AX·G
ALFONSO X and GALICIA
Antoni Rossell
EXHIBITION
CREDITS

PROMOTED BY
Consello da Cultura Galega

IN COLLABORATION WITH
Deputación de Ourense
Consellería de Cultura, Educación e Universidade, Xunta de Galicia

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- Diocesan Historical Archives
- Diocesan Office of Sacred Art
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Convent of the Mercedarias Descalzas, Santiago de Compostela
Convento de San Pao de Antealtares, Santiago de Compostela
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Museum of As Mariñas, Betanzos
Bishopric of Lugo, Episcopal Office of Historical-Artistic Heritage
Bishopric of Mondragón-Ferrol
Bishopric of Ourense
San Martiño de Ourense Cathedral Museum
Convent of Santa Clara de Allariz
Monastery of Santa Maria a Real de Oseira
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Bishopric of Tui-Vigo
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In the Jacobean year of 2021, we are celebrating the 800th anniversary of the birth of King Alfonso X (Toledo, 23 November, 1221 - Seville, 4 April, 1284), the King of Castile, León and Galicia (1252-1284). Coinciding with this special year, the Consello da Cultura Galega (Council for Galician Culture) is presenting the exhibition Alfonso X and Galicia. The Wise King’s relationship with Galicia has been extensively documented whether stretching from his childhood or regarding the disputes he had with the Cabillo (city council) of Compostela, or his literary and personal relationships with Galician troubadours of his time. The monarch chose Galician as the language to write the Cantigas de Santa María, one of the most significant mediaeval testimonies to Galician language and culture, not to mention European mediaeval literature and music. The Alfonsine scientific, legal, historical and cultural work done was vital to the international strategy of his political plan, the so-called “fecho do Imperio” (his attempt to become King of Rome) and his relationship with the papacy. The literary testimonies from the Alfonsine Marian corpus referring to Galicia and the pilgrimage to Compostela are an invaluable document to learn of Galicia’s mediaeval past, its history and its culture.

The exhibition is intended to present the true Alfonso X objectively: his political vicissitudes, his scientific, literary and cultural work, and his relationship with Galicia. Our exhibition provides a pilgrimage in many ways: a journey through the monarch’s life, through his work and through the Alfonsine period in Galicia based on documents and archaeological, literary and musical testimonies. The Wise King’s Marian corpus, the Cantigas de Santa María, is especially significant as a visual and musical manifestation of the Galician and European Middle Ages and as proof of the Galician language’s linguistic heritage and its importance in the mediaeval Romanesque world. Our intention is also to create a tangible intellectual itinerary through the four Galician provinces hand in hand with the testimonies from the Alfonsine period preserved in Galicia to this day and displayed in the Alfonso X and Galicia exhibition.
**CURATOR**

Antoni Rossell is a specialist in compared studies in literature and music. He is currently a lecturer at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) and has extensive experience as a director and member of multiple entities related to mediaeval culture, such as the Arxiu Occità, or Occitan Archive (Institut d’Estudis Medievals, UAB) and the Centre d’Estudis Trobadorescos (Centre for Troubadour Studies). He participates in the UAB’s Institut d’Estudis Medievals and is an associate member of the Centre Inter-universitaire d’Histoire et d’Archéologie Médiévales (Inter-university Centre for Medieval History and Archaeology, ENS Lyon). His areas of research also notably include the transmission and propagation of cultural paradigms in the New World. He is the director of the e-book collection Escrits i memòria, from the Library of Catalonia. Not only is he a specialist in mediaeval music and music from the Spanish oral tradition, he also performs them.

**DESIGN**

Although the intellectual design was Rossell’s responsibility, a very prominent part of the exhibition is the *mise en scène* planned by Roger Badia (Barcelona, 1992), an architect specialising in heritage and ephemeral constructions. After training at the UPC-ETSAB in Barcelona and ZHAW Architektur in Winterthur, he has worked throughout his career in national and international architecture studios and local artists’ workshops. At present, he is collaborating with the Barcelona City Council in protecting architectural heritage, while participating in different exhibition and scenographic projects.
The monarch who looked so much at the stars he forgot the earth
A “haphazard life” (one with many mishaps, risks, setbacks and difficulties) is how we could describe the life of Alfonso X. His political and family activity was steeped in a cascade of events, changes, problems and above all ambitions: Alfonso dreamed of being a great emperor, a Roman Emperor, German Emperor and Emperor of the Spanish kingdoms. To do so, he used all of the resources and tools at his disposal: diplomacy, politics, legal work, his historical work, large economic resources, his influence, his family, pacts, alliances and so on. Even so, his political intentions were doomed to failure due to the confrontation that all of this brought with the nobility, with his own son and heir, Don Sancho, and with his subjects. His strategy for the papacy to appoint him successor to the imperial throne failed, and his strategy for succession led to his own removal by the courts and by his son towards the end of his life, which was riddled with disease and disappointment. Hence the Fuga mundi.

The Alfonsine monarchy is characteristic as much because of its achievements in cultural and scientific matters as its failures in politics and war, but also in the family sphere. The sobriquet “Wise” is deserved, and Juan de Mariana’s phrase sums up the opinion held of the monarch after his death.

His intellectual, scientific, legal, literary and musical work has made the Wise King one of the most important cultural points of reference in the Hispanic and European Middle Ages.
III

Nen de lançar a tavlado pagado
non sõo, se Deus m’ ampar,
aqui, nen de bafor dar;
e andar de noute armado,
sen grado
o faço, e a roldar;
ca mais me pago do mar
que de ser cavaleiro;
ca eu foi já marinheiro
e quero-m’ ôi-mais guardar
do alacran, e tornar
ao que me foi primeiro.

IV

E direi-vos un recado:
pecado
nunca me pod’ enganar
que me faça já falar
en armas, ca non m’ é dado
(doado
m’ é de as eu razôar,
pois-las non el a provar);
ante quer’ andar sinelheiro
e ir come mercadeiro
alêta terra buscar,
u me non possan culpar
alacran negro nem veiro.

In an autobiographical interpretation, the monarch confesses his disappointment in the world of the court and wishes to flee from it to become a merchant. This text, entitled today *Fuga mundi* ("Flight from the world"), shows us a king tired of the court’s vicissitudes and betrayals; he only wants to be a merchant, a job of great discredit for the aristocratic world in the Middle Ages. The monarch’s withdrawal from the world of nobility exemplifies his life of disappointments and frustrated plans, his rejection of war and political intrigues. In the chorus, both the terrestrial world and the astronomical and astrological universe are linked in the form of a scorpion. Several readings and interpretations are possible, such as that of the poisonous animal and its anthropomorphisation, or that of the sign of the zodiac. The religious and exemplary aspect also leads us to the attributes of Christ. The literary interpretation, meanwhile, falls within the context of the courts and the convivial lyrics of the *cantigas de escarnio e maldizer* as well as in the context of betrayal and deception.
The image of the monarch today is positive, not only because of his intellectual, cultural and scientific achievements, but also—in the Spanish nationalist political field—because of the contemporary projection of his monarchal-nationalist political ideology. Alfonso was the first to formulate a united Iberian territory to the detriment of the other peninsular kingdoms, the privileges of the nobility and traditional laws. His efforts towards legal unification were a way of concentrating power, thus undermining the authority of the nobles and traditional jurisdictions. Alfonso's political project—perhaps innovative and modern in his time though referred to in modern times as “theological feudalism”—linked the monarch’s authority to divine will, relegating the aristocracy, religious power and local councils.

After his death, for several centuries he was considered more intellectual than political, and it was not until the 17th century that the Marquis of Mondejar (1628-1708) extolled the politics of his reign in the Memorias historicas del Rei D. Alonso el Sabio i observaciones a su Chronica (Historical memoirs of King Alfonso the Wise and observations on his chronicle). At the beginning of the 20th century, Antonio Ballesteros Beretta praised the figure of the monarch, who would later be hailed as the paradigm of modern Spain.
A legend says that when Beatrice of Swabia was a child, an Egyptian gypsy woman predicted she would marry a holy prince of many virtues, and that she would give birth to an unhappy infant who, at the end of his life, would be deposed of his kingdom.

GENEALOGY AND CONQUESTS

Son of Ferdinand III (1217-1252) and Beatrice of Swabia (1205-1235), Alfonso X inherited the right to claim the imperial crown from his mother, to which he dedicated great political and diplomatic efforts and sums of money, with no success. Ferdinand III, in addition to achieving the reunification of Castile and León, was a conquistador monarch with campaigns in al-Andalus and the reconquests of Córdoba and Seville. Alfonso, on the death of his father, also fought against the Muslims, occupied Jerez (1253) and Cádiz (c. 1262), and in 1264 had to fight the revolt of the Mudejares in the Guadalquivir basin. As for his father, Ferdinand III, it is his holiness that stands out in mediaeval texts, in contrast to the sins and errors of Alfonso X and his son Sancho. Alfonso's desire to connect his monarchy to divine will in the legislative texts seems to be a response to the critical sectors of his time.

THE MONARCH'S CHILDHOOD

Urraca Pérez was entrusted with raising Alfonso as his wet nurse ("nutrici domni Alfonsi, primogeniti mei", Partida III). Later, his education was entrusted to García Fernández de Villamayor, royal high steward to Queen Berenguela, and married in a second marriage to Mayor Arias of the Limia family, who owned different properties in Galician lands (Maceda and Allariz) and with whom the boy prince Alfonso could have spent part of his childhood and become familiar with the Galician language.
Mas por que se non podien entender sin estas tres primeras que auemos dichas, pusieron los sabios a estas tres primero que aquellas quatro, se ayuntaron la razón e la sapiencia en uno, et es la razan el triuio e la sapiencia el quadruiuo, et deste ayuntamiento dia que salio obra que se non puede desfazer nin perder nunqua et que a siempre mester la razan a la sapiencia et la sapiencia a la razón, fascas el triuio al quadruiuo e el quadruiuo al triuio; et paresce que muy mester es que el sabio, pora pareser e ser sabio, que sea muy bien razazonado, e el bien razazonado mester a otrosi de ser sabio, e que paresca que pone su razón con sapiencia et en aquellos que el triuio a de fazer en la razón; la primera de todas las mercuriales ministras, que es la gramatica, faze el gimiento de toda razón, et esto es cuemo qui faze casa, como oyredes adelante por las razones destas otras sus hermanas, la diatetica alga las paredes en la razón, la rectorica pint e affremosa toda la obra e pone le de suso muyfremosotecho pintado a estrellas.

Alfonso X, General Estoria (G.E.I, VII, 19)

THE INFANTE’S EDUCATION

The Wise King’s cultural plans would have required an education based both on the knowledge of his own history, territory and legal traditions, as well as a broader education based on mediaeval clerical (religious and pagan) texts and classical tradition. The monarch demonstrated his literary and musical education well by composing poetry and songs himself. His interest in translating works from different languages also very much attests to his curiosity and intelligence. The works he composed as well as those he promoted are a reflection of mediaeval Romanesque linguistic pluralism (Latin, Hebrew, Arabic and Romance languages like Occitan, Old French and Galician itself).

Special attention should be paid to the monarch’s interest in the seven liberal arts, the basis for education in the Middle Ages: the trivium (grammar, dialectics and rhetoric) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music).

ALFONSO X, HIS FEMALE ENVIRONMENT, CHILDREN AND SUCCESSION

King Alfonso had several children from different relationships. His aunt María Alfonso of León (the illegitimate daughter of Alfonso IX of León and sister of Ferdinand III, the father of Alfonso X) gave birth to Berenguela Alfonso in 1240 when she was 35 years old and Alfonso 19. Mayor Guillén de Guzmán, who was from one of the families of rich men in the court of Ferdinand III, then gave birth to Beatrice of Castile in 1242, when Mayor was 37 years old and Alfonso 21. Beatrice of Castile was to become queen consort of the King of Portugal, Alfonso III, and mother of the famous king and troubadour Denis of Portugal. With Elvira Rodríguez de Villada in 1243 he had a son, Alfonso Fernández, “el Niño”.

In 1249 Alfonso, aged 28 and a few years before being proclaimed king, married Violant of Aragon, who was only 13 years old. After a period of uncertainty about his wife’s fertility (to the point where he considered repudiating her and marrying Christina of Norway, the daughter of King Haakon IV of Norway), the Norwegian princess was given in marriage to the Infante Philip of Castile, Alfonso’s brother. The Wise King had eleven children with Violant, though the first-born, Ferdinand de la Cerda, died before he could inherit the crown. This led to a family schism involving the second son, Sancho, who would inherit the throne upon the death of Alfonso, and the wife of the Wise King, Violant, who wanted Ferdinand’s children, the Infantes de la Cerda, to inherit the Castilian-Leonese crown.
THE PALACE AND THE COURT

Alfonso attempted a far-reaching restructuring of the court by means of a generational change, appointing companions from his youth to positions at the chancellery and the court. To do so, he set up new positions with people close to him who had his complete trust. The monarch wanted to dignify the court, and to do so he wrote \textit{El Libro del acedrex, dados e tablas} (\textit{The book of chess, dice and board games}) in which games are a symbol of nobility and social prestige, acting as a link between Eastern and Western recreational culture.

The difference between the palace and the court lay in the recreational family atmosphere of the former, compared to the political and administrative nature of the court. With his successor, King Sancho IV, the chancellery returned to the traditional bureaucracy.

... oír cantares e sones de instrumentos, e jugar axedrez o tablas e otros juegos semejantes destos. E esso mesmo dezimos de las historias, e de los romanzes, e de los otros libros que fablan de aquellas cosas, de que los omes reciben alegría e placer.

Alfonso X, \textit{Siete Partidas}, Partida II (law 21, tit. IV)

THE LEARNED COURT: INTELLECTUALS, SCIENTISTS AND TROUBADOURS

Troubadours who composed in the Occitan language and who had personal and literary contact with the monarch:

- Bonifaci Càvov
- Bernat de Rovenac
- Guilhem de Montanhagol
- Arnau Catalán
- Bertran d’Alamanon
- Paulet de Marselha
- N’At de Mons de Tolosa
- Folquet de Lunel
- Guiraut Riquer
- Cerverí de Corina

Troubadours and minstrels:

- Johan Garcia de Guilhade
- Pero Gomez Barroso
- Gil Perez Conde
- Gonçal’Tanes de Vinhal
- Pero da Ponte
- Fernán Yañez de Batetela
- Men Rodríguez Tenorio
- Fernán Suarez
- Johan de Aboim
- Dom Denis
- João Bolseiro
- Bernal de Bonaval

From Italy, there was unquestionably the presence of the writer and intellectual Brunetto Latini, who visited the Alfonsine court as a member of the embassy that the Florentines sent to Alfonso X requesting the monarch’s help in the conflict with the Ghibellines.

