales. Instead, most lavish praise upon the Virgin in a similar manner to the *lauda*. Because of this, musical-poetic strophes function in a way distinct from the *cantigas de miragre*. Instead of dividing chronological events, strophes work to divide lists of the Virgin's physical features, litanies praising her character traits, or passages detailing abstract themes or ideas. Therefore, in a study that investigates text-music relations for the *cantigas de loor*, new parameters must be set that reflect the great diversity of structural and narrative forms that exist within this separate body of works.

Perhaps the most useful idea that I have exposed in this thesis, and one which also requires further exploration, is that regarding a song as poorly constructed or deficient is an anachronistic and analytically unhelpful stance. The songs in Chapter 4 and Chapter 6 are clear examples: all have the potential to be considered structurally deficient, owing to their departures from the *zejel* and *virelai* formal standards. However, it is precisely their awkward nature that makes the listener reflect so intensely upon the ideas in their narratives. Future analysis ought to take into account

that songs were often intended to sound difficult or tortuous. Such structural and narrative complexity invites a listener to be critical and contemplative. This may explain the narrator's exhortations in the opening *exordia* of many *cantigas de miragre* that the audience be heedful, listen attentively, and not be distracted by anything else.[434] In songs that deal with the sacredness and virtue of Mary, difficult forms demand consideration of and meditation upon her heavenly qualities. In other songs, careful listening invited by a complex structure may expose a song's hidden message. This is particularly germane to the two *cantigas de miragre* in Chapter 5, which deal with the theme of Jewish conversion. On first listening, both songs give conventional miracle stories, where believers in the Virgin are saved from perilous situations because of their faith. However, upon more careful listening their audiences are invited to draw references from the Biblical character names that align themselves with recapped refrain rhymes. This encourages the drawing out of hidden subtexts, which teach the necessity of reforming and converting the Jews of Castile.

The songs I have discussed here are but a handful of examples that expose the complex relations between musical-poetic form and linear narrative in the *CSM*, and it is clear that many more fruitful analyses can be made of the remaining 380 songs not mentioned in this thesis. Considering the ways their multifaceted structures function alongside their equally intricate narratives offers the opportunity to shed new light on the place of song at the Castilian court. It would be helpful to reconcile such studies within the broader literary context of the Alfonsine world, considering alongside them the *cantigas profanas*, repertory from distant lands that was performed in the courtly milieu , as well as liturgical music that is also Marian and devotional in nature. To form a comprehensive assessment of the world in which this complicated repertory circled,

[434] As discussed in section **2.iii.1**.

we can begin to get a better understanding of what it meant to those who wrote, inscribed, performed, and ultimately heard it. For Alfonso, the art of composing song, but implicitly also, the skills in performing and listening to it, required 'great understanding…and good judgement, so that he may understand and be able to say that which he understands and wishes to express'.[435] Beginning to recognise exactly what Alfonso might have meant by 'understand' and 'say' is far greater a task than researchers may originally have assumed. However, through this investigation I have considered new avenues in modern scholarship's course towards achieving this objective.

[435] **App. 43.**

Bibliography

Primary Sources

A-Wn, 2512
A-Wn, lat. 3121
B-BRs, 546
D-Mbs, clm 14523
D-Mbs, cod. lat. 16122
D-Mbs, cod. lat. 22293
D-Mst, lat. 6911
DK-Kk, Thott 128
E-Bac, Ripoll 190
E-E, B.i.2
E-E, J.t.6
E-E, T.i.1
E-Mn, 110
E-Mn, 5982–3
E-Mn, 9503
E-Mn, 10070
E-Mn, 10069
E-Mn, 13055
E-MO, Rivipullensis 193
E-SAup, cart. s.XV
E-Tc, 43–3
F-CHRm, 1027
F-AS, 433
F-Pa, 3807, 1132
F-Pn lat. 11386
F-Pn, lat. 11867
F-Pn, lat. 18595, 8653 1252
F-RS, 1400
F-T, 1556
F-VENbm, 185
GB-Cu, Ll.1.14
GB-Lbl, Add. 15723
GB-Lbl, Add. 35112
GB-Lbl, Arundel 346
GB-Lbl, Arundel 515
GB-Lbl, Cotton Cleopatra, C.x
GB-Lbl, Cotton Vespasian D.xix
GB-Lbl, Egerton 612
GB-Lbl, Royal 20.b.xiv
GB-Ob, lat. misc. d.66
GB-Obac, 240
I-Bu, 1794
I-CT, 91
I-Fl, 151.42, E.c.14
I-Fl, Ashburnham 1545
I-Fn, B.r.18
I-Fn, B.r.20
I-Fr 2814, L.c.16
P-La, Ajuda
P-Lant, cx.20.2
P-Ln, Alcobacense 149
P-Ln, 10991
US-Cu, 147
US-Cu, Phillips 25142
US-NYpm, M.979
V-CVbav, lat. 4803
V-CVbav, Vat. Reg. 283

Editions, Facsimiles and Translations

Anglés, Higinio. 1943–64. *La música de las Cantigas de Santa Maria, del Rey Alfonso el Sabio: Facsímil, transcripción y estudio crítico*. 4 vols. Barcelona: Diputación Provincial de Barcelona.

Beltrán, Luis. 1988. *Las Cantigas de Loor de Alfonso X el Sabio: Edición bilingüe*. Madrid: Ediciones Júcar. Reprint, 1990.

———. 1997. *Cuarenta y cinco Cantigas del Códice rico de Alfonso el Sabio: Textos pictóricos y verbales*.

Bertolucci Pizzorusso, Valeria. 1968. 'Un trattato di *Ars dictandi* dedicato ad Alfonso X.' *Studi mediolatini e volgari* 15–16:3–88.

BNE. 2014–. '*Cantigas de Santa Maria. MSS/10069.*' Biblioteca Digital Hispánica Accessed 31/03/2015. http://bdh.bne.es/.

Bower, Calvin M, and Claude V Palisca. 1989. *Fundamentals of Music*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Buttimer, Charles Henry. 1939. *Hugonis de Sancto Victore: Didascalicon. De studio legendi*. Washington, DC: Catholic University Press.

Caplan, Harry. 1954. *[Cicero]: Rhetorica ad Herennium*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Casson, Andrew. 2011–. '*Cantigas de Santa Maria* for Singers.' Last Modified 22/02/2015 Accessed 10/09/2017. http://www.cantigasdesantamaria.com/.

Charland, Thomas Marie. 1936. *Artes praedicandi*. Ottawa: Institut d'Études médiévales.

Chiavacci Leonardi, Anna M. 1999–7. *Commedia*. 3 vols. Bologna: Zanichelli.

Cintra, Luís F Lindley. 1982. *Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional (Colocci-Brancuti) Cód. 10991: Reprodução facsimilada*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional.

Copeland, Rita, and Ineke Sluite. 2009. *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and literary Theory, AD 300–1475*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cueto, Leopoldo Augusto de. 1889. *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria de Alfonso el Sabio*. 2 vols. Madrid: Real Academia Española.

Cunningham, Martin G. 2000. *Afonso X, o Sábio: Cantigas de Loor*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press.

Cunqueiro, Alvaro. 1980. *Cantigas de Santa Maria do Rei Don Alfonso: Escolma, prólogo e versión moderna*. Vigo: Galaixa.

Deferrari, Roy Joseph. 1947. *Augustine: On Music*. Translated by Robert Catesby Taliaferro. Vol. 4, *The Fathers of the Church*. New York: Fathers of the Church.

Dekkers, Eligius, and Johannes Fraipont. 1990.'Augustine: Enarrationes in Psalmos, 51–100.' In *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*. Turnhout: Brepols. http://www.brepols.net/.

Desmond, Karen. 2017. *The 'Ars musica' Attributed to Magister Lambertus/Aristoteles*. London: Routledge.

Dick, Adolf. 1925. *Martianus Capella: Edidit Adolfus Dick*. Stuttgart: Teubner.

