

MANUEL NEGRI

NON-PROTAGONISTS SAINTS MENTIONED
IN THE *CANTIGAS DE SANTA MARIA*: A VIEW*

SUMMARY: The Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas of Santa María* dedicated to the life and miracles of the Virgin include various references to saints of Catholic tradition. Although some may perform a main role in the wonders, a large number of them are only mentioned as an external presence. The latter could be defined as ‘non-protagonists saints’ and they are evoked by the poet in several contexts related to a variety of functions. In terms of content they may be summoned to recall biblical episodes linked to the main Marian narratives, to enrich the narration of Mary’s Holy Feasts and episodes of Jesu’s life, to build references to the four evangelists and so on. As for a rhetorical and metrical function, saints may be mentioned using always a fixed *formula* at the end of verses employed by the poet to oath about the veracity of the *miracula* or in exclamations spoken out by characters of the stories to call to witness a saint to ensure the genuineness of their actions.

KEYWORDS: Cantigas de Santa Maria; saints; mariology; Galician-Portuguese.

1. Introduction

The *Cantigas of Santa María*¹ were composed and compiled by the sovereign of Castile-Leon Alphonse X ‘the Wise’ and by his *entourage* of *poetas* and *sabios* in the second half of the XIIIth century (approximately, from 1264 to 1284)². These poetical texts take part in the flourishing medieval tradition of the miracles of the Virgin Mary that started to thrive after the XIIth century. Most of these versified Gali-

* This study is included in the research project *Las Cantigas de Santa María: De la edición a la interpretación* (Ref.: FFI2014-52710-P), financed by the MINECO and directed by Elvira Fidalgo Francisco of the *Universidade de Santiago de Compostela*. I would like to thank prof. Stephen Parkinson, for his suggestions, and my colleagues Ana Barja López and Marina Garzón Fernández for their advice and review during the last writing stage of this work.

¹ Henceforth, to refer to the entire *corpus* of the *Cantigas de Santa María* or to a single *cantiga*, we will use the acronym CSM.

² Regarding the period of composition and compilation of the texts, we can adopt 1264 as the *terminus post quem* and 1284 as the *terminus ante quem*; cfr. PEDRO FERREIRA 1994, 71-74. For the terms ‘compilation’ and ‘composition’ in the CSM environment, cfr. PARKINSON – JACKSON 2006, 159-72. On the year 1264 as the starting point for the compilation project, cfr. also FERNÁNDEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2009, 326-31.

cian-Portuguese narratives, elaborated from a huge number of latin sources, were composed to praise Mary in her intercessory role as religious figure (helping the believer in some way through, for example, spiritual rescues or defenses from the evil). Others were written to show devotion through virtues, prayers and penances, to recriminate vices and sins, or to raise awareness of foundational and reparative interventions (perhaps on some sanctuaries dedicated to her)³. In all these versified narratives there are texts where there is not only the presence of the Mother of God, but also they may include other characters like saints from scriptural, evangelical, byzantine or western tradition. But not all the saints can be defined as protagonists inside these narrations, like, for example, in the famous CSM 2 or 66 where, respectively, St Ildefonso and St Bonus receive from the Mother of God a ‘celestial dress’, or in CSM 15 where St Mercurio helps Mary defeat Julian the Apostate⁴. Not all these intermediary figures participate in an active way in the new exemplary stories⁵, helping and supporting the Virgin during the process of a miracle directed to believers or receiving themselves some of these wonders⁶.

The following table (a) offers a general view about these non-protagonist saints’ occurrences inside the Galician-Portuguese CSM. The names of the saints are ordered alphabetically and in numerical progression. They are also accompanied by the numbers of the CSM where they appear and, finally, in the last column, by the total count of the CSM where these respective saints are mentioned⁷:

³ About these distinctions, cfr. MONTÓYA MARTÍNEZ 1981.

⁴ CSM where saints can be considered ‘protagonists’ understood as Virgin’s helpers are nn. 2 (*Leocadia*); 14, 27, 66 (*Peter*); 15 (*Basil and Mercurio*); 26 (*James*); 28 (*Germanos*); 155 (anonymous hermit called ‘saint’); 204 (*Dominic de Guzmán*); 251 (anonymous pope called ‘saint’); 261 (anonymous bishop called ‘saint’); 292 (*Fernando III*). For ‘protagonists’ that personally experience the miracle, nn. 2 (*Ildefonso*); 66 (*Bonus*); 138 (*John Chrysostome*); 206 (*pope Leo*); 221 (*Fernando III*); 265 (*St John Damascene*); 309 (*pope Liberius*).

⁵ The so called «milagro literario»; cfr. BREA 2005, 269-86.

⁶ Saints are mostly characterized by their intercessory role between the human sphere and the divine. For this, see the fundamental definition in BOESH GAJANO 1999, 3.

⁷ Numbers refer traditionally to the position that the texts have in the most complete E codex; cfr. FERNÁNDEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2009, 332-37. To operate this census, we first consulted online databases and instruments, such as the fundamental *Oxford Cantigas de Santa Maria Database*, edited by S. Parkinson (online address: <<http://csm.mml.ox.ac.uk/?p=database>>; date of last search: 21 April 2016) and the helpful ‘Text concordance’ integrated in the database *Cantigas de Santa Maria for Singers*, edited by the musicologist Andrew Casson (online address: <<http://www.cantigasdesantamaria.com/concordance/>>; date of last search: 21 April 2016). To grainly verify names and occurrences, a check was also necessary on the text edited in METTMANN 1986, 1988 and 1989. In fact, although from a technological point of view the database edited by Casson is of high quality and versatility, the critical text from Mettmann’s edition presents sometimes modifications in some points that have not been justified on the critical notes. A further check was made starting from the Rey’s Index: REY 1927, 327-56. Finally, also for this last printed tool, we verified the names with the texts edited by Mettmann, because that index was based on the older critical edition in DE CUETO 1889. A last control over some occurrences and variants was made consulting MASSINI-CAGLIARI – BOSCHI DA SILVA, 89-95. We do not consider here mentions referred to shrines. Some examples of saints and CSM: *Agostinno* (288), *Cezilla* (89), *Clemente* (195), *Domingo de Silos* (233), *Estevão de Gormaz* (63), *Santiago* (175, 218, 253, 268, 278), *Joan* (272, 306), *Lucas* (371), *Marcos* (381), *Miguel* (39, 86), *Pedro* (26), *Salvador* (245) and *Vitor* (202). Their *status* in the CSM is ambiguous. In fact, although in some cases a name can not be considered a proof of their presence on the scene, in other circumstances they seem to

a. Non-protagonists Saints⁸

N.	Saints	CSM	Occ.
1	Abél	4	1
2	Adan/Adam	3, 213, 240, 270, 336, 353, 411, 420	8
3	Alifonso	413	1
4	Ananía/Ananías	4, 215	2
5	Andreu	155	1
6	Anna	411	1
7	Azaría/Azarias	4, 215	2
8	Bonifaz	122	1
9	Catellina	54	1
10	Clemente	115	1
11	Daniel	4, 270	2
12	Davi	6, 14, 270, 318	4
13	Denis/Dinis	5, 115, 146, 238, 245, 246, 265, 292, 404	9
14	Elisabéth	1, 69	2
15	Eva	40, 49, 60, 180, 270, 320, 340, 353, 380, 411	10
16	Fernando	122, 256, 345, 386	4
17	Fiiz	35	1
18	Gabriel	1, 71, 86, 90, 152, 180, 210, 324, 330, 349, 410, 414, 415, 419, 420	15
19	Santiago	313, 401	2
20	Jesse	20, 31, 411	3
21	Joaquin	411	1
22	Joan/Joan	94, 295, 419	3
23	Joseph	414, 420	2
24	Isaia/Isaias	25, 70, 180, 270, 370, 411	6
25	Lazaro	381	1
26	Loís	193	1
27	Lucas	59, 264	2
28	Marcos	133, 292, 295, 426	4

be present at the Marian miracle in the same place of worship dedicated to them. We do not consider also those names that refer to religious orders (ex. *Bêito*), feasts (ex. *Quireze*) or the case of *St Martial* (CSM 81, 91, 134 and 259). In the CSM, the last one always refers to the *ignis sacer*; for the CSM 81, cfr. MORENTE PARRA 2007, 34.