Esso Comune saggio mi fece suo messaggio all’alto re di Spagna, e el re de la Magna e la corona atende, se Dio no lill contente... E lo presi campagna e andai in Spagna e feci l’ambasciata che mi fu ordinata; e poi sanza soggiorno ripresi mio ritorno, tanto che nel paese di terra navarrese, venendo per la calle del pian di Runcisvalle, incontrai uno scolaio su’n un muletto vaio, che venia da Bologna,...

THE ROYAL WILL OF ALFONSO X

Alfonso X’s last will and testament, officially published on 8 November 1283, is a political testament. In it, the monarch reflects on the vicissitudes of his reign and its political crisis. The king decreed that his body be buried in the Church of Santa María la Real in Murcia or in Seville, except for his heart, which should be buried on Mount Calvary in the Holy Land.

The Cantigas de Santa María were to be placed in the same church where the monarch was buried, so that these songs would be sung at the Santa María festivities.

However, not all of this was carried out: his body was buried in Seville, his heart was transferred to Murcia, and the works were preserved outside the monarch’s tomb.

THE REBELLION OF THE NOBILITY

There were various reasons behind the nobles’ rebellion. Chronicles after Alfonso’s reign point to his arrogance, authoritarianism and ambition that put his personal interests (el hecho del Imperio) before those of the territory and its inhabitants. However, it was a series of events that triggered the rebellion: the death of Alfonso’s brother the Infante Frederick, by order of Alfonso himself, as well as other nobles’ deaths, which caused some nobles to flee the Kingdom of Castile fearing for their lives and safety. There was also the break-up of the nobles’ legal regime, the dispute with the Compostela Council or Cabildo, the tax measures (the moneda forera currency), the extraordinary economic requests and the rise in fiscal pressure.

A REIGN IN A TIME OF CRISIS

In 1252, Alfonso X came to power at full maturity at 31 years of age upon the death of his father, Ferdinand III. After the military campaigns by Ferdinand and his nobles, the kingdom was suffering from a deep political and economic crisis, which led Alfonso to take steps that the nobility considered abusive since they were detrimental to their power and wealth. The demographic changes brought about on repopulating the conquered territories were an added problem to the economic exhaustion of the kingdom and its population.
END OF THE REIGN AND SUCCESSION

King Alfonso’s first-born son, Ferdinand de la Cerda, had died in 1275, and the monarch then unsuccessfully tried to pass his crown on to his first-born’s eldest son, against the claims of his second son, Sancho. Between April 1282 and early May 1284, a sector of the nobility headed by Sancho rebelled against the monarch, leading to a veritable coup d’état and imposing Sancho as the successor to the throne.

This rebellion and the monarch’s inability to control the succession to the throne led to a confrontation with his wife, Queen Violant of Aragon, who would flee to the Catalan-Aragonese court seeking protection from Peter III the Great, as well as from the French crown, at the request of Blanche of France, the widow of the Infante Ferdinand de la Cerda. The removal of Alfonso X from royal functions also meant an interruption in the power to administer justice, the loss of power over fortresses, towns and cities, and the loss of income from the kingdoms of León and Castile. The Wise King died in 1284 following pitiful, ill-fated isolation in Seville. Sancho IV was crowned in Toledo that same year.
**SELF-REPRESENTATION AND LEGITIMISATION**

The Wise King used all the tools in his hand to forge an image of power, often above the Church, and as an intermediary between the people and God. In the texts from the legal works and in the miniatures where he is represented (Cantigas de Santa María and others), the figure of the monarch is amplified and emphasised compared to the others, occupying a central role, and his magnitude often stands out above the characters from among the people and the Church, even being equated with the Virgin. In the prologue to the Cantigas de Santa María, the monarch extols his own virtues, presenting himself as a “Christian prince”. He always appears dressed in royal attire, with the symbols that identify him as King of Castile and León, often with imperial attributes and even accompanied by maceros (ceremonial officials), who had not existed until then. With such depictions, the king intended to exalt his persona and legitimise his power. He also attempted to authenticate his lineage by preparing royal tombs and pantheons (moving King Pelayo to Covadonga; Saint Leocadia of Toledo from Wamba; and transferring the bodies of Alfonso VIII and Eleanor of Aquitaine, the Queen Consort of Castile), and erecting a gallery of regal portraits in the Alcázar of Segovia, as well as extolling a glorious Visigothic past to create an idea of the Castile and León crown’s supremacy over the other Hispanic monarchies, in what has been described as “Castilian-Leonese imperialism”.

**LAW AS A POLITICAL TOOL**

The monarch’s interest in applying Roman Law in his legislative work was intended to concentrate power in the hands of the monarchy to the detriment of the nobility, the councils, the guilds and the bourgeoisie, although the king found some allies among the latter against the nobles. It was, in short, a projection of power within a monarchist ideology of absolutism. The monarch’s intentions can possibly be interpreted as seeking an end to the legislative disparity between different legal traditions, taking Roman Law as the model to follow. This legislative tool was used beyond the borders of Castile and León, and sound proof of this can be found in the copies existing in Portuguese and Catalan, which then circulated around Europe, even reaching the Americas.

**POLITICAL INTERNATIONALISATION**

A good example of Alfonso X’s influence on international politics can be seen in those attending the wedding of his first-born son, Ferdinand de la Cerda, to Blanche of France, daughter of the King of France, Saint Louis. The wedding was attended by King James I of Catalonia and Aragon, the Moorish King of Granada, Prince Edward of England, the Empress of Constantinople, the heir of France and brother of the bride, Sancho the Infante of Aragon (brother of Queen Violant and the Archbishop of Toledo), the Marquis of Montferrato and son-in-law of the King, and the entire royal family of Castile and Aragon.
**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

- The Economy During the Reign
- Political Project: The Fecho del Imperio
- Religion

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**THE ECONOMY DURING THE REIGN**

The Wise King fostered trade by granting fairs to cities and towns in his kingdom, while setting up a customs and tax system to increase tax collection, and in 1273 he legally recognised the “Honoured Council of the *Mesta* of Shepherds” associated with transhumant livestock farming. He encouraged the repopulation of lands conquered from the Muslims, causing a shift in population that would lead to a problem of depopulation in the areas the repopulators left behind. The continual demands for money from the nobility to support his candidacy as Emperor, his war campaigns and his cultural work decimated the kingdom’s economy, above all that of the nobility. As a result of this and the attempt to take away the crown’s decisions and tax collection from the nobility, the aristocracy rebelled on several occasions, led by his second son Sancho, who would end up being named king while Alfonso X would be removed by the courts. The Wise King’s inclusion of the “legitime” (forced inheritance on the heir) in the jurisdiction over testaments in Partida VI has also been interpreted as a destabilising factor against the nobility.

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**POLITICAL PROJECT: THE FECHO DEL IMPERIO**

King Alfonso held up the Staufen lineage by the maternal line (Beatrice of Swabia) for his claim to be elected Emperor, backed by the Republic of Pisa. However, relations between Pope Innocent IV and the Staufens were hostile because of the power they wielded in Sicily and their conflicting interests with the papacy. On 18 March 1256 in the Alcázar fortress of Soria, Bandino Lancia, a syndic (legal aide) and representative of the Comune of the Republic of Pisa, proclaimed Alfonso X “King of Romans and Emperor of the Roman Empire” in the hope that this proclamation as an elected candidate, together with the proclamation of Richard of Cornwall, would be ratified by the pope. However, neither of them attained the imperial crown. Richard died in 1272, while Pope Gregory X opposed the Castilian monarch’s candidacy, naming Rudolf of Habsburg as Emperor. With his imperial pretensions, the Wise King attempted to expand his influence and the crown’s territory, above all in North Africa, calling on the pope to proclaim the expedition to be a “crusade”. At the same time, given the impossibility of attaining the imperial throne, Alfonso attempted to proclaim himself “Emperor of the Hispanic lands”, adopting imperial motifs and symbols representing his persona in pictures in codices and manuscripts, as well as on coins minted during his reign.

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**RELIGION**

Alfonso X used religion as a political tool, confronting the religious authorities, and specifically the City Council of Compostela (*Cabildo*). Factors such as the pilgrimage, the fight against Muslims, his family’s ancestry and the miracles it purportedly experienced were used to emphasise his religious exemplarity. An attempt was made to sacralise the monarchy in what has been called “theological feudalism.”

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*Chalice of O Cebreiro | 13th c.*
Sanctuary of Santa María a Real do Cebreiro
Pedrafita do Cebreiro (Lugo)

*Alfonso X, Cantigas de Santa María (Códice Rico, RBME, tit. 1, 203v) | 13th c.*
TABLE OF CONTENTS

LEGISLATION

One of the most important aspects of his reign was his legislative work, inextricably linked to the introduction of Roman Law in Castile and León. Under his supervision, a formidable corpus of doctrinal and normative (codified and jurisprudence) legal texts was drawn up. His most significant works in this area were the Fuero Real (Royal Jurisdiction), the Speculum and the Siete Partidas (Seven Parts).

The Siete Partidas is a legislative encyclopedic compendium of different languages and traditions. Power was concentrated exclusively in the monarch, and his work was considered the only legislative code to be duly obeyed; the judges’ purpose being only to apply it. The aim of this legal work was as a plan to centralise the legal system and unify Castilian legislation, but it did not come to be applied in the monarch's lifetime.

The Setenario (unfinished) is an encyclopedic work on astronomy, literature, and legal matters. In it, the monarch was reformulating the legal approach for the Partidas. It is the work at the end of the monarch's life, whose purpose was to lend structure by means of numerical organisation, as in the Cantigas de Santa María.

In the Primera Partida (First Part), the monarch claimed that his power came from God, thus attempting to legitimise his power and his laws (Rex Dei gratia).

In Galicia, he issued a number of municipal charters (municipal law) intended to create new towns, including Santa Marta de Ortigueira, Pontedeume and Monterrei.

THE WAR CAMPAIGNS

Before being proclaimed king, Alfonso took part in the Andalusian military campaign and in the Battle of Jerez (1231), then later in the conquest of the kingdoms of Murcia and Seville. In 1246, civil war broke out in Portugal due to a dispute for the throne between Sancho II and Afonso of Bolougne. Alfonso took part in the war, protecting Sancho II under the condition of obtaining the Algarve in exchange. Defeated, Sancho II fled and took refuge in Toledo, where he was to die two years later. For seven years, Alfonso kept up a confrontation over the Algarve, which ended in 1253 with an agreement with the King of Portugal, granting his illegitimate daughter, Beatrice, in marriage and in exchange for the Algarve in usufruct.

Upon the death of his father, he fought against the Muslims, occupying Jerez (1253) and Cádiz (c. 1262), and in 1264 he had to fight against the Mudejar revolt in the Guadalquivir basin. He founded the Order of Santa María in 1272 with the aim of protecting the coasts from pirates and bolstering his war campaign against the Muslims of North Africa. However, this fleet was devastated in 1279, leading to the disappearance of the order.

One of his military projects, inherited from Ferdinand III, was the crusade against the Muslims of North Africa (1260) for strategic reasons and the security of the peninsula. King Alfonso’s troops attacked and sacked Salé, present-day Rabat, but withdrew without being able to secure their dominance over North Africa.

The Wise King having breached the pacts with the King of Granada Muhammad II, in 1275 the latter took advantage of the interview of the former with Pope Gregory X in Beaufort and turned to the Marinids, and their emir, Abu Yusuf Yaqub, disembarked on the peninsula for an offensive understood to be a “Holy War.” In February 1279, Alfonso led the siege of Algeciras but had to withdraw. Then in 1281 he successfully fought against the Kingdom of Granada. A few days after taking part in the Vega de Granada campaign, his illegitimate son, “El Niño” Alfonso Fernández, died.
POLITICS AND CULTURE: A COMMON AIM

The importance of Alfonso X from a mediaeval perspective lay in his cultural, literary, historiographical and legal side. As regards the latter aspect, and simultaneously with the introduction of Roman Law in Castile and León, his task as legislator was novel, original and fruitful. His work as the author of a royal historical narrative stands out, and he is considered to be the creator of a “historiographic model” who connected his cultural plans to his political ones, personally interpreting and conveying the historic narrative to the people, and thereby relegating the role of historians.

CULTURAL PROJECT AND MULTILINGUALISM

The Wise King’s vision in the cultural sphere is one of “universalidad”. A good example of this is given by the translation projects in different languages, his scientific leaning and his historiographical conception. The cultural references and textual sources cover the entire range of mediaeval European culture: classical tradition (Latin and Greek), Arabic and Jewish texts, as well as mediaeval religious culture. On top of this, there was the royal project’s political connection with all areas of culture. Indeed, we can speak of his “use” of the cultural project for political objectives, combining various ideological systems in search of the same goal: to consolidate and justify a political project revolving around the monarch in person. All of this ended up creating a new linguistic identity (the promotion of the Castilian (Spanish) language) in a multilingual environment: Galician, Occitan, Latin, Arabic, Greek, Italian, Catalan, French, etc.

Acucioso debe el rey ser en aprender los saberes, ca por ellos entenderá las cosas de raiz; et sabra mejor obrar en ellas, et otrosi por saber leer sabrá mejor guardar sus paridades et seer señor dellas, lo que de otra guisa non podrie tan bien facer, ca por la mengua de non saber estas cosas haberie por fuerza de meter otro consigo que lo sopiese, et poderle hie avenir lo que dixo el rey Salomón, que el que mete su poridat en poder de otro fácese su siervo, et quien la sabe guardar es señor de su corazon; lo que conviene mucho al rey.

Alfonso X, Siete Partidas, Partida II (law 16, tit. V)
THE GALICIAN LANGUAGE

The monarch adopted the Galician language as an instrument for international, literary, cultural and political communication, just as the Occitan, Catalan and Italian troubadours had previously done. The choice of Galician was a response to the European cultural reality of the Middle Ages, which acknowledged it as an international, poetic and intellectual language. In his lyrical work, the Wise King used the Galician language as one of European prestige, with an aim that can be seen particularly in his Marian work: to obtain international and papal support for his political plan to be elected Emperor of the Holy Empire, his project known as fecho del Imperio.