Domínguez Rodríguez, Ana, Augustín Santiago Luque, and María Victoria Chico Picaza, eds. 1989. *Cantigas de Santa Maria: Edición facsímil del Códice B.R.20 de la Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale de Florencia*. Vol. 2, *Códices artisticos*. Madrid: Edilán.

Dürrer, Martin. 1996. *Altitalienische Laudenmelodien: Das einstimmige Repertoire der Handschriften Corton una Florenz*. 3 vols. Kassel: Bärenreiter-Hochschulschriften.

Dziewicki, Michael H. 1966. *Iohannis Wyclif: Tractatus de blasphemia*. London: Trübner. Original edition, 1893. Reprint, Johnson Reprint Corporation.

Elmes, Chris. 2004. *Cantigas de Santa Maria of Alfonso X el Sabio: a Performing Edition*. 4 vols. Edinburgh: Gaïta.

Eyssenhardt, Franz. 1866. *Martianus Capella*. Leipzig: B G Teubner.

Fathers of the English Dominican Province. 1947. 'Thomas Aquinas: Summa Theologica.' Benzinger Bros. Last Modified 01/01/2014 Accessed 01/09/2017. http://www.dhspriory.org/.

Ferreira, Manuel Pedro. 1986. *O som de Martin Codax: Sobre a dimensão musical da lírica galego-portuguese (séculos XII–XIV)*. Lisbon: Unisys.

Ferreiro Fernández, Manuel, and Carlos Paulo Martínez Pereiro. 1996. *Cantigas de Santa Maria, a nosa literatura*. Vigo: Asociación Socio-Pedagóxica Galega.

Filgueira Valverde, José. 1980. *Afonso X e Galicia, e unha escolma de Cantigas*. La Coruña: Real Academia Gallega.

———. 1985. *Alfonso X, el Sabio: Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Madrid: Castalia.

Fredborg, Karin Margareta. 1988. *The Latin Rhetorical Commentaries by Thierry of Chartres*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

Freese, John Henry. 1926. *Aristotle: Art of Rhetoric, Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Friedlein, Gottfried. 1867. *Anicii Manlii Torquati Severini Boetii: De Institutione Arithmetica Libri Duo, De Institutione Musica Libri Quinque, Accedit Geometrica quae Fertur Boetii*. Frankfurt am Main: Minerva.

Granger, Frank. 1931–4. *Vitruvius: On Architecture*. 2 vols, *Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Green, William M. 2010. 'De ordine.' Brepols Publishers, Last Modified 22/08/2017. http://www.clt.brepolis.net/.

Guarnieri, Anna Maria. 1991. *Laudario di Cortona*. Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studdi sull'Alto Medioevo.

Hague, Eleanor, and Marion Leffingwell. 1929. *Music in Ancient Arabia and Spain: Being la Música de las Cantigas*. Translated by Julián Ribera. London: Humphrey Milford.

Higgins, David H. 2008. *Dante Alighieri: The Divine Comedy*. Translated by C H Sisson. Oxford: Oxford World's Classics.

Hubbell, Harry Mortimer. 1949. *Cicero: De inventione, De optime genere oratorum, Topica*, *Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

———. 1952. *Cicero: Brutus, Orator*, *Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Jacobsson, Martin, and Lukas J Dorfbauer. 2017. *Augustine: De Musica*. Berlin: De Gruyter.

Kastner, Macario Santiago. 1958. *Francisco de Salinas: De Musica*. Kassel: Bärenreiter.

Kinney, Angela M, and Edgar Swift. 2013. *The Vulgate Bible: Douay-Rheims Translation*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Koenig, V Frederic. 1955–70. *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame*. 4 vols, *Textes Littéraires Français*. Geneva: Droz.

Kohlenberger, John R. 1997. *The Parallel Apocrypha*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kulp-Hill, Kathleen. 2000. *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, the Wise: a Translation of the Cantigas de Santa María*, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*. Tempe AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies.

Lamb, Walter Rangeley Maitland. 1925. *Plato: Lysis, Symposium, Gorgias*, *Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Lapa, Manuel Rodrigues. 1933. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional.

Lawler, Traugott. 1974. *The Parisiana Poetria of John of Garland*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Lindsay, Wallace M. 1911. *Isidori Hispalensis episcopi Etymologiarum sive originum libri XX*. Oxford: Clarendon.

López Elum, Pedro. 2005. *Interpretando la música medieval del siglo XIII: Las Cantigas de Santa Maria*. Valencia: Publicacións Universitat de València.

López Serrano, M, J Filguera Valverde, J Guerrero Lovillo, and José María Lloréns Cisteró, eds. 1979. *El 'Codice Rico' de las Cantigas de Alfonso X el Sabio: MS T.I.1 de la Biblioteca de El Escorial*. 2 vols, *Códices Artísticos Edición Facsímil*. Madrid: Edilán.

Magne, Augusto. 1920. '*Cantigas de Santa Maria* de Afonso X, o Sábio: Excerptos annotados.' *Revista de Lingua Portuguesa* 8:55–110.

Mettmann, Walter, 1959–72. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. 4 vols. Coimbra: Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis.

———, 1986–9. *Cantigas de Santa Maria*. 3 vols. Madrid: Castalia.

Migne, Jacques-Paul. 1844–91. *Patrologia Latina*. Paris: Garnier Frères.

Monteagudo, Henrique, 2003. *Alfonso X o Sabio: Cantigas de Santa Maria. Edición Facsimile do Códice de Toledo*. Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega.

Montero Santalha, José-Martinho. 2001. 'As cinco cantigas cristológicas das Cantigas de Santa María.' Espaço Lusófono: Aras do II Congresso Internacional, University of St Petersburg, 1998.

Morenzoni, Franco. 1988. *Thomas de Chobham: Summa de arte praedicandi. Cura et studio Franco Morenzoni*, *Corpus Christinaorum*. Turnhout: Brepols.

Mount, Richard Terry, and Annette Grant Cash. 1997. *Miracles of Our Lady*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky.

Mynors, Roger A B. 1937. *Cassiodori senatoris institutiones*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.Montoya Martínez, Jesús. 1988. *Cantigas*. Madrid: Cátedra. Reprint, 1997, 2002, 2008.Marshall, John Henry, ed. 1972. *The 'Razos de Trobar' of Raimon Vidal and Associated Texts*. London.

Nims, Margaret F. 2010. *Geoffrey of Vinsauf: Poetria nova*. Edited by Mary Carruthers, *Medieval Sources in Translation*. Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

Parkinson, Stephen. 2015. *Alfonso X, the Learned, 'Cantigas de Santa Maria': An Anthology*. Vol. 40, *MHRA Critical Texts*. Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association.

Pla Sales, Roberto. 2001. *Cantigas de Santa Maria, Alfonso X el Sabio: Nueva transcripción integral de su música según la métrica latina*. Madrid: Música Didáctica.

Rackham, Harris. 1942. *Cicero: De oratore III, De fato, Paradoxa Stoicorum, De partitione oratoria*, *Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Real Academia de la Historia. 1807. *Las siete partidas del rey Alfonso el Sabio*. 3 vols. Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia.

Ribera, Julián. 1922. *La Música de las Cantigas: Estudio sobre su origen y naturaleza, con reproducciones fotograficas del texto y transcripcion moderna*. Edited by Leopoldo Augusto de Cueto. 3 vols. Vol. 3, *Cantigas de Santa Maria, de Don Alfonso el Sabio*. Madrid: Tipografía de la Revista de Archivos.

Rogers, Donna M. 1991. '*Cantigas de Santa Maria* 2–25 and their Castilian Prose Versions.' In *Estudios alfonsinos y otros escritos en homenaje a John Esten Keller y a Anibal A. Biglieri*, edited by Nicolás Toscano, 196–204. New York: National Hispanic Foundation for the Humanities.

Robert-Tissot, Michel. 1974. *Johannes Aegidius de Zamora: Ars Musica*, *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*. Rome: American Institute of Musicology.

Russell, Donald A. 2001. *Quintilian: The Orator's Education*. 5 vols, *Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Schaff, Philip. 1995. *Augustin: The Writings against the Manichaens, and against the Donatists*. Vol. 4, *Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*. Peabody: Hendrickson.