⁸ We consider biblical characters as saints. In fact, this status is guaranteed first by scriptural indications. They underline the first meaning of sainthood as a condition of providential connection with God (see, for example, the term *ἄγιος* referred to angels, patriarchs, profets and apostles; cfr. DELEHAYE 1927, 26). They start to be object of special devotion from the Carolingian period, or, before, starting from Gregory the Great's consideration about sainthood; cfr. DAIX 1996, 48. In the second column, the names of the most mentioned saints are emphasized in bold. Despite of the limited narrative and laudatory *corpus* with only a few cases of polymorphism on saints' names, the entire CSM collection is still huge and the inhomogeneity of the research instruments used in this project sometimes made it difficult to make the summary. Any possible trace of errors is attributable exclusively to the person who drafted this paper.

29	[Maria] Jacobe	425	1
30	Maria Madalena	1, 425	2
31	Maria Salomé	425	1
32	Martin	17, 245, 332	3
33	Mateus	59, 133, 155, 251, 282, 292, 295, 313, 401, 426	10
34	Miguel	419, 420	2
35	Misaél	4, 215	2
36	Moisen	270	1
37	Nicolas	313	1
38	Pedro/Simon Pedro	313, 369, 401, 419, 425	5
39	Raquel	4	1
40	Reis (Magos)	1, 415, 423, 424	4
41	Salomon/Salamon	180, 237, 270, 382	4
42	Simeon	138, 411, 417	3
43	Soffia	400	1
44	Tomas	419	1

2. Old Testament and New Testament context

Examining the functions and roles within the CSM we can operate a first distinction among the non-protagonists saints recorded in the general census displayed on the table a. In fact, there is a group of mentioned saints that only hold a state of ‘doctrinal and testamentary presence’ both in narrative and praise (*loor*) CSM. They, in fact, do not participate in Marian *miracula* and they are not mentioned like actors in medieval narrations whose main actant is the Virgin Mary, simply because these CSM are mostly dedicated to her feasts and to her Son’s events⁹.

Among the most significant characters in this group, we can find, for example, *Pedro* (St Peter), *Anna* (St Anne), *Joaquin* (St Joachim), *Joseph* (St Joseph), *Miguel* (St Michael), *Thomas* (St Thomas), *Johan* (St John) and the Three Maries, or Mary of Cleophas (here *Jacobe*), Mary Magdalene and Mary Salome¹⁰. The table below (b) shows all the occurrences organized by role and order of appearance. Subsequently, we will proceed to illustrate some cases for each category¹¹:

⁹ We refer, in particular, to the CSM from the n. 410 to the n. 414 (Mary’s Feasts) and to the CSM from the n. 423 to the n. 427 (Episodes of Jesus’ life). Over Mary’s Feasts and their ecclesiastical value, cfr. VAUCHEZ 1995, 27.

¹⁰ They are mentioned in texts that, while not being all of praise (*loor*), are characterized by a «mistura de literatura e teoloxía»; cfr. MUIÑA GARCÍA 2005, 1199.

¹¹ The principal analyzed cases are underlined in the table.

b. Non-protagonist Saints: Old Testament and New Testament context¹²

Role/Identity	Saints	CSM
Angels	Gabriel	1, 71, 86, 90, 152, 180, 210, 324, 330, 349, 410, 414, 415, 419, 420
	Miguel	419, 420
Evangelists	Joan	295
	Lucas	59, 264
	Marcos	133, 292, 426
	<u>Mateus</u>	<u>59, 133, 155, 292, 295, 426</u>
Mary's and Jesus' biography	<u>Anna</u>	<u>411</u>
	Elisabét	1, 69
	<u>Joaquin</u>	<u>411</u>
	Joseph	414, 420
	<u>Pedro</u>	<u>369</u>
	Reis magos	1, 415, 423, 424
Profets	<u>Daniel</u>	<u>4, 270</u>
	Davi	6, 270
	Isaia/Isaias	25, 70, 180, 270, 370, 411
	Moisen	270
	Salamon/Salomon	180
	<u>Simeon</u>	<u>411, 417</u>
Progenitors	<u>Abél</u>	<u>4</u>
	Adan/Adam	3, 213, 240, 270, 336, 353, 411, 420
	<u>Eva</u>	<u>40, 49, 60, 180, 270, 320, 340, 353, 380, 411</u>
Others	Azaría/Azarías	4, 215
	Ananía/Ananías	4, 215
	<u>Lazaro</u>	<u>381</u>
	[Maria] Jacobe	425
	Madalena Maria	425
	Maria Salome	425
	<u>Misaél</u>	<u>4, 125</u>

2.1. Among the saints' names that appear in the *cobras*, in the CSM 369 we can detect the most significant example of a first case of a saint's mention linked to a Gospel episode. This CSM recounts a deception perpetrated to a woman barley seller (devoted to Mary) by an evil castellan. When the last one sends two men to buy some barley leaving a ring as a pledge, the two officials are also instructed to steal the same jewel to later accuse the woman of fraud. When the two men return with some money to reclaim the ring and also to threaten the seller, the castellan, who had the jewel in his pocket, looses it in a river. Finally, Mary's intervention allows the

¹² Due to space and time reasons, we can not analyze the total occurrences collected in the table b. We have tried to show the most representative cases, considering the different situations on which these non-protagonist saints are mentioned.

woman to find the ring in the mouth of a fish caught in the same river, thus solving the situation.

In the *refran*, the poet evokes the famous biblical episode about St Peter when the apostle finds a silver coin inside the mouth of a fish caught by him (vv. 5-8). We can easily observe that this mention from the New Testament is not decontextualized. It is taken up from the Gospel to support the new marian intervention on the stage of the CSM, to offer an analogy (and a parallelism) between the new situation – with similar motives and dynamics that, more directly, came also from the popular tale about ‘the fish and the ring’¹³ – and the older one¹⁴:

Como a Jesu-Cristo fezo | a San Pedro que pescasse
un peixe en que achou ouro | que por ssi e el peytässe,
outrossi fez que sa Madre | per tal maneira livrasse
a hũa moller mesquynna, | e de gran coita tirasse¹⁵

The quotation configures itself as a sort of symbolical precedent, a doctrinal referent happened at Christ time to legitimize the new Marian situation, presented as a ‘reworked double’ that it takes its strenght from this attested reference. We may therefore say that the narrative presence of St Peter (*San Pedro*) is both an accessory presence in this narrative field and an effective element of support for the CSM that participates in the new Marian miraculous involvement of the XIIIth century¹⁶.

2.2. The reference to ‘non-protagonist saints’ in the CSM, belonging to a narrative biblical field linked externally with the medieval Marian stories, can also be used as

¹³ Cfr. CLOUSTON 1887, 398-403. Popular tradition seems to have originated in the famous story by Polycrates. However, Alcalá’s affirmation, «la contextura del cuento se ha montado en torno de Mt. 17,24-27», should not be understood as absolute or lineal bearing in mind the often complex construction process of this kind of literature; cfr. ALCALÁ 1996, 33.

¹⁴ In this case, the process of ‘marianization’ is totally displayed. About the concept of ‘marianization’, cfr. DISALVO 2013b, 126.

¹⁵ For the text of the CSM, cfr. METTMANN 1989, 249. Henceforth, for the English translation from the original, always cfr. KULP-HILL 2000: «Just as Jesus Christ caused Saint Peter to catch a fish in which he found gold to redeem himself and his Master, in like manner Holy Mary caused a poor woman to be freed from a great difficulty». That episode is taken from Matth. 17, 24-27. We report here the passage from the *Vulgata*: «Et cum venissent Capharnaum, accesserunt, qui didrachma accipiebant, ad Petrum et dixerunt: “Magister vester non solvit didrachma?”. Ait: “Etiam”. Et cum intrasset domum, praevenit eum Iesus dicens: “Quid tibi videtur, Simon? Reges terrae a quibus accipiunt tributum vel census? A filiis suis an ab alienis?”. Cum autem ille dixisset: “Ab alienis”, dixit illi Iesus: “Ergo liberi sunt filii. Ut autem non scandalizemus eos, vade ad mare et mitte hamum; et eum piscem, qui primus ascenderit, tolle; et, aperto ore, eius invenies staterem. Illum sumens, da eis pro me et te”». For the text, we take from the all available online at <http://www.vatican.va/archive/bible/nova_vulgata/documents/nova-vulgata_novum-testamentum_lt.html> [last consultation: 16 March 2016].