THE CASTILIAN LANGUAGE

In the linguistic and legal fields, he wrote his works in the Castilian language (Spanish), even taking the language to the chancery.
MEDIAEVAL GALICIAN LITERATURE
AND ALFONSO X

IDEOLOGY, IDENTITY AND LITERATURE

Like Charlemagne before him, Alfonso did significant work on identity, both in creating and promoting literature, and as an ideologist and legislator. In his work, neo-Latin languages and their heritage were used for political and ideological interests. An example of this ideological manoeuvring in literature can be found in the controversy he faced with the troubadour Pero da Ponte because of his traditional Galician style, comparing him with Bernardo de Bonaval. We find the same attitude in his eschatological debate with the troubadour Arnaut Catalan in which both ridicule one of the most famous works in troubadour lyricism, Can vei la lauzeta mover, by Bernart de Ventadorn, and in ridiculing troubadouresque “courty love.”

Descort de Raimbaut de Vaqueiras

Original text

I
Eras quan vey verdeyar
pratz e vergiers e boscagtes
vuelh un descort comensar
d'amor, per qu'ieu vauc aratges.

II
Io son quel que ben non aggio
ni jamai non l'averò
ni per april ni per maggio
si per ma donna non l'o.

V
Mas tan temo vostro preito
tod'eure son escarmentado.
Per vos ei pen'e maletreito
e meu corpo lacerado.

Translation into Spanish

I
Ahora cando veo reverdecer
prados, vergeles y bosques,
quiero empezar un descort
de amor, por el que ando errabundo.

II
Yo soy ese que no tien bien
ni lo he de tener jamás,
ni por abril ni por mayo,
se no lo tengo de mi dama.

V
Mas tanto temo la disputa con vos,
que estoy todo escarmentado.
Por vos tengo pena y tormento
y mi cuerpo lacerado.
THE AUTHOR KING

In addition to the 420 compositions in the Cantigas de Santa María, in Galician language he was the “author” of 38 poems (26 attributed to the monarch, three to co-authorship and nine attributed to Alfonso de León, probably the Wise King himself), with poetry falling within the convivial, party-like genre of the cantigas de escarnio e maldizer (cantigas of scorn and cursing).

THE MONARCH AND THE CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARÍA: DEVOTION AT THE SERVICE OF POLITICS

This lyrical repertoire (poetry and music), intended to extol the Virgin and report on her miracles, has reached our times in the form of three manuscripts from the last third of the 13th century (420 cantigas, of which 417 have music).

The exceptional nature of the Alfonsine Marian work lies in the high degree of intellectualty and erudition found together in its texts and melodies. There are numerous studies that have demonstrated the processes of intertextuality, intermelodicity, literary tradition and liturgy, as well as efficient musical composition work. The monarch created a political projection for the Marian devotional element, in which he attempted through his depiction in the manuscript’s miniatures to extol his persona by becoming the intermediary between God, the Virgin and the people. It was a strategy to diminish the religious establishment of his time. This manipulation and shift in attribution of the miracles (from Santiago (James) the Apostle to the Virgin) signified another political manoeuvre against the Compostela City Council (Cabildo) and also against the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.
THE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARÍA

(Cf. Jesús Montoya [1988]: Alfonso X el Sabio: Cantigas, Madrid, Cátedra)

Códice de Toledo or “To”, Ms. 10.069, National Library of Spain (BNE). From the Cathedral of Toledo. Without musical notation. Possible copy of an earlier manuscript and manufactured between 1270 and 1274. 160 parchment sheets in two columns. It contains the following sections: Prologue, 100 cantigas, “La Pitiçon”, five cantigas on the annual Fiestas for the Virgin, five on the Fiestas for Jesus Christ, and sixteen cantigas including a maya (cantiga no. 406 of codex E). There are no miniatures.

Códice Rico or “T” (RBME, T.I.1), Royal Library of El Escorial. This has 193 cantigas with musical notation. Created between 1274 and 1277. It contains 256 parchment pages in two columns and 1,262 miniatures on 210 sheets. A miniature, illustrated specimen of great importance in terms of knowledge of mediaeval daily life. (13th century.) Without musical notation.

Códice de los músicos or codex “E” (RBME, ms. B.1.2), Royal Library of El Escorial. Manuscript of 361 pages of parchment in two columns. Created between 1277 and 1282. Without musical notation. It contains the following sections: Prologue of the cantigas of the five fiestas for Saint Mary (cantiga 410), followed by 12 cantigas; then there is the Introduction (A), the prologue, 400 cantigas, the “Pitiçon” and another cantiga of supplication. The most complete one musically. Every ten cantigas it has a miniature with musical instruments, in total 40 miniatures representing musicians and their instruments.

Códice de Florencia or “Flo” (BNCF, B. R. 20), National Library of Florence. 13th century. 113 cantigas. Incomplete without musical notation. Incomplete in terms of melodies and miniatures. 131 sheets of parchment in two columns.


THE WISE KING’S PROFANE CANTIGAS

Conserved in the manuscripts copied in the 16th century by Colocci:

Colocci-Brancuti, National Library, Lisbon.

Cancionero Portugués da Biblioteca Vaticana (code 4803).

Cancionero de Ajuda, Library of the Royal Palace of Ajuda.
As regards the dissemination of Arabic, Greek and Hebrew works, it is worth noting his significant activity in the second period of the Toledo School of Translators (13th century) and his dedication in gathering all kinds of scientific texts in Hebrew and Arabic languages, as well as in the classical ones. Although in earlier times the original texts were translated into Latin, in the time of Alfonso X they were translated into Castilian (Spanish). The first text promoted by Alfonso that we are aware of was the Lapidario, written in 1243 when he was 22 years old, and which was completed and translated into Castilian (Spanish) in 1250. It is a treatise on the magical qualities of stones and on astrology.

The text in Hebrew and translation into Spanish

El rei faze un libro, non porque él lo escriba con sus manos mas porque compone las razones de él y lo corrije, y ordena y endereza y muestra la manera de cómo se deben hacer; dezi escribelas qui el manda él, pero decimos —por esta razón— que el rei hace el libro.

Alfonso X, General Estoria I (f. 216r)

Translation into Spanish

El rey hace un libro, no porque él lo escriba con sus manos, sino porque compone las razones de él y lo corrige, y ordena y endereza y muestra la manera de cómo se deben hacer; además las escribe quien manda él, pero decimos —por esta razón— que el rey hace el libro.
## WORKS AND TRANSLATIONS OF THE ALFONSINE Scriptorium

(Cf. Inés Fernández-Ordóñez (2009): Alfonso X el Sabio en la historia del español, Alicante, Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes)

### BOOKS TRANSLATED FROM ARABIC TO CASTILIAN (SPANISH)

- The *Libro del saber de astrología* (fifteen Arabic treatises, 9th and 12th centuries)
- The Alfonsine Tables
- The *Book of canons* by Albateni (10th century)
- The *Libro conplido de los judizios de las estrellas* by Abenrangel (11th century)
- The *Libro de las cruzes* (Book of Crosses), by Ubayd Allah al-Istiji
- The *Lapidario*
- Other texts:
  - The *Picatrix*, translated from Arabic to Latin
  - The *Libro del acedrex, dados e tablas* (Book of Crosses, dice and table games) or *Libro de los juegos* (Book of Games)
  - Calila e Dimna, a collection of tales

### LITERARY WORK

- *Cantigas de Santa María*
- *Cantigas profanas*

### GAMES OF THE COURT

- *Libro del acedrex, dados y tablas*

### LAW

- *Fuero Real*
- *Espéculo*
- *Libro del fuero de las leyes*
- *Setenario*

### HISTORY

- *Estoria de Espanna*
- *General Estoria*
- *Vitae Patrum: Bernardo de Brihuega*

### SCIENTIFIC WORKS

I. Astrological works
- *Libro compilado en los juzgados de las estrellas*: Yehudá ben Mošé
- *Libro de las figuras de las estrellas fixas que son en el ochavo cielo*: Yehudá ben Mošé / Guillén Arremón de Aspa
- *Libro de la açafeha*: Fernando de Toledo
- *Libro del espera redonda o dell alcora*: Juan de Aspa / Yehudá ben Mošé
- *Quadripartitum*, by Ptolomeo, with commentary by Ali ibn Ridvān
- *Libro de las tablas alfonsíes*: Yehudá ben Mošé / Ishāq ben Sīd (Rabiçag)
- *Cánones alfonsíes*
- *Tablas numéricas*
- *Libros del saber de astrología*
- *Cosmología*, by Ibn al-Haytān

II. Magic
- *Lapidario*: Yehudá ben Mošé / Garci Pérez
- *Liber Picatrix*
- *Liber Razielis*
- *Libro de las formas et de las imágenes*: Yehudá ben Mošé / Ishāq ben Sīd (Rabiçag)
- *Cánones alfonsíes*
- *Tablas numéricas*
- *Libros del saber de astrología*
- *Cosmología*, by Ibn al-Haytān

### BRUNETTO LATINI: TRANSLATION

- *Tesoro*
The main legal texts compiled in the Alfonsine court were the *Siete Partidas* (Seven Parts), the *Fuero Real* (Royal Jurisdiction), the *Setenario* and the *Speculum*.

Alfonso X, *Corpus Pelagianum* (BNE, fol. 1v) | 13th c.
For the troubadour Guiraut Riquier, the Castilian monarch was a legal, ethical and social example to follow in matters concerning government of the kingdom, royal activity and moral concerns. The troubadour wrote in letters what has generally come to be known as regimiento de príncipes to advise the king about monarchical work. He taught the monarch about the loss of the holy sites in the Holy Land due to powerful people’s attitude being more economic than religious: “en mercat o an tengut”, and that they were more concerned with their personal profit than with Christianity. In a famous epistle, the Supplicatio in 1274, the troubadour asks the monarch to rule upon who the true minstrels were, and who should be able to call themselves as such on exercising the arts of minstrels.

HISTORICAL TEXTS

Two historiographic models can be found together in the Alfonsine scriptorium: on the one hand, a general model such as the Estoria de Espanna, and on the other, a chronistic model. Both are in vernacular language. Beyond the objective factual events in history, what is important in their historical products is the discourse, whose intention is to defend and exalt the interests of the monarch. This occurs in the works written by order of the king, as well as in those that are of his own responsibility, conception and implementation, and which were continually reviewed with the aim of perfecting them. There is a notable Galician text of the Chronicle of Castile (circa 1312) translated into Castilian (Spanish) to defend the Castilian monarch’s interests against Galician prerogatives. In the chronicles we can find the Castilian epic texts in prose, some of them similar to a romancero.

The monarch ordered a universal history to be written, the General Estoria (circa 1270-80) and the Estoria de Espanna. According to Inés Fernández-Ordóñez, these were two simultaneous, unfinished projects. The Alfonsine historical perspective is based on a Christian religious conception in line with the Visigothic tradition of the Castilian monarchy, valuing the Roman tradition and ignoring the Arabic.

ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY

Writing and translating about these matters was done due to the influence the stars could have on the life of the king and his reign. The Alfonsine Mariano work was drawn up within a scientific context in which literature and music intervened under a philosophical conception, where astronomy and astrology were essential features. In the different Alfonsine works that we might classify as scientific for a mediaeval mind, astronomy and astrology are described to us with their utility and means for interpretation (Libro de las cruces (Book of crosses) and the Picatrix), as well as the instruments (Libro del saber de astrología (Books on astrological knowledge)) for measurements and observations, and information about minerals and gemstones (Lapidario) with the elements of the cosmos. The Alfonsine court lived within an environment in which astronomy was differentiated from astrology, though the terms were combined, confused and interchanged.
**THE LIBRARY OF THE ALFONSONE SCRIPTORIUM**

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<td>Libro de las constelaciones, Abderramán al-Sufi</td>
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</tbody>
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**Libros by other authors:**

- Ibn al-Samh
- Abu Said 'Ubayd Allah
- Al-Zarkali

- Tetrabiblos, Ptolomey
- Cánones, Al-Battani
- Kitab al-bari, Abnaregal
- Libro de las cruces, 'Ubayd Allah b. Jalaf al-Istijj
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- Liber Miraculorum Sanctae Mariae Rupe Amatoris
- Libellus de miraculis Beatae Virginis in urbe Suessionensi, Hugo Farsitus
- Ave Maris Stella, Venantius Fortunatus
- Dialogus miraculorum, Caesarius of Heisterbach
- Miracles de Notre-Dame de Chartres, Jean Le Marchant
- Liber Laudicium
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- Instituto oratorio, Quintilian
- Rhetorica ad Herennium, Quintilian
- Collationes Patrum, John Cassian
- Georgics, Virgil
- Bucolics, Virgil
- De consolatione philosophiae, Boethius
- In categorias Aristotelis, Boethius
- Epistles, Ovid
- L'Ovide moralisé
- Commentary on Cicero's Dream of Scipio, Macrobius
- Historia de los reyes, Isidore Junior
- Ars grammatica, Donatus
- Donato, Donatus Barbarías
- Thebaud, Statius
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- De viris illustribus, Saint Isidore
- Etymologiae, Saint Isidore

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- Stadt, Statis
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THE MOST IMPORTANT SENSE FOR COMPREHENSION IS HEARING

E comnoquier que estos cinco sentidos sean todos muy buenos, e los sabios antiguos fablassen en ellos, e departiessen de cada uno las bondades que en él havia, en fin tovieron que el oyr es más necesario al saber e entendimiento del hombre; porque aunque el ver es muy buena cosa, muchos hombres fueron que nascieron ciegos, e muchos que perdieron la lumbe después que nascieron, que deprendieron e supieron muchas cosas e ovieron su sentido complidamente. E esto les causó el oyr, que oyendo las cosas e faziéndogelas entender, las deprendieron tan bien e mejor como otros muchos que ovieron sus sentidos complidos. E muchos otros que tuvieron los otros sentidos complidos, e por el oyr que les faltó, perdieron el entendimiento, e algunos dellos la habla; e no supieron ninguna cosa, e fueron assi como mudos. E demás, por el oyr conosce hombre a Dios e los santos, e las otras cosas muchas que no vio, assí como si las viesse.

Gran conquista de ultramar, 1, 1-2

ALFONSO X, Cantigas de Santa María (Cópice Rico, RBME, tit. 1, 170v) | 13th c.
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THE MUSIC OF THE CANTIgas DE SANTA MARÍA

Lyricism in mediaeval cultures, and the Alfon- sine Marian repertoire in particular, existed in an oral world. Together with the religious and exemplary intentions of Alfonso X, it should be no surprise to see elements from mediaeval Christian liturgy used wilfully to give the texts echoes of a liturgical, melodic nature, which had connotations for a mediaeval Christian audience. The musical composition of the Canti- gas de Santa María is particularly notable for its intertextual and intermelodic intent, with both religious and secular lyricism.

Este é o Prologo das Cantigas de Santa Maria, ementando as cousas que á mester eno trobar.

Porque trobar é cousa en que jaz entendimento, poren quen faz á o d’aver e de razon assaz, per que entend a e sábia de dizer o que entend e de dizer lle praz, ca ben trobar asi s’a de fazer.