Schaffer, Martha E. 2010. *Afonso X o Sabio: Cantigas de Santa Maria. Códice de Toledo*. Santiago de Compostela.

Scott, Samuel Parsons, and Robert I Burns. 2001. *Alfonso X: Las siete partidas*. 5 vols. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Solalinde, Antonio G. 1930. *Alfonso el Sabio: General estoria. Primera parte*. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Históricos.

Stahl, William Harris, Richard Johnson, and Evan Laurie Burge. 1971. *Martianus Capella and the Seven Liberal Arts*. 2 vols. New York: Columbia University Press.

Steele, Robert. 1920. *Secretum secretorum: Cum glossis et notulis. Tractatus brevis et utilis ad declarandum quedam obscure dicta Fratris Rogeri*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Strunk, W Oliver. 1998. *Source Readings in Music History (Revised Edition)*. New York: WW Norton & Company.

Tarayre, Michel. 1999. *La Vierge et le miracle: Le Speculum historiale de Vincent de Beauvais*. Paris: Champion.

Tavani, Giuseppe. 1999. *Arte de Trovar do Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa*. Lisbon: Edições Colibri.

Taylor, Jerome. 1961. *The Didascalicon of Hugh of St. Victor*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Thurot, Charles. 1869. 'Glossa Admirantes to Alexander de Villa Dei's Doctrinale.' In *Extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histroire de doctrines grammaticales au Moyen-Âge* Paris: Imprimerie Impériale.

Usher, Stephen. 1985. *Dionysius of Harlicarnassus: The Critical Essays*. 2 vols, *Loeb Classical Library*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Vanderford, Kenneth H. 1945. *Setenario: Alfonso el Sabio. Edición e introducción de Kenneth H Vanderford*. Buenos Aires: Instituto de Filología.

Vanderkam, James C. 1989. *The Book of Jubilees: Translation*. Leuven: Peeters.

Videira Lopes, Graça. 2002. *Cantigas de escárnio e maldizer dos trovadores e jograis galego-portugueses*. Lisbon: Editorial Estampa.

Willis, James. 1983. *Martianus Capella: Edidit James Willis*. Leipzig: Teubner.

Wilson, Evelyn F. 1946. *The Stella Maris of John of Garland*, *The Medieval Academy of America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Zycha, Joseph. 1891. *Augustinus Hipponensis: Contra Faustum*, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Vienna: F Tempsky.

Secondary Literature

Abbate, Carolyn. 2004. 'Music—Drastic or Gnostic?' *Critical Inquiry* 30 (3):505–36.

Adorno, Theodor W. 1973. *Philosophy of Modern Music*. Translated by Anne G Mitchell and Wesley V Blomster. New York: Seabury Press.

Ajo González de Rapariegos y Sainz de Zúñiga, Cándido María. 1967. *Manuscritos y fuentes inéditas.* Vol. 6, *Historia de las universidades hispánicas: Origenes y desarrollo desde su aparación a nuestros días*. Madrid: Intonso.

———. 1957. *Medievo y renacimiento universitario*. Vol. 1, *Historia de las universidades hispánicas: Orígenes y desarrollo desde su aparición a nuestros días.* Madrid: Intonso.

Akasoy, Anna A, and Alexander Fidora. 2002. 'Hermannus Alemannus und die Alia traslatio der Nikomachischen Ethik.' *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 44:79–94.

Akehurst, Frank R, and Judith M Davis. 1984. *A Handbook of the Troubadours*. Los Angeles: UCLA Press.

Alonso Alonso, Manuel. 1941. 'Bibliotecas medievales de los arzobispos de Toledo.' *Razon y Fe* 123:295–309.

———. 1926. 'Les "Cantigues" del Rey n'Anfós el Savi.' *Vida Cristiana* 14:109–16.

Anglés, Higinio. 1962. 'Die Bedeutung der Plika in der mittelalterlichen Musik.' In *Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, edited by Heinrich Hüschen, 28–39. Regensburg: Gustav Bosse-Verlag.

Apel, Willi. 1953. *The Notation of Polyphonic Music 900–1600*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Arlt, Wulf. 2000. 'Denken in Tönen und Strukturen: Komponieren im Kontext Perotins.' *Musik-Konzepte* 107:53–100.

Aune, David E. 1983. 'The Influence of Roman Imperial Court Ceremonial on the Apocalypse of John.' In *Apocalypticism, Prophecy and Magic in Early Christianity: Collected Essays*, edited by David E Aune, 99–119. Chicago: Chicago Society of Biblical Rsearch.

Bagby, Albert. 1971. 'The Jew in the Cantigas of Alfonso X, el Sabio.' *Speculum* 46:670–88.

Bain, Jennifer. 2015. *Hildegard of Bingen and Musical Reception: The Modern Revival of a Medieval Composer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bale, Anthony. 2006. *The Jew in the Medieval Book: English Antisemitisms 1350–1500*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bale, David. 2007. *Blood and Belief: The Circulation of a Symbol between Jews and Christians*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ballesteros Beretta, Antonio. 1984. *Alfonso X el Sabio*. Barcelona.

Baños, Fernando. 2011. *Gonzalo de Berceo: Milagros de Nuestra Señora*. Madrid: Real Academia Española.

Barr, Helen. 2014. 'Major Episodes and Moments in Piers Plowman B.' In *The Cambridge Companion to Piers Plowman*, edited by Andrew Cole and Andrew Galloway, 15–32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bayo, Juan Carlos. 2004. 'Las Colecciones Universales de Milagros de la Virgen hasta Gonzalo de Berceo.' *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 81 (7):849–71.

Beltrán de Heredia, Vicente. 1953. *Los origines de la Universidad de Salamanca*. Salamanca: Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca.

Bent, Margaret. 1998. 'The Grammar of Early Music: Preconditions for Analysis.' In *Tonal Structures in Early Music*, edited by Cristle Collins Judd, 15–60. London: Garland.

———. 2010. 'Grammar and Rhetoric in Late Medieval Polyphony: Modern Metaphor or Old Simile?' In *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, edited by Mary J Carruthers, 52–71. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bergeron, Katherine. 1998. *Decadent Enchantments: The Revival of Gregorian Chant at Solesmes*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Bertolucci Pizzorusso, Valeria 1997. *Rimario e lessico in rima delle Cantigas de Santa Maria di Alfonso X di Castiglia*, *Biblioteca degli Studi Mediolatini e Volgari. Nuova Serie*. Pisa: Pacini.

Betti, Maria Pia. 2005. *Repertorio metrico delle 'Cantigas de Santa Maria' di Alfonso X di Castiglia*. Pisa: Pacini.

Bolla Panadero, Dolores. 2008. 'Heretics and Infidels: The CSM as Ideological Instrument of Cultural Codification.' *Romance Quarterly* 55 (3):163–73.

Boggess, William F. 1970. 'Alfarabi and the "Rhetoric": The Cave Revisited.' *Phronesis* 15:86–90.

Burkert, Walter, and Edwin LeRoy Minar. 1972. *Lore and Science in Ancient Pythagoreanism*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Busse Berger, Anna Maria. 2005. *Medieval Music and the Art of Memory*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Byron, John. 2011. *Cain and Abel in Text and Tradition: Jewish and Christian Interpretations of the First Sibling Rivalry*. Leiden: Brill.

Campbell, Alison D. 2011. 'Words and Music in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: The Cantigas as Song.' MLitt, University of Glasgow.

———. 2013. 'Inside the Virelai: A Survey of Musical Structures in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' In *Analizar, Interpretar, Hacer Música: de las Cantigas de Santa Maria a la Organologia. Escritos in Memoriam Gerardo V Huseby*, edited by Melanie Plesch, 153–70. Buenos Aires: Gourmet Musical.

Cárdenas, Anthony J. 1987. 'A Study of Alfonso's Role in Selected Cantigas and the Castilian Prosification of Escorial Codex T.I.1.' In *Studies of the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, edited by John E Keller and Israel J Katz, 253–68. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies.