¹⁶ Cfr. ALCALÁ 1996, 33. See also what Ronaldo Amaral says in hagiography field, that it’s valid also for this context and for its didactical goal: «É a autoridade e a forza da verdade do antigo que xustificará o novo, que terá sempre o anterior por modelo e proba de veracidade, pois o novo texto narrará un acontecemento xa realizado e aceptado, podendo aínda superar aquel polo aumento de maiores virtudes e milagres»; cfr. AMARAL 2009, 93. About this case, see also DISALVO 2013a, 150-53.

a descriptive element to define the divine person of Jesus. See what happens in the sixth *cobra* of the CSM 381 (vv. 31-33):

Da gran voz que deu a madre | quando a Virgen chamou,
 Jhesu-Cristo, o seu Fillo, | aquel que resusçitou
Lazaro de quatro dias | e per nome o chamou,
 fez levantar o menino | tan tost' e vivo seer¹⁷

Just as in the previous case of St Peter (*San Pedro*), in this occurrence with St Lazarus (*Lazaro*) we do not have to consider this mention like a mere descriptive filler for the verses (or, at least, not only in this way): the use of the holy name to characterize the figure of Christ and to allude to this episode is linked to the new Marian environment presented. Here, emulating Lazarus' story in the Gospel, an episode of resurrection is told: the Virgin Mary intervenes directly on the stage to intercede for a miracle performed by Jesus himself to restore the life of a little boy who died in the sanctuary of *Santa Maria do Porto*.

That reference (with the specific allusion to a saint) gives the Marian story a wider dimension also in a providential way, contributing to justify the new Marian role and intervention; while it shows us, from the point of view of the creation of the miracle, the biblical source that inspired it and a new idea of hierarchy that promotes the figure of the Virgin¹⁸.

2.3. We can link the case of the notorious CSM 4 to the previous one, although the visible function of the names of the saints mentioned here may appear only structural¹⁹. This composition is based on a miracle carried out by the Virgin who rescues a little jew child from his father's evil intentions. Here the names of *Abél* (Abele), *Daniel* and *Misahel* are highlighted at the end of the last verses of the *cobras*, rhyming with two verses of the *refran*. Through this metrical choice, this specific subgroup of rhyming words in *-el* (almost reduced in the CSM) are emphasized by the clear metrical scheme ABAB | cdcdcdcb (vv. 3-6; 79-87)²⁰:

A Madre do que livrou

¹⁷ Cfr. METTMANN 1989, 275. Transl.: «At the loud cry the mother gave when she called on the Virgin, Jesus Christ, Her Son, Who revived Lazarus on the fourth day and called him by name, at once caused the boy to rise up alive».

¹⁸ This general aspect, cfr. ALCALÁ 1996, 32. The episode of the resurrection of Lazarus of Betania is told in John 11, 41-44: «Tulerunt ergo lapidem. Iesus autem, elevatis sursum oculis, dixit: "Pater, gratias ago tibi quoniam audisti me. Ego autem sciebam quia semper me audis, sed propter populum, qui circumstat, dixi, ut credant quia tu me misisti". Et haec cum dixisset, voce magna clamavit: "Lazare, veni foras!". Prodiit, qui fuerat mortuus, ligatus pedes et manus institis; et facies illius sudario erat ligata. Dicit Iesus eis: "Solvite eum et sinite eum abire"; the latin text of the *Vulgata* is also available online at <http://www.vatican.va/archive/bible/nova_vulgata/documents/nova-vulgata_novum-testamentum_lt.html> [last consultation: 16 March 2016].

¹⁹ Cfr. PARKINSON 2000, 139.

²⁰ It could be learn from the Daniel's first three chapters (Daniel 3, 15-30). The story of *Misahel* is closely linked to those of martyrs Anania and Azaria: they were three young governors of Babylon made burn by the King invader Nabucodonosor II for refusing to bow down to a pagan idol.

dos leões Daniel,
 essa do fogo guardou
 un menço d'Irrael
 [...]
 Pois souberon sen mentir
 o por que ela carpia,
 foron log' o forn' abrir
 en que o moço jazia,
 que a Virgen quis guarir
 como guardou Anania
 Deus, seu fill', e sen falir
 Azari' e Misahel.

[...]
 Por este miragr' atal
 log' a judea criya,
 e o menço sen al
 o batismo recebia;
 e o padre, que o mal
 fezera per sa folia,
 deron-ll' enton morte qual
 quis dar a seu fill' Abel²¹

Starting from a precise narrative context that evokes an Old Testament horizon, here the rhyming saints' names seem to participate in the composition of the CSM from the beginning of the entire process, also for their position and their value in the metrical pattern just mentioned. In fact, despite this metrical 'role', they are first selected and introduced in the tradition by Alfonso for the narrative content²² and we can not consider them only as a posthumous formal filler for the verses, coming from an 'emergency' lexical repertoire detached from the narration²³. In other words, these names of saints (with the others jewish names in rhyme position) configure themselves as organizing items both in the metrical field, the doctrinal one and in the environmental frame of the wonder; constantly reminding the audience the source of inspiration of the same and the 'incarnation' motive, or the passage from the Jewish state to a Christian, to confirm «a doutrina da proteção de Maria em circunstâncias

²¹ Cfr. METTMANN 1986, 65-66. Transl.: «The Mother of Him who delivered Daniel from the lions saved a little boy of the tribe of Israel from the fire [...] When they discovered the true cause of her mourning, they went straight to open the furnace where the boy lay, but the Virgin had protected him as God Her Son protected Hananiah, Azariah, and Misahel [...] Because of this great miracle, the Jewess came to believe, and the boy received baptism at once. The father, who had done the evil deed in his madness, was put to death in the same manner that he had tried to kill his son, Abel».

²² Cfr. FORSYTHE DEXTER 1926, 11, 191.

²³ In the entire CSM corpus, we count 70 occurrences of rhyme in *-el*. Among these occurrences, only 25 words end with this syllable; and, from this last group, we can notice that 10 words represent names of biblical saints or characters (among which there are the Jewish forms for Christ): *Abel, Mishael, Rachel, Daniel, Gabriel, Miguel, Samuel, Manuel, Emmanuel*; cfr. BETTI 1997, 128-29, 403; PARKINSON 2000, 134. The entire process of selection and organization for this CSM 4 was first described in BERTOLUCCI PIZZORUSSO 1963, 63-5.

quase homólogas às do Antigo Testamento, sendo assim a face nova da assistência prestada por Deus aos seus fiéis»²⁴. Taking into account this second aspect, they are strictly connected with the account exposed²⁵.

2.4. The previous type of saints' mentions appears adapted to a new Marian narrative context thanks to its analogical value, supporting also doctrinally – or environmentally as in the case of the CSM 4 – the wonder. It justifies not only Mary's actions but also allows its efficacy and the perception of the wonder among the believers. But we have another context where non-protagonists saints are mentioned without supporting the medieval narrations: CSM where only the stories about the Virgin are told and not the miracles. In this situation the referent is only biblical and the saints are 'non-protagonists' only because this stories do not take part in the new genre of the 'medieval Marian miracle'²⁶.

This situation regards, for example, St Joachim (*Joaquin*) and St Anne (*Anna*). Mary's father is mentioned all throughout the 'alexandrines' of the CSM 411, the first text that takes part of the group dedicated to the Five Mary's Holy Feasts («Cinco festas de Santa Maria»)²⁷. The text portrays the birth of the Virgin («nacença de Santa Maria»)²⁸, hence a situation where the mention of Mary's parents is totally predictable, but with some detail that seems to be taken from multiple apocryfal sources²⁹. See, for example, the first stanzas of the CSM where they are mentioned and presented in their pious attitude (vv. 15-23):

Mas pero de seu padre, | que Joaquin chamado
foi, e sa madre Anna, | direi-vos seu estado:
quanto no mund' ouveron | partiron per recado
que de quanto avian | non lles ficava nada.