Prologue to the Cantigas de Santa Maria

ALFONSO THE TROUBADOUR

To define troubadour lyricism, one must begin with the etymology of the word troubadour, from the Latin verb *tropare* meaning “to make and compose “tropes”: a textual and musical composition based on the adaptation of pre-ex- isting melodies to new texts, a system that uses the amplification, replacement and addition of melodic structures and phrases based on a foundation melody. This type of composition is documented since the 9th century, and therefore existed before monodic courtly lyricism. It is the preceding model for constructing the troubadour’s lyricism for both music and text. This im- itation became a metalanguage only for experts, those who understand, and therefore there are different levels of understanding depending on one’s ability to identify the models imitated and their effect on the content of the poetry.

MEDIAEVAL GALICIAN COURTESAN TROUBADOUR MUSIC

The music composed by Alfonso X and by Galician troubadours such as Martín Códax and Deni- sis of Portugal is monodic; in other words, it has a single melody, unlike polyphony, which has two or more melodies sung at the same time. The melodic unit is the stanza, with the same mu- sic repeated in each new stanza. It is here that the text and the music are interdependent, with the metric aspect becoming the formal link between text and music. The musical origins of this repertoire are found in mediaeval religious tradition. It is therefore cultivated music, and as with the texts, it is unlikely there is influence from popular repertoires, though such an affir- mation for or against cannot be proven today. Traditionally, when dealing with the music of the troubadours, the main problem has been found in transcribing the rhythm of the melo- dies, leaving aside such important issues as the melodic choice of the composer/troubadour, and in playing this repertoire in practice. Medi- aeval music with Galician text has reached us today in the form of about four hundred differ- ent melodies from the Marian repertoire attrib- uted to the Castilian King Alfonso X, six cantigas de amigo by the troubadour Martín Códax in one single manuscript, the Vindel Parchment, and seven fragmented love songs by Denis of Por- tugal preserved in the Sharrer Parchment. For reasons of contemporaneity, transmission and musical genre, research into this meagre courte- san repertoire is interdependent on studies into the Marian repertoire of the Cantigas de Santa María. The Alfonsine Marian musical repertoire is the great mediaeval monodic corpus. It was internationally renowned already in the Middle Ages, due to the liturgical and troubadouresque intertextual and intermelodic resources that were used in composing it.

Este é o Prologo das Cantigas de Santa Maria, ementando as cousas que á mester eno trobar.

Porque trobar é cousa en que jaz entendimento, poren quen faz á o d’aver e de rason assaz, per que entend a e sábia de dizer o que entend e de dizer lle praz, ca ben trobar asi s’a de fazer.

Prologue to the Cantigas de Santa Maria

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PSALMODIC MUSIC

One of the melodic constants of liturgical origins mentioned in the Cantigas is psalmody. In the cantigas there are mentions of the Psalms in different texts, as in cantiga 347 A Madre de Ihesu Cristo, / o verdadeiro Messias (v. 41). The text itself tells us that the Wise King himself may have composed the music.

Other cantigas in which the Psalms are mentioned is cantiga 419, Des quando Deus sa Madre / aos ceos levou (v. 75) and also cantiga 111, Santa Maria e sacó-o do rio (vv. 34-37). Perhaps one of the most interesting quotes is in cantiga 56, Gran dereit’ e de seer, in which references to texts from the Psalms are found (vv. 34-39) and the poetry makes it clear that the deceased composed praises with texts and melodies of the psalmodic type.

PALEOGRAPHY AND TRANSCRIPTION

Traditional musicology has dedicated its greatest efforts on rhythmically deciphering a musical notation that at first glance seems semi-mensural. However, transcription based on the rhythmic modes of polyphony subverts the nature of mediaeval courtesan and liturgical monody. A system that attributes a quantified, fixed time to the syllable does not work either, since it contravenes the prosodic aspect of the text. The notation of Galician monody, especially in the Marian corpus, seems to have features of semi-mensurability. Nevertheless, as Robert Lug has studied, that does not imply any periodicity or rhythmic regularity, and it is logical to believe it would be in an intermediate stage closer to free prosodic rhythm than to the rhythm of polyphonic modes. When playing, the textual prosodic rhythm must be observed with the semi-mensural indications in the musical notation, in such a way that each stanza will have its rhythm according to the accentuation of the text and the prosody of the verse.
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

The images of instruments in manuscripts of the Cantigas de Santa Maria, especially in the Códice de los músicos (Musicians’ Codex), as well as the different phases of organographic and organological study on Galician church porticoes (Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela, Church of San Martiño de Noia, etc.) make this repertoire ideal to connect the mediaeval universe of sound with traditional Galician mediaeval culture. No annotations about accompanying instruments have reached our times, but we know that troubadours and minstrels were accompanied with bowed or plucked string instruments such as the viola, the rebec, the mandolin etc. Mediaeval theorists did not go into much detail about instruments and their use in monodic music, but the scarce documents we have indicate that it was common to sing without instruments, or else the instrument was played when there was no singing, and most certainly the melody that was played on the instruments was the same as the troubadour or minstrel was singing.

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

Reconstructing musical instruments from the past requires research work backed by studies by organologists, philologists, musicians, master craftsmen and art historians. As well as this synergy, different documentary sources we have at our disposal must be handled. Dealing with a time when musicology as a scientific discipline did not exist, we must resort to auxiliary sciences to tackle the shortcomings of each source separately. Literary sources do not provide descriptions and they usually refer to the same instrument with different names depending on the author. It is true that mediaeval archaeology has brought to light some ceramic fragments, but only of drums and whistles. Sculpture and painting therefore stand out with two unparalleled sources: the Compostela Cathedral site and the rich, varied repertoire of Alfonsoine miniatures. Between the two they provide a complete catalogue of the different instrumental families from the 12th and 13th centuries, thereby giving us a unique chance to make reconstructions, never exact copies, of these instruments.

A comparative study of them reveals decisive aspects in decision-making. One obvious case is the set of seven violas sculpted on the Portico of Glory, which gives a view from all angles. The accentuated outer hollowing of the sides, making a double curve with the soundbox, is not achieved by moulding the wood and, in the cytoles, the complexity in the shape of the box with different, varied angles, all with a different frame, makes it very difficult to make them out of separate pieces. Another very important element for the sound, which is not recorded in the iconography, is the soundboard, which can be flat or warped and is almost always made of soft woods such as linden or cedar; in some cases, even using a combination with leather.

Compared to the seated position seen in the sculpture, with the instrument resting on the player’s legs, in the miniatures the musicians are shown in a more natural pose and in different contexts: in the court, amid nature, as soloists, in a duo and in small instrumental ensembles made up of singers and three to five instrumentalists who are occasionally accompanying a dance. These scenes illustrate the use and role of musical instruments in the court, but also in different levels of social life, and they highlight the permeability between cultures and between the court and the people.

They are accompanied by a compendium of compositions, most notably for Galicia song 77, Da Deus mamou..., which narrates the miracle of the Virgin Mary in her church in Lugo. This repertoire, with different themes, reveals its vitality and the required tessitura with musical instruments.

(L. P.)
DEPICTION OF THE INSTRUMENTS

In total, more than one hundred musicians are shown performing with instruments in many similar cases, though different significant details are sometimes gleaned in the number and arrangement of strings, sizes and ornamental and organological details. Out of all of them, we shall highlight some examples according to their typology. As for the small number of idiophone instruments shown, *cantiga* 330 is significant, where one can see some clappers, and 400, with a carillon made of seven little bells with clappers from which the corresponding note in their A-G tuning hangs on pullstrings. Among the membrane instruments, a good example is given by two large drums in *cantiga* 165 of the T.I.1 codex. They are instruments probably made in metal, with a hemispherical shape to help transport them and play them on horseback. The bigger one, with the octagonal head, contrasts with the smaller one, with the usual circular shape.

The family of wind instruments is considerable, with three main varieties shown. Among those using a mouthpiece there are numerous large straight trumpets and also two olifants in *cantiga* 260. Those with a bevel include some recorders and side-blown flutes, as well as a beautiful portable organ in *cantiga* 200. Reed instruments are the ones that emit sound with their vibrations in certain instruments and can be single or double depending on the inner section of the sound tube. There are also three notable miniatures with bagpipes, particularly in *cantiga* 350, which depicts several sound tubes that have been studied and reconstructed by the researcher and master craftsman Pablo Carpintero.

Chordophones are the most widely depicted instrument, with a great variety of outer shapes and playing techniques. Except for percussion instruments, we can see an extensive display of psalteries plucked by fingers or a plectrum, and two large lutes in *cantiga* 30, with single strings on one while the other holds the first sets of double strings, which was to be extended over time. The angular harp in the miniature in the *Libro del acedrex, dados e tablas* also stands out. The very scarce depictions of hurdy-gurdies preserved in painting include the one from *cantiga* 160, a unique document with two instrumentalists already playing the instrument solo. Organologically they are similar except for their decoration. The person on the left, with a herringbone-decorated hurdy-gurdy, could well be a woman leading the performance. Instruments played with a bow predominate, with violas in particular shown in a performance as always. The so-called *da braccio* instruments also stand out, with perfectly drawn instruments that are very coherent on the whole. One aspect that could easily go unnoticed is found in the depiction of the fifth string on the outside of the neck. A good example of this is in *cantiga* 120 of the T.I.1 codex, in which the outer bridge on the pegbox can be seen. The miniature in *cantiga* 100 is striking, showing an oval viola played vertically on the knee, and the large bows in *cantigas* 1 and 20.

Galicia and the Reconstruction of Mediaeval Instruments

This musical cosmopolitanism in the court of Alfonso X and in the city of Santiago de Compostela, with pilgrims, musicians and artists from all over Europe, still survives in popular and traditional culture with some vestiges and information of great value for the history of music that make it easier to make the link between them. Galicia has been a pioneer in carrying out multidisciplinary projects since Father Calo and Carlos Villanueva began these archaeomusical works with funding from the Barrié de la Maza Foundation. The institutional workshops of the Ourense Provincial Council (Deputación) and most particularly the one in Lugo, with a long history since it was founded in 1951, have managed to recover the biggest collection in Europe of replicas from the 12th and 13th centuries, which can be seen in the Collection of Musical Instruments and Sound Objects and in the Documentary Archive of the CENTRAD. These projects have contributed more than any other to knowledge of the music and instruments of that period of great innovations and technological changes, because the troubadours by those times were already in need of an effective musical instrument.
ORGANISTRUM

This was the first instrument to use a wheel to stroke the strings, giving a continuous sound and avoiding having to shift the bow. With the instrument resting on the player's legs, one musician turned the crank while another pulled up the keys with both hands. In Galicia there are at least three magnificent sculptural representations dated between the 12th and 13th centuries. The hollow-out technique was used to manufacture it, or else the sides of the box were sawn out from the inside, while separately carved and assembled pieces were used for the back, soundboard and pegbox. The kinds of wood used were cherry for the body, cypress for the soundboard and walnut in the cross-section for the wheel, thus seeking the greatest possible uniformity in the pores due to stroking with the strings.

(L. P.)

REFERENCE FOR CRAFTING THE INSTRUMENT
HURDY-GURDY

This was the first model developed from the organistrum. It has a rectangular box which, in addition to amplifying the sound, houses the keyboard. The main breakthrough with this new instrument was a change in the position of the keyboard, which no longer used traction but was designed for each key to be pressed with a single finger. There are several names that have been used for this chordophone in literary sources, one of which abounds and which sounds like music: symphonia. It was widely used in different European countries and, after passing through the hands of the blind and beggars, to whom we owe its preservation, it has reached our days with high-tech examples. From the primitive construction with sawed, assembled pieces, it has evolved today to become a dissociation of hard and soft woods now moulded with heat.

(L. P.)

REFERENCE FOR THE INSTRUMENT
Cantiga 160 from codex B.I.2, fol. 154V. Circa 1265.
Courses by the musical instrument workshop-school of the Ourense Provincial Council (Diputación), coordinated by Manuel Brañas. 2018.
Abel Fernández, Blanca Besteiro, Carlos Castro, Manuel Iglesias, Octavio Gavilán, Ventura Rodríguez and Xan Losada, directed by Luciano Pérez.
ROTE

This instrument is often seen in stone sculptures with its characteristic triangular shape. The miniature in cantiga 40 stands out significantly, depicting two instruments facing each other and thus giving us an almost three-dimensional view. Usually, these instruments’ strings, which run parallel to the soundbox, rest on it via an independent bridge to transmit the vibrations. In this case, the joint between the hollowed out sections is used to hold the strings to the main soundbox, which is built with separate pieces and located between the two sets of strings. The instrument is made of cherry and fir pine wood.

(L. P.)

REFERENCE FOR THE INSTRUMENT
The Paradise Portico, Ourense Cathedral, 13th cent.
Courses by the musical instrument workshop-school of the Ourense Provincial Council (Diputación), coordinated by Manuel Brañas, 2019
Alejo Marra, Israel Martínez, Pedro Cao, Xan Losada and Manuel Iglesias, directed by Francisco Luengo.
CITOLE

This string instrument was plucked with fingers or a plectrum. In the style of a guitar, it was made by sculpting it out of a single block of wood. The work began by carving out the outer shape of the soundbox, neck, and headstock. Then the interior was emptied out, leaving the walls with just enough wood to withstand the structural stresses and achieve the amplification of sounds. The soundboard was carved out of a separate piece in order to distribute the different thicknesses, taking into account the nature of the wood and the propagation of vibrations. It was made of pear tree wood and Lebanese cedar.

(L. P.)

REFERENCE FOR THE INSTRUMENT
Corbel on the Pazo de Xelmírez, Compostela Cathedral site. Circa 1250.
VIOLA DA BRACCIO

This was the most popular instrument in Europe and, with only slight modifications, the one that has lasted the longest. It can be made out of one piece or using parts that are carved out then assembled. The whole body is made of cherry wood and the soundboard in Lebanese cedar, the latter wood's properties giving a good mechanical and acoustic response. Together with an appropriate distribution of thicknesses, which has been well studied by John Wright, this compensates for the absence of a truss rod. The rich sound provided by the fifth string stands out, placed on the outside of the neck as a bass. A treatise on music from around 1280 mentions three ways of tuning these instruments, and one specifically for violas with a bass string.

(L. P.)