Carpenter, Dwayne E. 1986. *Alfonso X and the Jews: An Edition of and Commentary on Siete partidas 7.24 'De los judíos'*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Carreras i Artau, Tomàs, and Joaquim Carreras i Artau. 1939–43. *Historia de la filosofía espanola: Filosofía cristiana de los siglos XIII al XV*. 2 vols, *Asociación Española para el Progreso de las Ciencias*. Madrid: Real Academia de Ciencias Exactas, Físicas y Naturales.

Carruthers, Mary J. 1998. *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images, 400–1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2006. 'Sweetness.' *Speculum* 81 (4):999–1013.

———. 2008. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. 2nd ed, *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———, ed. 2010a. *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, *Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2010b. 'The Concept of *ductus*, or, Journeying through a Work of Art.' In *Rhetoric Beyond Words*, edited by Mary Carruthers, 190–213. Cambridge Cambridge University Press.

Chisman, Anna McG. 1974. 'Enjambment in *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria* of Alfonso X, el Sabio.' PhD, University of Toronto.

———. 1976. 'Rhyme and Word Order in *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *Kentucy Romance Quarterly* 23 (4):393–407.

Cohen, Jeremy. 1983. 'The Jews as the Killers of Christ in the Latin Tradition, from Augustine to the Friars.' *Traditio* 39:1–27.

———. 2004. *Sanctifying the Name of God: Jewish Martyrs and Jewish Memories of the First Crusade*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

———. 2007. *Christ Killers: The Jews and the Passion from the Bible to the Big Screen*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cohen, Rip. 2009. 'Technical Virtuosity in the *Cantigas d'Amigo*.' *Floema* 5 (5):125–44.

Copeland, Rita. 2014. 'Pathos and Pastoralism: Aristotle's Rhetoric in Medieval England.' *Speculum* 89 (1):96–127.

Cowling, David. 1998. *Building the Text: Architecture as Metaphor in Late Medieval and Early Modern France Oxford Modern Languages and Literature Monographs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Crocker, Richard L. 2007–. 'Versus.' Oxford Music Online, Last Modified 17/12/2012 Accessed 16/10/2015. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/.

Crossley, Paul. 2010. '*Ductus* and *Memoria*: Chartres Cathedral and the Workings of Rhetoric.' In *Rhetoric beyond Words*, edited by Mary Carruthers, 214–49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cueto, Leopoldo Augusto de. 1897. *Estudio Histórico, Crítico y Filológico sobre las Cantigas del Rey Don Alfonso el Sabio*. 2 ed. Madrid.

Cummins, John G. 1970. 'The Practical Implications of Alfonso el Sabio's Peculiar Use of the *Zéjel*.' *Bulletin of Hispanic Studies* 47 (1):1–9.

Curtis, Florence. 2014. 'The Intellectual Scope of the "Mester de Clerecia".' DPhil, University of Oxford.

Davis, Frederick B. 2003. *The Jew and Deicide: The Origin of an Archetype*. Lanham: University Press of America.

De Lubac, Henri. 2000. *Medieval Exegesis*. Translated by Edward M Macierowski. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T&T Clark.

Dean, Trevor. 2007. *Crime and Justice in Late Medieval Italy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Deeming, Helen. 2014. 'Music and Contemplation in the Twelfth–Century Dulcis Jesu memoria.' *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 139 (1):1–39.

Dell, Helen. 2016. 'Musical Medievalism and the Harmony of the Spheres.' In *The Cambridge Companion to Medievalism*, edited by Louise D'Arcens, 60–74. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Derolez, Albert. 2003. *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books: from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Díaz y Díaz, Manuel Cecilio. 1980. 'Agustín entre los mozárabes: Un testimonio.' *Agustinus* 25:157-80.

Dillon, Emma. 2012. *The Sense of Sound: Musical Meaning in France, 1260–1330*, *The New Cultural History of Music Series*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dinkova-Bruun, Greti. 2007. 'Biblical Versifications from Late Antiquity to the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: History or Allegory.' In *Poetry and Exegesis in Premodern Latin Christianity*, edited by Willemein Otten and Karla Pollmann, 315–42. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2010. 'The Verse Bible as Aide-Mémoire.' In *The Making of Memory in the Middle Ages*, edited by Lucie Doležalová, 113–32. Leiden: Brill.

———. 2012. 'Biblical Thematics: The Story of Samson in Medieval Literary Discourse.' In *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Latin Literature*, edited by Robert Hexter and David Townsend, 356–75. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Domínguez del Val, Ursicino, ed. 1961. *La utilización de los Padres por San Isidoro*. Edited by Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, *Isidoriana*. León: Centro de Estudios San Isidoro.

Domínguez Rodríguez, Ana, and Pilar Treviño Gajardo. 2007. *Las CSM: Formas e imágenes*. Madrid: AyN Ediciones.

Donavin, Georgiana. 2012. *Scribit Mater: Mary and the Language Arts in the Literature of Medieval England*. Washington: Catholic Univeristy of America Press.

Ellis, Katharine. 2013. *The Politics of Plainchant in fin-de-siècle France*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Faral, Edmond. 1924. *Les artes poétique du XIIe et XIIIe siécle*. Paris: Champion.

Farmer, David. 2011. *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*. 5 ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Faulhaber, Charles. 1972. *Latin Rhetorical Theory in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Castile*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fernández Fernández, Laura. 2008–9. 'Las *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: Fortuna de sus Manuscritos.' *Alicante* 6:323–48.

———. 2009. 'El Scriptorium de Alfonso X el Sabio.' In *Alfonso X el Sabio: Catálogo de la esposición*, edited by Ramón Luis Valcárcel Siso, Miguel Ángel Cámara Botia and Ángel Mártinez Mártinez, 208–15. Murcia: A. G. Novograf.

———. 2011. 'Este livro, com' achei, fez a onr' e a loor da Virgen Santa Maria: El proyecto de las *Cantigas de Santa Maria* en el marco del escritorio regio. Estado de la cuestión y nuevas reflexiones.' In *Alfonso X el Sabio 1221–1284. Las Cantigas de Santa Maria: Códice Rico, MS T-i-1. Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial*, edited by Laura Fernández Fernández and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, 43–78. Madrid: Testimonio.

———. 2013. 'Los manuscritos de las *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: Definición material de un proyecto regio.' *Alcanate* 8:79–115.

Fernández Fernández, Laura, and Elisa Ruiz García. 2011. 'Quasi liber et pictura: Estudio codicológica del MS T.i.1, RBME.' In *Las Cantigas de Santa Maria: Códice Rico, MS T-i-1. Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial*,

edited by Laura Fernández Fernández and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, 109–43. Madrid: Testimonio.

Fernández Fernández, Laura, Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, and Elvira Fidalgo, eds. 2011. *Alfonso X el Sabio 1221–1284: Las Cantigas de Santa Maria. Códice Rico, MS T-i-1. Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial*. 3 vols. Madrid: Testimonio.

Ferreira, Manuel Pedro. 1994. 'The Stemma of the Marian Cantigas: Philological and Musical Evidence.' *Cantigueiros* 6:58–98.

———. 1998. 'The Layout of the Cantigas: A Musicological Overview.' *Galician Review* 2:47–61.

———. 2000a. 'Andalusian Music and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' In *Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, edited by Stephen Parkinson, 7–19. Oxford: Legenda.

———. 2000b. 'The Influence of Chant on the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *Cantigueiros* 11–12:29–40.

———. 2001. 'Afinidades musicais: As *cantigas de loor* e a lírica profana galego-portuguesa.' In *Memória dos afectos: Homenagem da cultura portuguesa a Giuseppe Tavani*, 187–205. Lisboa: Colibri.

———. 2004a. 'A Case of Cross-Fertilization: The Medieval Andalus, Islamic Music, and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *Pol-e-Firuzeh* 89 (12):93–117.

———. 2004b. 'Rondeau and Virelai: the Music of Andalus and the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *Plainsong and Medieval Music* 13:127–40.