Ca Joaquin e Anna | tal acordo preseron,
que fezeron tres partes | de quant' aver ouveron;
a hũa pera pobres, | a outra reteveron
pera ssi, a terçeyra | ao temp' era dada³⁰.

²⁴ See also, as Prado-Vilar pointed out recently, the position of the name *Abel*: it is both the name of the boy and the name of the saint. Cfr. PRADO-VILAR 2011, 131. For the quotation and the concept, cfr. AIRES NASCIMENTO 2004, 67.

²⁵ Cfr. ALCALÁ 1996, 33.

²⁶ They do not help Mary in doing wonders or they do not receive them from her. We consider them as done recently in GONZÁLEZ-BLANCO GARCÍA – DEL RIO RIANDE 2012, 6: «[...] son las llamadas 'cantigas das festas' de Santa Maria. No creemos que puedan incluirse dentro de las piezas narrativas [...] ya que cuentan algún pasaje de origen bíblico relacionado con la naturaleza virginal de María, sin hacer referencia a intervención milagrosa alguna».

²⁷ The quotation is from the CSM *de loor* 410 that starts the group (cfr. METTMANN 1989, 325). On Saint Joachim and Saint Anne, their story is told in the *Protoevangelium* of Saint James and after, with more details, in the *pseudo-Matthew*. Their cult in the West begins only after the XIth century. About the role and the diffusion of the *Protoevangelium*, cfr. MUIÑA GARCÍA 2005, 1202.

²⁸ Cfr. METTMANN 1989, 327.

²⁹ Cfr. FIDALGO FRANCISCO (forthcoming).

³⁰ Cfr. METTMANN 1989, 327-28. Transl.: «However, first I shall tell you about Her father,

2.4.1. The CSM 417, the seventh of the CSM dedicated to the Five Mary's Holy Feasts, shows another type of citation of a saint in the Virgin's life stories. Here, in fact, narrating the episode of Jesus' presentation at the temple, the name of St Simeon (indicated by the word *Symeon*) does not appear only inside the verses but also in rhyming position³¹. See the passage below (vv. 6-15):

Quem viu nunca tam preçada | cousa nen tan rico don
como deu Santa Maria | no templ' a San Symeon
quando lle deu Jhesu-Christo, | seu Fill', en offereçon,
que fillou el nos seus braços | ledo sobelo altar?

Esto fez a Santa Virgen, | pois que o tempo compriu,
que foron quaranta dias | des que seu Fillo pariu,
e poren segund' a lee | no templo o offeriu
con duas tortores mansas | e de paonbas un par.

Symeon, aquel sant' ome | a que o foi offerer,
sempr' a Deus esto pidia | que ante que a morrer
ouvesse, que lle leixasse | el o seu Fillo veer,
que a enviar avia | pera [o] mundo salvar³².

Therefore, after being named at v. 6 in rhyme position («[...] no templ' a San Symeon»), the name of the saint is repeated at the beginning of the first verse of the third stanza where we can find not only the specification about his state of recognized holiness, but also the information about his role in the Presentation as a fundamental character: «Symeon, aquel sant' ome | a que foi offerer»; v. 15. In this case, we do not have an isolated evocation of the saint's name confined to v. 6 like only a formal

who was called Joachim, and Her mother, Anna. All they possessed in the world they carefully distributed until of all they owned, nothing remained to them | Joachim and Anna agreed to divide their worldly goods into three parts. One they gave to the poor, the second they reserved for themselves, and the third was given to the temple».

³¹ Cfr. Luke 2, 21-35: «Et venit in Spiritu in templum. Et cum inducerent puerum Iesum parentes eius, ut facerent secundum consuetudinem legis pro eo, et ipse accepit eum in ulnas suas et benedixit Deum et dixit: "Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, secundum verbum tuum in pace, quia viderunt oculi mei salutare tuum, quod parasti ante faciem omnium populorum, lumen ad revelationem gentium et gloriam plebis tuae Israel". Et erat pater eius et mater mirantes super his, quae dicebantur de illo. Et benedixit illis Simeon et dixit ad Mariam matrem eius: "Ecce positus est hic in ruinam et resurrectionem multorum in Israel et in signum, cui contradicetur – et tuam ipsius animam pertransiet gladius – ut revelentur ex multis cordibus cogitationes»; the latin text of the *Vulgata* is also available online at <http://www.vatican.va/archive/bible/nova_vulgata/documents/nova-vulgata_novum-testamentum_lt.html> [last consultation: 16 March 2016]. About St Simeon the Old, vid. also the *Protoevangelium* of Nicodemus, but here the episode is taken from Luke.

³² Cfr. METTMANN 1989, 337. Transl.: «Whoever saw such a precious thing nor a gift so rich as Holy Mary gave to Saint Simeon in the temple when She gave him Jesus Christ, Her Son, in offering, Whom he took joyfully in his arms over the altar? | This the Holy Virgin did at the proper time when forty days had passed since She bore Her Son and therefore, according to the law, She offered Him in the temple with two tame turtle doves and a pair of pigeons. | Simeon, that saintly man tho whom She offered the Child, always asked God to let him see before he died His Son Whom He would send to save the world».

fulfillment to complete the serie of the *-on* rhyme in the first stanza, but, on the contrary, due to his role in the biblical narration, his mention supports thematically the CSM.

In other words, as often happens to the environment just presented, here we can favor the hypothesis that is the election of the theme that influences the choice of the *-on* rhyme for a stanza and not, as in the cases of simple use of a saint's name like an interjection (we will analyze this occurrence later), the rhyming context that obliges to adopt a particular name with a specific termination (detached from the narrative environment) only to overcome a probable scarcity of rhyming words.

2.5. There are other examples of saints related to extra-miraculistic narrations in the CSM, which show basically the vastness of the biblical thematic area in *Alfonso's* collection with a special knowledge also in apocryphal tradition. Among the most significant, we can refer to the presence of the Three Magi (*tres reis magos*) in the CSM 424, the second CSM of the 'Jesus Christ's episodes' where the adoration of the baby Jesus in Bethlem is told³³, and the mention of the Three Maries (*tres Marias*: Mary Salome, Mary Magdalene and Mary of Cleophas) in the following CSM 425 where it is related the resurrection of Jesus in presence of the apostles and the three women («Grand' alegria, a la fe, | foi pois Maria Salome | e Jacobe con aloe | e Madalena Maria», vv. 25-28)³⁴.

Besides, there are two saints in particular who are linked to a providential dimension in the CSM. The first, St Adam 'the forefather' is mentioned in eight CSM: 3, 213, 240, 270, 336, 353, 411 and 420. But the second, Eva 'the ancestress', cited sometimes in pair with the first (CSM 40, 49, 60, 180, 270, 320, 340, 353, 380 and 411), is mentioned with the precise intention of putting herself in a contrastive relationship with the fully salvific figure of the Virgin Mary³⁵. This function of the ancestress is clear, for example, in the CSM *de loor* 60. Here the concept just described seems to declinate itself also on a 'formal' level, with the CSM content which is organized in a real 'play-on-words' orchestrated by the *refran* (vv. 3-24):

*Entre Av'e Eva
gran departiment' á*

Ca Eva nos tolleu
o Parays' e Deus,
Ave nos y meteu;
porend', amigos meus:
Entre Av'e Eva ...

³³ The episode of the adoration of the Magi is told in Matth. 2, but here, due to some details (i.e. duration of the journey, position of Jesus etc.) the *pseudo-Matthew* seems to be the main source; cfr. DE SANTOS OTERO 1979, 215. For the text of the CSM 424, cfr. METTMANN 1989, 353-55. They appeared also in the first CSM *de loor*, cited as the «tres reis», "three kings" (v. 36); cfr. MUIÑA GARCÍA, 2005, 1204-206.