REFERENCE FOR THE INSTRUMENT
Musician I on the Portico of Glory, Compostela Cathedral site, 1188.
Research and reconstruction project directed by Luciano Pérez. Musical instrument workshop of the Provincial Council of Lugo; Antonio Franco, John Wright, 1997.
The harp, along with the lyre, was one of the most common open-string instruments in antiquity. Harps were made with the strings perpendicular to the soundboard and attached to it to transmit the vibrations. In the Cantigas de Santa María miniatures we can find both the usual types: one angular one with just two sides and another made of a soundbox, a pin board and a column holding it all. Unlike the usual way of making them with a simple triangular shape and the neck centred over the line of strings, this instrument’s neck was moved so that the strings became perpendicular to the box, on being directly attached to the ends of the pins, thus giving the instrument a more stable structure.

(L. P.)

REFERENCE FOR THE INSTRUMENT
Musician 19 on the Portico of Glory, Compostela Cathedral site, 1188.
Research and reconstruction project directed by Luciano Pérez. Musical instrument workshop of the Provincial Council of Lugo; Antonio Franco, John Wright, 1993.
FLUTE AND DRUM

The flabiol was always accompanied by a small drum struck with the right hand. It might have eight or nine holes, of which only five are used to give a range of almost two octaves. Traditionally, it is made of boxwood or briar root on a mechanical lathe. In those times a simple reciprocating lathe was used that we can see in the miniature from the Libro del aedrex, dados e tablas (Book of chess, dice and board games), which is still used today in North Africa. The figure of a solo musician performing with two instruments remains a popular traditional ensemble in many parts of the Iberian Peninsula. In Galicia there is a magnificent polychrome wood relief preserved in the parish church of Santa María de Meiraos, in Lugo.
CONVERSATIONS ABOUT THE WISE KING

INTERVIEWS

Interviews with several artists and experts in Alfonsine heritage and Galicia who discuss and comment on its different dimensions (historical, legal, literary, musical, etc.).
HENRIQUE MONTEAGUDO

Professor of Galician and Portuguese Philologies at the University of Santiago de Compostela and a researcher at the Instituto da Lingua Galega. He has been a Visiting Professor at the Universities of New York (CUNY), Lisbon (UL), Buenos Aires (UBA), California (UC Santa Barbara) and São Paulo (USP). He was also the Secretary of the Conseilh da Cultura Galega (Council for Galician Culture) (1999-2010) and since 2013 he has been Secretary of the Royal Galician Academy. He is the director of the journal Grial. Revista galega de cultura. In his research, he has addressed matters involving the history of language, sociolinguistics and global politics, as well as editing texts by mediaeval and modern Galician authors. He has published numerous works on Galician-Portuguese troubadour lyricism, paying special attention to philological aspects, for example “Ortografía alfonsí? Para a análise grafemática dos testemuños poéticos en galego da segunda metade do século xiii” (2008), “Nas orixes da lírica trobadoresca galego-portuguesa” (2013), “Cuita grand’e cuidado’ (A 32) / ‘Cola grande’ cuidado’ (B 174). Estratigrafía da variación linguística nos cancioneiros trobadorescos” (2013), “Variación scriptolinguística e estratigrafía comparada de A e B. Achegas á proto-tradicón manuscrita dos cancioneiros galego-portugueses” (2015), “Mitar o mar. A singularidade de Martín Codax” (2018), “Variación scriptolinguística e tradición manuscrita da lírica trobadoresca: As variables <nh / n> e <ss / s>” (2019), “Variación e cambio lingüístico no galego-portugués (séculos xiii-xvi): os clíticos me/mi e lle/lhi e outras formas en <-e> final” (2019) and “Para a análise grafemática da “Recompilación tardía (“Livro das cantigas”)” (2020).
HELENA DE CARLOS VILLAMARÍN

Visiting Professor in Latin Philology at USC, she is a specialist in mediaeval Latin literature via two main lines of research: Troy in the Middle Ages, and late-antiquity and mediaeval Hispanic historiography. A member of the USC’s SÍNCRISIS research group, she is also the director of Troyanalexandrina: Yearbook of Classical Material in Medieval Literature (Brepols Publishers) and author of articles in international journals as well as books, noteworthy among which as regards the subject we are dealing with are: Las Antigüedades de Hispania (Spoleto, CISAM, 1996); “Interpreting the Past: Some Medieval Texts on Trojan Matter”, The Journal of Medieval Latin, 18 (2008), 101-116; “À l’ombre de Troie: les villes de Tolède et Pampelune dans le Codex de Roda”, Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, 51 (2008), 129-142; La versión de Excidium Troie de un códice toledano (Madrid, BN MS 10046), Papers of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar, 70 (Queen Mary University of London, 2012); “The Sermo adversus Iudaen by Quodvultdeus in manuscript form, Paris, BNF, lat. 9091”, Revue d’Histoire des Textes, 15 (2020), 237-248, and “Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and the historiographical compilation of the Bamberg codex Hist. 3”, Traditio, 74 (2019), 1-22. In addition, she has reflected upon the historiographic projects carried out in the Middle Ages in Hispanic territory and the ideological assumptions behind them. In this regard, the vision provided by such works of Iberia’s mythical past, the founding heroes and the representation of the period prior to the Roman conquest, as well as the dialogue established with the ancient texts in the make-up of that imagined world, are all worthy of attention.

VIDEO

HELENA DE CARLOS VILLAMARÍN / Antoni Rossell

INTERVIEW

Helena de Carlos Villamarín / Antoni Rossell

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EDUARDO CEBREIROS ÁLVAREZ

He achieved his Bachelor’s Degree in Law from the University of Santiago de Compostela (1992) and his Doctorate in Law from the University of A Coruña (1997) presenting the doctoral thesis entitled *El municipio de Santiago de Compostela a finales del Antiguo Régimen (1759-1812)* (The municipality of Santiago de Compostela at the end of the Old Regime (1759-1812)), published with some variations in 1999. He has been a Senior Lecturer of History of Law and Institutions at the University of A Coruña since 2002. Since 2005, he has been participating continuously in research projects subsidised by the Government of Spain on different topics. He was Vice Dean of the Faculty of Law between 2005 and 2013. He has also been an external evaluator for different journals such as *Ius Fugit*, *Iura Vasconiae* and *Miscellanea Historico-Iuridica*. His preferred line of research is the political-administrative institutions of the Old Regime, though he also addresses other areas such as *ius commune* and the history of universities.
CARLOS NÚÑEZ

He is a prominent figure in Celtic music, a genre that he considers historical and a result of *longue durée* Atlantic contacts. His main instruments are bagpipes, which he knows in depth and plays all the Atlantic ones, and recorders, for which he has had classical training. Since he was a boy, he has experienced the relationship between music and traditional and mediaeval instruments in Galicia naturally. In recent years he has published a couple of books on these matters and has delved into the interpretation of the *Cantigas* (along with the greats of ancient music and traditional music) from an Atlantic perspective, which is less exotic and has less written documentation than the Mediterranean one and perhaps for that reason has been less explored.
ELVIRA FIDALGO

Professor of Romance Philology at the University of Santiago de Compostela. Fidalgo has done work in editing and studying mediaeval Galician-Portuguese poetry, essentially in relation to the Cantigas de Santa María. She has published numerous articles in different specialised national and foreign journals, as well as chapters in volumes on various topics, but always related to the field of secular poetry and mediaeval Galician-Portuguese religious poetry, including: “La gestación de las Cantigas de Santa María en el contexto de la escuela poética gallego-portuguesa”, Alcarate. Revista de Estudios Alfonsíes, 2013, 17-42; “Las Cantigas de Santa María de Alfonso X, el Sabio”, in Los sonidos de la lírica medieval hispánica (Carmin Armijo, Cristina Azuela and Manuel Mejía, eds.), México, D. F., Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 2013, 117-161; “El público de las Cantigas de Santa María. Algunas hipótesis sobre su difusión”, in Estudis sobre pragmàtica de la literatura medieval (Gemma Avenoza, Meritxell Simó and Mª Lourdes Soriano, eds.), València, Publicacions de la Universitat de València, 2017, 141-158; “Milagros de Santa María en el camino de Santiago”, in “María” y “Iacobus” en Los Caminos Jacobeos (Adeline Rucquoi, ed.), Santiago de Compostela, Xunta de Galicia, 2017, 369-385, and “Animales de simbología negativa en las Cantigas de Santa María” in Monde animal et végétal dans le récit bref du Moyen Âge (Hugo O. Bizzarri, ed.), Wiesbaden, Reichert Verlag, 2018, 233-249.
FRANCISCO PRADO-VILAR

He is the projects director at the Real Colegio Complutense at Harvard and scientific director of the AW Mellon Programme for the Portico of Glory of the Cathedral of Santiago. He has been a member and the coordinator of the scientific committee for the restoration of the Portico of Glory since it began in 2008. He graduated in Art History from the University of Santiago de Compostela with the extraordinary award for his bachelor's degree, after which he obtained master’s and doctorate degrees from Harvard University. Later, he held research and teaching posts at the Universities of Princeton, London, the Complutense and more recently at Stanford, where he was a Burke Visiting Professor. He has been a member of the EU’s Committee for the European Heritage Label and has curated exhibitions such as El Pórtico de la Gloria. Restauración y descubrimientos (Restoration and discoveries). He has received international scholarships and awards, among which the following are noteworthy: the Charles Eliot Norton Scholarship, AW Mellon Scholarship, two Aga Khan Scholarships, and Harvard’s Award for Excellence in Teaching. He has also published extensively on the art in the Cantigas de Santa María and the visual culture of the reign of Alfonso X, with high-impact articles such as “The Parchment of the Sky: Poiesis of a Gothic Universe”, “The Gothic Anamorphic Gaze: Regarding the Worth of Others”, “Iudeus sacer: Life, Law, and Identity in the ‘State of Exception’ called the ‘Marian Miracle’” and “Shadows in the Palace of Hours: art, magic, science and the pursuit of happiness.”

INTERVIEW
Francisco Prado-Vilar / Antoni Rossell
GALICIA AND THE CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARÍA BY ALFONSO X

LISTEN TO THE CANTIGAS (PRESS THE ICON ON EACH PAGE)

Galicia e as Cantigas de Santa María, Antoni Rossell and G. Courtly Music Consort, edited by the Consello da Cultura Galega, 2006. (Reedited by Columna Música, 2017, Enderrock Award to best classic music CD)
Santa María, Strela do día,
mostra-nos via pera Deus e nos guía.

I
Ca veer faze-los errados
que perder foran per pecados
entender de que mui culpados
son; mais per ti son perdóados
da ousadia
que lles fazia
fazer folia
mais que non devería.
Santa María, Strela do día,
mostra-nos via pera Deus e nos guía.

II
Amostrar-nos deves carreira
por gñar en toda maneira
a sen par luz e verdadeira
que tu dar-nos podes senleira;
c a Deus a ti a
outorgaria
e a querria
por ti dar e daría.
Santa María, Strela do día,
mostra-nos via pera Deus e nos guía.

III
Guiar ben nos pod’ o teu siso
mais ca ren pera Parayso
u Deus ten sempre goy’ e riso
pora quen en el creer quiso;
e prazer-m’ia
se te prazia
que foss’ a mia
alm’ en tal compañía.
Santa María, Strela do día,
mostra-nos via pera Deus e nos guía.
Esta es de cómo Santa María sanó en su iglesia de Lugo a una mujer contrahecha de los pies y de las manos.

De la que Dios mamó la leche de su pecho, no es maravilla que sane al contrahecho.

I

Desto fez Santa María un milagro hermoso, grande y piadoso en su iglesia de Lugo, por una mujer que tenía la mayor parte de su cuerpo tallido y encogido por una enfermedad.

De la que Dios mamó la leche de su pecho, no es maravilla que sane al contrahecho.

II

Que ambas sus manos aíslí se encolleren, que ben per cabo dos ombros todas se meteren, e os calcannares ben en seu dereito se meteron todos no corpo maltreito.

De la que Dios mamó la leche de su pecho, no es maravilla que sane al contrahecho.

III

Pois viu que lle no prestava nulla meezinna, tornou-ss’ a Santa María, a noble Reynna, rogando-lle que non catasse despeyto se ll’ ella fezera, mais a seu proveito...

De la que Dios mamó la leche de su pecho, no es maravilla que sane al contrahecho.

IV

... parasse mentes en guisa que a guarcecesse, se non, que fezess’ assí per que cedo morresse; e logo se fezo levar en un leito ant’ a sa ygreja, pequeñ’ e estreito.

De la que Dios mamó la leche de su pecho, no es maravilla que sane al contrahecho.
V
E ela ali jazendo fez mui boa vida
trões que ll' ouve merçee a Sennor conprida
eno mes d' agosto, no dia 'scolleito,
na sa festa grande, como vos retreito...

VI
... será agora per min. Ca en aquele dia
se fez meter na ygreja de Santa María;
mas a Santa Virgen non alongou preyto,
mas tornou-l' o corpo todo escorreyto.
Da que Deus mamou o leite do seu peito,
non é maravilla de sãar contrafeito.

VII
Pero aconteció de tal modo que, allí donde
sanaba, cada un nembro per si mui de rig' estalava,
ben come madeira mui seca de teito,
quando ss' estendia o nervio odeito.
Da que Deus mamou o leite do seu peito,
non é maravilla de sãar contrafeito.

VIII
O bispo e toda a gente deante estando,
veend' aquest' e oynd' e de rijo chorando,
viron que miragre foi e non trasfeito;
porende loaron a Virgen afeito.
Da que Deus mamou o leite do seu peito,
non é maravilla de sãar contrafeito.

Y yaciendo allí ella hizo muy buena vida hasta
que la Señora cumplidora le hizo merced en
el mes de agosto, el día escogido, en su fiesta
mayor, como ahora...

VI
... os referiré. Pues aquel día se hizo meter en
la iglesia de Santa María; pero la Santa Virgen
no prolongó el asunto, sino que le devolvió el
cuerpo todo enderezado.
De la que Dios mamó la leche de su pecho,
no es maravilla que sane al contrahecho.

VII
Pero aconteció de tal modo que, allí donde
sanaba, cada uno de los miembros, cuando
se extendía el nervio encogido, estallaba muy
fuerte, igual que la madera seca del techo.
De la que Dios mamó la leche de su pecho,
no es maravilla que sene al contrahecho.

VIII
El obispo y toda la gente que estaba delante,
contemplando y oyendo esto y fuertemente
llorando, vieron que había sido milagro y no
engaño; por eso loaron a la Virgen sin parar.
Da que Deus mamou o leite do seu peito,
non é maravilla que sande ao contrafeito.
Esta es como Santa María juzgó a la alma del peregrino que iba a Santiago, que se suicidó en el camino por engaño del diablo, para que volviese a su cuerpo e hiciese penitencia.