———. 2007. 'Alfonso X, Compositor.' *Alcanate: Revista de Estudios Alfonsies* 5:117–37.

———. 2009a. 'A notação musical das "*Cantigas de Santa Maria*".' In *Aspectos da música medieval no ocidente peninsular*, 180–95. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional.

———. 2009b. 'Estrutura e ornamentação melódica nas cantigas trovadorescas.' In *Aspectos da música medieval no ocidente peninsular: Música palaciana*, edited by Manuel Pedro Ferreira, 150–74. Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional.

———. 2010a. 'Ambiguidade, repetição, interpretação: O caso das *Cantigas de Santa Maria* 162 e 267.' In *EstudIos de edición crítica e lírica galego portuguesa*, edited by Mariña Arbor Aldea and Antonio F Guiadanes, 287–98. Verba: Anexo 67.

———. 2010b. 'Um fragmento de Alcobaça, o canto dos pregadores e os seus livros de coro na Biblioteca nacional.' In *IV Congreso Internacional sobre el Císter en Portugal y Galicia: Actas*, 721–41. Zamora: Ediciones Monte Casino.

———. 2011. 'A música no Códice Rico: Formas e notação.' In *Alfonso X el Sabio 1221–1284. Las Cantigas de Santa Maria: Códice Rico, MS T-i-1. Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial*, edited by Laura Fernández Fernández and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza, 189–204. Madrid: Testimonio.

———. 2012–3. 'Jograis, contrafacta, formas musicais: Cultura urbana nas *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *Alcanate: Revista de Estudios Alfonsíes* 8:43–53.

———. 2013. 'Understanding the Cantigas: Preliminary Steps.' In *Analizar, interpretar, hacer música: De las Cantigas de Santa Maria a la organologia. Escritos in memoriam Gerardo V Huseby*, edited by Melanie Plesch, 127–52. Buenos Aires: Gourmet Musical.

———. 2014a. 'Editing the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: Notational Decisions.' *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia* 1 (1):33–52.

———. 2014b. 'Paródia e contrafactum: Em torno das Cantigas de Afonso X, o Sábio.' In *Cantigas trovadorescas da idade média aos nossos dias*, edited by Graça Videira Lopes and Manuele Masini, 19–43. Lisbon: Instituto de Estudos Medievais.

Ferreiro, Alberto. 2005. *Simon Magus in Patristic, Medieval And Early Modern Traditions*. Leiden: Brill.

Fontaine, Jacques. 1960. 'Théorie et pratique du style chez Isidore de Séville.' *Vigiliae Christianae* 14 (2):65–101.

Foradada y Castón, José. 1877. 'Biblioteca de la Santa Iglesia de Toledo: Inventario de 1455.' *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos* 7:321–4, 338–40, 355–6, 366–72.

Forster, Rebecca. 2006. *Das Geheimnis der Geheimnisse: die arabischen und deutschen Fassungen des pseudo-aristotelischen Sir al-asrar / Secretum Secretorum*. Wiesbaden: Reichert.

Franklin-Brown, Mary. 2012a. *Reading the World: Encyclopedic Writing in the Scholastic Age*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.'

———. 2012b. The Order of Nature: Encyclopedic Arrangement and Poetic Recombination in Jean de Meun's Continuatio of the *Roman de la Rose*.' In *Reading the World: Encyclopedic Writing in the Scholastic Age*, 183–214. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Frith, Simon. 2004. 'What is Bad Music?' In *Bad Music: The Music we Love to Hate*, edited by Christopher J Washburne and Maikon Derno. New York: Routledge.

Fulton, Rachel. 2006. '"Taste and see that the Lord is sweet" (Ps. 33:9): The Flavor of God in the Monastic West.' *The Journal of Religion* 86 (2):169–204.

Galvez, Marisa. 2012. *Songbook: How Lyrics became Poetry in Medieval Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Gaunt, Simon, and John Henry Marshall. 2005. 'Occitan Grammars and the Art of Troubadour Poetry.' In *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, edited by Alexander Minnis and Ian Johnson, 472–95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gaullier-Bougassas, Catherine, ed. 2011. *Les vœux du Paon de Jacques de Longuyon: Originalité et rayonnement*. Paris: Klincksieck.

Gerber, Jane S. 1992. *Jews of Spain: A History of the Sephardic Experience*. New York: Free Press.

Gil, José Sangrador. 1985. *La escuela de traductores de Toledo y los colaboradores juidos*. Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos.

González Dávila, Gil. 1771. *Monarquia de España: Historia de la vida y hechos del ínclito monarca, amado y Santo D. Felipe III*. Madrid: Joachin de Ibarra.

Goodich, Michael E. 2007. *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150–1350*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Gray, Jonathan M. 2013. *Oaths and the English Reformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gyug, Richard. 2003. *Medieval Cultures in Contact*. New York City: Fordham University Press.

Haas, Max. 2007. *Musikalisches Denken im Mittelalter: Eine Einführung*. Bern: Peter Lang.

Hall, Kenneth E. 2005. *Stonewall Jackson and Religious Faith in Military Command*. Jefferson: MacFarland.

Haring, Nicholas M. 1964. 'Thierry of Chartres and Dominicus Gundissalinus.' *Mediaeval Studies* 26:271–86.

Haskins, Charles Homer. 1929. *Studies in Medieval Culture*. New York: Frederick Ungar.

Haye, Thomas. 1997. *Das Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter: Analyse einer Gattung, Mittellateinische Studien und Texte*. Leiden: Brill.

Herlinger, Jan. 2001. 'Music Theory of the Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries.' In *Music as Concept and Practice in the Late Middle Ages*, edited by Reinhard Strohm and Bonnie J Blackburn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Higgins, Paula. 2004. 'The Apotheosis of Josquin des Prez and other Mythologies of Musical Genius.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 57 (3):443–510.

Hiley, David. 2007–. 'Punctum.' Oxford Music Online Accessed 28 May 2016. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.

———. 2009. *Gregorian Chant*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hollander, John. 1985. 'Breaking into Song: Some Notes on the Refrain.' In *Lyric Poetry beyond New Criticism*, edited by Chaviva Hošek and Patricia Parker, 73–89. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

Hornby, Emma. 2007. '*Jumping to Conclusions: The Falling-Third Cadences in Chant, Polyphony, and Recitative*. By Richard Hudson.' *Music & Letters* 88 (4):667–70.

———. 2016. 'Musical Values and Practice in Old Hispanic Chant.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 69 (3):595–650.

Hudson, Richard. 2006. *Jumping to Conclusions: The Falling-Third Cadences in Chant, Polyphony and Recitative*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Huseby, Gerardo V. 1983a. 'Music Analysis and Poetic Structure in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' In *Florilegium Hispanicum: Medieval and Golden Age Studies Presented to Dorothy C Clarke*, edited by John S Geary, 81–101. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies.

———. 1983b. 'The *Cantigas de Santa Maria* and the Medieval Theory of Mode.' PhD, Stanford University.

———. 1988. 'La conmixtura modal en las *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *Revista de Instituto de Investigación Musicológia Carlos Vega* 9:65–78.

Ihnat, Kati. 2016. *Mother of Mercy, Bane of the Jews: Devotion to the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Norman England*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Impey, Olga T. 1975. 'Reviewed Work: Latin Rhetorical Theory in Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century Castile by Charles Faulhaber.' *Modern Philology* 73 (1):85–90.

International Inventory of Musical Sources. 1989–. 'RISM.' RISM–Zentralredaktion, Last Modified 27/08/2015 Accessed 27/08/2015. http://www.rism.info/.

Johnson, Mark D. 1996. *The Evangelical Rhetoric of Ramon Llull: Lay Learning and Piety in the Christian West around 1300*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Johnson, Sarah L. 2014. 'The Melodies of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* in the Codice de Toledo.' PhD, University of Cambridge

Joslyn-Siemiatkoski, Daniel. 2012. 'The Mother and Seven Sons in Late-Antique and Medieval Ashkenazi Judaism: Narrative Transformation and Communal Identity.' In *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old-Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspective*, 127–46. Leiden: Brill.