³⁴ Cfr. METTMANN 1989, 357.

³⁵ Cfr. FIDALGO FRANCISCO 2004, 122-28.

Eva nos foi deitar
do dem' en sa prijon,
e Ave en sacar;
e por esta razon:
*Entre Av'e Eva ...*³⁶

The wordplay is developed in the *refran* between the appellation *Ave*, used for the first time by Gabriel in the so called 'salutation' to address Mary, and the same name *Eva*³⁷. The last one appears often linked to the topic of the original sin variously displayed in the stanzas. The latter is also designed to enhance the saving skills owned by the Virgin Mary, despite the perpetual state of sin of humanity³⁸.

We can end this brief review about non-protagonist saints linked to the 'outside' narrative field of the Gospels or Old Testament episodes with Gabriel Archangel, sometimes indicated simply with a real *antonomasia* consisting of the word *angeo*³⁹. He is always referred to in the episode of the Annunciation, and therefore in relation to the maternity of the Mother of God: CSM 1, 71, 86, 90, 152, 180, 210, 324, 330, 349, 410, 414, 415, 419 and 420⁴⁰.

2.6. Finally, a special mention must be reserved to the 'authors' themselves of the Canonical Gospels, also saints of the Catholic tradition. The four evangelists are in fact mentioned several times. St Matthew (*Mateus*) is the most cited, appearing – in this role – in six CSM: nn. 59, 133, 155, 292, 295 and 426. He is then followed by St Marc (*Marcos* in CSM 133, 292 and 426), St Luke (*Lucas* in CSM 59 and 264) and St John (*Joan* in CSM 295). We can note that for some CSM the evangelists are mentioned often in pairs. Through this choice it is clear that Alfonso and his *entourage* intended to double the *declaratio auctoritatis* about the stories which are told, reporting all the references from the Gospel tradition thus enriching the sense of legitimacy of the episodes⁴¹.

2.6.1. However, if we consider the fact that in the mentioned pair system the name of St Matthew is always present and that it is always in rhyme, it is clear that Alfonso's *scriptorium* also used the name of the saint – and therefore the hemistich or the entire verse in which it is contained – not only for creating a biblical reference system but also for metrical and rhyming purposes. Before further analysing this as-

³⁶ Cfr. METTMANN 1989, 204-05. Transl.: «*There is a great difference between Ave and Eva. | Although Eva took Paradise and God from us, Ave restored it to us. Therefore, my friends: there is a great difference between Ave and Eva. | Eva thrust us into the devil's chains, and Ave took us out again, and for this reason: there is a great difference between Ave and Eva.*».

³⁷ Cfr. CUNNINGHAM 2000, 115.

³⁸ Cfr. also CSM 270, 320, 340, 380. It is a constant presence in the CSM *de loor*. This parallel establishes itself just from the end of the XIIth century and underlines the historical and therefore providential path that leads to salvation; from Eva's falling into temptation to the opposite and positive action by the Virgin Mary. About this last aspect, cfr. FIDALGO 2004, 124-26.

³⁹ But also to consider, like St Michael, as a saint in the Catholic tradition; cfr. WILSON 1983, 2.

⁴⁰ The Gospel reference is Luke 1, 28-37.

⁴¹ With a procedure that we can call 'accumulation of authority'.

pect, it is necessary to see the examples in their context, respectively from CSM 59, vv. 89-94; 133, vv. 35-38; 292, vv. 46-49; 295, vv. 22-25; 426, vv. 15-18:

“Do grand’ erro que quisera
fazer, mais que non quis Deus
nena sa Madre, que fera-
mente quer guarda-los seus,
segun Lucas e Mateus
e os outros escrivir⁴²

Mirages, Virgen, Madre do Sennor
do mundo, Jhesu-Cristo, Salvador,
aquele que foi morrer por noss’ amor,
segund que contan Marcos e Mateus’
Resurgir pode e faze-los seus
*vive-la Virgen de que naceu Deus*⁴³

Ca o achou tod’ inteiro | e ssa madre, ca Deus
non quis que sse desfzessen, | ca ambos eran ben seus
quites, que nunca mais foron | San Marcos e San Mateus,
outrossi sa Santa Virgen, | que do mund’ é estatal⁴⁴

Des i aqueles cantares | eran dos mirages seus
muitos e maravillosos | que mostra por ela Deus,
e faz y mui gran dereito; | ca segun diz San Mateus
e San Yoan e San Marcos, | sa Madr’ éste sen falir⁴⁵

Porque non quiseron creer nen oyr
os que o viran de morte resurgir.
Porend’ ant’ eles aos ceos subir
quis, segundo conta Marcos e Mateus.
Subiu ao ceo o Fillo de Deus
*por dar Parays’ aos amigos seus*⁴⁶

⁴² Cfr. METTMANN 1986, 203-04. Transl.: «[...] “from the great error she was about to commit. However, neither God nor His Mother would allow it, for they fiercely protect their own, according to what Luke and Matthew and others wrote”».

⁴³ Cfr. METTMANN 1988, 98. Transl.: «[...] “miracles, Virgin Mother of the Lord of the World, Jesus Christ, Our Savior, He Who died for love of us, according what Mark and Matthew tell us”; The Virgin of whom God was born can make those She loves rise up and live again».

⁴⁴ Cfr. METTMANN 1989, 79. Transl.: «for he found him and his mother completely uncorrupted, for God would not allow them to decompose because both were favored by Him and also by the Virgin, who is Light and Torch of the world, as Saint Mark and Saint Matthew were never more favored».

⁴⁵ Cfr. METTMANN 1989, 86. Transl.: «Those songs were about Her many and marvelous miracles which God performs through Her, and He is right to do so, for, according to what Saint Matthew, Saint John, and Saint Mark say, She is His Mother beyond doubt».

⁴⁶ Cfr. METTMANN 1989, 359. Transl.: «because those who have seen Him arise from the dead would not believe Him or listen to Him. Therefore, He ascended into Heaven before them, according to Mark and Matthew; The Son of God ascended to Heaven in order to give Paradise to His friends».

In these examples, the pair mentioned with *Mateus* or *Mateos* constantly in rhyme position takes the form of a fixed *formula*: ex. «segun conta San Mateus»; «ca segun diz San Mateus»; «segun que contan Marcos e Mateus». As it has already been said, while it is used to evoke, without any doubt, the external authority of the Gospels, to underline and validate, respectively, the mercy of the Virgin («[...] sa Madre, que fera | mente quer guarda-los seus», CSM 59, vv. 91-92)⁴⁷, the Passion and death of Jesus («aquele que foi morrer por noss' amor», CSM 133, v. 37)⁴⁸, the *Θεοτόκος* (*theotokos*, CSM 295) or the Ascension of Christ («Porend' ant' eles aos ceos subir», CSM 426, v. 17)⁴⁹, the position of the word *Mateus* (Matthew) is also used to allow the completion of the rhyming structure often in combination with the word *Deus* to close the rhyming game with this last important word⁵⁰. It configures itself like a case of metrical need in the general formal environment of the CSM. In fact, if we consider the main hierarchy of the word *Deus* in the rhyme chain (also his first position) and the gap between the total number of occurrences of the rhymes in *-eus/-eos* – 95 occurrences with 311 total words in rhyme –⁵¹ and the minor number of the corresponding rhyming words – only 19 – that end in *-eus/-eos*, we can also understand why the poet is as obliged to put the name of the saint in that position; and, perhaps, to create the entire filler *formula*⁵².

2.7. In summary, all this saints mentioned with their respective names are protagonists only on an evangelical narrative level, and not in the miraculous Marian field. As we have seen, they are named in scriptural context in order to legitimize or better validate the new wonders performed by the Virgin, for their metrical-rhetorical filler function, especially when they are relegated to second half-lines (ex. the last case of *Mateus*), or for the simple need to describe with great detail (thus, with all the protagonists described in the Gospels) the Virgin's and Christ's stories.