I

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

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

II

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

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

III

Este romero con bõa voontade ya a Santiago de verdade; pero desto fez maldade que ant' albergar foi con moller sen bondade, sen con ela casar.

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

Esta es de cómo Santa María juzgó el alma del peregrino que iba a Santiago, que se suicidó en el camino por engaño del diablo, para que volviese a su cuerpo e hiciese penitencia.

I

Es muy lógico que sepa actuar acertadamente la que a Dios llevó en su cuerpo y lo amamantó de su pecho, y de él nunca recibió disgustos; por eso imagino que le quiso dar buen juicio en abundancia.

No es gran cosa que sepa juzgar bien la Madre de aquel que ha de juzgar al mundo entero.

II

Sobre esto, si me quisierais oír, [os] contaría cómo juzgó Santa María a un hombre que iba cada año a Santiago en romería, según oí contar, porque se suicidó.

No es gran cosa que sepa juzgar bien la Madre de aquel que ha de juzgar al mundo entero.

III

Este romero iba a Santiago con auténtica fe; pero de este buen acto hizo un pecado, ya que yació con una mala mujer, sin estar casado con ella.

No es gran cosa que sepa juzgar bien la Madre de aquel que ha de juzgar al mundo entero.
IV

Pois esto fez, meteu-se ao camiño,
e non sse mãesfestou o mesquín;
e o demo mui festivo
se le foi mostrar
mais branco que un armiño,
polo tost’ engañar.

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

V

Semellança fillou de Santiago
e disse: “Macar m’ eu de ti despago,
a salvaçon eu cha trago
do que fust’ errar,
por que non cáias no lago
d’ iferno, sen dultar.

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

VI

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

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

VII

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

Non é gran cousa se sabe / bon joyzo dar
a Madre do que o mundo / tod’ á de joigar.
IX
E u passavan ant’ hũa capela de San Pedro, mult’ aposta e bela, San James de Compostela dela foi travar, dizend’ : “Ai, falsa alcavela, non podeis levar…

X
... a alma do meu peregrino que filastes, ca por razon de mi o enganastes; gran traición pensastes e, se Deus m’ anpar, pois falsamente a gãastes, non vos pode durar.”

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

XIII
Log’ ante Santa María vieron e rezaron quanto mais poderon. Dela tal joiz’ ouveron: que fosse tornar a alma onde a trouxeron, por se depois salvar.

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

XIV
Este joyzo logo foi comprido, e o peregrino morto foi resorgido, de que foi pois Deus servido; mas nunca cobrar pod’ o de que foi falso, con que fora pecar.

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

IX
Y cuando [los demonios] pasaban ante una capilla de San Pedro, muy hermosa y bella, San James de Compostela se la fue a interceptar [el alma], diciendo: «Ay, cobrador falso, no podeis llevaros…

X
... el alma que cogisteis de mi peregrino, pues, tomando mi apariencia, lo engañasteis; gran traición pensasteis con eso y, si Dios me ampara, no os podréis quedar con esa alma, puesto que la ganasteis con falsedades».

No es gran cosa que sepa juzgar bien la Madre de aquel que ha de juzgar al mundo entero.

XIII
Después fueron ante Santa María y argumentaron cuanto pudieron. De ella tuvieron este veredicto: que retornase el alma allí de donde la cogieron, para después salvarse.

No es gran cosa que sepa juzgar bien la Madre de aquel que ha de juzgar al mundo entero.

XIV
Este juicio se cumplió enseguida, y el peregrino muerto resucitó, con lo que se sirvió a Dios; pero nunca pudo recobrar aquello que le faltó con lo que había pecado.

No es gran cosa que sepa juzgar bien la Madre de aquel que ha de juzgar al mundo entero.
Como Santa María hizo estar a un monje trescientos años escuchando el canto de un pajaro, porque le había pedido que le mostrase cómo era el bien que tenían los que estaban en el Paraíso.

Quien sirva bien a la Virgen irá al Paraíso.

I

Y ahora os quiero contar yo este gran milagro que hizo Santa María por un monje que siempre le iba a rogar que le mostrase cual era el bien que hay en el Paraíso...

II

... y que se lo dejase ver en vida antes de morir. Y por eso la Gloriosa veréis lo que le fue a hacer: le hizo entrar en una huerta en la que muchas veces ya...

III

... había estado; pero aquel día hizo que encontrase una fuente muy clara y muy hermosa y junto a ella se sentó. Y después de lavarse muy bien las manos dijo: ¡Ay, Virgen, ¿qué pasará?...

IV

Tan pronto como el monje hubo acabado su oración, oyó cantar un pajaro con tan buena melodía que estuvo así durante trescientos años, o más, pensando que solo había estado un poco, como está...
VII
... el monje alguna vez al año, cuando sale al jardín. Entonces el pajaro se fue, de lo que le pesó mucho, y dijo: «Tengo que irme de aquí, que hoy también querrá comer [la gente del convento].»
Quien sirva bien a la Virgen irá al Paraíso.

IX
Entonces entró en la iglesia, y los monjes tuvieron mucho miedo cuando lo vieron, y le preguntó el prior, diciendo: «Amigo, ¿vos quién soís o qué buscáis acá?»
Quien sirva bien a la Virgen irá al Paraíso.

X
Dijo él: «Busco a mi abad, a quien dejé aquí hace poco, y al prior y a los frailes, de quienes me separé poco ha cuando fui a aquella huerta; ¿quién me puede decir dónde se encuentran?»
Quien sirva bien a la Virgen irá al Paraíso.

XI
Cuando el abad oyó esto pensó que estaba loco, y lo mismo [pensaron los frailes de] el convento, pero, cuando supieron bien lo que había sucedido, dijeron: «¡Quién habrá oído...

XII
... nunca tan gran maravilla como la que Dios hizo por este por las súplicas de su madre, Virgen Santa de gran mérito! Y por esto alabémosla; mas ¿quién no loará...

XIII
... más que a ninguna otra cosa? Pues, por Dios, es muy justo, porque todo cuanto nosotros le pedimos, por ella nos lo da su Hijo, y aquí nos muestra lo que después nos dará».
Quien sirva bien a la Virgen irá al Paraíso.
Esta é como Santa Maria livrou de morte áu menynno que jazia no ventre da madre, a que deran húa cuitelada pelo costado.

A Madre de Deus tant' á en ssi gran vertude, per que aos seus acorre e dá saude.

I

E de tal razon com' esta / un miragre mui fremoso vos direi que fez a Virgen, / Madre do Rei poderoso, en terra de Santiago, / en un logar montannoso, [hui] húa moller morava / que era prenn' ameude

II
de seu marido; mais ela, / polas ssłuas pecadillas, quantos les nunca nacian, / assi fillos come fillas, todos lle morrian logo; / mais das ssłuas maravillas mostrou [y] Santa Maria, / que sobrelos seus recude.

A Madre de Deus tant' á en ssi gran vertude, per que aos seus acorre e dá saude.

III

Ela con pavor daquesto, / e de que era pren nada encomendou aa Virgen, / Madre de Deus onrrada, que ela que a guardasse / que non foss' acajõada, dizendo: "Dá-me meu fillo, / que ben a viver m' ajude."

A Madre de Deus tant' á en ssi gran vertude, per que aos seus acorre e dá saude.
IV
Ela aqueste fazendo, / o demo chêo de enveja aguisou que seu marido / ouve con outros peleja, e deron-l’ húa ferida / pelos peitos tan sobeja que morreu, ca assi faze / quen non á queno [e]scude.

A Madre de Deus tant’ à en ssi gran vertude, per que aos seus acorre e dá saude.

V
Ela que viu o marido / [a] que chagavan de morte, foi-se-lle deitar de suso; / e deron-l’ enton tan forte ferida pelo costado / que morreu, tal foi sa sorte. Mai-lo fillo pela chaga / sayu, [que] mester engrude

VI
avia pera sa chaga / que na face lle ficara que ll’ o cuitelo fezera / que sa madre matara. Mais quiso Santa Maria, / a que o [en comendara sa madre, que non morresse / nen foss’ el en [a]taude. A Madre de Deus tant’ à en ssi gran vertude, per que aos seus acorre e dá saude.

VII
Ante quiso que vivesse / e crecess’ e sse criasse, e sempre reconnocesse / a Virgen e a loasse, e o sinal parecesse / da chaga, per que provasse este feito [e] que sempre / om’ en ssa loor [e]stude. A Madre de Deus tant’ à en ssi gran vertude, per que aos seus acorre e dá saude.

IV
Al hacer ella esto, el diablo, lleno de envidia, hizo que su marido se pelease con otros (hombres), y le causaron una herida tan grande en el pecho que murio, porque asi le ocurre a quien no tiene quien lo proteja.

La Madre de Dios tanto tiene en sì de gran virtud, que a los suyos socorre y da salud.

V
Ella, cuando vio que herían de muerte a su marido, se echó encima de él, y entonces le hicieron una herida tan grave en el costado que murió, tal fue su suerte. Pero por la llaga salió el hijo, que necesitaba engrudo...

VI
... para la llaga que a él le había quedado en la cara, que se la había hecho el cuchillo que había matado a su madre. Mas quiso Santa María, a quien lo había encomendado su madre, que no muriese ni tuviese que salir en ataúd.

La Madre de Dios tanto tiene en sì de gran virtud, que a los suyos socorre y da salud.

VII
Antes quiso que viviese, creciese y se criase y reconociese siempre a la Virgen y la loase, y tuviese la señal de la llaga, para que probase este hecho y que siempre nos esmeremos en loarla.

La Madre de Dios tanto tiene en sì de gran virtud, que a los suyos socorre y da salud.
Esta es como Santa María de Ribela no quiere que arca otra otra que su altar senon d’olivas que seja ben claro e muit’ esmerado.

Aquela en que Deus carne / prendeu e nos deu por lume, das cousas limpias se paga / sempre, tal é seu costume.

I

E desto mostrou miragre / a Virgen Santa María grand’ en hũa ssa eigreja, / e demostra cada día, en un’ aldea que nome / á Ribela, u soya aver ben d’antiguedade / un mõesteir’ a costume

II

d’ ordin de San Bẽeito. / E ora chus da eigreja non ficou, que é da Virgen / que sempre bẽeita seja, en que á ben cinc’ altare, / u gran vertude se paga / sempre, tal é seu costume.

III

d’ outr’ oyo senon d’ olives / mui linπi’ e muit’ esmerado; / ca macar ant’ oys outros / de linaça, sol pensado non é que ant’ o da Virgen / arca; e est’ é provado muitas vezes eno ano, / e án o por costume.

IV

Ca o provan ameude / cavaleiros, lavradores, clerigos, monges e frares / descalços, preegadores; / ca pero y acenderon / outros oyos arredores, / atan toste se matavan, / que sol non deitavan lume.

Aquela en que Deus carne / prendeu e nos deu por lume, das cousas limpias se paga / sempre, tal é seu costume.

V

E porend’ os dessa terra / non ousan seer ousados d’ outr’ oyo ali que[i]maren, / ca saen por denodados ende cada que o provan, / e por esto son tornados a queimar oyo d’ oliva / nas lampadas por costume.

Aquela en que Deus carne / prendeu e nos deu por lume, das cousas limpias se paga / sempre, tal é seu costume.
Esta é como Santa María del Viso guaría un azor dun caballero. Fremosos miragres mostra a Madre da fremosura e grandes, ca a vertude / do mui gran Deus sen mesura.

I
Dest’ un fremoso mirage / vos direi se m’ ascuitardes, que fezo Santa María; e, se vos pensardes, en ele mais cuidardes, e veredes com’ a Virgen / á poder sobre natura.

Fremosos miragres mostra a Madre da fremosura e grandes, ca a vertude / do mui gran Deus sen mesura.

II
Aquest’ a un cavaleiro / conteceu que vassal’ era dun fi de rey, e por ele / fazía justícia fera,

Fremosos miragres mostra a Madre da fremosura e grandes, ca a vertude / do mui gran Deus sen mesura.

III
Est’ azor fillava garças e ades e betouros e outras prijões muitas; e nen crischãos nem mouros atal azor non avian, e davam de seus tesouros muito por el que llo désse. / Mas non avia en cura.

Fremosos miragres mostra a Madre da fremosura e grandes, ca a vertude / do mui gran Deus sen mesura.

V
E el con el cada dia / multi’ a ssca caça andava e quantas aves podia / fillar, con ele fillava; pero foron ben dous anos / que o azor non mudava, e o cavaleiro avia / desto pesar e tristura.

Fremosos miragres mostra a Madre da fremosura e grandes, ca a vertude / do mui gran Deus sen mesura.

VI
E meteu muitos dieiros / en lle fazer meezãs, que nulla ren non valveron; pois no tempo quand’ as vias vendíam, foi-sse con ele / aa Senor das Reynnas a ssa eigreja do Viso, que jaz en hũa altura.

Fremosos miragres mostra a Madre da fremosura e grandes, ca a vertude / do mui gran Deus sen mesura.

IX
E foi-sse logo con ela / quanto pod’ aa eigreja da Virgen Santa Maria /que é bêlta e seja, que ll’ amostrou essa noite / mui gran mercee sobeja, ca tornou o azor sào / e a el tolleu loucura.

Fremosos miragres mostra a Madre da fremosura e grandes, ca a vertude / do mui gran Deus sen mesura.
Como Santa María hizo que a una mujer, que quería hacer encantamientos de amor a su amigo con el cuerpo de Jesucristo que llevaba escondido en la toca, le corriese sangre de la cabeza hasta que lo sacó de allí.
Nunca nadie puede causar tanta pena a la Virgen como quien hace burla de su Hijo Dios.

Al que piensa hacerlo, creed lo que os digo, todo aquel escarnio se volverá contra él. Y de esto os contaré un gran milagro, que yo oí que hizo Santa María; escuchadme si os place:

Cántiga que sucedió en Galicia, no hace mucho tiempo: que una barragana tuvo un escudeiro; y cuando él se casó tuvo tan gran pena que con gran sufrimiento casi perdía el juicio por ello.

Y con tanta pena que tenía fue a buscar consejo con otras vecinas suyas y tal se lo fueron a dar: que solo con que ella pudiese robar una hostia de las de la iglesia, pronto lo podría obtener.

Nunca nadie puede causar tanta pena a la Virgen...
V
E o clérigo sen arte / de a comungar coñou;
mai-la ostia na boca / aquesta moller guardou,
que per neñión maneira / nona trociu nen passou,
e punnou quanto mais pode / de sse dali log' erger.
Nunca ja pod' aa Virgen / ome tal pesar fazer,
como quen ao seu fillo, / Deus coída escarnecer.