Katz, Israel J, and John E Keller. 1987. *Studies of the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies.

Kay, Sarah. 2013. *Parrots and Nightingales Troubadour Quotations and the Development of European Poetry*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Klopsch, Paul. 1980. *Einführung in die Dichtungslehren des Mittelalters*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft.

Kreutziger-Herr, Annette. 2003. *Ein Traum vom Mittelalter: Die Wiederentdeckung mittelalterlicher Musik in der Neuzeit*. Köln: Böhlau.

Kristeller, Paul Oskar. 1963–96. *Iter Italicum: A Finding List of Uncatalogued or Incompletely Catalogued Humanistic Manuscripts of the Renaissance in Italian and other Libraries*. 6 vols. London: Warburg Institute.

Lacombe, Georges. 1955. *Aristotles Latinus. Codices descripsit G. Lacombe, in societatem operis adsumptis A. Birkenmajer, M. Dulong, A. Francheschini. Supplementis indicibusque instruxit L. Minio-Paluello. Pars Posterior.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ladero Quesada, Miguel Ángel. 1993. *Fiscalidad y poder real en Castilla (1252–1369)*. Madrid: Editorial Complutense.

Langlois, Charles-Victor. 1897. 'Formulaires de lettres du XII^{e}, du XIII^{e} et du XIV^{e} siècle.' *Notices et estraits des manuscripts de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques* 35 (2):409–34.

Lapina, Elizabeth. 2012. 'The Maccabees and the Battle of Antioch.' In *Dying for the Faith, Killing for the Faith: Old-Testament Faith-Warriors (1 and 2 Maccabees) in Historical Perspective*, edited by Gabriela Signore, 147–59. Leiden: Brill.

Law, Vivien. 1997. *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages*. London: Longman.

———. 1999. 'Why Write a Verse Grammar?' *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 9:46–76.

Lawson, Anthony Clifford. 1938. 'The Sources of the *De ecclesiasticis officiis* of S. Isidore of Seville.' *Revue bénédictine* 50:26-36.

Leach, Elizabeth Eva. 2006a. 'Gendering the Semitone, Sexing the Leading Tone: Fourteenth-Century Music Theory and the Directed Progression.' *Music Theory Spectrum* 28 (1):1–21.

———. 2006b. 'The Little Pipe Sings Sweetly as the Fowler Deceives the Bird': Sirens in the Middle Ages.' *Music & Letters* 87:187–211.

———. 2007. *Sung Birds: Music, Nature, and Poetry in the Later Middle Ages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

———. 2009. 'Grammar in the Medieval Song-School.' *New Medieval Literatures* 11:195–211.

———. 2010. 'Nature's Forge and Mechanical Production: Writing, Reading, and Performing Song.' In *Rhetoric beyond Words: Delight and Persuasion in the Arts of the Middle Ages*, edited by Mary J Carruthers, 72–95. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lockett, Leslie. 2003. 'The Composition and Transmission of a Fifteenth-Century Latin Retrograde Sequence Text from Deventer.' *Tijdschrift van de Koninklijke Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis* 53 (1):105–50.

Loewen, Peter Victor, and Robin Waugh. 2014. *Mary Magdalene in Medieval Culture: Conflicted Roles*. New York: Routledge.

Low, Katherine. 2013. *The Bible, Gender, and Reception History: The Case of Job's Wife*. London: Bloomsbury.

Manero Sorolla, María Pilar. 1975. *Los géneros de la lírica galaico-portuguesa medieval en el Arte de trovar del Cancioneiro da Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa*. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona.

Marchand, James. 1998. 'Vincent de Beauvais, Gil de Zamora et le Mariale magnum.' In *Encyclopédies médiévales: Discours et savoirs*, edited by Bernard Baillaud, Jérôme de Gramont and Denis Hüe, 101–15. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.

McAlpine, Fiona. 2008. *Tonal Consciousness and the Medieval West*. Vol. 10, *Varia Musicologia*. Bern: Peter Lang.

McGee, Timothy J. 2014. *Medieval Instrumental Dances*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

McMahon, Robert. 2006. *Understanding the Medieval Meditative Ascent: Augustine, Anselm, Boethius and Dante*. Washington: Catholic University of America Press.

McNabb, Richard. 2003. 'Innovations and Compilations: Juan Gil de Zamora's Dictaminis Epithalamium.' *Rhetorica: A Journal of the History of Rhetoric* 21 (4):225–54.

Menéndez Pidal, Gonzalo. 1962. 'Los manuscritos de las *Cantigas*: Cómo se elaboró la miniatura alfonsí.' *Boletín de la Real Academia Española* 150:25–51.

Montoya Martínez, Jesús. 1996. 'Las "razones" en las *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: Su función.' In *Studies in Honor of Gilberto Paolini*, edited by Mercedes Vidal Tibbits and Claire J Paolini, 11–24. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta.

———. 2004–5. 'El manto o la protección (CSM IV), María, puerta de la iglesia (CSM CCI) y Jesús, la flor de María (CSM LXX), tres metáforas visuales en las miniaturas de las Cantigas de Santa María de Alfonso X.' In *Figures de Marie*, edited by Jeanne Raimond, 223–45. Montpellier: Éditions du CERS.

Montoya Martínez, Jesús, and Aurora Juarez Blanquer. 1988. *Historia y anécdotas de Andalucía en las Cantigas de Santa Maria de Alfonso X*. Granada: Universidad de Granda.

Murphy, James J. 1974. *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

———. 2005. 'Western Rhetoric in the Middle Ages.' In *Latin Rhetoric and Education in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, 1–26. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Mussafia, Adolf. 1886. 'Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden.' *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-his. Kl.* 93:917–94.

———. 1887. 'Studien zu den Mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden.' *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-his. Kl.* 95:5–93.

———. 1889. 'Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden.' *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-his. Kl.* 99 (9):1–66.

———. 1890. 'Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden.' *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-his. Kl.* 123 (8):1–85.

———. 1898. 'Studien zu den mittelalterlichen Marienlegenden.' *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien. Phil.-his. Kl.* 139 (8):1–74.

Nascimento, Aires A. 1979. 'Um "Mariale" Alcobacense.' *Diskalia* 9:339–412.

Newman, Barbara. 2013. *Medieval Crossover: Reading the Secular against the Sacred*, *The Conway Lectures in Medieval Studies*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press.

Niederehe, Hans-Josef. 1975. 'Die Sprachauffassung Alfons des Weisen.' PhD, Universität Hamburg.

Novikoff, Alex. 2005. 'Between Tolerance and Intolerance in Medieval Spain: A Historiographic Enigma.' *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian, and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue* 11:7–36.

O'Brien, Bruce R. 2011. *Reversing Babel: Translation among the English during an Age of Conquests, c. 800 to c. 1200*. Newark: University of Delaware Press.

O'Callaghan, Joseph F. 1998. *Alfonso X and the Cantigas de Santa Maria: A Poetic Biography*. Leiden: Brill.

O'Neill, Mary. 2006. *Courtly Love Songs of Medieval France: Transmission and Style in Trouvère Repertoire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ohly, Friedrich. 1986. 'Haus III (Metapher).' In *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum: Sachwörterbuch zur Auseinandersetzung des Christentums mit der Antiken Welt*, edited by Theodor Klauser, Carsten Colpe, Ernst Dassmann, Albrecht Dihle, Bernhard Kötting, Wolfgang Speyer and Jan Hendrik Waszink, 906–1063. Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann.

Page, Christopher. 1997. 'Listening to the Trouvères.' *Early Music* 25 (4):638–59.

Paredes Núñez, Juan. 1992. *La guerra de granada en las Cantigas de Alfonso X el Sabio*. Granada: Universidad de Granada.

Parkes, James. 1976. *The Jew in the Medieval Community: A Study of his Political and Economic Situation*. New York City: Hermon Press.