3. Saints in rhyme context: interjections or exclamations

In the general group of 'non-protagonist saints' as showed in the first census summarized in the first table (a), we can select another subgroup of saints not particularly linked to the various narrative contexts of citation, but almost totally detached from the environment of the versified Marian stories presented. In particular, their names seem to be mentioned only for their metrical and structural rhyme function, in order to complete a rhyme scheme, for example, through a particular *formula*, however, at the same time, they function as supernatural witnesses.

⁴⁷ Here connected with a psalmic theme, perhaps hidden in the indication «os outros escri- vir»; cf. SCHAFFER 2010, 289-307.

⁴⁸ Cfr. Mark 14, 1-15,47 and Matth. 26, 1-27,66.

⁴⁹ Cfr. Mark 16, 19-20 and Matth. 28, 16-20.

⁵⁰ Cfr. CSM 59, v. 79; 133, v. 30; 155, v. 5; 292, v. 37; 295, v. 17; 426, v. 14.

⁵¹ We correct from MONTERO SANTALHA 1992, 452. For the correction (311 words in rhyme instead of 312 and 95 occurrences instead of 96), see PARKINSON 2000, 135-36.

⁵² For the occurrences, cf. BETTI 1997, 184-89, 408.

Among the names of these non-protagonist saints employed in the CSM for these specific purposes, we find many occurrences of the name *Denis/Dinis*: CSM 5, 115, 146, 238, 245, 246, 265, 292 and 404⁵³. In second place of citations comes the name of *Martin* (St Martin): CSM 17, 245 and 332⁵⁴. Finally, Always the following saints are only mentioned once in the CSM: *Andreu* (St Andrew), CSM 155; *Bonifaz* (St Boniface) CSM 122⁵⁵; *Fiiz* (St Faith), CSM 35; *Joan* (St John) CSM 94; *Mateus* (St Matthew) CSM 282⁵⁶.

In the table below (c), we divide the list above in two cases for the names and the occurrences of these ‘non-protagonist saints’ only analysed in their rhetorical and metrical function. The names are divided according to those who in the literary fiction game are referred to by the poetic voice in order to confirm or guarantee the veracity of the narrated miracles and details, and to those that form part of an oath pronounced by characters who act on the narrative stage, emphasizing an extraordinary event or, more simply, making effective and credible some choices⁵⁷:

c. Saints in rhyme context: interjections or exclamations

Function	Saints	CSM
Oaths (poet)	Bonifaz	122
	Dinis	146, 238, 246
	Fiiz	35(c.)
Oaths (characters)	Andreu	155
	Denis	5(c.), 115 (c.), 245, 265
	Joan	94
	Martin	17, 245, 332
	Mateus	282

3.1. As we have just anticipated, all these names of saints appear inside a fixed *formula* introduced by the preposition *par* and followed by the name of the saint⁵⁸. In the group first displayed in the table above (c), they combine their metrical function with another purely rhetorical one, serving as interjections or exclamations to call upon saints *Bonifaz* (Boniface), *Dinis* or *Fiiz* (Faith) to testify – in a sort of oath –

⁵³ St Denis died in Paris (*Lutezia*), after being sent into Gaul by the pope Sisto II to evangelize those lands at the time of the emperor Decius. The entire story (also the martyrdom) is told by the famous Gregory of Tours’ *Historia Francorum*; cfr. KRUSCH – LEVISON 1951, 20.

⁵⁴ St Martin of Tours (316-397 ca.); for a modern resume about the life of this famous saint (adapted and translated into english from the Sulpicius’ work), cfr. STOUCK 1999, 137-66. Cfr. also FONTAINE 1969.

⁵⁵ St Boniface (672-754 ca.), archbishop of Maguncia and evangelizer of Germany, before being killed in Frisia by barbarians.

⁵⁶ St John and St Matthew were just mentioned for the evangelical context but they may also appear in the metrical-rhetorical one. A same name (therefore a same saint) can appear in different quotation contexts.

⁵⁷ Some CSM are followed by the symbol *c.* It denotes the presence of an interjection thematically connected with the site or the environment of the narrated miracle, even if such aspect needs further investigation.

⁵⁸ About this formula, cfr. FERREIRO 2016, 56.

the truthfulness about the reported versified *exemplum* or the action or decision of a character⁵⁹. See the following examples (one for each saint) in context where the saints are called by the poet himself (CSM 122, vv. 40-43; 146, vv. 81-88):

“Dos mortos fosses por pecados meus,
poren deitar-t-ey ant’ os pees seus
da sa omagen da Madre de Deus”.
E fez-lo logo, par San Bonifaz⁶⁰

E sol detêr-sse non quis,
mais como coitada moller
foi log’ alá, seendo fis
que Deus dar-ll-ia como quer
seu fillo sen maravedis
são, que ll’ era mui mester.
E por esto, par San Dinis,
a Albeza foi de rondon⁶¹

That oath or interjection based on the name of a specific saint is also configured as an stylistic resource that the Wise King and his poetic *entourage* did not invent *ex novo*. They may have, in fact, learn it, from Gautier de Coinci’s *Miracles de Notre Dame* or from other writers or compilers who, at that time, participated in the versification process of the increasingly topical Marian miracles⁶². In the *Miracles*, we can detect the use of that stylistic formula, for example, at the end of St Basil’s story (2.11): «par saint Gile», v. 572; «par saint Pere!», v. 700; «par saint Michel», v. 730⁶³. In addition to being an element able ‘to color’ the versification, it is configured as a purely formal resource and fully exploitable for rhyming needs; when, for example, the scarcity of rhyming words makes it necessary to introduce fixed and decontextualized formulas – ‘ready to use’ – at the end of the verses. We will see this second aspect in the following paragraph.

3.2. Most of the attested cases of saints’ names inserted in an ‘interjection formula’ in the CSM – while retaining the purely stylistic and metrical function⁶⁴ – are usually introduced in character’s dialogues (second group of the table c). This is the case

⁵⁹ These formulas, in fact, never appear in a *loor* context.

⁶⁰ Cfr. METTMANN 1988, 68. Transl.: «‘... of the dead because of my sins, I shall therefore lay you before the feet of the statue of the Mother of God’’. She did so at once, I swear by Saint Boniface».

⁶¹ Cfr. METTMANN 1988, 129-30. Transl.: «and she would not tarry, but like a grief-stricken woman, went straight to that place, confident that God would somehow return her son to her safe and sound, even though she had no ‘maravedis’, for she had great need of him. Therefore, by Saint Denis, she went hastily headlong to Albesa».

⁶² On the increasingly topical current of the Marian mysticism and on Gautier of Coinci’s model, cfr. FIDALGO FRANCISCO 2013, 30.

⁶³ Cfr. KOENIG 1970.

⁶⁴ Cfr. KULP-HILL 2000, 189.

when the exclamation takes part of an oath uttered – directly or indirectly – by one of the character of the Galician-Portuguese text himself.

We can select the following cases from the entire *serie* already indicated at the beginning of this second section: *Denis* (St Denis) CSM 5, 115, 245 and 265; *Martin* (St Martin) CSM 17, 245 and 332; *Andreu* (St Andrew) CSM 155; *Joan* (St John) CSM 94; *Mateus* (St Matthew) CSM 282. We show below some representative examples in context (CSM 5, vv. 180-185; 94, vv. 117-126; 155, vv. 22-25; 245, vv. 40-43):

Per nulla ren que ll' o Emperador dissesse, nunca quis
a dona tornar a el; ante lle disse que fosse fis
que ao segre non ficaria nunca, par San Denis,
nen ar vestiria pano de seda nen pena de gris,
mas hũa cela faria d'obra de Paris,
u se metesse por mays o mund' avorrecer⁶⁵

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 dia”⁶⁶

El deu-lle por pëdença | que a Ultramar romeu
fosse, e el respondeu-lle: | “Esto vos non farei eu”.
“Pois jajüade”. “Non posso”. | Disse-lle: “Par Sant' Andreu.
nen esmolna non faredes?” | “Non, ca non tenno que dar”⁶⁷

Muytas vezes açoutado, | como contaron a min,
foy, e dizian: “Villão, | oge sseerá ta fin
se nos non dás quant' ouveres”. | E jurou par San Martin
o alcaide que de cuyta | o faria soffredor⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Cfr. METTMANN 1986, 72. Transl.: «In spite of all the emperor could say, the lady would not return to him. Instead, she told him that he could rest assured that she would never more lead a worldly life, nor, by Saint Denis, would she ever again wear silken cloth or gray squirrel fur. Rather, she would build a plaster cell and seal herself therein to renounce the world forevermore».