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

XII
A moller se tornou logo / á eigreja outra vez,
deitou-ss' ant' o omagen / e disse: “Señor de prez,
non cates a meu pecado / que mi o demo fazer fez.”
E log' a un mõesteiro / se tornou monja meter.
Nunca ja pod' aa Virgen / ome tal pesar fazer,
como quen ao seu fillo, / Deus coída escarnecer.

Y el clérigo, sin malicia, pensó que comulgaba;
pero esta mujer guardó la hostia en su boca,
que no la rompió de ningún modo ni se la
trago, e hizo cuanto pudo por marcharse en
seguida de allí.

Nunca puede nadie causar tanta pena a la
Virgen...

Y, entrando en una villa a la que llaman Caldas
De Reyes, de donde era esta mujer, por las noti-
cias que yo tengo, sucedió un hecho extraordi-
nario que ahora os contaré; que vieron que por
la toca le corria sangre roja.

Nunca puede nadie causar tanta pena a la
Virgen...

La mujer volvió a la iglesia en seguida, y se pos-
tró ante la imagen y dijo: “Señora de gran valor,
no mires mi pecado, que el diablo me lo hizo
cometer”. Y después se fue a un monasterio a
meterse monja.

Nunca puede nadie causar tanta pena a la
Virgen...
Como Santa María livrou de morte àu mancebo que enforcaron a mai gran torto, e quemaron un herege que llo fezera fazer.

Por dereito ten a Virgen, a Sennor de lealdade, que sober' el se torn’ o dano / de quen jura falsidade.

I

Desto direi un miragre / de gran maravill’ estranna que mostrou Santa Maria / por un romeu d’ Alemanna que a Santiago ya, / que éste padron d’ Espanna, e per Rocamador veo / a Tolosa a cidade.

Por dereito ten a Virgen, / a Sennor de lealdade, que sober’ el se torn’ o dano / de quen jura falsidade.

III

E pois entrou en Tolosa, / foi logo fillar pousada en casa dun grand’ erege, / non sabend’ end’ ele nada; mas quando o viu a gente, / foi ende maravillada e disseron ao fillo: / “Dest’ albergue vos quitade.”

Por dereito ten a Virgen, / a Sennor de lealdade, que sober’ el se torn’ o dano / de quen jura falsidade.

Cómo Santa María liberó de la muerte a un mancebo al que ahorcaron muy injustamente, y (luego) quemaron al hereje que había hecho que lo condenasen.

Justo considera la Virgen, la Señora de la lealtad, que el daño se torne sobre aquel que jura falsedad.

I

De esto contaré un milagro maravilloso y extraordinario que mostró Santa María por un peregrino de Alemania que iba a Santiago, que es patrón de España, y por Rocamador llegó a la ciudad de Tolosa.

Justo considera la Virgen, la Señora de la lealtad...

III

Y, cuando entró en Tolosa, en seguida fue a buscar posada en la casa de un gran hereje, sin que el peregrino fuera consciente de ello en ningún momento; pero, cuando la gente lo vio, quedó sorprendida de aquello y le dijeron al hijo: «Marchaos de este albergue».

Justo considera la Virgen, la Señora de la lealtad...
IV

O erege, que muit’ era / chêu de mal e d’ engano 
e que muitas falsidades / fazia sempre cad’ ano, 
porque aquel ome bóo / non sse fosse del sen dano, 
fillou un vaso de prata / ala en ssa poridade

V

e metê-o eno saco / do filhe; e pois foi ydo, 
foi tan toste depos eles, / metendo grand’ apelido 
que lle levavan seu vaso / de prata nov’ e bronido; 
e poi-los ouv’ acalçados / disse-lles: “Estad’, estade!”

Por dereito ten a Virgen, / a Sennor de lealdade, que 
sobr’ el se torn’ o dano / de quen jura falsidade.

IV

El hereje, que estaba muy lleno de maldad y 
de engaño y que cada año cometía siempre 
muchas falsedades, para que aquel hombre 
bueno no se fuese de junto a él sin daño, 
cogió un vaso de plata de lo que [él] tenía 
escondido...

V

... y se lo metió en saco al muchacho; y, en 
cuanto se marchó, en seguida fue detrás de 
de ellos, montando un gran escándalo con que se 
habían llevado su vaso de plata, nuevo y brúñido, 
y cuando los pudo alcanzar les dijo: «¡Parad, 
parad!».

Justo considera la Virgen, la Señora de la 
lealtad...
Esta es de cómo Santa María protegió a un labrador para que no muriese de las heridas que le causaron un caballero y sus hombres.

Muy gran poder tiene la Madre de Dios para defender y amparar a los suyos.

I

Gran poder á, ca sseu Fillo llo deu, en defender quen se chamar por seu; e dest’ un miraclo vos dier eu que ela fez grande nos dias meus.

Muy gran poder á a Madre de Deus de defender e amparar-los seus.

II

En Armenteira foi un lavrador, que un caballero, por desamor mui grande que avi’ a seu senhor, foi polo matar, per nome Mateus.

Muy gran poder á a Madre de Deus de defender e amparar-los seus.

III

Lo encontró desgranando su maíz en la era y allí mismo mandó que le diesen lanzadas; mas él comenzó a llamar a la Madre de aquel que mataron los judíos en la cruz.

Muy gran poder tiene la Madre de Dios...

IV

Un peón le dio dos lanzadas, pero no lo hirieron; y el bandido pensó que se trataba de un encantamiento, entonces fue más bravo que Judas Macabeo.

Muy gran poder tiene la Madre de Dios...
V  Enton a ssa azcúa lle lanzou e feriu-o, pero nono chagou; ca el a Santa María chamou: “Sennor, val-me como vales os teus,
VI  e non moira, ca non mereci mal.” Eles, pois viron o miragr’ atal que fez a Reynna esperital, creveron ben, ca ant’ eran encreus. 
VII  E fillaron-sse log’ a repentir e ao lavrador perdon pedir, e deron-ll’ algu’; e el punnou de ss’ ir a Rocamador con outros romeus. 

Le lanzó su venablo y lo golpeó, pero no lo hirió; porque él a Santa María llamó: «Señora, ayúdame como ayudas a los tuyos...,
... y que no muera, que no merecí mal». Ellos, cuando vieron el milagro que hizo la Reina espiritual, se hicieron creyentes, que antes no lo eran.
Muy gran poder tiene la Madre de Dios...

Y pronto se arrepintieron, pidieron perdón al labrador y le recompensaron; y él hizo promesa de ir a Rocamador con otros romeros. 
Muy gran poder tiene la Madre de Dios...
Como Santa María se vengó del escudero que deu couce na portu da ssa eügreja.

Mal ss’á end’achar / quen quiser desonrrar Santa María.

I

Como s’achou, non á y mui gran sazon, en Galiza un escudeiraz peon que quis mui felon brita-la eügreja con felonía.

Mal ss’á end’achar / quen quiser desonrrar Santa María.

II

Santa María a hermida nom’á do Monte, porque en logar alt’ está; e foron alá de gentes enton mui gran romaria.

Mal ss’á end’achar / quen quiser desonrrar Santa María.

IV

O escudeyro que vos dixe chegou e viu hũa moça, de que sse pagou, que forçar cuidou; mais ela per ren non llo consentia.

Mal ss’á end’achar / quen quiser desonrrar Santa María.

V

E travando dela cuidou-a forçar; mais proug’ a Deus [e] nono pod’ acabar, ca foi-l’ escapar e logind’ á eügreja sse collya.

Mal ss’á end’achar / quen quiser desonrrar Santa María.

VIII

O escudeiro, tanto que viu fugir a moça, leixou-sse depos ela ir dizendo: “Guair non me podes, rapariga sandia.”

Mal ss’á end’achar / quen quiser desonrrar Santa María.

IX

E quando as portas sarradas achou, por poucas que de sanna sandeu tornou, e logo jurou que a couces toda-las britaria.

Mal ss’á end’achar / quen quiser desonrrar Santa María.

X

E com’ era atrevudo e sandeu, quis acabar aquelo que prometeu, e o pe ergeu e ena portu gran couce dar ya.

Mal ss’á end’achar / quen quiser desonrrar Santa María.

XIII

[y perdió el habla] de tal manera que solo podía decir: “Ay, Santa María”. Y además de esto, vivió mucho tiempo tullido y sin juicio y andaba pidiendo por las puertas.

Mal se va a sentir por ello el que quiera deshonrar a Santa María.
Esta es como Santa María sirvió en lugar de la monja que se fue del monasterio.

De vergonna nos guardar punna todavía y de falir e d’ errar a Virgen María.

I

E guarda-nos de falir e ar quer-nos encobrir quando en erro caemos; des i faz-nos repentir e a emenda vĩir dos pecados que fazemos. Dest’ un miragre mostrar en o’ abadía quis a Reynna sen par, santa, que nos guía.

De vergonna nos guardar punna todavía e de falir e d’ errar a Virgen María.

II

Hũa dona ouv’ ali que, per quant’ eu aprendi, era menyña fremosa; demais sabia assi téer sa orden, que ni-huía atan aguçosa era d’i aproveytar quanto mais podia; e poren lle foran dar a tesouería.

De vergonna nos guardar punna todavía e de falir e d’ errar a Virgen María.
III
Mai-lo demo, que prazer non ouv’ en, fezlle querer tal ben a un cavaleiro, que lle non dava lezer, tra en que a foi fazer que sayu do mõessteiro; mais ant’ ela foi leixar chaves, que traga na cinta, ant’ o altar da en que criya.

De vergonna nos guardar punna todavia e de fallir e d’ errar a Virgen Maria.

V
E o cavaleyro fez, poi-la levou dessa vez, en ela fillos e fillas; mais a Virgen de bon prez, que nunca amou sanchez, e mostrou y maravillas, que a vida estrannar lle fez que fazia, por en sa claustra tornar, u ante vivia.

De vergonna nos guardar punna todavia e de fallir e d’ errar a Virgen Maria.

VII
Mas el diablo, que no veía aquello con agrado, le hizo desear tanto a un caballero que no la dejó en paz hasta que la hizo salir del monasterio, pero antes ella dejó as llaves que traía en la cintura ante el altar de aquella en quien creía.

La Virgen María nos quiere salvar...

V
Y el caballero, quando entonces se la llevó, le hizo hijos e hijas; mas la Virgen de gran mérito, que nunca amó la locura, y mostró maravillas, hizo que la mujer echase en falta la vida que hacía, para volver al claustro, donde antes vivía.

La Virgen María nos quiere salvar...

VII
Y, después de que la monja se arrepintiera y se separara del caballero, no comió ni durmió más hasta que vio el monasterio. Entró en él con miedo y se puso a preguntar a los que conocía por el estado del lugar, pues quería saberlo.

La Virgen María nos quiere salvar...
VIII

Disseron-ll’ enton sen al:
“Abadess’ avemos tal
e priol’ e tesoureira,
cada húa delas val
muito, e de ben, sen mal,
nos fazen de gran maneira.
Quand’ est’ oyu, a sinar
logo se prendia,
porque ss’ assi nomear
con elas oya.

De vergonna nos guardar punna todavia e de fallir e d’ errar a Virgen María.

IX

E ela, con gran pavor
tremendo e sen coor,
foisse pena a eigréja;
mais la Madre do Sennor
lle mostrou tan grand’ amor,
– e poren bẽeita seja –
que as chaves foi achar
u postas avia,
e seus panos foi fillar
que ante vestia.

De vergonna nos guardar punna todavia e de fallir e d’ errar a Virgen María.

XI

O convent’ o por mui gran
maravilla tev’, a pran,
pois que a cousa provada
viron, dizendo que tan
fremosa, par San Johan
nunca lles fora contada; e
fillaron-ss’ a cantar
con grand’ alegria:
“Salve-te, Strela do Mar,
Deus, lume do día.”

La Virgen María nos quiere salvar...

La Virgen María nos quiere salvar...

La Virgen María nos quiere salvar...
ALFONSO X, MEDIAEVAL SOCIETY AND EVERYDAY LIFE

THE HUMAN AND THE DIVINE IN THE CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARÍA

THE CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARÍA: GALICIANNESS, MULTICULTURALISM AND INTERNATIONALITY

The originality of the Cantigas de Santa María resides in both the multiplicity of themes they deal with and in the confluence of cultures and traditions, with Christian, Arabic and Jewish musicians providing a good example, playing together as shown in the second El Escorial codex. It is also a literary and graphic reflection of mediaeval society, its protagonists, their vicissitudes, illnesses, professions and different social classes, from royalty to the humblest of people. The roles in this literary corpus belong to the Marian cult, the monarch, mediaeval society and the Galician language. Liturgical and hagiographic literary composition is combined with the mediaeval Romanesque literary tradition, as well as monodic music. All of this is illustrated in a series of miniatures that combine different graphic traditions, from Romanesque-Christian to Arabic. It is a work with an international flavour given the Cantigas’ literary and musical relationships with Occitan, French, Galician and Catalan troubadour repertoires, in addition to the liturgical-Latin tradition.

King Alfonso’s Marian cantigas, as a compilation of miracles, links up with similar collections in Europe, where devotion to the Virgin led from the 11th century to compilations of miracles in Latin and the different languages in the Christian sphere, with the intention of exalting the figure of the Virgin and her role as intermediary between God and men.
THE MIRACLES OF THE VIRGIN

This is the theme *par excellence* in the Alfonsoine Marian repertoire. With the miracles, we delve into the intimacy, the problems and the day-to-day life of the mediaeval world. We can observe conflicts among nobles, wars, the insides of convents and taverns, the conflict between Moors, Jews and Christians, and illnesses in such a way that it is in the fictional action that the most pressing problems of the world appear, and of the women and men of the Middle Ages.

Alfonso X’s literary model was *Les Miracles de Nostre Dame* by Gautier de Coincy (1177-1236). He refers to the work of his French predecessor on more than one occasion.

It is necessary to point out the large number of miracles that took place in Galicia, which indicates how deeply rooted the Marian cult was in the area and also the relationships and interests of Alfonso X in the Kingdom of Galicia.

THE EVERYDAY POPULAR VIEW

The depiction of mediaeval everyday life in the Rico Codex of the *Cantigas de Santa María* transports us at the same time to both the European mediaeval universe and the traditional, popular Galician sphere. The relationship between the day-to-day world and the sacred was an innovation for its time and a way of dignifying popular elements and individuals within the context of mediaeval devotion.

These miniatures represent a mediaeval world connected to the popular and traditional Galician world, as shown by some miniatures in particular (*hórreo* (traditional Galician granary), *lareira* (fireplace), work in the fields and the sea, traditional occupations, etc.).