Parkes, Malcolm B. 2004. 'The Impact of Punctuation: Punctuation or Pause and Effect.' In *Medieval Eloquence: Studies in the Theory and Practice of Medieval Rhetoric*, edited by James J Murphy, 127–42. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Parkinson, Stephen. 1987. 'False Refrains in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *Portuguese Studies* 3:21–56.

———. 1988. 'The First Reorganisation of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *Cantigueiros* 1 (2):91–7.

———. 1992. 'Miragres de Maldizer?: Dysphemism in the Cantigas de Santa Maria.' *Cantigueiros* 4:44–57.

———. 1997. 'Two for the Price of One: On the Castroxeriz *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' Ondos do Mar de Vigo: Actas do Simposio Internacional sobre a Lírica Medieval Galego-Portuguesa, Birmingham.

———. 1998. 'As *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: Estado das cuestións textuais.' *Anuario Galego de Estudios Literarios*:179–205.

———. 1999. 'Meestria metrica: Metrical Virtuosity in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *La Corónica* 27 (2):21–35.

———. 2000a. 'Layout in the Códices Ricos of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *Hispanic Research Journal* 1 (3):243–74.

———. 2000b. 'Phonology and Metrics: Aspects of Rhyme in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' In *Proceedings of the Tenth Colloquium of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar*, edited by Alan Deyermond, 131–33. London: Department of Hispanic Studies, Queen Mary and Westfield College.

———. 2000c. 'Rhyme in the *Cantigas de Santa María*.' Proceedings of the Tenth Colloquium, Queen Mary and Westfield College.

———. 2000d. 'Structure and Layout of the Toledo Manuscript of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' In *Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, edited by Stephen Parkinson, 133–53. Oxford: Legenda.

———. 2001. *Versification in the Cantigas de Santa Maria*. South Hadley: Mount Holyoake College.

———. 2005–. 'The Oxford *Cantigas de Santa Maria* Database. Oxford: Centre for the Study of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' Last Modified 09/09/2017 Accessed 28/09/2017. http://csm.mml.ox.ac.uk/.

———. 2006. 'Rules of Elision and Hiatus in the Galician-Portuguese Lyric: the View from the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *La Corónica* 34 (2):113–33.

———. 2007. 'The Evolution of Cantiga 113: Composition, Recomposition, and Emendation in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *La Corónica* 35 (2):227–72.

———. 2010a. 'Front Matter or Text?: Prologues and Tables of Contents in the CSM.' In *'De ninguna cosa es alegre posesión sin compañía.' Estudios celestinescos y medievales en honor del Profesor Joseph T Snow*, edited by Devid Paolini, 252–65. New York: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies.

———. 2010b. 'Questões Métricas nas *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: Estruturas Múltiplas, Assimetrias e Continuações Inconsistentes.' In *EstudIos de Edición Crítica e Lírica Galego Portuguesa*, edited by Mariña Arbor Aldea and Antonio F Guiadanes, 315–36. Verba: Anexo 67.

———. 2011a. 'Alfonso X, Miracle Collector.' In *Alfonso X el Sabio 1221–1284. Las Cantigas de Santa Maria: Códice Rico, MS T-I-1. Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo de El Escorial*, edited by Laura Fernández Fernández, Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza and Elvira Fidalgo, 79-105. Madrid: Testimonio.

———. 2011b. 'The Miracles Came in Two by Two: Paired Narratives in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' In *Gaude Virgo Gloriosa: Marian Miracle Literature in the Iberian Peninsula and France in the Middle Ages*, edited by Juan-Carlos Conde and Emma Gatland, 65–85. London: QMUL.

———. 2013a. 'Cut and Shut: on the Hybridity of Cantiga 173.' *eHumanista* 22:49–64.

———. 2013b. 'How to Eat a Spider: Alfonso X's Cantiga 225.' In *Reading Literature in Portuguese*, edited by Cláudia Pazos Alonso and Stephen Parkinson, 5–14. Oxford: Legenda.

———. 2014. 'Text-Music Mismatches in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *Revista Portuguesa de Musicologia* 1 (1):15–32.

Parkinson, Stephen, and Deirdre Jackson. 2006. 'Collection, Composition, and Compilation in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *Portuguese Studies* 22 (2):159–72.

Parrish, Carl. 1957. *The Notation of Medieval Music*. New York: Norton.

Patton, Pamela A. 2006. 'Constructing the Inimical Jew in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: Theophilus's Magician in Text and Image.' In *Beyond the Yellow Badge: Anti-Judaism and Antisemitism in Medieval and Early Modern Visual Culture*, edited by Mitchell B Merback, 233–56. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers.

———. 2012. *Art of Estrangement: Redefining Jews in Reconquest Spain*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.

Peraino, Judith Ann. 2011. *Giving Voice to Love: Song and Self-Expression from the Troubadours to Guillaume de Machaut*. New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pérez de Guzmán, Juan. 1905. 'El libro y la biblioteca en España durante los siglos medios.' *La España Moderna*.

Pérez González, Maurilio. 1992. 'Herman el Alemán, Traductor de la Escuela de Toledo: Estado de la cuestión.' *Minerva: Revista de Filología Clásica* 6:269–84.

Poncelet, Albert. 1902. *Index miraculorum B. V. Mariae quae saec. VI–XV latine conscripta sunt*. Brussels: Les Bollandistes.

Procter, Evelyn S. 1934. 'The Castilian Chancery during the Reign of Alfonso X.' In *Oxford Essays in Medieval History Presented to Herbert Edward Salter*, edited by Frederick Maurice Powicke, 104–21. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Rankin, Susan. 2003. 'Some Medieval Songs.' *Early Music* 31 (3):326–44.

Reaney, Gilbert, and André Gilles. 1974. *Franconis de Colonia: Ars cantus mensurabilis*, *Corpus Scriptorium de Musica*. Münster: American Institute of Musicology.

Reckow, Fritz. 1986. '"Processus" und "structura": Über Gattungstradition und Formverständnis im Mittelalter.' *Musiktheorie* 1:5–29.

Reeves, Minou, and Philip J Stewart. 2000. *Muhammad in Europe: A Thousand Years of Western Myth-Making*. Reading: Garnet.

Regev, Eyal. 2008. 'Ḥanukkah and the Temple of the Maccabees: Ritual and Ideology from Judas Maccabeus to Simon.' *Jewish Studies Quarterly* 15 (2):87–114.

Rehding, Alexander. 2003. *Hugo Riemann and the Birth of Modern Musical Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Riché, Pierre. 1985. 'Le rôle de la mémoire dans l'enseignement medieval.' In *Jeux de mémoire: aspects de la mnémotechnie médiévale*, edited by Bruno Roy and Paul Zumthor, 133–48. Paris: Vrin.

Riemann, Hugo. 1908. *Grundriß der Musikwissenschaft*. Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer.

Roberge, Pierre-F, and Todd McComb. 1994–. 'Alfonso X el Sabio (1221–1284): A Discography of Attributed Works.' Last Modified 03/05/2017 Accessed 03/08/2017. http://www.medieval.org/.

Rodríguez Fernández, Justiniano. 1976. *Las juderías de la provincia de León*. León: Centro de Estudios de Investigación San Isidoro.

Rodriguez, José. 1851. *Memorial histórico español*. Vol. 1. Madrid: Imprenta de la Real Academia de la Historia.

Rodríguez, Teresa C. 2011. 'Estructuras formales y narrativas en una Cantiga de Santa María: Estudio de "A madre do que a bestia".' I Congreso Internacional de la Letra de la Música, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, 21–3 September.

Roitman, Gisela. 2007. 'Alfonso X, el Rey Sabio ¿Tolerante con la minoría judía? Una lectura emblemática de las Cantigas de Santa Maria.' *Emblematica* 13:31–178.

Rojo Orcajo, Timoteo. 1929. 'Catálogo descriptivo de los códices que se conservan en la Santa Iglesia Catedral de Burgo de Osma.' *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 94:655–792.