⁶⁶ Cfr. METTMANN 1986, 291. Transl.: «The nuns of the convent thought it a very great miracle when they saw it to be a proven thing and swore by Saint John that none so beautiful had ever been told to them before. They began to sing joyfully: “May God save you, Star of the Sea, Light of Day”».

⁶⁷ Cfr. METTMANN 1988, 147. Transl.: «The hermit assigned him as penance to go to the Holy Land as a pilgrim, and the knight answered him: “This I shall not do for you”. “Then fast”. “I cannot”. The hermit told him: “By Saint Andrew, will you then not give alms?”. “No, for I have nothing to give”».

⁶⁸ Cfr. METTMANN 1988, 339. Transl.: «He was beaten many times, or so I was told, and they

The mention of *Denis* at the end of the respective verse, as well as that of other saints used in fixed formulas as ‘wedges’ perfectly adaptable and usable in different metrical environments, does not seem to be tied exclusively to a French or Parisian frame as noted on CSM 115 and 146. In fact, in all the other cases that St Denis is mentioned, the narrative frame has nothing to do with France. Thereby, the famous martyr of Montmartre, finds its reasons only for the sake of rhyme in *-is*; to complete the rhyme serie with the rhyme words *fis* and *quis*, as happens, for example, in the CSM 265 (vv. 100-102) and 292 (vv. 21-23), although in the latter case the purely metrical and formal value of the holy name intersects with another ‘function’ of these ‘non-protagonist saints’, a sort of ‘revealed *sineddoche*’ to refer to the entire Paradise («que a Parais’ yria, | ben u éste San Denis»):

“Fez, ca destas letras soon ben fis
que ele as escriuiu, par San Denis;
mais farei-vo-ll’ eu o que mal fazer quis,
que el de ssi veja mui maa vijon”⁶⁹

Assi que en este mundo | fez-ll’ acabar o que quis
e morrer onrradamente | e morrendo seer fis
que a Parais’ yria, | ben u éste San Denis,
u veeria seu Fillo | e a ela outro tal⁷⁰

We can also hypothesize that the name of St Denis (*Dinis/Denis*) is employed as a useful filler to complete some sequences of *-is* rhymes, if we note that this latter rhyme in the CSM (and in Galician-Portuguese) knows a narrow possibility of rhyming words. In fact, the poet was ‘obliged’ to chose from just nine entries (*bis*, *maravedis/maravidis*, *fis*, *Lis*, *Alis*, *Dinis*, *Paris*, *gris*, *Tarssis* and *quis*), of which four are verbs forms⁷¹. Also the total occurrences (registered words in rhyme) are not many: only 59 with 19 rhymes chains. This last aspect is the sign of a type of rhyme generally not very used and so guaranteed – as already explained – by a limited number of words⁷². It is not a different situation from that already illustrated in

said: “You rascal, this day will be your last if you don’t give us all you have”. The castellan swore by Saint Martin that he would make him suffer great torment».

⁶⁹ Cfr. METTMANN 1989, 21. Transl.: «[...] for I am sure that he wrote these letters, I swear by Saint Denis, but I will cause him, who tried to commit such a dastardly deed, to find himself in great difficulty».

⁷⁰ Cfr. METTMANN 1989, 78. Transl.: «Thus in this world She caused Him to be successful in his enterprises and to die honorably, and, on dying, to be assured that he would go to Paradise, where sits Saint Denis, and where he would see Her Son and Her as well».

⁷¹ Cfr. BETTI 1997, 411-12. We report information about this words also from MONTERO SANTALHA 1992, 435-36: «Palavras rimantes: 1) Substantivos e adjectivos: *bis* adj. (135.141), *fis* adj. ‘seguro, certo’ [...] sing. (5.181; 25.77; 35.112; 63.91; 115.141) e plur. (202.44; 238.61; 245.117), *gris* s.m. [...] (5.183; 135.140), *lis* s.m. (419.137), *maravedis* (146.85) e *maravidis* s.m.pl. (63.93; 424.61). 2) *quis* 3ª pess. sing. do pret. (5.180; 25.79; 35.111; 63.92). 3) Nomes próprios: *Denis* (*Sam -*) antrop. m. [...], *Lis* (*Dona -*) (20) antrop. f. (135.136), *Paris* top. (5.184; 35.110; 115.145), *Tarsis* top. (424.67)».

⁷² Cfr. BETTI 1997, 238-39. For rhyme chains and occurrences, cfr. also MONTERO SANTALHA 1992, 435.

the case of *Mateus* – and therefore with the rhyme in *-eus/-eos* – in which the 311 words in rhyme, although in much greater number, revolved almost always around three ‘key’ terms of Alphonse’s religious poetry, *judeus*, *romeus* and *Deus*.

4. Conclusions

In conclusion, this paper wanted to show some examples of the use of the non-protagonist saints’ names in the CSM. As we have seen, leaving out of our contribution the case of non-protagonist saints’ mentions related to shrines (because of their ambiguous presence) or the case of *San Marçal* (St Martial) associated only to the homonym sickness (the Martial’s Fire or *Ignis Sacer*), a first macro division in their typology can be carried out considering not only their specific function in the CSM, but also the position of their quote. According to the latter aspect, we can detect the mentions that have not a direct narrative link in the CSM (ex. *Dinis* or *Andreu*), nor with a biblical episode related to the new Marian miracle nor with a Gospel episode as a subject of the same versified text, and are used mostly as interjections. In addition to this, if the first typology of saint’s mentions (or holy persons participating in a biblical narrative environment) refer precisely to figures who take part to an Old Testament setting and to a kind of sanctity guaranteed mainly by their position in a providential ‘scheme’, the second typology (or exclamations for saints’ oath) are more linked to saints who experimented a recognized martyrdom experience⁷³.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AIRES NASCIMENTO 2004 A. AIRES NASCIMENTO (ed.), *Milagres Medievais numa colectânea mariana alcobacense. Edição crítica, tradução e estudo*, Lisboa 2004 (Obras clássicas da literatura portuguesa, 164).
- ALCALÁ 1996 A. ALCALÁ, *Doctrina teológica y leyendas pías en las Cantigas de Santa María de Alfonso X el Sabio*, «Anuario medieval», 8 (1996), 7-42.
- AMARAL 2009 R. AMARAL, *A santidade habita o deserto. A haxiografia á luz do imaxinario social*, Noia 2009.
- BERTOLUCCI PIZZORUSSO 1963 V. BERTOLUCCI PIZZORUSSO, *Contributo allo studio della letteratura miracolistica*, «Miscellanea di Studi Ispanici», 6 (1963), 5-72.
- BETTI 1997 M.P. BETTI, *Rimario e lessico in rima delle ‘Cantigas de Santa Maria’ di Alfonso X di Castiglia. Presentazione di Valeria Bertolucci Pizzorusso*, Pisa – Ospedaletto 1997 (Biblioteca degli Studi Mediolatini e Volgari, 15).
- BOESH GAJANO 1999 S. BOESH GAJANO, *La santità*, Roma – Bari 1999.
- BREA 2005 M. BREA, *Tradiciones que confluyen en las ‘Cantigas de Santa Maria’*, «Alcanate», 4 (2004-2005), 269-86.

⁷³ The last one appears as the first model of sanctity; cfr. KIECKHEFER 1990, 11.