THE MONARCH

**THE WISE KING’S AUTOBIOGRAPHY**

*IN THE CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARÍA*

Alfonso X depicts himself by evoking episodes of his life and family, as well as illnesses and miraculous purported cures thanks to intervention from the Virgin (*cantigas* 209, 221, 279, 367). In *cantigas* 200 and 300 there is an evocation of the monarch feeling unprotected and helpless.
THE WISE KING’S CONFLICT WITH SANTIAGO DE COMPOSTELA

The miraculous power attributed to the sanctuary of Villalcázar de Sirga in Palencia, as well as the publicity given to other sanctuaries and the attribution to the Virgin of miracles that were traditionally assigned to the Santiago (James) the Apostle, acted as counter-propaganda against the pilgrimage to the Galician capital. The main reason was the dispute between the monarch and the Compostela City Council or Cabildo for economic reasons, and because of the privilege from Emperor Charlemagne that exempted the city from paying taxes to the king. The monarch did not hesitate to misrepresent hagiography to benefit his politics.

Upon the death of Xoán Arias (1266), the Compostela City Council or Cabildo became divided over two candidates: one side supported Alfonso X’s personal favourite, Fernando Alfonso, whereas the other side favoured Archdeacon Bernaldo, without either of them being confirmed by the pope. Alfonso X took advantage of the litigation to impose his authority over the city’s control. In 1273 the Pope decided to appoint Gonzalo Gómez as Archbishop of Santiago, but the monarch humiliated the bishop and confronted the Compostela bourgeoisie against the bishopric, as a result of which the Wise King was given a warning from Pope Nicholas III in 1278. Alfonso X challenged the papacy by stripping the bishop of his privileges and possessions, and appointing the Abbot of Valladolid as administrator of the diocese. When Sancho IV, the Wise King’s son, deposed his father, he returned the Church’s possessions and revoked the policy spread by Alfonso X, which had been in favour of the bourgeoisie and against the Church. The conflict originated in the Carolingian legend of Charlemagne, according to which the Frankish emperor had visited Santiago de Compostela and had granted privileges to the city to the detriment of the Castilian-Leonese monarchy’s power. The Wise King endeavoured to show that such a pilgrimage did not exist, relying on statements by Rodrigo Ximénez de Rada in chapter 623 of the Estoria de España. It appears that Alfonso X and his politics dispossessed the Kingdom of Galicia of its rights and, as a result, Galicia entered a period of decline. It also seems that the monarch’s Marian propaganda of the Cantigas de Santa María diverted the Santiago pilgrimage to other places of worship, which had serious economic and political consequences for the Galician territory (Montesagudo 1993).
MEDIAEVAL ILLNESSES OF ALFONSO X AND HIS FAMILY AND OTHER DISEASES IN THE CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARÍA

CSM 256
Como Santa María guareceu a Reĩa Dona Beatriz de grand’enfermidade, porque aorou a sa omage con grand’esperança.

Doña Beatriz, who was in Cuenca accompanied by her son Alfonso, became seriously ill, had a fever and was pregnant. She sent for an image of the Virgin and was cured.

CSM 209
Como el Rey Don Alfonso de Castela adoeçeu en Bitoria e ouv’hũa door tan grande que coizadon que morresse ende, e poseron-lle de suso o livro das Cantigas de Santa María, e foi guarido.

Alfonso fell ill in Vitoria. He sent for the book of the Cantigas de Santa María and he was cured.

CSM 279
Como el Rei pidiu mercee a Santa María que o guarecesse dũa grand’enfermidade que avia; e ela, como Senhor poderosa, guarecé-o.

The king, who was suffering from a serious illness, was cured by the magical power of the book of the Cantigas de Santa María.

CSM 367
[Como Santa María do Porto guareceu al] Rey Don Alfonso dãa grand’enfermedade de que lle ynchavan as pernas tan muito que lle non podiam caber enas calças.

While the King was travelling by sea, both of his legs became so swollen that he was unable to put on his boots. Furthermore, his skin cracked and a yellow liquid oozed out. Even so, he went straight to Santa Maria do Porto. When the priests chanted the matins, the swelling disappeared and he recovered from the illness.

CSM 54
Esta é como Santa María guaru con seu leite o monge doente que cuidavan que era morto.

A foul-smelling affliction of the face cured by the Virgin’s milk.

CSM 91
Como Santa María deceu do ceo en hũa agreia ante todos e guareceu quantos enfermos y fazían que ardian do fogo de San Marçal.

The fearsome ergotism or “Saint Martial’s [or Saint Anthony’s] fire”; an infectious disease caused by eating rye bread in bad condition.

CSM 278
Como hũa bõa dona de França, que era cega, vévo a Vila-Sirga e teve y vigia, e foi logo guarida e co-brou seu lume. E ela yndo-se pera sa terra, achou un cego que ya en romaria a Santiago, e ela consellou-lle que fosse per Vila-Sirga e guareceria.

Healing of a blind woman.

CSM 77
Esta é como Santa María sãou na sa ygreja en Lugo hũa moller contraita dos pees e das mãos.

Healing of a deformed woman in Lugo.

LEPROSY (CLAW-HAND)

Leprosy or “claw hand” was interpreted as a sin of lust and suffering from it was considered to arouse sexual appetite.

CSM 15
Esta é como Santa María defendeu a cidade de Cesatra do Emperador Jução.

To the Empress Beatrice of Rome, “the Virgin [...] gave her a herb of such virtue that with it she was able to heal all lepers (with clawed hands and feet).”

CSM 93
Como Santa María guareceu un fillo dun burges que era gafo.

The magical cure of leprosy using the milk of the Virgin.
THE PILGRIMAGE

In the first of Alfonso X the Wise’s Siete Partidas (1256 to 1265), we find the meaning of pilgrimage and its connection with sacred places.

The site is as important as the journey itself in search of a transcendent, cathartic reality emulating the figures of the apostles and Christ, continually journeying in pursuit of preaching.

Pellegrino tanto quiere dezir como ome estraño, que va a visitar el Sepulcro Santo de Hierusalemem e los otros Santos Logares en que nuestro Señor Jesu Christo nasció, bivió e tomó muerte e passión por los pecadores; o que andan pellegrinaje a Santiago o a Sant Salvador de Oviedo o a otros logares de luenga e estraña tierra.

CSM 7
Esta é como Santa Maria livrou a abadessa prerre, que adormecera ante o altar chorando.

An abbess who becomes pregnant by a man from Bologna and is denounced by the nuns of her order to the bishop.

CSM 55
Esta é como Santa Maria serviu pola monja que se fora do mõesteiro e lli criou o fillo que fezera ali andando.

A nun who fled the convent with an abbot and lived with him for a time in Lisbon. The abbot left her pregnant, but the nun returned to the monastery to discover to her surprise that no one had missed her, because the Virgin had taken her place.

CSM 58
Como Santa María desviou a monja que se non fosse con un cavaleiro con que posera de ss’ ir.

The Virgin convinces a nun not to go with the gentleman with whom she intended to leave and abandon her life in the convent.
THE SEA AND ALFONSO X

CSM 183

Esta é dun miraige que mostrou Santa María en Feiron quando era de mouros.

Desto direi un miraige / que fezo en Faaron
a Virgen Santa María / en tempo d’Abeu Mafon,
que o reino do Algarve / lìll aquella saxon
a guisa d’om’ esforçado, / quer en guerra, quer en paz.

Pesar a Santa María / de quen por desonrra faz...
En aquel castel’ avia / omagen, com’ apres’ ei,
da Virgen mui gloriosa, / feita como vos direi
de pedra ben fegurada, / e, com’ eu de cert’ achei,
na riba do mar estava / escontra ele de faz.

THE COUNTRYSIDE

Como el Rey deve guardar su tierra... que se non yernen las villas, nin los otros logares...

E otroi, que los arboles, ni las viñas, ni las otras cosas, de que los omes biven, ni los corten, ni los quemen, ni los derrayguen, ni los dainen de otra manera, ni aun por enemistad.

Alfonso X, Siete Partidas, Partida II (law 3, tit. XI)

CSM 22

Esta é como Santa María guardou a un lavrador que non morresse das feridas que lle deiva un cavaleiro e seus omees.

EROTICISM, MAGIC AND OBSCENITY

Alfonso X dedicated this song of derision to the Dean of Cádiz, to whom he attributes getting sexual favours by using magic books.

THE BLACK MAGIC

CSM 104

Como Santa María fez a muller que queria fazer amorátras a seu amigo
com el corpo de Ihesu Cristo e que o tragia na touca, que lle correse sangui
da cabeça ata que o tirou ende.

A woman who wanted to do black magic with a sacred consecrated form to win back her lover.

The erotic magic of the Dean of Cádiz

Ao daían de Cález eu achei
livros que lle levavan d’aloguer;
e o que os traga preguntou por eles, e respondeu-m’el: «Senher,
con estos livros que vós vedeas dous
e coos outros que el ten dos sous,
fod’el per eles quarto foder quer.

E ainda vos end’eua mais direi:
macar no leito muitas el tever,
por quanto eu de sa fazenda sei,
con os livros que ten, non ha mother
a que non faça que semelheus gross
os crudos, e es auíus babous,
per força de foder, se x’el quiser.

Ca non ha mais, na arte do foder,
do que enos livros que el ten jaz;
e el ha tai sabor de os leer,
que nunca noite nem dia el faz;
ese sabe d’arte do foder tan ben,
que cõnos seus livros d’artes, que el ten,
fod’el as moursas cada que el praz.

E más os contaires de seu saber,
que cõnos livros que el ten jaz:
manda-os ante si todos trager,
e pois que fode per eles assaz,
sa mother acha que o demo ten,
así a fode per arte e per sén,
que saça dela o demo malvaz.

E, con tod’esto, ainda faz al
conos livros que ten, por boa fe:
se acha mother que haja o mal
deste fogo que de San Marçal é,
assí a vai per foder encantar
que, fodendo, lhe faz ben semelhar
que é geada ou nev’e non al».

Alfonso X, Cantigas de Santa María (Códice Rico, RBME, tit. 1, 242r) | 13°c.

Paio Gómez Charriño de Santa María (Códice Rico, RBME, tit. 1, 242r) | 13°c.
ARABS AND JEWS

Compared to the eras after the Alfonsoine monarchy, we can see that the king’s attitude towards Moors and Jews was tolerant, above all in matters of everyday life. Delving into the intellectual side, we find a clear influence from Arab-Aristotelian elements in his legal discourse. The legislation concerning Arabs and Jews only affected their relationships with Christians, but in the Partidas he legislates against the Jews. Although at the beginning of his reign he had a permissive attitude (most certainly a strategic one for economic, scientific and cultural reasons), his attitude hardened throughout it, either for reasons of religious ideology or because of the confrontation with the Benimerines, or else with the Muslims of the Levant and Andalusia.

CSM 205
Como Santa María quis guardar héu moura que tiña seu fillo en brazos e tiía en héu torre entre duas ameas, e caeu a torre, e non morreu nen seu fillo, nen lles enpeceu ren, e esto foi per oraçōn dos creschāos.

Oyemos decir que en algunos lugares los judeos fizeron et facen el dia del Viernes Santo remembranza de la pasiōn de nuestro senor Jesucristo en manera de escarnio, furtando los niños et poniéndolos en la cruz, faciendo imágenes de cera et crucificándolas quando los niños non pueden haber.

The Virgin saves a Moorish woman and her son.

CSM 89
Esta è como héu judea estava de parto en coita de morte, e chamou Santa María e logo a aquela ora foi libre.

The Virgin saves a Jewish woman who was giving birth.
GALICIA AND THE MEDIAEVAL ALFONSINE HERITAGE

CULTURAL PILGRIMAGE

Presentation of a wide range of heritage elements (museum pieces, religious iconography, buildings and documentation) related chronologically to Alfonso X and located throughout the Galician territory.

Alfonso X, Register Book A | 12th-13th c.
Cathedral of Santiago (A Coruña)
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Santiago’s enamelled cross | 13th c.
Gothic capitals | 13th c.
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Saint Susanna’s dalmatic | 13th c.
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Madonna of the Rose | 13th c.
Virgin with Child | 13th c.
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Altar cross | 13th c.
Cross of Carboeiro | 13th c.
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Coins of Alfonso X | 13th c.
Santiago de Compostela Cathedral Museum (A Coruña)

Double cross | 13th c.
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Santiago de Compostela (A Coruña)
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Convent of Santa Clara
Santiago de Compostela (A Coruña)

Our Lady of Peace | 13th c.
Convent of the Mercedarias Descalzas (Barefoot Mercedarian Sisters)
Santiago de Compostela (A Coruña)
Santiago as pilgrim | 14th c.
Museum of As Mariñas
Betanzos (A Coruña)
Calvary | 13th c.
Church of Santo António
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A Pobra do Caramiñal (A Coruña)

Madonna of the Large Eyes | 14th-15th c.
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Virgin of Carboeiro | 13th c.
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Shoes of the Bishop of Mondoñedo | 13th c.
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Virgin with Child | 13th c.
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San Martiño de Ourense Cathedral (Ourense)

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**Chess | 10th-11th c.**

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Monastery of Santa María | 12th c.
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Diocesan Museum of Tui (Pontevedra)
Virgin with Child | 13th-14th c.
Monastery of Santa Maria
A Franquita (Pontevedra)
The bibliography on Alfonsoine works is huge and it is not our intention to provide an exhaustive bibliographic repertoire. To make a bibliographic search by subject, we recommend the bibliography by Professor Francisco Bautista on the monarch and his work published in the Miguel de Cervantes Virtual Library website until 2011 (see electronic resources in this same bibliography). The bibliography by Joseph T. Snow (2012) is also very useful.

For our part, we are only showing the bibliography consulted for this book, as well as the one that seems essential for the topics dealt with in this exhibition.


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SERRANO FATIGATI, Enrique (1901): Instrumentos múnicos en las minia- turas de los códices espolones, siglos x al xin, Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando.


ONLINE RESOURCES
Alfonso X el Sabio - Biblioteca Virtual Miguel de Cervantes
http://www.cervantesvirtual.com/portales/alfonso_x_el_sabio/

Cancioneros Musicales Españoles

Cantigas Medievais Galego-Portuguesas
https://cantigas.fcsh.unl.pt/

Cantigas de Santa Maria for Singers
http://www.cantigasdesantamaria.com/

Centre for the Study of the Cantigas de Santa Maria of Oxford University
http://csm.mml.ox.ac.uk

Centro Ramón Piñeiro para a Investigación en Humanidades (CRPH)
https://www.crip.es

PhiloBiblon
https://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/

Universo Cantigas. Edición crítica da poesía medieval galego-portuguesa
https://www.universocantigas.gal