Rose, Emily M. 2015. *The Murder of William of Norwich: The Origins of the Blood Libel in Medieval Europe*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rossell, Antoni. 1985. 'Algunos aspectos musicales de las *Cantigas de Santa Maria* de Alfonso X a partir de las transcripciones manuscritas de Higinio Anglés.' *La lengua y la literatura en tiempos de Alfonso X*, 519–30.

Said, Edward W. 1979. *Orientalism*. 1st Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books.

Salvador Martínez, H. 2009. *Alfonso X, the Learned: A Biography*. Translated by Odile Cisneros. Leiden: Brill.

San Pastor, Esther. 1992. *Alfonso X el Sabio: Antología*, *grandes maestros de la literatura española*. Madrid: Club Internacional del Libro.

Schaffer, Martha E. 1991. 'Epigraphs as a Clue to the Conceptualization and Organization of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *La Corónica* 19 (2):57–88.

———. 1995. 'Marginal Notes in the Toledo Manuscript of Alfonso el Sabio's *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: Observations on Composition, Correction, Compilation, and Performance.' *Cantigueiros* 7:65–84.

———. 1997. 'Questions of Authorship: The *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *Proceedings of the Eighth Colloquium of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminary*:17–30.

———. 1999a. 'A Nexus between the Cantiga de amor and Cantiga de Santa Maria: the Cantiga "de change".' *La Corónica* 27:37–60.

———. 1999b. 'Los Códices de las "*Cantigas de Santa Maria*": Su problemática.' In *El scriptorium Alfonsí: De los libros de astrologia a las 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'*, edited by Jesus Montoya Martinez and Ana Dominguez Rodriguez, 127–48. Madrid: Editorial Complutense.

———. 2000. 'The "Evolution" of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: The Relationship between MSS T, F and E.' In *Cobras e son: Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, edited by Stephen Parkinson, 106–18. Oxford: Legenda.

———. 2001. '"Ben vennas Mayo": a "Failed" Cantiga de Santa Maria.' In *Estudios galegos medievais*, edited by Antonio Cortijo Ocaña, Giorgio Perissonotto and Harvey L Sharrer, 97–132. Santa Barbara: UCSB.

———. 2010. 'A Psalmic Theme in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: "Averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis" as "Non cates aos meus pecados".' In *'De ninguna cosa es alegre posesión sin compañía'. Estudios celestinescos y medievales en honor del Profesor*

Joseph T Snow, edited by Devid Paolini, 289–307. New York: The Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies.

Snow, Joseph T. 2012. *The Poetry of Alfonso X: An Annotated Critical Bibliography (1278–2010)*. 2 ed. Woodbridge: Tamesis.

Soifer Irish, Maya. 2016. *Jews and Christians in Medieval Castile*. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press.

Sowa, Heinrich. 1930. *Ein anonymer glossierter Mensuraltraktat 1279*. Kassel: Bärenreiter.

Spanke, Hans. 1936. *Beziehungen zwischen romanischer und mittellateinischer Lyrik mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Metrick und Musik*. Berlin: Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung.

———. 1958. 'Die Metrik der Cantigas: Abhandlung von Hans Spanke.' In *La música de las 'Cantigas de Santa María' del Rey Alfonso el Sabio*, edited by Higinio Anglés, 189–238. Barcelona: Diputación Provincial de Barcelona.

Spence, Sarah. 1988. *Rhetorics of Reason and Desire: Vergil, Augustine, and the Troubadours*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

———. 1999. 'Rhetoric and Hermeneutics.' In *The Troubadours: An Introduction*, edited by Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay, 164–80. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

———. 2007. *Figuratively Speaking. Rhetoric and Culture from Quintilian to the Twin Towers*. London: Duckworth.

Stevens, John. 1986. *Words and Music in the Middle Ages: Song, Narrative, Dance and Drama, 1050–1350*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stocking, Rachel L. 2001. *Bishops, Councils, and Consensus in the Visigothic Kingdom, 589–633*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Strickert, Frederick M. 2007. *Rachel Weeping: Jews, Christians, and Muslims at the Fortress Tomb*. Collegeville: Liturgical Press.

Swanson, Robert N. 2015. *The Routledge History of Medieval Christianity: 1050–1500*. Abingdon: Routledge.

Szittya, Penn R. 1986. *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Szpiech, Ryan. 2013. *Conversion and Narrative: Reading and Religious Authority in Medieval Polemic*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Tavani, Giuseppe. 2002. *Trovadores e jograis: Introdução à poesia medieval galego-portuguesa*. Lisbon: Caminho.

———. 2004. 'Unha provenza hispánica: A galicia medieval, forxa da poesía lírica peninsular. Discurso lido o día 22 de Maio de 2004, no Acto da súa Recepción como académico de honra.' A Coruña.

Treitler, Leo. 2003. 'The Marriage of Poetry and Music in Medieval Song.' In *With Voice and Pen: Coming to Know Medieval Song and How it was Made*, edited by Leo Treitler, 457–81. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Utz, Richard. 1999. 'The Medieval Myth of Jewish Ritual Murder. Toward a History of Literary Reception.' *The Year's Work in Medievalism* 14:22–42.

———. 2005. 'Remembering Ritual Murder: The Anti-Semitic Blood Accusation Narrative in Medieval and Contemporary Cultural Memory.' In *Genre and Ritual: The Cultural Heritage of Medieval Rituals*, edited by Eyolf Østrem, 145–62. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.

Van der Werf, Hendrik. 1987. 'Accentuation and Duration in the Music of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' In *Studies on the Cantigas de Santa Maria: Art, Music, and Poetry*, edited by Israel J Katz and John E Keller, 223–34. Madison: Hispanic Seminary of Medieval Studies.

Van Deusen, Nancy. 1994. *Theology and Music at the Early University: The Case of Robert Grosseteste and Anonymous IV*. Vol. 57. Leiden: Brill.

Varela Jácome, Benito. 1951. *Historia de la Literatura Gallega*. Santiago de Compostela: Porto.

Vega, Carlos Alberto. 1976. 'The Role of the Refrain in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*: A Study of its Functions and Literary Implications.' MA, University of Virginia.

Weber, Jerome F. 2017-. 'Cantigas de Santa Maria Discography.' The Plainsong and Medieval Music Society Last Modified 1 October 2017 Accessed 15 December 2017. http://plainsong.org.uk.

Weiss, Julian. 2006. *The Mester de clerecía: Intellectuals and Ideologies in Thirteenth-Century Castile*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer.

Wilson, Blake. 2007–. 'Lauda.' Oxford Music Online Accessed 28 May 2016. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/.

Wolf, Kenneth B. 2014. 'Convivencia and the Ornament of the World.' In *Revisiting Convivencia in Medieval and Early Modern Iberia*, edited by Connie L Scarborough, 41–60. Newark: Juan de la Cuesta.

Worstbrock, Franz Josef, Monika Klaes, and Jutta Lütten. 1992. *Repertorium der Artes dictandi des Mittelalters*. Vol. 66, *Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften*. Munich: Wilhelm Fink-Verlag.

Wright, Craig. 1986. 'Leoninus: Poet and Musician.' *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 39 (1):1–35.

Wulstan, David. 1982. 'The Muwassah and Zagal Revisited.' *La Corónica* 10:256–8.

———. 1994. 'Pero cantigas...' *Cantigueiros* 6:12–29.

———. 1998. 'Contrafaction and Centonization in the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' *Cantigueiros* 10:1998.

———. 2000a. 'The Compilation of the Cantigas of Alfonso el Sabio.' In *Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, edited by Stephen Parkinson, 154–185. Oxford: Legenda.

———. 2000b. 'The Rhythmic Organization of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*.' In *Cobras e Son: Papers on the Text, Music and Manuscripts of the Cantigas de Santa Maria*, edited by Stephen Parkinson, 31–65. Oxford: Legenda.

———. 2009. 'A Pretty Paella: The Alfonsine *Cantigas de Santa Maria* and the Connections with Other Repertories.' *Al-Masaq* 21 (2):191–227.

Yudkin, Jeremy. 1990. *De musica mensurate: The Anonymous of St Emmeram*, *Music: Scholarship and Performance*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.