- CLOUSTON 1887 W.A. CLOUSTON, *Popular tales and fictions: their migrations and transformations*, I, Edinburgh – London 1887.
- CUNNINGHAM 2000 M.G. CUNNINGHAM, *Alfonso X el Sabio. Cantigas de Loor*, Dublin 2000.
- DAIX 1996 G. DAIX, *Dictionnaire des saints*, Paris 1996.
- DE CUETO 1889 L.A. DE CUETO Marqués de Valmar, *Las 'Cantigas de Santa María' de Alfonso el Sabio*, II, Madrid 1889.
- DE SANTOS OTERO 1979 A. DE SANTOS OTERO, *Los Evangelios Apócrifos. Colección de textos griegos y latinos, versión crítica, estudios introductorios y comentarios*, Madrid 1979³.
- DELEHAYE 1927 H. DELEHAYE, *Sanctus. Essai sur le culte des saints dans l'antiquité*, Bruxelles 1927 (Subsidia hagiographica, 17).
- DISALVO 2013a S. DISALVO, *Los monjes de la Virgen: representación y reelaboración de la cultura monacal en las 'Cantigas de Santa María' de Alfonso X*, Newark-Delaware 2013.
- DISALVO 2013b S. DISALVO, *Gualterus de Cluny, las 'Cantigas' y el niño que ofrece pan a Cristo: reconsideración de una antigua colección de milagros marianos*, «Hagiographica», 20 (2013), 123-42.
- FERNÁNDEZ FERNÁNDEZ 2008-2009 L. FERNÁNDEZ FERNÁNDEZ, *Cantigas de Santa María: fortuna de sus manuscritos*, «Alcanate», 6 (2008-2009), 323-48.
- FERREIRO 2016 M. FERREIRO, *Unha variación inexistente nas cantigas profanas galego-portuguesas: as formas 'perdon / pardon'*, «Madrygal», 16 (2016), 51-59.
- FIDALGO FRANCISCO 2004 *As Cantigas de Loor de Santa María (edición e comentario)*, coord. E. FIDALGO FRANCISCO, Santiago de Compostela 2004.
- FIDALGO FRANCISCO 2013 E. FIDALGO FRANCISCO, *La gestación de las 'Cantigas de Santa María' en el contexto de la escuela poética gallego-portuguesa*, «Alcanate», 8 (2012-2013), 17-42.
- FIDALGO FRANCISCO (forthcoming) E. FIDALGO FRANCISCO, *Episodios de la vida de la Virgen en las CSM*, in *En Doiro antr'o Porto e Gaia. Actas do XVI Congresso Internacional da AHLM (Porto, 21 a 25 de Setembro de 2015)*, forthcoming.
- FONTAINE 1969 J. FONTAINE (ed.), *Vie de Saint Martin*, Paris 1967-1969 (Sources chrétiennes, 133).
- FORSYTHE DEXTER 1926 E. FORSYTHE DEXTER, *Sources of the Cantigas of Alfonso el Sabio*, Madison 1926.
- GONZÁLEZ-BLANCO GARCÍA – DEL RIO RIANDE 2012 E. GONZÁLEZ-BLANCO GARCÍA – M.G. DEL RIO RIANDE, *Uso y función del verso alejandrino en las 'Cantigas de Santa María'*, «Ars metrica», 7 (2012), publ. may 2012 (<http://ars-metrica.germ-ling.uni-bamberg.de/201205-2/uso-y-funcion-del-verso-alejandrino-en-las-cantigas-de-santa-maria>).
- KIECKHEFER 1990 R. KIECKHEFER, *Imitators of Christ: Sainthood in the Christian Tradition*, in *Sainthood. Its Manifestations in World Religions*, ed. by R. KIECKHEFER – G.D. BOND, Berkeley 1990, 1-42.
- KOENIG 1970 *Les Miracles de Notre Dame par Gautier de Coinci*, ed. V.F. KOENIG, IV, Genève 1970 (Textes littéraires français, 176).
- KRUSCH – LEVISON 1951 *Scriptores Rerum Merovingicarum. Tomi I. Pars I. Gregorii Episcopi Turonensis, Libri Historiarum X*, editio altera, edd. B. KRUSCH – W. LEVISON, Hannoverae 1951.

- KULP-HILL 2000 K. KULP-HILL, *Songs of Holy Mary of Alfonso X, the Wise: a translation of the Cantigas de Santa María*, Tempe AZ 2000.
- MASSINI-CAGLIARI – BOSCHI DA SILVA G. MASSINI-CAGLIARI – H.M. BOSCHI DA SILVA, *Antropônimos e Topônimos nas 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'*, in *Fontes e edições*, ed. G. MASSINI-CAGLIARI *et alii*, Araraquara 2012, 87-110.
- METTMANN 1986 *Alfonso X, el Sabio. Cantigas de Santa María*, I, ed. W. METTMANN, Madrid 1986.
- METTMANN 1988 *Alfonso X, el Sabio. Cantigas de Santa María*, II, ed. W. METTMANN, Madrid 1988.
- METTMANN 1989 *Alfonso X, el Sabio. Cantigas de Santa María*, III, ed. W. METTMANN, Madrid 1989.
- MONTERO SANTALHA 1992 J.-M. MONTERO SANTALHA, *Catálogo das rimas das 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'*, in *Actas do III Congresso Internacional da Língua Galego-Portuguesa na Galiza (Vigo, 27, 28 e 29 de Setembro 1990, no Auditório do Centro Cultural Caixavigo. Ourense, 30 de Setembro e 1 de Outubro 1990, na Faculdade de Humanidades)*, A Coruña-Ourense 1992, 429-63.
- MONTOYA MARTÍNEZ 1981 J. MONTOYA MARTÍNEZ, *Las colecciones de Milagros de la Virgen en la Edad Media (el milagro literario)*, Granada 1981 (Colección filológica de la Universidad de Granada, 29).
- MORENTE PARRA 2007 M. MORENTE PARRA, *La imagen de la lepra en las Cantigas de Santa María de Alfonso X El Sabio*, «Anales de Historia del Arte», 17 (2007), 25-45.
- MUIÑA GARCÍA 2005 M. MUIÑA GARCÍA, *O contido teolóxico das cantigas de loor: algunhas hipóteses para a súa autoría*, in *Actes del X Congrès Internacional de l'Associació Hispànica de Literatura Medieval (Alacant, 18-22 de setembre de 2003)*, ed. by R. ALEMANY *et alii*, Alacant 2005, 1199-1215.
- PARKINSON 2000 S. PARKINSON, *Phonology and metrics: aspects of rhyme in the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'* in *Proceedings of the Tenth Colloquium of the Medieval Hispanic Research Seminar*, ed. by A. DAYERMOND, London 2000, 131-44.
- PARKINSON – JACKSON 2006 S. PARKINSON – D. JACKSON, *Collection, Composition and Compilation in 'Cantigas de Santa Maria'*, «Portuguese Studies», 22/2 (2006), 159-72.
- PEDRO FERREIRA 1994 M. PEDRO FERREIRA, *The Stemma of the Marian Cantigas: Philological and Musical Evidence*, «Bulletin of the Cantigueiros de Santa Maria», 6 (1994), 58-98.
- PRADO-VILAR 2011 F. PRADO-VILAR, *'Iudeus sacer': Life, Law, and Identity in the "State of Exception" Called "Marian Miracle"*, in *Judaism and Christian Art: Aesthetic Anxieties from the Catacombs to Colonialism*, ed. by H.L. KESSLER – D. NIRENBERG, Philadelphia 2011, 157-86.
- REY 1927 A. REY, *Índice de nombres propios y de asuntos importantes de las Cantigas de Santa María*, «Boletín de la Real Academia Española», 14 (1927), 327-56.
- SCHAFFER 2010 M. SCHAFFER, *A Psalmic Theme in the 'Cantigas de Santa Maria': 'Averte faciem tuam a peccatis meis' as 'Non cates aos meus peccados'*, in *'De ninguna cosa es alegre posesión sin compañía'. Estudios celestinescos y medievales en honor del profesor Joseph T. Snow*, II, ed. by D. PAOLINI, New York 2010, 289-307.

- STOUCK 1999 *Medieval Saints. A reader*, ed. M.-A. STOUCK, Peterborough, Ontario (Canada) – Orchard Park, NY 1999 (Readings in medieval civilizations and cultures, 4).
- VAUCHEZ 1995 A. VAUCHEZ, *La espiritualidad del Occidente medieval (siglos VIII-XII)*, Madrid 1995².
- WILSON 1983 S. WILSON, *Saints and their Cults. Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History*, Cambridge 1983.